

REFERENCES TO THE WORD "NARRATIVE" and "STORY"

in Truth and Reconciliations Commissions Reports of Chile and El Salvador

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Note on Word Frequency Query:

Minimum 4 letter words were chosen (rather than 3 letter word length)

4 letter words were preferred so that years (such as 2020, 2021, and so on) can also be found.

Note on software:

The word references analysis was done by NVivo software.

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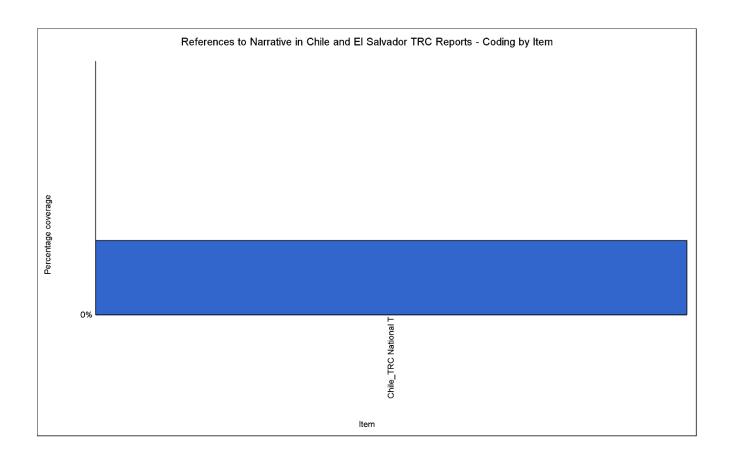
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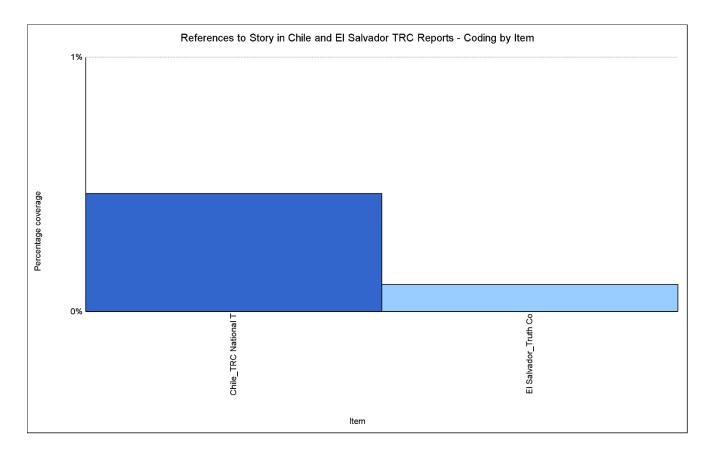
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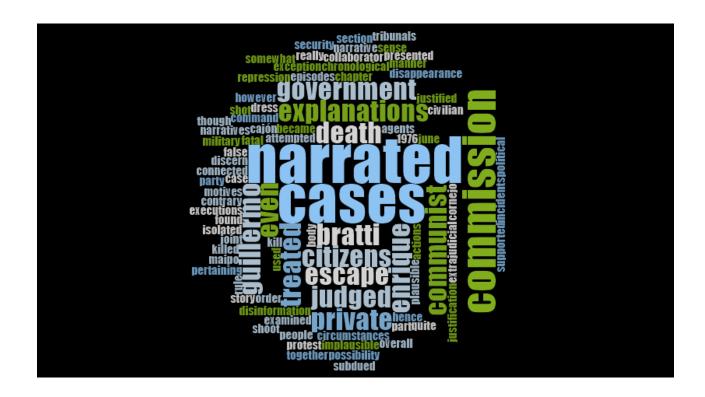
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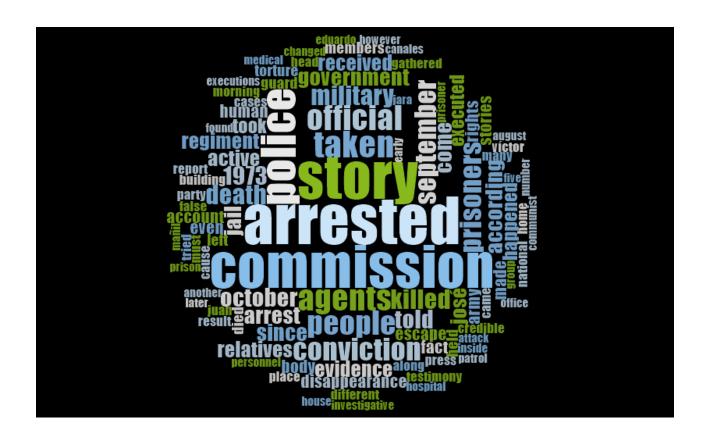


