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TEN MONTHS OF FASCISM IN CHILE

CONTRIBUTION SUBMITTED BY THE PERMANENT
EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COORDINATOR OF THE CHILEAN LEFT.

IZQUIERDA CHILENA

The izquierda chilena (Chilean Left) is the coordinating organization outside of Chile, of the following political parties : Comunista, Izquierda cristiana, MAPU OBRERO y CAMPESTINO, MIR, Radical and Socialista of Chile. Its mission is to contribute to the development of international solidarity with the struggle of chilean patriots against the fascists.

Its directive bureau is the political committee (COPOL) which has periodical meetings. The permanent Executive Comision (CEP), dependant of the Political Committee developes its coordination tasks in regular form.

The Izquierda Chilena is represented in the European Conference by the following unitary delegation :

Hortensia Bussi de Allende
Beatriz Allende Bussi
Isabel Allende Bussi
Volodia Teitelboim, member of the political bureau of the Communist Party of Chile.
Bosco Parra, Secretary General of the Izquierda Cristiana
Eduardo Aquevedo, Sub Secretary General of MAPU
Juan Enrique Vega, Sub Secretary General of MAPU OC
Pablo Martinez, Representative of the MIR in France
Arcalaus Coronel, Secretary general of the Partido Radical of Chile
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The Permanent Executive Comision (CEP) of the Izquierda Chilena functions in Rome, with an office of information, Chile Democratico Via di Torre Argentina 2I, first floor, telephone 561863, where the organizations or party members can be contacted.

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES

The coup d'état of September 11 th, 1973 created the conditions for the instauration of a fascist dictatorship in Chile. To make it possible, a conspiracy against the legitimate government of Salvador Allende was planned, and an attack of the governmental palace was organized, the President of the Republic was assassinated, and the most extensive and violent repression that Latin American history can remember was put into practice.

Since the first day of the fascist coup d'état the program planned by the foreign inspirators, together with the most reactionary groups of the country, as well as with the executioners of the criminal anti-democratic action, has been fulfilled.

After the murder of President Allende, thousands of other assassinations of fellow country men of different social origins, occupations, religions and political tendencies have followed.

Thousands of persons, Chileans and foreigners were kept in jails, military and police precincts and in the numerous concentration camps mounted throughout the country. All of them were victims, in different degrees, of tortures, physical strains, and humiliating treatments. Many of the women arrested have been raped or submitted to humiliating procedures that repulse and shame mankind. Children have been arrested, punished, and pressured to delate the pursued. Hundreds of thousands of workers from public as well as private sectors have been fired.

The Congress was closed and the Senators and Deputies (member of the House of Representatives) elected by universal suffrage in March 1973 have no right to exercise their mandate. All the leftist political parties were declared illegal, and the rest of the parties were adjourned, including those which backed the coup. All the Municipalities were closed and Mayors were designated by decree.

All newspapers, magazines, and radio stations which opposed the military were closed and the information work of the mass media which remain was transformed in a series of monochord false accusations to the left in general and to the government of Salvador Allende, and a repulsive chain of praises to the dictatorship and the fascist military.

They declared a "state of internal war" so that they could cover up all the illegalities that they have committed. In the name of this unexistent "internal war" the worse abuses against human beings and their rights have been carried out.

The military fascists suspended the rule of the Constitution and became the Constituent Power by their own decision. With the complicity of the Judges they put the Judicial Power in interdiction. The Supreme Court is also responsible of the persecutions, tortures, assassinations, the humiliation of defenseless women, the illegal criminal cases and sentences, as well as all the arbitrariness of

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the dictatorship, because they accepted abjectly and selfishly the thesis of the military junta which says that in the actual circumstances the politically pursued can't be tried by ordinary court, but by court martials. On these basis they have refused all the Habeas Corpus, presented by attorneys to find out where those detained are located. The Military Junta's hate of the opposition to its dictatorship has driven them to establish delation, tale-bearing, physical strains and tortures as a system of government.

They decreed the dissolution of the "Central Unica de Trabajadores" and of thousands of labor unions throughout the country. They eliminated all the right conquered by the workers as the result of lengthy and difficult labor and political battles.

They militarized the education in all its levels. Now the rectors of the universities, including those belonging to the Catholic Church, are not academics elected by the university community but fascist, soldiers designated by the Military Junta.

The education as a whole is directed by staff of the armed forces. The dictatorship has meant to the Chilean people the loss of all their rights of freedom and respect for their human condition, won in the course of lengthy struggles. The policy of the military junta is also driving the people to hunger. The dictatorship has driven unemployment to incredible levels, superior to 15 % of the labor force and plans to increase it in insane proportions, decreasing the amount of public officials by 20 %, without creating new jobs for those laid off.

The blindness and hatefulness with which they insist in unloading the weight of their policy, imposed by the most reactionary groups of the country and the northamerican monopolies upon the people, the deeply anti-patriotic character of this policy and the incapacity of the Military Junta to resolve the problems of the country have accelerated inflation in an incredible form.

The dictatorship has recurred to every known way to impose its policy. In its eagerness it instructs law suits to civilians and soldiers applying with retroactive effect the decrees it has dictated. It disposes of the freedom, of the dignity, of the properties and of the life of the people. This is fascism in action, and it has enthronized itself in the government of the Republic.

As a result, despite of all efforts made to avoid it, the military junta isolates itself more and more. Every day there are more persons, political and social sectors and institutions which repudiate their policy and denounce their abuses and arbitrarities. An example which confirms this view is the position adopted by the Chilean Catholic Church ; in a public declaration of its Episcopal Conference it expressed : "In first place the climate of insecurity and fear worries us ; we think to find the roots of this climate in the delations, in the false rumors and in the lack of participation and information".

"The social dimensions of the actual economic situation also worries us ; among them the rise in unemployment and the arbitrary dismissals can be pointed out. We fear that, in trying to accelerate economic development, the economy is being structured in such a form that wage earners must bear an excessive share of sacrifices, without having a desirable amount of participation".

