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Whose world is third?

The term "third world" has come to convey many meanings to different people.

Originally it was coined by the French, *tiers monde*, and was used to designate those countries not aligned with the communist or capitalist blocs. That rigid division of the world no longer exists; the U.S. and China, for example, suddenly have more in common than they thought.

In the sixties, the term "third world" was applied to underdeveloped countries as opposed to developed countries. Sometimes the dichotomy was phrased as developed and developing; but the latter term was merely a euphemism for underdeveloped, itself a euphemism often for primitive. In this schema the term is absurd, for it is a concept of two

worlds, one rich, the other hoping to get that way.

PORTUGAL OR the Irish Republic might then well be termed developing or underdeveloped; yet somehow one doesn't think of either of them as belonging to the third world. Perhaps another term in the definition is non-pink skin. Linking countries on the basis of non-Caucasian experience, however, throws countries like Chile out of the third world.

In the United States, the term "third world" is being used to mean Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and other minorities working in alliance for social and economic change. Again, the term is meaningless. For if these groups form the third world, which are the other two? And if they are the black and white

worlds, where is the element of oppression that seems necessary to this use of third world? Or does that analysis reject the existence of classes among the whites and blacks in America?

These different meanings all show the confusion created by an epithet designed to seize, crystallize and clarify. Why do we still use it? Perhaps precisely because it hides a good deal of confusion in our thinking—whom we are talking of and what joins them in common. Perhaps too because it appears readily understood emotionally, it has a ring, and because there is no other better term around. In fact, in the U.S. "third world" has come to indicate a state of mind and a commitment to certain values.

One thing all these definitions have in

common is the perspective, which is one of big, strong countries looking at the rest of the world and explaining their problems and crises in terms, not of their own histories or making, but of how America or Russia or China act. This view can be adopted by anyone, of course; one meets countless "third world people" who readily explain everything by reference to the big powers and so downgrade the inner workings of their own countries. This way, they, too, contribute to the sense of a God-given right of big powers to run the world and keep on running it to their own liking.

HERE, WE'VE decided on our own version of third world, while recognizing that the "third" has no meaning: those areas which have been directly or indirectly colonized by white nations.

Chile

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by the Tomic platform to support certain UP proposals. Fourth, the UP program itself, with its emphasis on populist measures, is hard to fight. Furthermore, the UP's method of operations, strictly through legally constituted channels, is hard to criticize. (Since the Socialists and Communists had participated in this way in two previous Popular Front governments, it was hard to suggest otherwise). From the point of view of the Chilean rights, the UP was a known evil that was, at the very least, well-behaved, if misguided.

This is not to say that the right was pleased with the popular election of a Marxist government nor that it would give the UP the opportunity to pursue its program without serious opposition. When the UP took over in November 1970, the Chilean elite had done a hatchet job on the economy. Powerful industrialists closed down their plants and shipped everything movable out of the country. Unemployment skyrocketed to 12 per cent of the labor force of Santiago and over eight per cent nationally. Construction stopped and a crisis mentality prevailed. The economic boycott to ruin the economy went on at every level. One slightly humorous example was a campaign by some upper-class housewives to bake their own bread and hurt the baking industry.

Wild rumors were deliberately spread—the children would be kidnapped and indoctrinated in Cuba, etc. The "campaign of terror" continued before and after the election. Especially in these two areas—economically, and psychologically—the UP entered the government from a position of weakness. What it had to do was minimize the weaknesses and maximize the strengths—consolidate popular and majority support through its conduct of the government. How well has it succeeded?

THE POPULIST PROGRAM

First of all, the positive side. There is much distortion in "news" about Chile in the American press. So, to start off, we would state categorically that 80 per cent of the Chilean population has never had it so good as under the UP government. The reasons for this derive from the populist measures which the UP has inaugurated.

First of all, the UP has redistributed income. All workers received a salary increase equal to the cost of living increase last year and this year. (This never occurred during the Alexandri (1958-64) and Frei (1965-70) administrations). In addition, those in the lower salary brackets received additional increases. Family income at the lowest levels has risen faster than inflation, partly due to a stringent price control of the basic necessities of life. These families,

consequently, can buy more. Among the very poorest, the salary increase buys more and better food. We know of a working class housing development with 30 years of existence that got its first meat market last year. People finally have the money to buy meat and the government enforced an equitable distribution of meat throughout the city, instead of the historic concentration of meat in the wealthy areas.

