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To: National Sections and Groups

From: Information Office

VIOLENCE, TORTURE AND DETENTION IN CHILE

The International Secretariat has just received the following report on the situation in Chile from an Englishman who returned to London from Santiago a few days ago. At the time of last month's military coup, he had been in Chile for over one year and was working for a government research institute. He spent some days after the coup in hiding because of the indiscriminate propaganda attacks on foreigners sponsored by the military junta. When he finally emerged and returned to his house, he was denounced by his neighbours and arrested within a hour of arriving there. He passed some hours in the local police station and was then taken to the concentration camp in the Estadio Nacional (National Stadium) where he was interrogated and detained for seven days. He was arrested on 21 September and released on 28 September to the custody of the British Embassy. He left Chile on 3 October.

"From the very first hours of the military coup in Chile on 11 September, heavy propaganda attacks were launched upon foreigners who were clearly to be used as the scapegoats for Chile's problems. This tactic was surprising only in its extent and in the violence with which it was applied. It was the logical extension of a long campaign by right wing groups in Chile against foreigners and in particular Cubans. This campaign had reached hysterical proportions with attacks against the houses of Cuban residents in Santiago, the mysterious abduction and disappearance of a Cuban academic in Valparaiso, a declaration by the mayor of the comuna (area) in which the Cuban Embassy was situated that the embassy was persona non grata, and finally with a bomb attack upon an infants school attended by the children of Cuban diplomats.

One of the first military comuniques issued on Tuesday, 11 September, called upon all foreigners whose papers were not in order to present themselves at the nearest police station. Few did: some were immediately arrested; others were given assurances and sent home only to be arrested later; still others were ordered to leave the country immediately. In radio bulletins and leaflets the junta called upon citizens to denounce the extremists, especially foreigners, and many of those arrested reported that this had been their downfall. In the richer neighbourhoods right wing organisations had for some time been preparing lists of the nationality and political affiliations of residents based upon house-to-house enquiries, and these were used after the coup as the basis for systematic denunciations. Chileans prominent in the Allende government had for some months been receiving letters warning them "Djakarta is coming" - a reference to the slaughter of communists in Indonesia in 1965.

Hysteria was at its highest pitch in the first four to five days after the coup, and prisoners reported that it was during this period that the brutality was most indiscriminate. Subsequently, perhaps due to the strong adverse reactions of the foreign press, intervention by the Chilean Catholic Church, the International Red Cross and the United Nations, and some representations by foreign embassies, the general treatment of prisoners improved somewhat, and detentions were practised in a slightly more disciplined fashion. The moment of greatest danger to a prisoner was that of his actual detention and the hours that followed. Once he had been passed to the Estadio Nacional, if he ever reached there, he could count upon some days of relative reprieve while awaiting interrogation, and, if his first interrogation did not go too badly, subsequently, while awaiting the arrival of detailed intelligence reports.

If he was a foreigner, he could hope that news of his detention would reach the ears of his embassy, and that (so long as he were not Bolivian, Brazilian or Uruguayan,) his embassy might negotiate his release before the Chilean military were ready for further measures.

Who was arrested?

On 11 September and the following two to three days, the bulk of the arrests involved foreigners, persons detected in attitudes of resistance, and persons who remained in their place of work on the 11th. Government offices, newspapers, radio and television stations, the Technical University and many industries particularly in the southern industrial belt, were all raided on the day after the coup. Subsequent raids were largely dictated by the beliefs of the military as to the probable location of centres of resistance and caches of arms. Many persons travelling in cars and buses were also detained at this time. Thus early detainees were a chance selection and included very many who were not even supporters, let alone defenders of the Allende government. Beginning with the Saturday after the coup, as workers reported or were called to work, matters became more systematic, and the detentions came about as the result of carefully planned cordon search and raid operations. In residential areas this involved massive troop movements to cordon off large areas, often ten or more city blocks, followed by a house to house search. Detentions involved foreigners, persons denounced, often only the moment before, by their neighbours, persons found in possession of arms, possessors of Marxist or suspect literature, and in some cases anyone who admitted having worked in any capacity whatever for certain government agencies and industries. In the industries and government offices the new bosses appointed by the Junta rapidly compiled lists of suspect persons. In some cases these lists already existed, having been perfected previously over a considerable length of time by persons opposed to the Allende government who worked in the industry or office, generally in administrative or supervisory positions. Operating with these lists in hand, detachments of police or military would arrive at a given place of work, detain the marked persons, search for arms and weapons, and in many cases construct a press-exhibit including arms, secret files, piles of merchandise allegedly hoarded, and in general any kind of evidence to discredit the previous government and its employees. On 21 September, for instance, a very large operation was carried out simultaneously upon the principal hospitals and medical centres of Santiago, 40 or more persons being arrested in each, ranging in rank from surgeons to cleaners.