"The fact that the educational system is being structured and orientated without the sufficient participation of the parents and the school community, worries us

"Finally, we are worried because in some cases there is lack of efficient judicial protection for personal security ; this can be seen in arbitrary or excessively long detentions in which neither the affected nor their families know what they are accused of. There are interrogations under physical or moral strains. The possibilities of a legal defense are limited. There are unequal sentences for the same causes in different places. There are restrictions in a normal use of the right of appeal.

All countries of the world have been able to collect the necessary information to form a judgement on the significance of the fascist dictatorship that oppresses the chilean people. This same reason explains the span and variety of international solidarity which rose spontaneously in all the continents. This has been a decisive factor to avoid still greater crimes and to explain the fact that in international organizations not one voice has risen to defend the tyrants. Special mention is deserved by the attitude of the Representatives of workers in the Conference of the International Organization of Labor, who in their section, repudiated unanimously the representation of the delegates of workers designated by the Military Junta, and resolved instead to recognize as representatives of the chilean workers the leaders of the Central Unica de Trabajadores of Chile.

The people of Chile are not defeated and will not submit to support the disgraceful and bloody tyranny, as brutal as it may be. The chilean patriots are fighting and will continue to fight untill the fall of the dictatorship.

This struggle is legitimate and the cause of the chilean people is just. The decision to combat untill the fall of the tyranny is definitive. The solidarity which all the countries offer is multiple and generous.

We know that the principal action in this struggle for freedom against oppression corresponds to the chileans. To fulfill this responsibility, the unity and common action between the organizations and democratic entities of Chile ^{which} have the common aspirations of reconquering the liberties transitorily abolished by the fascists dictatorship is indispensable. This fundamental factor is being forged, in the midst of persecution and sacrifice, inside the country.

Together with this we know that international solidarity has been and will always be decisive. We Chileans have received it in a moving proportion and will continue to receive it each time in a more extended form. A valid evidence of this, is this Conference which probably, because of its scope and representativity, will project its echo beyond the European continent. We have the conviction that its effects, because of its development and composition as well as the moral force of its conclusions, will be enormous.

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The activities of the fascist Military Junta against human rights, partially divulged in the international press, have been examined in detail by commissions in the international organizations and have been the object of protest throughout the whole world. In spite of all the efforts of the military Junta to hide its own atrocities, these have reached such a magnitude that no form of propaganda can deny them effectively.

I. - Deaths

"Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person" (art. 3 Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

The figures that have been given in regard to the number of persons that were assassinated by fascism are very diverse, and an exact number is still not available. The reasons for this are many :

a) In its eagerness to hide the number of victims, the Junta has neither published nor permitted publication of partial figures or lists of victims. Only the Junta has the number of dead in each Province. Since it is uninterested in the truth, the number it has given are obviously false ; even its spokesmen who began speaking of 300 dead, have raised the official figure several times, in view of public evidence ; in an interview a few weeks ago Pinochet gave a cryptical information : "less than one tenth of one hundred thousand".

b) The massive characteristics of repression specially during the first days allows for a large number of persons (more the half of the ones killed) to be officially mentioned as "disappeared" and in some cases there is even a denial that they were ever arrested.

c) The Military units competed in brutality and violence. Many persons were murdered in their homes or shot at in the streets. To obtain exact figures, a count from each regiment and police unit would be required. Even with this element, any statistic would only be an approximation : various "poblaciones" or villages were bombed. The number of their victims will never be known.

d) In the rural zones the massacre has remained all but hidden, although it was just as savage. There was almost no expropriated farm or agricultural labor union where leaders were not assassinated. In the south of the country (Cautin province), under the pretext of anti-guerrilla military operations, thousands of mapuche indians and peasants were assassinated. General Arellano recognized on TV, 800 dead in these "operations". The figure was late denied.

e) The fascists will not give any information about the military who died during the first days. It is known certainly that in some military units a great number of soldiers and officers loyal to the Constitutional Government were executed. After this, a process of elimination of "doubtful elements" has followed. But the Junta will only recognize a total of 300 military men dead, a number very inferior to the truth.

In such conditions it is difficult to estimate the number of deaths. Several missions have given different figures : 40.000 a delagation of jurists, 12000 a religious organization. What is clear is that only by adding the partial figures (the Morgue in Santiago, Antofagasta, Cautin, or Nuble, for example) we get more than 15.000 This means that the victims of fascism are no less than 30.000 people.

The causes of death are also numerous : during the first days they were due to machine-gunning of large groups of people, executions in the streets, bombing of villages or slum areas. Afterwards the majority of the deaths are due to execution or torture. On the coast, especially in Valparaiso there are many cases of death by drowning.

Not only police or military men have participated in the massacres, but also fascist civil groups. A partial statistic of the "población" of La Legua, reveals that at least half of those dead or disappeared during the month of October, were arrested by civilian elements.

Almost all the deaths occurred in the first days were explained by the fascists as attempts of resistance. Afterwards, since most dead were individuals who had been arrested, the explanation was "attempt to escape" or "suicide". In very few cases a simulacre of trial has existed. In none of these, lawyers or family members were present. It has been proved that many of these trials occurred after the sentence had been executed.

The responsibility for all these deaths falls on the Junta and the military authorities. No one can accept the discharge that massacres are due to excesses by local units. On the contrary, the operations of massive assassination correspond to a desire of terrorizing the people and eliminating any kind of organic leadership.

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Proofs of direct participation of the High Command of the Armed Forces exist in many cases. For example, during the month of October, a military group headed by Gral. Sergio Arellano Stark, fourth man of the Army today, journeyed to the north of the country to examine the "development of the war". One of the results of their trip was the death without trial of more than 60 persons.

2. - Detentions

"No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile".