Word frequency query based on references to the word "Narrative" Done for all reports on the mentioned Latin American countries: Chile and El Salvador



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Word frequency query based on references to the word "Story" Done for all reports on the mentioned Latin American countries: Chile and El Salvador



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Name: References to Narrative in TRC Reports

<Files\\LATIN AMERICA\\Chile_TRC National Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report> - § 6
references coded [0.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

halt, and therefore were killed.

Even if these explanations were plausible, it would not have been justified to shoot to kill at people who could have been subdued in some other manner. However, the Commission found that these explanations were implausible in all the cases of the "law of escape" which it examined, and hence it judged them to be extrajudicial executions, and that the false story of attempted escape was used as a justification. In a few isolated cases, narrated below, the circumstances are somewhat

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

military government. In some cases the political motives of such private citizens were quite the contrary, that is, they supported the government. In some of these cases, which will be narrated in the chapter on those killed during protest actions, the Commission does not rule out the possibility that such private citizens were really security agents in civilian dress.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

These episodes will be narrated in chronological order, with the exception of those pertaining to the war tribunals which will be treated together at the end of this section.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Even though the death of Guillermo Enrique BRATTI CORNEJO was not part of repression against the Communist party it is treated here for the overall narrative sense and because it is connected to the disappearance of a Communist who became a collaborator of the Joint Command. On June 1, 1976, Guillermo Enrique Bratti was shot to death in Cajón del Maipo. His body,

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

concealing the facts and issuing disinformation From the case narratives presented here, one can discern a variety of procedures used after

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has judged that the fatal incidents narrated in the next section constituted grave

Name: References to Story in TRC Reports

<Files\\LATIN AMERICA\\Chile_TRC National Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report> - § 34
references coded [0.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

to prevent their being discovered.

The Commission became familiar with two main forms of this practice of "disappearance." In the kind of disappearance most common after September 11, 1973, arrests seem to have been made throughout the country by different units of official forces, sometimes accompanied by civilians. These basically consisted of a summary execution or murder of the victim and the disposal of the body (generally by throwing it into a river or burying it secretly) followed by a denial or false stories. In such cases disappearance is primarily a way of hiding or covering up crimes committed, rather than the result of centralized coordination aimed at eliminating predetermined categories of people. [The second form of] "disappearance" was carried out primarily during the 1974-1977 period, mainly but not exclusively, by the DINA. The Commission is convinced that behind most of these cases was a politically motivated and systematically implemented effort to exterminate particular categories of persons.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

halt, and therefore were killed.

Even if these explanations were plausible, it would not have been justified to shoot to kill at people who could have been subdued in some other manner. However, the Commission found that these explanations were implausible in all the cases of the "law of escape" which it examined, and hence it judged them to be extrajudicial executions, and that the false story of attempted escape was used as a justification. In a few isolated cases, narrated below, the circumstances are somewhat 9 The term "execute": The

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Serena, Copiapó, Antofagasta and Calama.

Alongside the policy of "getting tougher" which was an open and somewhat normal result that the high ranking official sought to obtain on his trip, there was another quite different "getting tough" that took place on this same mission and partly in the wake of its trips. Some of the delegation's brief visits in fact took place at the same time as executions without trial. As has been observed, these executions were sometimes made worse with savagery and covered up with false stories, and often bodies were not handed over to families but were concealed and even destroyed, presumably to hide the viciousness of the crime.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

when he also was released.

