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# Chile's Junta After a Year: Unrelenting Dictatorship

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SANTIAGO, Chile, Sept. 12—A year after the coup d'état that overthrew the freely elected minority Government of President Salvador Allende Gossens, a Marxist, the military junta that took power has strengthened its hold over Chile and appears determined to continue its repressive, authoritarian political style and conservative, austere economic policies.

More than 2,500 people died at the time of the coup and after it—including Dr. Allende, who, according to the junta, committed suicide rather than surrender. But the campaign to "extirpate the Marxist cancer" remains a clarion call for the chief of state, Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, and the three other members of the junta.

The uprising against the Marxist coalition Government was not the usual palace coup. The scores of thousands of Chileans who celebrated the anniversary Wednesday in the streets of Santiago and other cities were a reminder that the armed forces received ample political backing and goading from the anti-Marxist majority—particularly middle-class people who felt most threatened by the Allende Government.

But if the coup was the broad civil-military movement that the junta claimed it to be, the armed forces show no inclination to share their power with



Black Star

Gen. Augusto Pinochet

civilians or prepare a quick return to elective politics.

"The recess for political parties must continue for several more years and can only be responsibly lifted when a new generation of Chileans, with healthy, civic and patriotic habits, can take over the leadership of public life," said General Pinochet in his anniversary speech.

The three Allende years were an almost unmitigated economic disaster of declines in industrial production, agrarian chaos and raging inflation. The Government brought about a

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political polarization that eroded sturdy institutions, including Congress, the courts and the universities, and sowed widespread distrust of civilian politics that may linger for years among hard-line anti-Marxists.

Now the junta's harsh recovery program—with unabashed admiration for private enterprise—has spread the burden of financial sacrifice unequally, forcing the wealthy to cut back on luxuries while the middle class struggles to keep its economic and social status and the poverty-stricken majority must fight a daily battle against malnutrition.

Under a nationalistic, a political guise, the junta has instituted a harsh dictatorship that has shackled the press, closed Congress, forbidden political party activity and repeatedly violated civil liberties.

The Government has slowly spun a web of surveillance and police control that has entangled schools, shantytowns, factories, farms and public administration in this elongated 2,700 miles from north to south country with a population of 10 million.

"We will continue to maintain the intelligence service because it is the only way to provide tranquility to the citizenry." General Pinochet asserted last week, noting that there had been no serious terrorist activity since the coup's immediate aftermath. "If a person has not done anything, he has nothing to fear."

Nowadays it is possible to be arrested at home, at work, on the street, in a bus or in a coffee shop. A person may be picked up because he is a relative or friend of a political prisoner or suspect. Arrests are often made on the basis of anonymous denunciations. Weeks or months may often pass by before the authorities even acknowledge a detention.

Personal connections are no guarantee of lenient treatment. A niece of Raúl Cardinal Silva Henríquez, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Santiago, was released last week after several months, imprisonment. Before she was freed the Cardinal complained to his bishops that the Minister of the Interior, Gen. César Benavides, had informed him that she would not be released until the prelate agreed to exile a worker-priest who had fallen into official disgrace.

### Priest Still in Chile

The Cardinal stood his ground and the controversial priest, the Rev. Mariano Puga, remains in the country. The Cardinal's niece, Mrs. Marina Marshall Silva, had been anonymously denounced as an alleged member of the extremist Revolutionary Left Movement despite her conservative family background and repeated denials.

Sometimes security agents are plainclothes members of military intelligence organizations; there are five such groups in all. Sometimes arrests are made by uniformed army, navy or air force personnel. Sometimes the agents are policemen or detectives.

In the year since the military Government took power, the price of a kilo (2.2 pounds) of bread has jumped from 3 cents to 25 cents. A kilo of chicken from 27 cents to \$1.70 and a quart of milk from 3 cents to 12 cents.

For a working-class family earning the minimum monthly salary of \$40, the inflation—officially put at 203.7 percent for the first eight months of the year—has dropped them down to below subsistence levels. To alleviate the burden, General Pinochet announced that all salaries would be adjusted every three months to the rise in the cost of living.

Nowadays meat is a rarity in the shantytowns where about a fourth of Greater Santiago's 3.5 million people live. A main meal may consist of beans or noodles, bread and tea. Parents may forgo a meal a day to make ends meet.

In response to pressure from lawyers, politicians, church groups and the courts, the junta announced eight months ago that no arrests could be carried out without a decree from the Interior Ministry, but in most cases, the decrees are signed

days after the detentions take place.