Among the not so poor, the salary increase goes not only towards food, but towards things like clothing, pine wood furniture, non-electrical appliances, etc. The increased demand for things like fabric, sheets, pots and pans has been marked—at times exceeding the supply of these products. In addition, for the first time in Chilean history, workers can think of buying certain electrical appliances. Skilled workers can think about a television set, and a simple AM radio no longer represents one month's salary for a blue collar worker. (A refrigerator is 3-4 months' salary but a drastic price improvement over previous years).

A further financial gain is inherent in the new rent control law, just a month or so old. This law limits rent to a maximum of 11 per cent the value of the house for tax purposes. In practical terms it will lower rents anywhere from one third to three quarters, depending on the area of the city. This law is also relatively easy to use. If the community decides to use the new rent law this will be another way that money is redistributed and kept in the hands of those who work.

At the same time that all the people have more money to spend, the UP has moved to raise the material living standard of the poorest Chileans. Last year, the two types of bakery bread—one good and one like sawdust—were eliminated and replaced by a single quality of decent bread. Likewise, the two qualities of milk, the poorer quality looking and tasting like whitish water, were replaced by one grade of milk. Also the free milk program, which distributes a pint of reconstituted whole milk daily to children, is working throughout the country. Finally, the UP is moving to equalize the dependent allowance that each working person receives depending on the size of his family. Next year the highest and lowest paid employees will receive the same dependent allowance.

In another area, the UP is trying to improve the quality of public services available to neglected sectors of the population. Housing is of major importance here. The country is short 500,000 housing units. Construction of housing is also a way of absorbing unemployment and unskilled labor. To solve both the unemployment and the housing problem, the UP has emphasized low cost government subsidized housing. Construction in this area is proceeding at a record pace—two and three times the best year of any previous

administration.

Construction is not limited to housing. The UP has invested heavily in all kinds of public works. A major priority is the installation of potable water, sewage facilities, electricity, and telephones into the marginal poblaciones. The UP also began the construction of a long planned subway system—on a route which serves a basically working class section of the city and not on the route which runs from the rich section to the center as the PDC proposed.

The UP has encouraged communities to organize themselves to do their own clean-up and construction jobs. In the different campaigns for voluntary labor, the government provides the resources and the community the manpower. Actually the government has encouraged a wide variety of voluntary work programs, including some quite specialized. Last year, these campaigns included: a health train which toured the completely neglected rural areas and small towns; a similar "culture" train which brought all sorts of entertainment to provincial centers, a public education campaign to control infant diarrhea, a door to door inoculation program, untold numbers of clean-up brigades, and a summer-long program of student volunteers working in all sorts of activities from literacy classes to the construction of irrigation canals. Some of these programs were more successful than others. This year the more showy voluntary programs are disappearing in favor of less visible, but more stable, voluntary work programs where people work or live. One example of this is the after-hours volunteer work done by workers in a particular plant to repair machinery and clean the plant.

It is clear that through its populist measures the government has significantly improved the quality of life for the vast majority of the population. Individuals may have their favorite program—milk distribution, streamlined social security procedures, or the new rent law—but the UP has done a variety of things which touched their life for the better.

SOCIALIZING THE ECONOMY

The UP has not restricted itself to populist or reformist measures. Within the limits in which it has chosen to operate, the UP has begun the erosion of the economic power base of foreign and national capitalists. The UP's target are the major owners of the economy—major international corporations and their domestic affiliates, major industrial monopolists, the banks, and the large landowners. The objective is to create the economic basis for a socialist society.

The single most important source of economic power and wealth in Chile is of course, copper. The UP drafted a con-

stitutional amendment to nationalize the Great Mines of Copper, which were mostly or totally owned by U.S. companies. This legislation was passed without a single dissenting vote in the Congress, and represents the most important legislative achievement of the UP government. The simple fact is copper represents the bulk of Chile's export earnings and its major source of capital for industrialization. There is no doubt that Chileans are as united around nationalization as U.S. citizens would be if Russia, Germany and Japan were the combined owners of all the Texas oil fields, the Appalachian coal mines, and the mineral deposits in the Rocky Mountain States. The same is fundamentally true for any so called "indemnization" or payments to the U.S. copper companies. The buildings and machinery have long since been paid for, and the Chileans regard asking for payment for the copper ore buried in Chilean soil as something almost preposterous. There will be no going back on copper nationalization short of invasion and colonization of Chile by a foreign power.