According to evidence gathered, the Commission is in a position to assure that the group that remained at the Tacna Regiment until noon on the 13th was made up of nine advisors and staff members of the

presidency of the republic and fifteen members of the presidential security guard. As has been noted, the evidence gathered makes it clear that the former head of the investigative police, Eduardo Paredes was also held at the Tacna Regiment until September 13. This Commission does not find credible the story that Paredes was killed in an armed clash as the press at that time reported. The members of this group of aides and staff members of the presidential office were:

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

and on the civilian population."

This Commission received many credible reports refuting this official story and leading to the conclusion that what actually happened was quite different. Víctor Jara was arrested on September 12 on the grounds of the State Technical University were he was working as a theater director. He was taken to the Chile Stadium, where he was separated from the other people with whom he had been arrested, and detained high up in the stands together with other people considered to be dangerous. Between September 12-15, he was interrogated by army personnel. The the last day Víctor Jara was seen alive was September 15. During the afternoon he was taken out of a line of prisoners who were being transferred to the National Stadium. In the early morning of the next day, September 16, shantytown dwellers found his body, along with five others, including that of Littré Quiroga Carvajal, near the Metropolitan Cemetery. As the autopsy report states, Víctor Jara died as a result of multiple bullet wounds (44 entry wounds and 32 exit wounds).

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

was killed by common criminals."

This Commission received many credible reports refuting this official story and indicating that what actually happened was quite different. On September 11, 1973, Littré Quiroga ended a sick leave and went to his office at the National Prison Bureau. There he decided to send most employees home, and he spoke with a high ranking military officer in order to inquire about where matters stood with regard to his agency and himself. In response he was told to present himself at 8:00 a.m. at the Ministry of Defense. Nevertheless at 9:45 p.m. a contingent of twenty police came to the offices of the Prison Bureau but did not go into the building. Littré Quiroga surrendered to them of his own free will. During the night he was taken to Armored Regiment No. 2. On the morning of September 13, he was sent, along with other prisoners, to the Chile Stadium where, according to eyewitness reports, he suffered many forms of torture and humiliation inflicted by army personnel. He remained there until September 15. In the early morning of September 16, his body was found near the Metropolitan Cemetery, along with five others including that of Víctor Jara.

Reference 7 - 0.02% Coverage

The official version of what happened to these six people as published in newspapers on October 2, 1973 is that during their search operation the troops had been attacked by a group of subversives who were then captured. The news report goes on to say that, "They were all executed at that settlement." The official story provided through the press does not seem plausible since there is no sign that there was any "attack by subversives"; since even had such an attack taken place, it does not seem necessary to kill settlers who are already arrested; since there is sufficient evidence to attest to the fact that residents of the settlement had been arrested and subsequently taken to the cultural center; and in view of the

selective way the arrests were carried out and the political position of those imprisoned. All these factors led the Commission to the conviction that in the executions of Víctor Barrales González, Sergio Osvaldo de la Barra de la Barra, Raúl Eliseo Moscoso Quiroz, Mario Salas Riquelme, and José Eusebio Villavicencio Medel which occurred without any due process of law, and in the disappearance of Luis Sergio Gutiérrez Rivas, human rights were gravely violated by government agents.

On September 30, 1973, 250

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

that armed agents were involved.

On October 2, 1973, Nelson Jorge FLORES ZAPATA, 29, who worked at INDAP (National Institute for Agricultural Development) and was active in MAPU (United Popular Action Movement) and a community leader, was killed at his home in the Robert Kennedy shantytown after it was raided by combined army and police forces. According to the story as told by witnesses, after a brief interrogation by these agents, he was immediately taken out to the backyard of his property and was executed. His wife and two small children observed these events. His body remained there until a patrol came by and took it away. The autopsy report says that the cause of death was "bullet wound to the face and head." Considering the testimony received from eyewitnesses to this event and the direct cause of death, this Commission came to the conviction

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

though he was already dead.