"If we take, say, Juan Gonzalez as a prisoner and we let him know beforehand, within an hour whatever he was up to will have disappeared," General Pinochet explained.

The issue of torture has been plaguing the junta since it took power. The numerous human-rights groups that have been allowed into Chile have repeatedly reported that torture is widespread. In May the leading interchurch group concerned with the treatment of political prisoners leaked extensive documentation and anonymous testimony on hundreds of torture cases and several locations where they were alleged to have occurred.

### Use of Torture Repudiated

General Pinochet and Gen. Gustavo Leigh Guzman of the air force, another junta member, have repudiated the use of torture and have asserted that a number of officers and soldiers have been court-martialed for mistreatment of prisoners.

The use of brutal interrogation methods has probably declined somewhat in recent months, but the practice is still common, according to church sources, diplomats and the victims themselves.

Although few witnesses have consented to the use of their names for fear of reprisals, a case occasionally makes its way into public records. Last week, a housewife, Ana Cristina Olivo de la Fuente, filed a petition of habeas corpus in the Santiago Court of Appeals on behalf of her common-law husband, who, she said, was being held by security officials without charge and under repeated torture.

The petition alleges that the prisoner, Victor Daniel Arévalo Muñoz, 26, was arrested without warrant by two plainclothes agents on Aug. 21 in La Vega, the central food market, where he owns a stall. Mrs. de la Fuente stated that three agents arrived at her home two days later, searched the premises and arrested her without warrant. Her eyes were taped shut, she said, and she was driven to a building that she believed was in the downtown area because of the noise of traffic.

"They made me walk down several stairs to a flat landing," she recounted. "There was a great number of people, whose voices I could hear, all of them apparently blindfolded and in terrible shape. There were men and women crowded together, some against each other, others in chairs, others on the floor."

"They interrogated me," she continued, "asking about firearms and telling me that if I did not talk they would hook me to an electric machine to make me talk. Then they took me to a cell, and after a while I heard someone moaning, and I realized that it was my husband, who was in the throes of a convulsion. He was in serious condition, and his whole body felt swollen from the torture he had suffered."

"When he recovered from his convulsions I was able to speak to him, and he told me that when they interrogated him they made him strip naked and



Sylvain Julienne/Syama

Ever since the military take-over, a curfew has existed in Santiago, which now lasts from 1 A.M. to 5:30 A.M. Here, a soldier halts a car at gunpoint and orders its occupants out.

then placed him on a bed spring, tied his hands and feet with wet cloth and began to apply electric current to his ears, testicles, tongue, chest, stomach, legs and the soles of his feet. Once they had finished with the electric treatment, they forced a liquid into his mouth that seared it, and then they placed an iron bar in his anus, putting it in until it drew blood, and then finally they beat him. These interrogations are repeated several times a day."

Mrs. de la Fuente stated that she was taken from the building the following day, warned by security agents not to talk to anyone and then thrown from a moving car. She asked the court to locate her husband and order his release.

The issue of political prisoners has badly damaged the court system, which once had one of the sturdiest reputations in Latin America. Already weakened by the political polarization of the Allende years, it has been thoroughly emasculated by the junta—at least partly with the acquiescence of the Supreme Court.

The president of the highest judicial body, Enrique Urrutia Manzano, has repeatedly asserted that the Constitution and human rights have not been violated by the junta.

Last month the Santiago Court of Appeals, flooded by 130 habeas-corpus petitions, filed mostly on behalf of political prisoners, during the first eight months of the year, informed the Supreme Court that it was unable to act because of lack of cooperation from the Government. The Supreme Court responded by ordering that the cases be shelved indefinitely and that caution be shown in receiving new petitions involving political prisoners.

It is difficult to ascertain how many political prisoners there are. The figure of 2,000 has been cited by General Pinochet, who offered to release virtually all of them if Cuba and the Soviet Union would free their political dissidents.

The Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States reported last month that there were still 5,500 prisoners, and two weeks ago Comdr. Enzo DiNocera, who is chief of the confidential department of the Interior Ministry, informed church officials that 8,000 were still detained for political reasons.

None of these figures take into account the periodic massive roundups that have occurred with increasing frequency in the last two months as part of a law-and-order campaign that blurs the distinction between delinquents and political suspects. The vast majority are released within hours or days after their detention, but those who remain under arrest constantly replenish the ranks of political prisoners.