On arrest.

On arrest a prisoner would be taken to a police station, regiment or air or naval base. Detainees from the first two days were concentrated in the 'Estadio Chile' particularly those from the Technical University and from the Southern industrial belt (Cordon Cerillos and Cordon Vicuna McKenna). Arresting officers carried sub-machine guns or rifles, in some cases bayonets mounted. At the moment of detention and for many hours afterwards, prisoners would be made to stand with their hands on their necks. They were searched roughly and in some cases stripped. There were some reports of women arrested in their homes being stripped naked in front of their husbands by soldiers. Transportation to the police station or regiment was generally in buses, lorries or jeeps, and prisoners were often made to lie face down on the floor of the vehicle so that they would not be visible to casual passers-by. Sometimes they would be 'stacked' three or four deep in this fashion. Any sudden movement or protest was likely to produce a violent and perhaps fatal reaction. Many prisoners reported that although neither they nor anyone else in their home or place of work had offered resistance, the arresting forces had an unshakeable belief that there would be resistance, and that if it was not manifest, it must therefore be hidden. They also believed that they would encounter vast arsenals.

As a result, military or police contingents often opened fire before entering a premises, sometimes shooting in the air, and sometimes systematically shooting out the windows. The Technical University in particular was subjected to some hours of this kind of treatment during the night before troops entered early on Wednesday 12 September. Various prisoners reported particularly brutal treatment because they had no arms, but were quite unable to convince arresting officers of the fact. They were beaten with rifle-butts to screams of "Where are the arms". This happened for instance in the Technical University, where a senior administrative officer finally conducted an army officer to the safe where the nightwatchmen's revolvers were kept, together with the army permits for their use, those being the only arms known to be in the university.

Conditions in the police stations and regiments.

Most of the police/and regiments are not designed for holding more than a handful of prisoners at a time. Prisoners after the 'golpe' might be held there for two to three days before being transferred to an interrogation centre. Physical conditions were often appalling, with numbers of prisoners being crowded into a cell designed for two or three, and with little or no provisions of food, blankets etc. Prisoners were searched, and often had their documents taken away, never to be seen again. Items commonly robbed were money and wrist-watches. The arresting forces frequently robbed or destroyed personal possessions when making arrests in private homes, and subsequently returned to the house later to pillage every removable item of value. One reliable source who was not even detained reported that in his neighbourhood, Campamento Fidel Ernesto, every house had been searched, and radios, televisions and money robbed wherever these were found.

The air-force bases and certain police stations were reported as being the worst places in which to be initially detained. The worst police stations were the ones in central Santiago whose forces had been directly involved in street-fighting on the day of the coup. The 6th Comisaria of Carabineros were particularly brutal with foreigners, and the Grupo Movil - a Carabineros Flying Squad trained for riot control - conducted a particularly brutal raid upon the Imprenta Horizonte, where El Siglo, the Communist Party daily, was printed. Prisoners would be 'on display' in their place of detention for many hours, subject to the brutal whim of any policeman or soldier passing by. Prisoners might be stood against a wall with feet splayed wide, and hands spread out on the wall. They might have to lie on the floor, face down, with their hands on the back of their necks, or be made to support themselves in the 'press-up' position, supported on clenched fists. Any attempt to move or rest provoked kicks to the ribs, kidneys or genitals, a military boot planted firmly on the hand, or jabs with a rifle-butt or bayonet.

While important prisoners were generally identified at this stage and sent to the Escuela Militar, if they were not killed immediately, interrogation was generally very rudimentary. It would involve shouts, threats, insults and provocation, rather than any systematic attempt to elicit information. Use of stenographers or tapes was rare. The police would take down minimal information and make up a charge sheet, often with wildly false charges; a kitchen knife became a cache of arms, a book on the MIR evidence of MIR militancy, a book on Cubism evidence of Cuban nationality, etc. With these charge sheets prisoners were sent on the next stage - usually after the first few days the Estadio Nacional. Often accompanying 'evidence' - documents, books, arms, etc. was lost and never arrived at the 'Estadio'.