On the days that followed the coup, massive arrests took place in factories, villages and offices. Any person accused of being leftist, whichever his importance, could be arrested. The estimation is that in the first two months of fascist repression, no less than 100.000 persons were deprived of freedom and remain for long periods of time in places of arrest habilitated for the occasion. Many of them were not even questioned for several days, and the great majority did not know the exact cause for their arrest. New prisons and concentration camps were prepared, where the arrested began to be transported. Among the concentrations camps best known today, and still existent, are those in Putre and Pisagua (Province of Tarapacá), Chacabuco (province of Antofagasta), Riesco Island (Valparaiso), Quiriquina Island (Concepcion) and Dawson Island (Magallanes). To these numerous reclusion places with a lower number of prisoners can be added, among them the majority of the Regiments and police stations in the country, some stadiums, ships, and private houses where systematic tortures are generally applied. Examples of the latter are the building in Londres (London) St, N. 38, Agustinas N. 632 (University premises before the coup), both in Santiago, the Politechnic School in San Bernardo (place of arrest and torture of military men) and the Chile Stadium. At least 75 places of reclusion are known to exist, not counting regular jails, which certainly serve as places of detention for many political prisoners also.

In all these places no less than 20.000 political prisoners still remain today. It is true that some are set free, but the number does not diminish because of the great number of arrests still practiced every day by the Service of Intelligence of the Armed Forces.

The cycle which an arrested person goes through now is the following : after being arrested, usually by the police or the Intelligence Service, he goes to a provisional place of detention where he is tortured for several days (Londres 38, San Bernardo's Politechnic School or the headquarters of the Bureau of Investigation. From there he will be taken to a definite place of reclusion. Many times he will find that this place is also a torture camp (for ex. the Regiment of Tejas Verdes, the Air Base of Colina, the Military Camp of Cerro Chena).

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The prisoners are held today in one of three conditions : Condemned, on trial, or arrested. The first are the least of the total number of prisoners. They have already been tried and given sentences. This is by no means a reason to rest, since many of them will be "tried" again several times. It is worthy to remember that of the 60 or more persons assassinated in the North, that were mentioned above, at least 12 already had jail sentences. In general the sentences are jail terms, and usually very harsh more than 40 % of those condemned serve sentences of more than five years in prison.

In any case, condemned prisoners do not amount to 5 % of the total. A somewhat larger number (35 %) is subject to trial at this moment in the military courts. But the great majority, more than 60 % of the persons deprived of their freedom is in jail in the simple conditions of "detained" or "arrested". In other words, they aren't even subject to trial. They can remain in this condition for months or even years. There are no legal resources available. This is the clearest demonstration of the purely political character of the detentions.

3. - Treatment of Political Prisoners

"No one shall be subject to torture, or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". (art. 5 Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

Two institutions created by the military Junta play a fundamental role in the situation of political prisoners today : the Secretaria Nacional de Detenidos (Sendet) - National Secretness , which , sarcastically, functions in the National Congress Building, and the departamento de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) - Department of National Intelligence -. The first of these two coordinates generally all activities related with political prisoners. The second is the headquarters of the National system of Intelligence coordinating all the intelligence services of the three branches of the Armed Forces, the Police (Carabineros) and the Bureau of Investigation. It depends directly from the Junta, and has to determine the rules for interrogation. That is, it specializes in investigations, strains, home violations, slandering, arrest delations and tortures. The type of torture to be applied and the place where the prisoner is sent are determined according to the "degree of dangerousness" of the prisoner. The activity of DINA in these matters in the past months has been noticeable : the number and intensity of tortures has increased, but the type of torture is much more uniform through all detention places.

The inhumanity of the tortures applied exceeds all imagination. A report from the Peace Cooperation Comitee, dependent from the Archbishop of Santiago, which was published in a mexican newspaper, and based on cases absolutely verified, mentions at least 25 different types of torture, both physical (beatings,

electricity, bone fracture, burns, immersion in water, etc) and moral (intimidation with relation to family members, false executions, sexual molesting) and all kinds of ill treatments (unhealthy jails, rats, hunger, deprivation of sleep, etc). All questioning takes place with the prisoner blindfolded and with permanent beating. Many times tortures provoke death specially by blows in the head or genitals (there are cases of castration during interrogation). According to the same report mentioned before, one of those who died during torture could not be dressed later.

Bad treatments are generalized in all concentration camps and detention places. Military premises which nobody is allowed to visit stand out as the worst places in this sense.

The torturers are prepared also by DINA. The most usual training camp is Tejas Verdes where at least two brazilians and one north-american participate as advisers.

4. - Legal resources

"Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the Constitution or by law" (art. 8 Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

Last March the Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago, the Great Rabbi of Chile and the Luteran Bishop of Chile presented an habeas corpus in favor of 137 persons who could not be found in any detention place, even though they were known to have been arrested by officers of the repressive system. The presentation had the same dead end that many others presented to the Courts of Appeal by hundreds of lawyers and individuals. All these appeals have been rejected by the courts, leaving those who have been arrested completely defenseless. The Courts are pleased with the dictatorship and are willing to justify anything it does. As a result there are still thousands of people in jail without trial. Of these, more than 2.000 have not even been located. It is known or at least assumed that they were arrested, but their whereabouts are ignored, even whether they are dead or alive. The cases of Gustavo Ruz and Bautista Van Schowen, whose arrest was announced by the Junta, but whose later destiny is completely unknown, illustrate many similar anonymous cases.

5. - Trials

"Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations, and of any criminal charge against him" (art. 10)

"Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

"No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed. (art. II Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

We have already pointed out many of the arbitrarities committed by the fascists in regard to judicial matters : thousands of persons executed without trials in the first months, inside or outside of the prisons, with the pretext of "resistance", "escape" or "suicide". To justify assassinations, trials have been invited without the presence of either lawyers, or witnesses, or even the accused. Thousands of patriots remain in jail in the condition of "arrested", indefinitely, without being submitted to trial and without any kind of defence.