#### Dragnet in Shantytowns

A dragnet for criminal and political suspects took place on Aug. 31 in the adjoining shantytowns of Violeta Parra, El Montijo and Villa Resbaladon in Santiago's vast, dusty western slum area. Army troops blocked off the paved roads and dirt alleys leading out of the shantytown in the early-morning hours before the end of the curfew that still remains in effect. By 7 A.M. they knocked on the doors of the prefabricated wooden houses and ordered all males over 18 to assemble in a neighborhood soccer field. By 8 A.M. about 10,000 men had gathered on the field and lined up alphabetically. Their identification cards were checked against criminal and political records.

When the raid ended at 6 P.M. about 650 men were taken in buses to police headquarters because their records showed previous convictions, cases pending against them or suspect political activity.

"The older military men behaved very correctly," a resident of Violeta Parra recounted, "but the younger conscripts were rough. There was a lot of unnecessary kicking, shoving and hitting with rifle butts. I got the impression the younger soldiers were scared, very scared."

The vast majority of the prisoners were released in the next 10 days; at least 20 were sent to a prison camp 1,200 miles north of Santiago.

Time and again, the vaunted intelligence services have dem-

onstrated scatter-shot methods that seem to lack coordination and even border on the anarchic.

There is the case of Carlos, a worker in a metal products factory in Santiago, whose wife requested that he remain anonymous because he is under detention. Arrested by air force personnel last October, he was transferred to the national stadium, then to the Estadio de Chile and finally to the Santiago Penitentiary, where he was picked up by army personnel for further interrogation at an army base.

With no charges against him, Carlos was released in January, and, in an interview at the time, said he had not been physically mistreated. In March he was detained again, this time by army intelligence officers. For 20 days he remained a prisoner in an army engineering post about 60 miles west of Santiago. In April he obtained his second release.

In May the Air Force imprisoned him again, informing his wife that there were no records showing how he had escaped their jurisdiction in October. He remains in prison without charges and has lost his job because he is alleged to be a political extremist. His wife and children have lived for several months on his severance pay of about \$300.

Many of the junta's supporters believe that the issue of repression is only a small facet of the dictatorship and one that has been magnified out of proportion by critics. Among anti-Marxists there is a widespread feeling, often not even veiled, that support for the Allende Government virtually constituted a crime and that, after all, the vast majority of victims of the repression are Marxists.

#### 'These Troubled Times'

"Don't these people ever ask themselves what would have happened if the Marxists had won?" commented a woman who owns a boutique as she emerged from a wedding in which the priest had made a brief allusion to "these troubled times."

Occasionally, though, even conservatives are taken aback by the junta's methods.

Last week an irate business executive from La Reina, an upper-middle-class residential district, showed a friend the following order to attend a meeting of the parent-teacher association at his children's school:

"By order of the commander of military institutes, Brig. Gen. Nilo Floody, director of the Santa Rita School, asks all parents to a reunion that will take place on Tuesday, Sept. 3, at 20 hours sharp. Failure to comply with this citation will be more than sufficient cause for immediate detention."

The junta has made increasing efforts to control the educational system, partly out of conviction that the spread of Marxist ideology began in the schools. According to a circular sent to schools in the Santiago area on Aug. 12 by the commander of military institutes, officers or noncommissioned officers will eventually serve as liaison to school directors.

The circular lists activities for which professors or administrative personnel can be denounced to the authorities: commentaries on politics, propagation of ill-intentioned rumors on Government activities or extremist groups, propagation of jokes or stories about the action of the junta or its members, distortion of patriotic concepts and values, failure to comply with schedules or programs of study.

While the "cleansing" of the elementary and secondary schools has only begun, that at the university level is almost over. Thousands of professors and students were suspended or expelled after the coup. No figures are available on how many of these expulsions were permanent, but a list recently made available by the University of Chile—the largest and most important academic center—names 1,520 professors and administrators forced out at its various campuses.

For most Chileans the issue of repression places a distant second to their economic troubles. The economy inherited by the junta resembled that of a war-torn nation. During the Allende Government agricultural production decreased almost 30 per cent annually, requiring more than \$600-million in food

imports in the end, about four times the previous annual record.

Copper production — called "the wages of Chile" because it provides more than 80 per cent of foreign exchange—dropped slightly after years of steady growth, and industrial output was 5 per cent lower in 1973 than in 1970, when the Allende Government came to power.