While there were probably some mass-executions at these initial detention posts, it is likely that those who died were in the majority, persons who offered verbal resistance and were clumsily beaten to death or shot. The level of discipline, particularly in the police stations, was very low, and it is likely that many of the executions were the result of hysteria rather than systematic orders, let alone anything so formal as a summary trial. But such actions were supported by commanding officers. One prisoner reported having been taken initially to the 'Regimiento Tacna', where he was kept lying on the floor together with Eduardo 'Coco' Paredes, and about 15 members of the GAP, Allende's personal guard. They were continuously kicked and trampled. Paredes, and the GAP, who had been taken prisoner in 'La Moneda', the presidential palace, were unable to stand, and it is assumed that they died in the Tacna. This report contradicts Junta claims that Paredes was shot while trying to make his escape from 'La Moneda' in a car.

Another prisoner reported being taken initially to 'Investigaciones', Chile's 'Scotland Yard', where he was given electric shock treatment. The electrodes were attached to his temples and genitals. He had small patches of wrinkled and discoloured skin on his temples, which might have been burn marks. He said that he felt that the person who applied the torture was a complete novice who had no previous experience with the equipment, and who had no real interest in eliciting information.

A number of prisoners in the 'Estadio Nacional' had deep bruising around the eyes and mouth or nose, in some cases covered by bandages, and they generally reported that this was a result of their initial detention rather than beatings received in the 'Estadio'.

The police in particular displayed not merely a lack of discipline, but a state of near hysteria. Some prisoners reported seeing policemen crying before being ordered out to perform yet another operation. Police in the 6th Comisaria had still not been allowed to return home on 21 September, 10 days after the coup. They believed implicitly stories that their families were being attacked by extremists, and that the Allende government had had plans to kill them all, in an 'auto-coup' which it was alleged to have been planning. They were capable of confusing the word 'Tupamaro' with the word 'Thomas Moro'. A foreigner, any foreigner was an extremist; if he had dark skin he was a Cuban, whatever his passport might say, and various black prisoners reported being picked up on the street for this reason; even a blond-haired blue-eyed Englishman was accused of being a Cuban, as well as a 'tupamero', and therefore of having been one of the defenders of Thomas Moro, Allende's private house. Many prisoners reported being told that they would be shot, and some had to suffer mock executions - for instance one who had his eyes bandaged and a gun stuck in his neck, while another was fired into the air against his ear.

Conditions in the Estadio Chile.

The prisoners who suffered most in the first few days were those who were taken to the Estadio Chile, a smaller building than the Estadio Nacional to which the majority of survivors were later transferred. While this reporter did not meet anyone who had witnessed executions there, various prisoners testified that groups of prisoners were separated from the rest, told that they were going to be shot, and then taken outside. Loud shots were then heard and the prisoners did not reappear.

Food was scarce, and one prisoner reported receiving none for five days. Beatings and mock executions were common. Military personnel would maintain a barrage of shots in the vicinity during the night, and would on occasions enter the Estadio and fire bursts from automatic weapons into the air. The psychological effect upon the prisoners was catastrophic, and several were unable to continue. One tried, in a suicidal attempt, to seize a gun from a guard and was clubbed to death in front of the other prisoners. Another jumped out of the gallery and badly injured as he fell between the benches below. A third went to complain that his watch had been stolen by a guard and was beaten to the floor by an officer. Mock executions were common.

Arrival at the Estadio Nacional.

Most persons of rank in the Allende government were not sent to the Estadio Nacional, or at least were not seen there. I met only one prisoner there whose name had appeared in the official lists of wanted persons which appeared in the first newspapers published after the coup. Conditions in the Estadio had been very rough in the first few days, but afterwards improved somewhat.