Considering the many credible testimonies received, and especially since it has been established that these people were arrested and killed; the circumstances and causes of their deaths make it reasonable to think it was the work of government agents; these people were political activists and community or student leaders; there are similar episodes involving the agents who arrested them; and the stories offered by the military to relatives when they inquired about what had happened to these men are contradictory, this Commission has come to the conviction that Rafael

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

violation of his human rights.

On October 16, 1973, José Daniel HERNANDEZ ORREGO, 31, a worker who was active in the Socialist party, disappeared. When army troops searching his house that day did not find him, they left orders that he present himself at the cultural center in Barrancas (now Pudahuel) where army troops from the Subofficials Training School and the Yungay Regiment from San Felipe were quartered. When he came home from work José Hernández was given that summons and decided to comply. This happened at about 1:00 p.m. He told his family that if he did not return by 7:00 p.m., they should take him a blanket. Since he did not return they went to the cultural center. They were told he did not need anything. His relatives heard different stories, but since that day they have had no further word about him. This Commission has come to the conviction that José Daniel Hernández did in fact report to government agents, and they made him disappear and so violated his human rights.

On October 17, 1973, Juan

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

which is twelve kilometers away; * Finally, the story about attempted flight is common to a number of other executions by

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

worker in the machine shop

at the San Bernardo train yard who was active in the Communist party. (The same thing happened to Juan Guillermo Cuadra Espinoza, Gustavo Martínez Vera and Carlos Ortiz Ortiz, who had been arrested in Paine and taken to the Cerro Chena prison camp. Their story, however, is told in the section about the Paine area.) Troops arrested these eleven people on September 18, 1973 in an operation at the machine shop of the train yard at San Bernardo.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

members for the following reasons:

* There is no official document to support the story told by the military representative at

Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment.

The most important detention site was the jail in Pisagua. Prisoners from the Telecommunications Regiment at Iquique, and from a number of regional police stations, and also from Valparaiso were taken there (navy personnel took those from Valparaíso on the ship "Maipo"). At one point this old three-story building in the tiny seacoast town held around 500 prisoners, a number far exceeding its natural capacity. In the ten cells on the first floor, each two by four meters, prisoners were held in solitary confinement. On the second and third floors were eight cells of approximately four by ten meters, each of which held up to twenty-five prisoners. Women prisoners were transferred to a building next to the town theater, which was conditioned for that purpose. A shed the prisoners called the "supermarket" was also used. This Commission has received testimony and evidence enabling it to state that torture was used systematically in the Pisagua jail. An account of some of that torture is found in the general material preceding these region by region accounts.

Reference 15 - 0.02% Coverage

On October 23, 1973, the newspaper in Arica reported that Luis Pedro SOLAR WELCHS, 18, had been executed. "In the early morning of October 23, 1973, Luis Pedro Solar Welchs, was apprehended by an army patrol inside a properly marked military installation. While the prisoner was being held in custody and awaiting interrogation, he suddenly tried to seize a guard's weapon with the clear purpose of shooting him, thus forcing another guard to execute him on the spot." This Commission does not accept the official account as presented, since it is unlikely that a person inside a military installation, who, according to the military's own story, was properly in custody, would try to seize his guard's weapon. Moreover, even if that were true, it is not reasonable to think that the way to stop him

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

VARGAS DIAZ, 65, the former

mayor of Diego de Almagro who was an active Socialist, died at the police station there. He had been arrested by police from that station the previous day. His relatives, who visited him the day of his arrest, say that he showed no signs of emotional disturbance nor of having been mistreated. On October 24 his body was left at the morgue and his family was told that he had hung himself from the bars of his jail cell with his shirt. The death certificate states that the cause of death was "asphyxiation by hanging as from a suicide." This Commission finds the story that he committed suicide implausible, and in fact holds the conviction that the death of Florencio Vargas entailed a violation of his basic rights by government agents. The following points support that conviction:

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

have tried to run away.