Those who are tried are usually presented to a sort of Council, or first instance court, specially adapted to cases of "state of war". The problems that any defence attorney must face are multiple : he has knowledge of the charges only 48 hours in advance, he has no possibility to speak to his client, he can neither present any evidence or contest the one being presented by the prosecution, since the testimonies and confessions are recorded in writing and are accepted by the court without any ratification formality (many times the judges have participated in the interrogations under torture in which the "confession" is obtained) ; the trial is carried out in private without the accused being present. In short, the role of the defence attorney is limited to the reading of a defence which usually amounts to a plea for mercy from the court. If, after all these inconveniences the defence attorney obtains the absolution of his client, this may still be useless. The court only recommends a verdict. The military in charge of the Zone of State of Siege, who was not even present at the trial, is in charge of imposing the final sentence. With all these elements it is no wonder that punishments are so harsh and that no more than 5 % of these who are tried are declared innocent. Most cases of absolution occur in trials against several persons at a time, one or two of whom are declared innocent to publicize the "impartiality of the Court".

6. - Political Asylum

"Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution" (art. I4 Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

The visible violations of this right are known to the whole world. The fight carried out by Governments and people from all the world to rescue more than 9.000 people from the hands of the fascists is coming to a victorious end, since no more than 20 persons are left in the embassies. This does not mean that the Junta had freely decided to grant asylum ; on the contrary it used every possible mean to avoid it, but finally had to give in to international pressure. In spite of this it is necessary to note here that in the past few days it has been known that the Junta would try to condition the departure of 8 refugees from the Italian Embassy to its recognition by the Italian government.

7. - Persecution of ideas

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion ; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching practice, worship and observance" (art. 18)

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression ; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". (art. 19 Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

It would be difficult to enumerate the abuses that the fascists have committed in this respect. In fact, all the repression is orientated by ideological motives. Ideological persecution was consacrated in the first Law-Decree of the Junta, its Act of Constitution, on September IIth 1973:

"Considering :

3. - That Chile finds itself in a process of systematic and integral destruction of these elements which constitute its essence, by effect of the intromission of a dogmatic and excluding ideology inspired in the foreign principles of marxism-leninism".

From this day on ideological persecution in all its forms begins : together with deaths, torture and detention, the Junta initiates massive dismissals, closes down radios and newspapers, burns books, supresses symbols, forbids political parties etc.

All of the decrees and "bandos" of the dictatorship give evidence of the persecution of ideas. For example, decrees which reorganize public services include considerations such as : "these goals can only be archived by personnel that agrees with the basic aims pursued by the Junta" (Law decree n.II6, 7-XII-73) Law decree n.50, which interver is the Universities mentions the "need to facilitate the unification of criteria in the direction of higher education for the better fulfillment of the postulates of the Junta". Law decree n.77, which dissolves the political parties of the left is even clearer :

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"Considering :

7. - That it is the responsibility of the new government to erradicate marxism from Chile..."

During the first months ideological persecution takes place against all groups on the left. However, the Declaration of Principles of the Junta, published in El Mercurio on March 10 1974, condemns the fact that the two most important political forces in Chile, marxism and Christian Democracy, respond, according to the Junta, to foreign inspiration. The ideological persecution widens, therefore, its scope, and is raised to the level of a state doctrine, based on motives of national security. Christian Democracy soon can perceive in all levels the effects of their inclusion among the "foreign ideologies".

8. - Labor Rights

"Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment".

"Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work".

"Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented if necessary , by other mean of social protection".

"Everyone has the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests". (art. 23 Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

To examine the form in which the rights of the workers have been violated it is necessary to distinguish between the right to work, right to a fair salary, and labor union rights. It would be convenient , however, to remember previously, that it was against the workers that the bulk of the fascist repression was directed. More than 70 % of those killed or arrested belong to the working class . The lists of union leaders that have been murdered, arrested, or disappear is unending. The fascist dictatorship, as the direct representative of the interests of the great burgess and foreign imperialism, is decided to eliminate the will to fight of the working class, destroying its best cadres.

a) Right to work The massive dismissals of workers began immediately after the coup, first in public administration and in the industries of the area of social property, and later extended to all branches of national activity. The rate of unemployment, which during the popular Government did not reach 4 %, is already higher than 15 % of the active population.

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Eight days after the coup the Junta dictated its Law-Decree n.6 which declared that ; "as of this date all the personnel of Services, repartitions, organisms and industries, and other institutions of the State Administration, centralized or decentralized, will be considered on an interim service. Any new designations in government posts will signify the immediate cessation of the interinates, and the automatic dismissal of those who served them". Later, Law-decree n.32 established the broad basis under which massive dismissals of workers in the private sector could be carried out, creating new causes for dismissal and creating a Court with military participation as the only competent to hear complaints.

b) Right to a Fair Salary Law-decree n.43 (September 29, 1973) suspended "all regulations, whatever their nature or origin, that deal with fixing or readjustment of salaries, subsidies, social benefits, or any remunerations in general, for the public and private sectors". It also suspended all automatic mechanisms for the readjustment or revaluation of pensins". In other words, all the rights conquered by the workers in regard to salaries were abolished, at the same time in which an unprecedented inflationary process was breaking loose : the result is the restriction of living condition of the workers to unknown levels. Today salaries are fixed arbitrarily by the employer, collective negotiation is also abolished (Bando n.36) and naturally, there is absolutely no right to strike.

c) Union Liberties A resolution presented to the Conference of the International Organization of Labor enumerates the following rights that have been abolished in Chile.

- freedom to form labor unions at all levels and affiliation to them (dissolution of the Central Unica de Trabajadores CUT, and a number of labor unions).
- freedom to reunite and elect labor leaders (Law Decree n. 198 (Dec. 10 1973) and circular n. 243 of the Home Office ...)
- of collective negotiation (see above)
- to publish union newspapers
- to administer union funds. (see for ex. Law decree n. 82 (31 Octobre 1973) which refers to the National Union of Educated Workers).