With regard to other areas of the economy, the UP has been unable to pass its own legislation because it has a minority in Congress. Consequently, it has chosen to use existing legislation, which is inadequate, to gain control of other areas of the economy. We are assured that there are indeed rooms full of UP lawyers burrowing around in statute books, scouring up obscure laws whose original intent can be altered to suit the UP needs. Among the old laws which the UP has received is that which allows the government to "intervene" in an industry if the industry experiences certain problems—in particular, a sharp decline in production. In pre-UP days, the government would intervene, fix up the industry by reorganization, investment, etc. at public expense, and then turn it back to the original owner in much better economic shape. Now intervention is the prelude to nationalization and it is the UP's principal technique to gain control of the basic industries.

The second basic technique to gain economic control is the purchase of public stock by the government investment agency, CORFO. This venerable institution used to have a different purpose—government investment so that the private owners would make more money without taking any risks. Now CORFO investment goes to buy controlling interest in industries which will be in the "mixed" area of the economy, or to buy all outstanding shares in industries destined for the "social" area of the economy. (There will also be a purely "private" sector in the UP economic plan). CORFO is the mechanism through which the UP has nationalized most of the banks, and many industries.

In summary, and in order of importance, the government has used intervention, stock purchase, nationalization, and requisitioning. With the aid of all these procedures the UP has gained operational control of the following sectors: Copper, iron, nitrate, saltpetre, coal mining, cement, textiles, and explosives production, and the banks. It has gained partial control over: liquid gas, automobiles, steel, radio, tires, batteries, industrial machinery, brass fittings, copper products, and fertilizer and chicken-feed production.

In the agricultural sector, the UP operates completely within the agrarian reform law passed by the previous PDC administration. By the end of this year, all expropriations of large landholdings that can be made under this law will be finished. The law, in effect, will run out, and the UP will need new legislation to really reform agriculture. Despite the limitations, the UP efforts are impressive. As of now, more than 1300 large fundo's have been expropriated—the number of farms and acres far surpasses all expropriations during the six years of the Frei administration.

THE STRATEGY OF THE LEFT

On both the populist and socialist front then, the UP has real accomplishments. So it seems that the UP should be well on its way to implementing its full program. But this is not so. To understand why, we must understand the traditional Chilean left, and its ideas about the transition to socialism.

There has never been a revolutionary left in Chile. The traditional left—the Communist Party (50 years old) and the Socialist Party (35 years old)—have a wealth of historic experience in parliamentary maneuvering, in Popular Front governments, and in trade union

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cardinal
MONDAY
magazine

Beginning with this issue, the Cardinal will explore the so-called third world. On March 16, the second and final Monday magazine devoted to *Whose World is Third?* will feature articles on South Africa, fascism in Japan, students in Cairo, and more.

Whose World is Third is edited by Jean Taylor, an Australian presently at the University working toward here PhD in Southeast Asian history. The drawings in this issue are the work of Marilyn Dettmann, a graduate of WSU-Platteville in Art Education.

Sub-Imperialism in Latin America

By Al Gedicks

Al Gedicks is a University graduate in sociology. He has done volunteer work in Peru, and is currently Research Director of CALA (Community Action on Latin America), a research/action collective. He has just returned from a two-month stay in Cuba, where he attended a Latin America Seminar.

"The lengthening shadow of economic nationalism poses a serious and growing threat to all foreign investment in Latin America. It is a phenomenon that no company with present or potential operations in the region can afford to ignore, or to misjudge." So begins the introduction to a recent publication by Business International Corporation.

The essential point the publication underscores is that the balance of world forces has eliminated the hegemony the U.S. once enjoyed in Latin America. The visit of Fidel Castro in Chile, Peru and Ecuador was the most dramatic expression of this realignment of world forces. "Take a lot of pictures of all this," Fidel told reporters, "and send them to Nixon so he can see that he has lost the battle."

In order to deal with this strong leftward shift in Latin America, the U.S. has been developing Brazil as a sub-imperial power in the hemisphere to deal with

governments adopting a "Communist attitude". President Nixon's remarks to Dictator-General Emilio Medici of Brazil during his Washington visit on December 7, 1971 clear away any lingering doubts about U.S. imperial designs on Latin America: "We know that as Brazil goes so will go the rest of that Latin American continent."

FOLLOWING MEDICI'S visit with Nixon, the governments of Venezuela, Peru and Argentina released separate statements condemning the U.S. endorsement of Brazilian hegemony in Latin America. In the meantime the Brazilian military regime is proceeding swiftly with the construction of the TransAmazon highway which is to stretch across the shoulder of Brazil from the Atlantic Ocean to the Peruvian frontier. Other roads will reach out to Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana and French Guiana.