Arriving prisoners were registered, and were sometimes asked to list items of personal property which had been taken from them by the police. Sometimes they were placed kneeling in lines upon the floor to have their heads shaved or crudely hack-cut. They were then taken to a cell or covered area to await interrogation, sometimes for as much as ten days. Treatment prior to interrogation was generally more moderate than at the time of arrest or later. The Estadio is a large football stadium having a large covered area behind and beneath the tiers of seats, mostly occupied by entrance passages, ticket booths, changing rooms and club rooms. In these areas the prisoners were kept, sometimes as many as 150 in a changing room, 12 x 10 metres. In some cases they had to take turns to sleep, since it was physically impossible for all to lie down. Sometimes they had to lie in the wet areas in the lavatories and under the showers, and there were generally persons sleeping on top of the clothes racks and under the benches. Some prisoners were not allocated to cells, but had to sleep in the area of loose dirt in the acute angle beneath the stands. The corridors were patrolled night and day by soldiers and police and there were heavy machine guns mounted on tables or tripods at strategic points. The atmosphere in the changing rooms was extremely damp, and many prisoners were suffering from severe colds, flu or bronchitis.

Food in the first days after the coup had been extremely scarce, and ten days later was still very short. The diet, apparently throughout the Estadio, consisted of a cup of coffee with milk at 10.30 a.m. accompanied by a piece of bread about the size of a bun and at 4.30 p.m. a bowl of spaghetti, beans or stew accompanied by another piece of bread. Often there was not enough bread to go round. There were no fruit or vegetables. Cigarettes could sometimes be bought illegally from the soldiers, and an army chaplain sometimes visited the cells. He declined to talk to the prisoners but distributed some cigarettes and sweets, perhaps one cigarette and one third of one sweet per head per day.

Exercise inside the cells in such cramped conditions was practically impossible. Sometimes, particularly prior to interrogation, prisoners were taken outside to sit on the stands for some hours during the day, but they could not move about. They would sit in the stands under heavy vigilance from armed soldiers, listening to military marches played on the loudspeakers.

Occasionally persons appearing to be foreign press-men or international Red Cross officials would be seen crossing the grass in the centre of the stadium, but they did not approach or talk to prisoners.

The officials in charge of the Estadio appeared to have an extremely inefficient administrative organisation, and there were no lists of which prisoners were in which cells. Officers would walk from cell to cell calling upon prisoners by name, or more commonly by nationality. Their presence would be noted, or they would be called out for interrogation.

First Interrogation.

The purpose of the first interrogation appeared to be to classify prisoners into three or more categories and to make up a one-page 'affiche' or record on each. Many prisoners, particularly Brazilians and Bolivians who had previous experience of such things, were impressed by the efficiency of the interrogation process, although as a result it tended to be more rather than less brutal. On various occasions the interrogating officer was not in possession of the charge-papers which were sent with the prisoner to the Estadio, and therefore had no idea of why he might have been arrested. Certain basic details were elicited - name, age, occupation, date and place of arrest, etc. The interrogation then often followed the lines of an attempt to provoke the prisoner into expressing a pro-Allende opinion, shouting and abuse on the part of the interrogating officer, and beating with a rubber cosh, particularly on the back and kidney area. The general impression again was that this was punitive rather than part of any systematic torture.

The three known classifications were:

- L.C. (Libertad Condicional) Conditional Liberty, the mildest category. These prisoners were separated from the rest. Apparently they were sent to the 'escotillas' - entrance passages to the Estadio - where they might be released if 2 to 3 days with luck.
- S. (Sospechoso) Suspicious characters. This category included the majority of Chileans who had held intermediate posts, but apparently few workers. The Chileans were typically technicians from the public administration. But there were some workers, union leaders and journalists. Among the foreigners in this category were everything from tourists to students, and including university professors, priests, journalists and professionals. Rarities included a Mexican jazz drummer, a Spaniard who had spent 20 years on the island of Chiloe making wooden boxes for the shell-fish industry, a concert-baritone from the Dominican Republic with a U.S. passport, in Chile to perform with the Santiago Municipal Orchestra, and the son of the Brazilian Ambassador in Uruguay. Supposedly these people were to await a second interrogation while their cases were checked with Military Intelligence, the police, their employers and neighbours. There were few Brazilians, Bolivians or Uruguayans in this category.
- PINC (Preso Incomunicado) Prisoners to be retained incomunicado. This category included most of the Bolivians, Uruguayans and Brazilians, many of whom had been severely beaten at the time of their arrest and during their interrogation. Some of them were called out for further interrogations, and they were more prone than other prisoners to being called out for the 'entertainment' of visiting police and military who knew something of their cases and would call out individuals for abuse or beating.

Apparently none of these was released, with the possible exception of an American couple and a Dutch priest.