The attitude of the Junta with respect to the Chilean labor union movement, is most clearly reflected in the decree that dissolves CUT, the national unitary organization of the Chilean workers, whose leaders had been chosen by direct vote in May 1972.

"Art. I To cancel the legal personality of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT).. since it has been transformed in a political organization, under the influence of foreign tendencies alien to the national essence, to preclude therefore its existence, organization or actions, in written or oral form, or any other type of propaganda that can directly or indirectly reveal its existence".

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To study in greater depth the situation of human rights in Chile, we should include many others rights accorded by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We have not mentioned the actions and dispositions of the Junta which refer to the loss of nationality (in violation of art. 15 of the Universal Declaration), or the violations to the right of free movement (art. 13) etc. The number of violations of home, illegal break-ins, systematic defamation of persons alive and dead is enormous (art. 12).

Diverse international and national organizations have given detailed accounts of this situation : the Catholic Church, the Red Cross, the International Commission of Jurists, Governments, parliaments, etc. In front of the protests coming from the whole world the Junta expresses in a "Public Statement of the Junta of Government on Human Rights", issued on the 11th of June, after nine months of bloody repression :

"Inside the country, all the rights included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and in the Constitution and the Chilean law, have, in its basic terms, full value..." Later, it adds that "between these margins, the exercise of fundamental rights is fully guaranteed today. The persons who are arrested, according to the provisions of the State of Siege, are treated humanely and have adequate guarantees for their defence. All sentences are imposed according to laws dictated before their actions were committed, and after trials and verdicts dictated by competent courts. There is no previous censorship ; ample freedom of information exists ... There is also absolute freedom to go in and out of the country."

In citing these words we are not moved by a desire of sour sarcasm. Humanity must know the way in which fascists can lie about the crimes they themselves commit.

MISERY AND HUNGER FOR THE PEOPLE

The economic policy of the fascist Junta reflects the interests of a triple alliance : american imperialism, monopoly bourgeoisie and big landowners. It has been carried out with unrelenting brutality, favored by political and military terror imposed after the coup. Its main objective is to destroy everything that the people conquered during a long struggle and mainly during the government of the Unidad Popular. It intends to draw back in the agrarian situation as much as possible ; to ensure, give incentives, and open the door to imperialistic capital ; and consolidate and develop a structurally weak and dependent national monopolic bourgeoisie...

In only 10 month this policy has caused inflation to run out of hand created a serious deterioration of real wages, a severe decline in public expenditure, and has generated a sharp fall in the levels of income, economic activity and employment. The masses have suffered the full impact of the crisis. Today, in

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addition to police and military terror, the Chilean people suffer of hunger, illness and unemployment. There is a dialectic relationship between police repression and economic repression : the first is a condition to carry out, in an open way and without any restriction, an economic policy of oppression. The full enforcement of this policy, the materialization of its effects, require, on the other hand, an even greater physical and moral repression. The economic project and the political ideological project of the Junta are intertwined in an infernal vicious circle.

An economic policy that benefits such a small minority, strikes, inevitably, the vast majority of the population. It ruins wide sectors of the small bourgeoisie ; small industrials, farm owners, businessman, truck owners, and artisans. It implies unemployment and economic deterioration of the middle classes : professionals, private and public white collar workers. It produces a brutal decline in the real income of workers and peasants. It strikes the urban and rural subproletariat. It creates desperation among those living on welfare. This balance of gains and losses is the best explanation to the political isolation of the military dictatorship and the key to the need to maintain and increase its repressive policy.

PRICES

Immediately after the coup, a decree of freedom of prices was issued, restricting state control of prices to only a very reduced number of essential products, in an attempt to allow free competition to act as the only regulating mechanism of economic activity. At the same time, the new government declares its will to eliminate, in the near future, all kinds of public subvention to the prices of goods and services of popular use, and readjust sharply the rate of exchange for imports.

The first consequence of these early acts is the development, by the end of September and during October of an unprecedented inflationary process.

Big business fix their prices on the basis of the that already existed in the "black market", and modify them in view of any new change in costs. Without any kind of controls they obtain unseen rates of profits. The inflationary spiral receives an impulse from the drastic reduction of subsidies to essential goods and services and from the larger than 1100 % increase in the rate of change for imports of most food and other essential products. Such a price policy can all but accelerate the decline in real incomes of the population and bring about an abrupt decline in sales. However, in view of these first alarming signs, the military government insists on free competition, calling upon a "transitory" effort to reestablish equilibrium on a new level of prices, after which inflation can be progressively controlled. In fact, they predict that inflation in 1974 will be lower than 80 %.

In view of the excesses that are committed in setting new prices, authorities initiate a propaganda campaign against speculation. Small merchants and industrials are sent to jail as typical representatives of those practices, at odds with the new "social market-economy". But this campaign is in fact designed to cover up an unrelenting policy of reduction of the negotiating capacity of these sectors. The activity of professional associations are under permanent attack, as are also the legal provisions that forbid massive lay-offs, and in general any form of legal defense for the workers. The goal is to permit the free functioning of the job market, to allow for free hiring of workers, etc. Those that are structurally protected in monopoly or oligopoly positions search to eliminate any kinds of control or balancing power that confronts them. All this among claims to lower taxes, free foreign trade, freedom to organize new financial systems, etc. In the words of "El Mercurio".

"Is there real freedom in the job-market, as long as we still have an anti-dismissal law as the one we know. Can there be effective economic freedom and competition in a country where the State still generates or administers, one way or the other a substantial share of the internal product and income? And what can we say of the real estate market? Is it free and competitive, considering the problems small and large owners face to sell their land? "...." minimum wage is a restriction to freedom of market, based in the presumption not supported by fact, that serious levels of hunger would be reached".