Goodyear Aerospace Corporation, a 50 year-old company

that is now part of Litton Industries, is primarily responsible for helping Brazil carry out an aerial survey to be used for planning the TransAmazon highway. Brazil is budgeting \$7 million for the aerial surveying project.

Twice in the past six months Brazil has made use of these new roads to transport its troops to bordering countries threatening the "stability" of the region. Before the right wing coup in Bolivia last August 21, 1971, the Brazilian generals had designated the Corumba-Caceres border with Bolivia as a "danger spot." This area is adjacent to the Santa Cruz region of Bolivia, precisely where the August coup was initiated. Brazil facilitated border crossings into Bolivia by the chief plotters, aside from other forms of assistance to the Bolivian reactionaries. (Alberto Carotti, *Prese Latina*).

And again, before the Uruguayan elections of November 28, 1971, the Second Army of Brazil carried out military maneuvers along the Uruguayan frontier to deal with the possibility of a victory by the leftist coalition, Frente Amplio.

Now Brazil, which has no common frontier with Chile, is encouraging conflict between Bolivia and Chile. At their first

press conference after taking power, the new Bolivian dictator and his foreign minister put forward the old problem of a Bolivian outlet to the Pacific via Chile.

THE AGGRESSIVENESS OF Brazilian foreign policy partly arises from a contradiction between an upsurge in production while the domestic market is depressed. Brazil's domestic market clearly cannot absorb its own industrial output—a fact attested by its per capital income of \$280 as compared to that of Argentina (\$492), Japan (\$857) and the U.S. (\$3,557). It is Brazil's smaller neighbor countries which are providing the markets necessary to Brazil's economic growth.

Brazil's greatest economic influence is in Bolivia. Although the balance of trade with that country netted Brazil less than \$7 million, its control of the important Bolivian steel industry is considerable. Brazil is buying 70 per cent of the total output of the El Mutum Steel Mill which it originally helped finance. The eyes of Brazil's financial wizard, Antonio Delfim Netto, are currently turned toward Argentina. With this in mind, an official of the Argentine military has referred to Brazil as the

country's "historic enemy".

For Brazil's expansionist policies to be realized in Latin America it is considered necessary to have not only capitalist governments but also regimes compliant with outside imperialist interests. There is a close resemblance between Brazil's views and those of Washington toward smaller countries: both will use the threat of military force to achieve political and economic aims.

The military government's national security plan contains detailed war plans that foresee every kind of threat against the security of so called western civilization which it states "in this hemisphere is both democratic and Christian... If ever a government should adopt a Communist attitude, especially in Chile or Uruguay, this should be regarded as a threat against the U.S. and Brazil."

What has been the U.S. posture toward this regime? Since the Brazilian military came to power in 1964, the U.S. has allocated over \$1.8 billion to support the various military governments that have ruled Brazil. United States A.I.D. expenditures in Brazil increased from \$15.1 million in 1964 to \$122.1 million in 1965 and by 1979 had reached \$187 million.

The U.S. interest in Brazil was pretty well summed up by the January 22, 1966 edition of *Business Week*: "Two years ago most U.S. businessmen were ready to give up on Brazil. They were being harassed by threats of nationalization; they saw their investment stake being gnawed away by inflation. Then a brief revolution in April '64 brought into being a government practically

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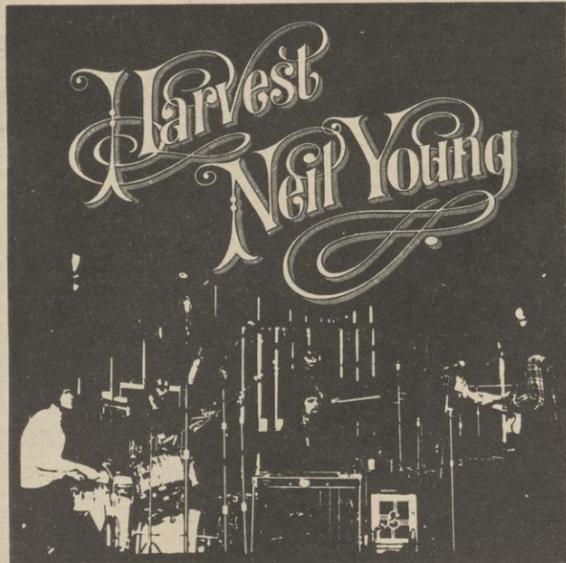
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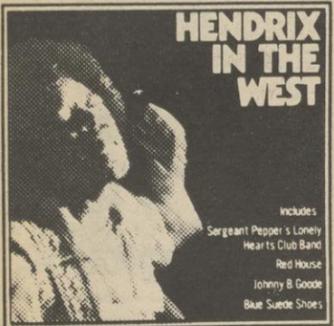
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Students-In China and America