* The story that Doctor Wegner tried to run away is not credible, since the evidence and

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

civilians from the area were

chasing these people who managed to elude the bullets of their pursuers and to escape. Later they were arrested by investigative police from San Javier and were taken to the jail in Linares. They were executed by soldiers in Linares on October 2, 1973. According to the official account handed to the press, the prisoners were taken out to the arrest site to "reenact the crime" and there they tried to seize their guards' weapons and escape. The Commission has come to the conviction that the prisoners were executed without any due process of law by government agents. The story of their escape attempt is unacceptable for the following reasons:

Reference 19 - 0.02% Coverage

1973, Waldo VILLALOBOS MORAGA, 48,

who was not politically active, was arrested. The Commission gathered testimony and evidence which indicates that on December 23 police arrested him on a public thoroughfare in the city of Linares. Available information leads the Commission to believe that his arrest was due to personal feuding between him and one of his captors. Villalobos was taken to the city jail. Records show that he entered the jail on December 24 and supposedly left on December 28 at 10:55 p.m., that is, during the curfew which was then in effect. He had been sentenced to four days in jail for being drunk. Even though his supposed release was recorded in the jail log he never returned home, and his fate and whereabouts remain unknown to this day. Since it is established that he was arrested and that all trace of him has been lost since the moment he was in the hands of his captors; that there is sufficient proof to reject as false the story that he was drunk at the moment of his arrest; that it is unlikely that a prisoner would be released during the curfew period; and that the disappearance of prisoners was common practice in this area in 1973, this Commission has come to the conviction that Waldo Villalobos suffered a forced disappearance by government agents who violated his human rights.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

not seem credible since an

unarmed prisoner would be unlikely to attack a guard in a military base that was under heavy protection; even if he did so, it does not seem possible that trained personnel would have no other way to halt his action than shooting to kill. Bearing in mind the story presented, this Commission has come to the conviction that José Alfonso Constanzo was executed by government agents and that the action was a

Reference 21 - 0.02% Coverage

7, 1973, Reinaldo Salvador POSECK

PEDREROS, 49, a lawyer who was the regional head of INDAP (National Institute for Agricultural Development) and active in the Socialist party, was arrested at his home. Those arresting him were members of a military patrol. According to a number of accounts by witnesses, after being arrested he was taken first to the Chillán Regiment and then to the Second police station, where he was interrogated under torture. The result was a cardiac arrest, and he hence was taken to the local hospital. A military patrol removed him from the hospital. As has already been noted, in October 1973 the local press ran a story about the dismantling of a guerrilla school according to which its leader, Reinaldo Posek [sic] and his aide, Cecil Patricio Alarcón (also disappeared) were said to be fugitives.

Bearing in mind the

Reference 22 - 0.02% Coverage

NAVARRETE, a farm worker who was active in the Communist party and a delegate to the CUT labor federation, was arrested by civilians as he was leaving jail. He had been arrested by police from Mulchén on September 9 and accused of a robbery alleged to have taken place during the land occupation of an estate. He was released on September 15 for lack of evidence. As he left the jail he was detained by civilians who took him to the police station in Mulchén. After five days he was taken to the Liceo de Hombres in Los Angeles and from there to the regiment. When he arrived there he was dying. Witnesses said that in the military truck he had to bear the weight of the other prisoners on top of him. He received medical attention at the regiment from doctors who were fellow prisoners and who knew him. His body was left out in the courtyard. There was never any further word about him. A newspaper story on October 6, which gave no source,

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

at 7:00 a.m.

October 8, at the police headquarters in Puerto Cisnes, Jorge Vilugrón Reyes, "an active subversive", was shot by firing squad; the news story repeated the account given by the provincial government press office. The sentence was said to have been issued by a war tribunal. This Commission has repeatedly but unsuccessfully requested the legal record in which that war tribunal should appear.