In accordance with this policy, the rate of exchange for imports has gone from 25 escudos per dollar (Sept. 10th 1973) to 750 escudos per dollar (June 18th 1974), a 2.900 % increase. It is easy to imagine the impact that this increase has on the price of food and fuel, which are largely imported. The price of bread, for instance, has increased from 11 escudos per kilo (Sept. 10th 1973) to 240 escudos (June 10th 1974). In the same period, one litre of milk has gone from 7 escudos to 120 escudos. One litre of oil has gone from 38 to 1.140 escudos.

While unable to deny these raises, the military authorities have tried to distort information by falsifying the real indicators, and maintaining that the rate of inflation for 1973 was only 500 %. However, the same military authorities unwillingly uncover the clumsy falsification. In a letter dated Dec. 18th 1973, addressed by Admiral Lorenzo Gotuzzo (Finance Minister) and Eduardo Cano (president of the Central Bank) to Dr. H. Johannes Wittereen, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, they recognize that: "Information now available indicates that during 1973 the increase in retail prices has been approximately 750 to 800 %". And there is still more: it can be asserted that real inflation during 1973 was more than 800 % and that in spite of the official index showing a 105 % increase for the first

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five months of 1974, the real figure for these months is higher than 150 %. Therefore, eliminating the variations occurred in January-August 1973 (165 %), we can say that, during the period of dictatorship, the general level of prices has increased at least 10 times. It must be noted that the prices of the most essential goods have grown faster than the mean increase, as can be seen from the examples above. In addition to this, the index does not reflect the impact of the elimination of free medical care, reestablishment of tuition fees in public schools, elimination of free mother and child care, etc.

INCOME

This spectacular increase of prices has been countered by the military dictatorship with a wage policy that means a violent decline in the real income of workers. Balance in the market must be obtained through a hard regressive redistribution of income that diminishes the consumers capacity to buy. On the other hand, the process of reacumulating monopoly capital requires cheap labor that allows for high profits to big industry.

With delay in relation to price increases in the last trimester of 1973, the government provides for a wage increase of only 66 %, establishing a minimum wage of 12.000 escudos (approximately 40 dollars a month). In January 1974, with an anual inflation higher than 800 %, the Junta establishes an increase of 400 % with respect to the wages and salaries of January 1973, that is, before all increases accorded during the last months of popular government and before the 66 % increase mentioned above. The minimum wage is raised to 18.000 escudos. White and blue collar workers in the public sector are included in a "single scale" which means, for the great majority, serious economic detriment? Finally, the inflationary rate of the first months of 1974 forces the Junta to give a new unsufficient increase of 30 % beginning May 1st 1974.

All the figures given indicate that in only 9 months Chile experimented the most fast and brutal regressive redistribution in its history disminishing real salaries by approximatively 50 %.

PRICES AND WAGES

August 1973 = 100

		Retail prices	Nominal Wage	Real Wage
1973	Sep.	117	100	85
	Oct.	263	200	76
	Nov.	329	200	60
	Dec.	348	200	58
1974	Jan.	414	250	60
	Féb.	533	287	54
	Mar.	641	287	45
	Ap.	776	287	36
	May	884	449	49
	Jun.	1150	493	43

PRICES AND SALARIES

		Index (january 1970 = 100)			% with respect to previous		
		Retail Prices	Nominal Wage	Real Wage	Retail Prices	dec. Nominal Wage	Real Xage
1970	Dec.	135	129(5)	96	--	--	--
1971	Dec.	165	196	79	22	52	24
1972	Dec.	436	434	99	164	121	-17
1973	Mar.	567	550	97	30	27	- 2
	Jun.	998	880	88	129	103	-10
	Aug.	1155(1)	956	83	165	120	-16
	Sep.	1352	956	71	210	120	-28
	Oct.	3039(2)	1912	63(10)	597	341	-36
	Nov.	3798	1912	50	771	341	-50
	Dec.	4024	1912	48	823	341	-52
1974	Jan.	4789(3)	2387(6)	50	19	25	4
	Feb.	6157	2745(7)	45	53	49	- 6
	Mar.	7404	2745	37	84	44	-23
	Ap.	8974	2745	30(11)	123	44	-37
	May	10221	4288(8)	41	154	124	-15
	Jun.	13279(4)	4716(9)	36	230	146	-25

NOTES

- (I) Official Index of the National Institute of statistics (INE)
(2) Institute of Economy of the Chilean University (IEUCH) which correcting the consumer price index gave following increases :

	<u>IEUCH</u>	<u>INE</u>
OCT.	125	88
NOV.	25	6
DEC.	6	5

- (3) The figures for the months of January to May are based on university estimations which include a group of products which tend to under value the variations.
- (4) Increase estimates in retail prices of only 30 %, in this month a large raise in prices of subsidised products and others of large impact. See (9)
- (5) All the column though Dec. 73 corresponds to official figures of the IMF. These figures tend to undervalue the years 71 and 72, and overvalue the effects of the increase of Oct. 73. In Oct. 1973 the announcement is that for the last 3 months of the year, workers will be paid the wage of 5 months, equivalent to 66 %. However, it is considered here as 100 %, since it sets the minimum wage in a higher level.
- (6) Equivalent to 5 times the salary of Dec. 1972, plus 10 %, which corresponds to a larger relative increase of minimum wage and other marginal benefits.
- (7) Decree n° 314, authorized and advanced payment of 2.200 escudos, or less, according to level of income, for each dependant. This has been considered as a 115 % increase.
- (8) Decree n° 446, readjusted wages and salaries by 30 %. However, this has been considered a 56,2 % increase, as a way to include the larger importance of minimum wage; and also include dependant benefits (122 %), lunch subsidy (64 %) and transportations subsidy (194 %).
- (9) Includes the subsidy of 10.000 escudos, as a compensation for the strong price increases occurred at the beginning of May (bread 79 %; milk 100 %, oil 90 %, cigarettes 115 %, etc) This subsidy was only paid in June 14th.
- (10) Sergio Molina (Minister of Finance during the Government of Eduardo Frei) states : "In october the real wages of workers would be 40 % below those of July 1970". The New Economic Policy, Mensaje n° 226, Jan-Feb. 1974.
- (II) Considering the Official Price Index for April (87 % cumulative) the real salary is 36 that is 57 % below the real wage of August 1973 (also according to official and IMF figures).