Inflation mushroomed to 700 per cent during the last year of the Marxist coalition, stoked by Government spending and subsidies that had no financial basis. Fictitious public-works posts and overcrowded agrarian cooperatives provided only temporary relief from the ingrained unemployment problem.

Shortages of food and other consumer products resulted in long waiting lines. Only the rich, with access to dollars that could be traded on the black market far above official exchange rates, could beat the inflationary spiral and maintain a comfortable life-style.

Under the junta the black market for currency and goods has dried up. Copper production will be a third more than last year. And the gross national product should show an increase of 3 to 5 per cent.

The junta has vowed to honor foreign debts and has made business confidence soar by returning legally expropriated concerns to private hands. The Government has agreed to compensate the Anaconda and Cer-

ro Corporations—two American companies whose copper holdings were nationalized by the Allende Government—and is close to a settlement with a third, Kennecott.

Using conservative civilian advisers, the junta has liberalized regulations on foreign investment and has cut back a maze of tariff restrictions aimed at protecting inefficient industries.

For most Chileans economics has boiled down to wages and prices, and income has lagged far behind prices.

"Many of the children get sleepy by midmorning," said a teacher in El Montijo, a shantytown in western Santiago. "Sometimes I let them go home during recess to see if their mothers have been able to buy bread."

In Talca, an industrial center surrounded by rich farmland dotted with willow and alamo trees, the conflict between the anti-Marxist majority and the Marxist minority assumed more personal proportions than in the larger cities.

The grudges—large or small—and the injustices—real or imagined—of the Allende years are vividly remembered in this community of 70,000 where events travel rapidly by newspaper, radio and, mainly, gossip. Justice or retribution has been quicker and more visible than in Santiago, 150 miles to the north.

Nicolas Mangiamarchi, a leader of the small farmers' association and a member of the ultra-right-wing Fatherland and Liberty paramilitary group, was ecstatic when the coup took place and feels certain that the farmer association and groups like Fatherland and Liberty played a major role in bringing it about.

"This was a broad civic-military movement," said Mr. Mangiamarchi, whose enthusiasm has not abated. "As far as I am concerned, while I live I do not want to see the politicians back in power."

#### Ousted From a Co-op

At the time of the coup, Carmen, the wife of a landless peasant, was living with 30 other families on a 400-acre agricultural cooperative named after a Communist and created under the Allende Government. Only nine were allowed to remain, the local government brought in 17 non-Marxist families and changed the name.

The economic crisis is particularly acute among the unemployed, whose ranks have been swelled by job dismissals for political reasons or economy moves in factories and public works. There are no certain figures on unemployment. Last week General Pinochet mentioned a figure of 8.2 per cent

nationwide, but the Government's National Institute of Statistics lists it at 11.5 per cent; this works out at 245,000 to 345,000 jobless in a work force of three million.

The Government's political and economic policies have drawn sharp criticism from the Catholic Church, which has partly filled the political vacuum in the absence of other voices. In April and again in August a majority of the bishops, joined by Protestant and Jewish clergymen, asked the Government to temper its economic policies and repressive tactics.

Carmen, her husband and their three children, who moved into a nearby shantytown, sustained themselves by selling off their television and refrigerator and by part-time jobs. Her husband is planning to hire himself out for about a dollar a day for the spring planting.

The church has also made it clear that it will not move toward an open break with the junta. "The church cannot become a battlefield," said Bishop Carlos Camus, perhaps the man closest to Cardinal Silva Henríquez.

The center-left Christian Democratic party—the largest political party, which bitterly

opposed the Allende Government — has drifted away from the junta and at times has strongly criticized its excesses. But the party, the only one with large followings in both the working class and the middle class, is torn between moderates who want to maintain closer ties with the military and leftists who want an open break.

The party leader, former President Eduardo Frei Montalva, has maintained a stony silence, and efforts to reorganize the leadership have been stalled for months.

Among the non-Marxist majority—even those unhappy with the junta's policies—there appears to be no stomach yet for a quick return to civilian government. Christian Democratic leaders still talk in terms of three to five years of military rule as an acceptable course if the junta shows moderation. Most of the right-wing National party give it unstinting support.

"I never said this was a transition government," remarked General Pinochet, who appears far more comfortable in his role of chief of state than the stiff, uneasy soldier he seemed to be a year ago. "It may last 10 years or 20 years, or maybe only 5."