The Commission came to the

Reference 24 - 0.03% Coverage

11, 1974, Juan Eleuterio CHEUQUEPAN

LEVIMILLA, José Julio LLAULEN ANTILAO, Miquel Eduardo YAUFULEN MAÑIL, José Domingo YAUFULEN MAÑIL, Oscar Romualdo YAUFULEN MAÑIL, Antonio Ceferino YAUFULEN MAÑIL, and Samuel HUICHALLAN LLANQUILEN, all of them small farmers, were arrested. Juan Cheuquepan was arrested early in the morning that day. The police said he had been accused of robbery. His relatives vigorously reject that story and say that the police were drunk. They also say that when Cheuquepan was being arrested they could see that José Llaulen and Samuel Huichallan were already under arrest. The same police arrested the brothers Miguel, José, and Oscar Yaufulén at their house in the afternoon that same day. The police arrested Antonio Ceferino Yaufulén in the city of Lautaro along with his father. His father was released a month later. On August 28, 1974, Samuel Alfonso CATALAN LINCOLEO, 29, who was apparently a member of the Communist party, was arrested by soldiers who were assisted by members of the investigative police. When the matter reached the criminal courts, the investigative police acknowledged the arrest. Several relatives and employees were arrested along with Samuel Catalán, and all have stated that they were taken to the Concepción Regiment in Lautaro. On October 26, 1975, Gervasio Héctor HAUIQUIL CALVIQUEO, 25, was arrested by police. Witnesses have said that on the day of the arrest police set fire to Hauiguil's house, but his relatives inside were able to escape. In view of the large

Reference 25 - 0.02% Coverage

investigative police. He was

accused of having been involved in a gun battle in which a detective was killed. The official account stated that he cut his veins as he was being captured and then attacked those arresting him with a pistol, and was killed on the spot when they shot back. Officials changed their initial story at the trial of Isidro Arias' accomplices, when they said his death was caused only by his cut veins. They said that after he had cut them he had been captured and bandaged, but that back in his cell he removed the bandages and thus bled to death. The contradictions between these two accounts lead the Commission to doubt the official account and to come to the conviction that if Isidro Arias actually took his own life, he must have been impelled to do so by his situation in the hands of his captors, and that hence his human rights were violated.

On September 3, 1975, Marcos

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

carrying a variety of weapons.

However, the Commission received testimony indicating that CNI agents had arrested both of these people earlier that day. The story that they had tried to attack a CNI garrison while driving an old Citroneta, and that none of the agents were wounded by the burst of automatic weapons fire shot at them is implausible. The bodies, moreover, showed signs of torture. For all these reasons, the Commission has come to the conviction that Rubén Eduardo Orta and Juan Ramón Olivares were executed by CNI agents in violation of their human rights.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

of the groups who had

been arrested at the outset, René Eduardo BRAVO AGUILERA and Julio César RIFFO FIGUEROA, both of whom were workers, were executed. They had been brought to the site of the operation from Santiago. The official statement issued by DINACOS does not say how they died nor does it acknowledge the fact that they had been previously arrested. Other CNI reports state that they were arrested but were killed when they tried to escape. That story is hardly credible given the military deployment and the tight security to which they must have been subjected. The omissions in the official statement only confirm this point.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

hand, the Commission has proven

that this story is false, since CNI agents shot and killed Salgado point blank as he was approaching his house. He did not offer any resistance. The agents immediately began to shoot with the 50 millimeter machine mounted on a jeep that they had used against the building on Fuenteovejuna. Hugo Ratier was inside the building. They killed him even though he had not attacked them. The agents had previously gathered the neighbors, approximately eighty people, in a local church. The Commission

Reference 29 - 0.03% Coverage

violation of their human rights.

d. Persons tortured to death On August 21, 1979, Federico Renato ALVAREZ SANTIBAÑEZ, a teacher and MIR activist, was killed. Police had arrested him August 14 in Santiago when he was allegedly preparing to place a bomb. Those who took part in the arrest told another story, that he was simply distributing pamphlets. The CNI later accepted responsibility for having arrested him. On August 20 the CNI took him to the Third military prosecutor's office to make a statement. Lawyers who were there saw that he was in very poor physical condition. He was then taken to the prison infirmary, but the CNI refused to take him to a hospital. The next day he died at the Central Emergency Clinic where he had been rushed. When he was brought in, he was diagnosed has having multiple contusions, hemoptysis, and lung failure. The official explanation of his death was that when he was arrested, a police officer had been forced to hit him on the head in order to subdue him. However, on the basis of the evidence gathered, and particularly the inquiry that the Medical Association made into the behavior of the medical people involved which noted that the cause of death was not any blow to the head he might have received, the Commission has come to the conviction that Alvarez died of the torture he had endured while being held prisoner at a CNI garrison, and it regards his death as a human rights violation for which government agents were responsible.