Women were kept in a separate cell, received considerably better treatment, and were visited by women of the Chilean Red Cross bearing medicines and toilet utensils. It is not known how they were classified. It was reported that in the early days there was one young woman prisoner who had allegedly been arrested while firing on the Ministry of Defence. She had considerable notoriety among the police, and individual police officers would arrive at all hours of the day or night and call her out for abuse or torture, a treatment she apparently bore with great stoicism.

S and PINC prisoners were similarly housed, in adjacent changing rooms, very crowded. On only one day in five were they allowed out to sit in the stands.

Little or no progress appeared to be made on the cases of the prisoners in these categories. Foreigners, except Bolivians, Uruguayans and Brazilians, were gradually taken away for release to their embassies. The feeling among those who remained was that international pressures had built up to a point where the further detention of these other foreigners was more trouble to the Junta than it was worth. But they felt that the military would feel freer to devote themselves to systematic interrogation and torture once the less serious and diplomatically inconvenient cases had been released.

TORTURE

Two prisoners in this section were openly tormented in front of many witnesses. They were stood against a wall in the corridor, feet wide apart, hands splayed out on the wall for several hours. Then a young man dressed in military denims (rank-markings were not worn; he looked like an officer) arrived and began to speak into the ear of first one and then the other prisoner. When he received replies which were presumably unsatisfactory he unsheathed his bayonet and began the torment. Jabs to the back and kidneys; ear-pulling while holding the point of the bayonet to the neck; the bayonet point to the point of the chin while punching the stomach; prisoner on his knees; prisoner on his feet; prisoner about turn; blows with the flat of the bayonet to the cheek and ears; standing heavily upon the prisoner's toes. This lasted for more than an hour. Both prisoners could scarcely stand by the end of it. One was an elderly man, perhaps in his mid-fifties, smartly dressed in a sports-jacket, and with somewhat Jewish features. Something about the hair-cut and bearing of his tormentor suggested that he might be a civilian dressed as a soldier. There were rumours that the Junta had called for the cooperation of right-wing civilians.

One Brazilian had heavy bruises and welts on his back from the neck to the waist, as a result of beatings received before arrival at the Estadio, and during interrogation there. The blows he received had been clearly audible to a prisoner standing some 10 metres outside the closed door of the interrogation room. When he emerged he could scarcely stand. In the PINC group was a Belgian who had been head of the Comité Textil of the CORFO (State Development Corporation). He had been reputedly beaten badly on various occasions. He was removed from his cell for medical attention by military personnel. He was supported between two prisoners, unable to stand alone. His head lolled forwards upon his chest and he cried out in French. Another prisoner reported seeing heavy welts on his back and shoulders. He was returned to his cell, but late that night (Monday 24 September) his cell-mates became alarmed by his condition and called upon the guards to fetch help. He was carried out and layed upon a metal exercising table.

An officer called for a doctor from among the prisoners who came forward to examine him. The doctor spent much time with his head against the Belgian's chest, listening for his heart-beat, and as though he had no discernible pulse. A wheeled stretcher was brought, and he was taken out, not to be seen again. A Chilean prisoner from the same cell, a worker from Fabrilan, was taken out at the same time. He had three broken ribs, was retching violently, and could not stand unsupported.

A Brazilian named Sergio Moraes was amongst the S. group. He was an engineer who had worked in the state industry MADECO. His wife was also prisoner. His interrogation had apparently been relatively satisfactory, and he had been called out several times to prepare release papers. He was told that he would be expelled from the country, and since he opted not to return to Brazil, was told that he would be handed over to the World Council of Churches, who would negotiate his asylum in some other country. He was awaiting the results of these negotiations when, on Thursday 27 September, 'La Tercera' (one of the Santiago dailies now under military control and censorship), published a whole page article detailing the alleged activities of the Brazilian 'extremist' Sergio Moraes in the MADECO factory. According to the article he had been involved in an attempt to construct armoured cars out of fork-lift trucks, some 25 have been completed. In addition he had supervised the fortification of the factory, designed an acid-thrower, and supervised the storage of provisions and medical supplies to resist a siege. The allegations were typical of many appearing at the time, designed to discredit the UP administration of ministries and industries, and to link it to terrorist activities by foreigners. The article and the accompanying photographs were evidently crude and gross fabrications. Apparently Moraes' interrogators had no previous knowledge of any of this, but they too read their newspapers, and on Friday, 28 September, called him out for what he felt would be the first of many heavy torture sessions. He was taken to a room upstairs, not the room where the previous interrogations had been carried out. He said that there appeared to be some kinds of torture equipment there, but did not specify what. He was tied to a chair, had a black bag tied over his head and was clubbed about the ears until he feared for his hearing. The questioning was much more systematic. He was returned to the same cell after about two hours, and was still alive at about 5.45. p.m. (17:45 hrs) that same day.