To summarize, a diet of 2,200 calories and 60 grams of protein a day without any milk, fruit, tea, or coffee, for a common Chilean family, costs 33,000 escudos a month, with a minimum wage of only 21,000 escudos. That is however, the "privileged" situation of those who kept their jobs. Conservative estimates indicate that at least 15 % of the labor force is today unemployed, that is, around 500,000 people. In most cases they have been dismissed from their jobs for political reasons and, therefore, if occupational alternatives did exist, they would be unable to use them.

Public sector

The policy of the Junta with respect to the public sector is clearly complementary to its price and wage policy. One immediate action is the restitution to private hands of most industrial or commercial establishments, created by other governments or statized by the Unidad Popular. All subsidies for essential goods and services are eliminated and the price policy applies to the products of public enterprises in order to eliminate the need of any kind of fiscal support. The number of workers in these establishments is drastically diminished, every person is requalified and a restrictive wage policy is enforced (however the number of armed forces personnel has doubled and their wages are raised). Expenses for social service are reduced : free medical aid is eliminated, milk rations for children suppressed, public works and investments restricted. In conclusion three goals must be reached rapidly : to reduce the importance of the public sectors ; increase that of the private sector ; and reduce the government's need for resources.

From the point of view of government income, the deeply reaction and in-human character of this policy is still more evident. In fact, it is based in a much larger growth of indirect taxes and income by difference of change than of direct taxes. Official information delivered by the IMF shows that from a total 1,367 billion escudos of current fiscal income, 1,073 stem from indirect taxes and differences in change rates, that is 79 % of the total income. Such a financial structure is achieved with strong taxes of all transactions and with establishing a difference between the rate of change for imports and that for copper exports. Both measures imply, in practice, financing based on higher retail prices.

On the other hand, a lot has been said about the Junta's "tax reform" which is claimed to prove the decision to tax the higher income groups. This statement is completely false. Of the 206 billion escudos which come from direct taxes, 84 billion would correspond to new income and property taxes. But 44 % of these (37 billion) come from higher taxes due to property revaluation. Most of this burden is transferred through increased rents which affect basically the poor sectors of the population.

While middle and low income sectors are affected in this way, all kinds of facilities, exemptions and remissions are given to those that before omitted to declare capitals or profits. In the same way the Patrimonia tax is abolished after Jan. 1st 1975.

Furthermore, while change rates are raised (a raise that is transferred more than proportionally to prices), tariffs and import charges are reduced. Facilities, certainly not reflected later on prices, are justified in terms of "defending the consumer".

The fiscal budget planned for 1974 signifies a strong fall in real expenditures. In effect, it is based on an official inflation rate for 1973 of only 500 % and in a projection of 80 % for 1974. In spite of this we have seen that the inflation in 1973 was superior to the 800 % and in 1974 the "official" rate is at least 250 % (and will probably pass the 400%) In this manner the management of the fiscal budget contributes to enlarge the strong recessive tendencies which will signify a strong fall in product and income.

All seems to indicate that the road chosen is to deepen even more the economic recession. In the last weeks the tyrant Pinochet has announced the following economic measures to "restore the national economy":

1. Reduction, "of at least a 15 % of all the expenditures approved for the year in the budget". That is, in the second semester a reduction of expenditures of operation and investment by more than 30 % will be necessary ; this can only mean more unemployment and reduction of income. This means that the state organization must "maintain a minimum level of activity".
2. It is positively forbidden to begin new public works or to acquire compromises that can signify future expenditures. In other words after the paralization of a good part of the investment program of the former government (because of different strategies, dissolution of technical groups, suspension of relations with countries which financed or backed projects, future devolution of industries) the fact that no public work will begin means a drastic reduction in the level of public investments for 1974 and 1975 (it is necessary to consider that the direct and indirect public investments has traditionally accounted for near 75 % of the total national inversion).
3. "All the state industries will have to self finance themselves in their operations. They will not be given more fiscal support or authorization for internal debts". This will mean the creation of new inflationary pressures of great importance and probably a strong fall of the level of activity of these industries. Both measures will affect immediately the group of small and medium private industries which concentrated a great part of its sales in satisfying the necessities of the great state industries.
4. By the 31st of December of 1975, the number of public employees should be reduced by at least 20 % in relation to the effective number existant on the 31st of May of 1974". After the nine months of political dismissals with prohibition of rehiring, this means a rise of unemployment of about 100.000 persons.

5. "Starting from 1976, the Universities of the country and its dependencies will have to self finance themselves". The tradition in Chile has been the gratuity of almost all educational services. The objective expressed by the dictatorship means the prohibition, in practice, of access to the university not only to the sons of peasants and workers but also to a great part of the youth who come from the middle classes.

These new economic measures announced by Pinochet almost need no commentary. They indicate that those who have driven the country to an indescribable economic and social downfall don't doubt in proposing great sacrifices for the middle classes, the working class and people as an alternative.

No wonder the Chilean dictator, Pinochet, declared that "1974 will be the saddest year of our history".

THE INDISPENSABLE SUPPORT OF ALL FREE MEN

The declaration emitted by the Chilean Left through its Foreign Coordinator on the 12th of November of 1974 says : "the people of the world have been deeply moved by the Chilean coup d'état. The immense majority of mankind has condemned with indignation the crimes of the fascist junta. A vast and powerful massive movement of solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people has developed in all the continents. Solidarity with Chile has been transformed in a factor of unity of varied ideological, political and social sectors in the different countries, which have been expressed in multitudinarian mass actions, in public declaration in permanent campaigns demanding the cease of terror, respect of human rights disregarded, the freedom of political prisoners and the abolishment of concentration camps..."