On April 21, 1980, Bernardo

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

C. Prolonged uncertainty: "... this long nightmare from which I don't know if I'm ever going to awaken..." The families of those who disappeared after arrest have been condemned to live in permanent uncertainty. Over and over in the stories told to the Commission, the unanswered questions and hovering ghosts keep coming back. Such is the uncertainty that becomes chronic and that completely permeates life.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

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4. Loss in the realm of feeling and self: "Life has changed us..." People's stories reflect many contradictory feelings and attitudes, ranging from resignation over these lives that were cut short to rebellion, and from certainty to doubt. The result has been major changes in people's self-image.

Guilt: "I feel I'm to

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

his human rights were violated.

Juan Francisco CANALES CAÑETE, a worker and an active Communist. His relatives say that he went to Mendoza, Argentina in 1974 in order to work. He then moved to Sarmiento. In 1977 an acquaintance of his who allegedly worked as a DINA agent in Chile (although Canales was unaware of that fact) was in Argentina looking for left activists. He offered Canales the opportunity to do demolition work in the capital at better pay than what he was receiving. His relatives were told that he had accepted the job. On January 2 he fell down an elevator shaft and was killed, according to the alleged DINA agent. They question that story in view of that person's role. Lacking further evidence, this Commission did not come to any conviction on how Juan Canales died.

Mario Arnaldo CARCAMO CARCAMO, 51

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Néstor Edgardo NAVEA CORTES, an army second corporal who belonged to the presidential guard company which provided the president with security. The official account was that he was killed July 17, 1986, at the Military Academy when a gun fell off a rack and went off, and he was hit by the bullet. The kinds of wounds on the body, the fact that it was not his weapon, and his skill in handling weapons have made his relatives skeptical of that story. This Commission nonetheless does not have enough evidence to come to a conviction on what happened.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

The depth of this suffering must be made known. We cannot conceal it or leave it to offhand commentary, to being dismissed, or for that matter to being exaggerated. We must collectively acknowledge that all of this happened. Only from that moment onwhen each individual has plumbed what it means to suffer and to cause suffering-will some be moved to repentance and others to forgiveness. This is not a matter for mere words or for some sort of sentimental sermon. Anyone who had to go over each of the cases recorded in this report and to enter into contact with the huge number of people who told their very personal and unutterable stories will be well aware of how a human being can be ennobled.

<Files\\LATIN AMERICA\\El Salvador_Truth Commission Report> - § 3 references coded [0.11% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.05% Coverage

the future of Salvadorian society.

At the same time, it must be pointed out that the United States Government tolerated, and apparently paid little official heed to the activities of Salvadorian exiles living in Miami, especially between 1979 and 1983. According to testimony received by the Commission, this group of exiles directly financed and indirectly helped run certain death squads. It would be useful if other investigators with more resources and more time were to shed light on this tragic story so as to ensure that persons linked to terrorist acts in other countries are never tolerated again in the United States.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

Ernesto Erazo Cruz, was wounded.

In the hospital, Erazo Cruz said he had killed Guerrero on orders from FMLN. He later changed his story and finally denied participating at all. When he came to trial, the jury acquitted him.

Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

Erazo Cruz stated at the National Police medical clinic that he was a member of the FPL urban commandos and had participated in the assassination on the orders of the FMLN command, transmitted through another member of the organization. According to this statement, all he knew was that an important politician was to be assassinated. On further questioning, he changed his story and said that a certain