RELEASE

Release involved being photographed, face and profile, and in some cases finger-printed. Most foreigners at least were made to sign a paper stating that they had received no ill-treatment, physical or psychological. Foreigners were generally released to the custody of their consuls, on the understanding, explicit or not, that they would leave the country under an expulsion order. Some were able to go home and had a certain number of days within which to leave the country. Others were taken directly to the airport under military guard. Most who left in one of these fashions obtained safe-conducts from the Ministry of the Interior. Seemingly those released more rapidly, probably the LC category, had more time and freedom and negotiated papers to leave the country according to the standard procedures in use in Chile previously.

REFUGEES

While the number of detainees in Santiago alone was in excess of 6000, even according to military figures, the number of persons, both Chileans and foreigners, in hiding, on the run, or seeking asylum, was much higher. To these must be added the many thousands of Chileans who remained in their houses, knowing that they had lost their jobs and that they would probably be unemployed almost indefinitely.

At any moment the door-bell might ring, heralding a police raid, and they might or might not be detained.

The great difficulty of people seeking asylum was to reach an Embassy safely. It seems that all socialist country embassies were surrounded by troops or police on the same day of the coup, and that it was practically impossible for anyone to enter. A particularly vicious cartoon in the right-wing newspaper El Mercurio boasted that no marxist had sought refuge in any socialist embassy and that the last queue they had joined had been at the doors of the capitalist embassies.

Embassies which took the bulk of asylum cases seem to have been the Argentine and Mexican, with smaller numbers in the Venezuelan, Colombian, and Peruvian. The French and British refused to take in anyone except their own nationals, and the French reputedly even turned away some of these. The Finns and Swedes were the heroes of the hour. The Swiss refused to take one of their own nationals, a girl nine-months pregnant, because she refused to be separated from her husband, a Colombian. They later managed to reach the Mexican embassy, where her child was born some hours later.

Many hundreds of refugees, both Chilean and foreign were hiding in houses all over Santiago. No house was secure. Gradually these people were disappearing, thanks to denunciations by suspicious neighbours, or to the chance movements of the police and military who were systematically searching houses and blocks of flats throughout central Santiago.. People working on their behalf felt that it was very important to bring them together under one roof where church groups could afford them protection, and where international groups such as the Red Cross and the UN could observe, and exert some moral pressure upon the Junta to prevent their summary detention. These groups together with the Chilean Catholic Church were able to arrange a refugee retreat for some 300 of all nationalities. They obtained permission to hold the retreat in a house somewhere near Santiago, but were given no guarantees as to the safety of the persons who would attend it. On the first night the police called and the priest in charge refused them permission to conduct a search. It is not known what happened ultimately, nor how the refugees could leave the retreat, if ever.

CONCLUSION

It is probable that the Estadio Nacional as a concentration camp will be closed, both because it is required for sporting events, and because it is an inconvenient focus of international attention. Some Chilean prisoners have already been removed to the Santiago Public Prison. They will go on trial at some future date, and most probably be condemned to relegation - exile to some distant island or village, deprivation of civil and political rights, and exclusion from contact with or visits by their families. Brazilians, Bolivians and Uruguayans, despite Junta declarations to the contrary, may well be returned to their own countries or interrogated by representatives of their countries' intelligence services in Chile and dealt with there. Either fate seems equally unattractive.

It seems very important that public attention/^{should} not be allowed to diminish when the bulk of the foreign prisoners and refugees have been allowed to leave Chile.

For it is largely owing to their presence that the remainder, who have not been released, have survived so far. All prisoners were emphatic in their belief that what respite they had attained, and what improvements had been made in their conditions, were due to the very embarrassing press notices the Junta received in the first fortnight after the coup in almost every part of the world, and to the very devoted work of international organizations such as the International Red Cross.

These efforts must be maintained and even intensified when the main visible symbol of repression - the concentration camp in the Estadio Nacional - is removed. For the remaining prisoners will be separated, isolated and hidden away from the public eye. Their treatment will become much worse, and it will become increasingly difficult to determine their fate.

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