This very Conference confirms it. It also contributes to elevate a higher degree the generous international solidarity with which the popular and democratic movement of Chile has counted. This international solidarity, as the referred document states, "has been a powerful moral support for the Chilean people in its struggle against the brutal repression, has also had a repercussion in the internal political isolation of fascism and has succeeded to detain in many occasions the hand of the executioner..." As leaders of our political parties recently express from inside Chile "we gratefully recognize this solidarity and we point out that it constitutes a stimulus and necessity in our struggle". This is so because democracy is the cause of freedom and is also the cause of millions of workers and patriots of the world.

At the end of almost 10 months of terror and repression the balance of international solidarity is enormously encouraging. Never before the Chilean people had felt more profoundly the support of the world to its centenary struggle for the strengthening of liberty, independence and development. The popular Chilean movement, which resists and fight perceives this support, which helps it maintain and increase the resistance.

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As a result of this enormous solidarity of the workers and the people of the world we have obtained suspension of many executions and trials. If today repression and torture continue, in many occasions, the extension of the crimes and massacres have been detained. On the other hand, this same solidarity has been decisive for the reorganization and the regathering of the popular movement, as well as the reconstruction of its parties and unitary leaderships.

The Chilean anti fascist resistance will decide its destiny in Chile. The workers, peasants, women and youth who are struggling there, are the only who will create the conditions for the downfall of the military dictatorship. In spite of this historical duty, the Chilean people will become enormously stronger if they can count with, as they have until now, the solidarity of the people of the world. The political, economic, cultural and diplomatic isolation of the fascist junta has been possible because in all the corners of the world voices of protest and accusation have risen.

As has occurred since the 11th of September, in the future, the struggle of the Chilean people will keep close ties with the mass movements of the whole world. In each labor union, commune, university or office the common cause of freedom, democracy and social progress is and will be felt. This struggle must be combined with the concrete claiming of the Chilean people. Specifically, the platform with which this Conference has been called a platform that we have made ours integrally must reach every man, woman and youngster of the world, who express their combative solidarity with Chile.

We ask for the solidarity of the people of the world in our struggle to put an end to the so called "state of internal war", a legal aberration behind which the repressive and murderous will of the military fascists is hidden.

We ask for solidarity to put an end to the arbitrary arrests, tortures and false indictments.

We ask for solidarity to fight for the freedom of political prisoners and to close down the jails and concentration camps, which the military have disseminated all over the country.

We ask for solidarity to demand that in Chile human rights, democratic liberties and rights that the workers have conquered through many battles, be respected.

We ask for solidarity of the people of the world and their democratic organizations to prevent that the fascist military continue to buy weapons of any kind. Each rifle, tank, airplane or bomb that they buy is turned against the Chilean people. The terror regime which prevails in our country can hold on because of the power of its rifles, tanks and airplanes. Night and day protest voices are stifled by blood and fire. Solidarity with the Chilean people is not allowing the fascist military to keep on buying weapons or not allowing that they be delivered.

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During these last weeks the world's opinion has been touched by a new information from Chile : the beginning of the so called "war trial against numerous leaders of the left, former aids to the government of President Allende and against officers, rank and file, and soldiers of the Armed and Police Forces. As we declared in an official document, "the Military Junta instructs trials to a number of officers, rank and file, soldiers and civilians accusing them of "treason, espionage, mutiny and sedition". These trials are one of the many judicial comedies that the fascist Generals have set up with the intention of accusing others of all the crimes which they have committed".

"The military and civilians on trial are those who remained faithful to the Constitutional Government and who opposed the downfall of the government elected freely, by the Chilean people. This is what the general who favored the coup call "sedition and mutiny". The patriots today processed are the ones that during the Popular Government collaborated uninterestedly in different economic activities and in public administration, working for the benefit of all Chileans. This what the generals who favored the coup call "espionage and treason".

"Once again, the nature of fascism is clear to the world's public opinion. They are the ones who destroy the laws and the institutions created by their class domination. Now, when they don't serve the purpose of stopping the advancement of the people, they reject them and they destroy them. While doing this, and to attempt some justification, they submit the patriots to trials in which they accuse them of their own crimes and their submission to foreign dictates". (Rome, 26/IV/1974)

One of the most significant results of the world's solidarity movement, has been the fact that some of these trials have had to be carried in public, with the presence of the international newsmen and lawyers of different nationalities.

The International solidarity of the workers must be felt so that are all these trials the press be admitted and so that democratic lawyers of different countries can participate in the defense of thousands of political prisoners.

Next September the birthday , of President's Allende assassination and the usurpation of the government by the fascist generals. This day will be a great democratic significance. We value the preparation of initiatives destined to develop an ample movement of opinion oriented to reveal the true ideological face of fascism, its intentions, its methods and the intricate web of power which hides behind its actions.

We also thank you for your material solidarity with the popular Chilean movement, and with the unemployed white and blue collar workers, that wander in the streets of the main cities, or the peasants which have been thrown out of their lands by the old land owners, or with thousands of university and high school students which have been expelled.

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We wish that this generous solidarity of so many democratic and progressive people reach the homes of the chileans who were left without father, mother, brother or son.

Dear delegates,

The Chilean events have struck the human conscience. Every man who defends human rights, who fights for democracy, social justice and liberty defends the patrimony of everyone. The struggle for Chile is today a battle for themillions of human beings who live in this part of the world unknown before to many, which has an exemplary history of class struggle and was abble to reach a government, led by Salvador Allende, characterised by true humanism. This struggle will be tomorrow the struggle of dther who fight for the same ideals. Even so, whatever the immediate banner or objectives are, this battle is, in the end, one for all men in this earth.

To fight for Chile is to fight for the human being. In this fight together, we shall overcome.