By Paul Pickowicz

Paul Pickowicz was one of the first Americans to visit People's China. He is a graduate student in history at the University, and is presently at Harvard's East Asian Research Centre completing his dissertation on Chu' Ch'iu-tai, a communist political leader and literary critic of the 1920's. He has lived in Hong Kong, and travelled through parts of South Asia.

When I was asked to contribute this piece to a special Cardinal issue on the Third World, it occurred to me that some attempt should be made to ask questions about how we relate our lives to the revolutionary developments which are re-shaping the Third World. At this moment I feel myself spinning in the crosscurrents of this question. I recently returned to America after living for a year in the Asian arena of the Third World. Colonialism has been, and continues to be, a major source of oppression for Third World people. For nine months I witnessed British colonialism in Hong Kong. Another major feature of Third World activity is revolution, and I was fortunate enough to travel widely for one month in People's China.

Before returning to America I saw something of rural and urban life in Burma, Nepal, and India. Back in America I had a chance to discover what was happening on American campuses since my departure a few weeks after the August 1970 bombing of the Army Math Research Center. In September 1971 I began a speaking tour of over twenty colleges and universities from New Hampshire to Minnesota. In the remainder of this piece I will try to share some of my feelings and concerns for university youth movements in both China and America.

When I visited universities in China (Peking University and Chinghua University) I was fascinated by what I saw happening there, and assumed that most American students would be turned on by Chinese higher education if they had a chance to see it in operation. But after visiting so many American campuses this fall, and learning a lot about what is on the minds of American students these days, I came to a different conclusion.

RIGHT NOW I think most American students would see in Chinese universities a strange combination of many of the things we have wanted for our universities for such a long time (and still don't have), but would also see a number of things they would interpret as "restrictive" to the development of their individuality.

I say this because after I returned to America it seemed to me that the Movement had degenerated, in part, to "cultivation of the individual." From what I can tell, apathy is widespread on American campuses these days, and there is almost no evidence of an anti-war movement. Pessimism prevents a unified outcry against the dismissal of professors on political grounds. Furthermore, students seem to be distracted by secondary issues, or things which are not issues at all. These things which distract all of us should be

identified and criticized.

But first a word about the changes in Chinese universities which I think we would all support. First there is the relationship between physical and mental labor. Nowadays, Chinese students cannot go directly from high schools to universities: everyone must have at least two years of work experience after high school. This work experience in a factory or people's commune breaks up the monotony of years and years of schooling, but more importantly, it puts students into direct contact with workers and peasants. Lack of direct contact with workers, or even worse, open contempt for working people, has been in recent years a major problem with the student movement in America.

IN THE MAOIST VIEW, work becomes an educational experience. We clean our minds by dirtying our hands. In the idiom of the Cultural Revolution, we learn that "The whole country is a school." In many ways the two-year work experience is more educational than two years of school. When students finally come to the universities, they spend much less time floundering around trying to find themselves. Unless I am mistaken, American students are also aware of their detachment from working people, and are combating elitist attitudes in their views of working people.

For example, students here were late in recognizing the significance of the GI movement. Some students even failed to distinguish between the GIs who were ordered to Indochina and the policy makers who sent them there. So it was not surprising that when I visited the embassy of the PRG of Vietnam in Peking, one young man said, "Learn from the GI movement."

Another thing the Chinese are interested in doing is cutting down the total number of years a student is in school. In many high schools and universities there are experiments in three year programs based on the premise that too much time has been wasted in the past. Chinese students I spoke with seem to believe that they can serve society and contribute before formal graduation. The long years of medical study have been cut back for many who can go out and perform efficiently in certain areas of health education long before they become surgeons. In China the emphasis in education is on practical matters. What sort of education can be translated into action? This is what they are asking.

IN CHINA, AS IN America today, some people have fostered the view that the "University" is really the only serious institution of higher learning. China cannot solve its education problem by

creating a significant number of new universities. Rather they are attempting to stress the importance of other forms of higher education such as technical schools, trade schools, and factory adult educational programs. On this matter we have much to learn from China. In Shanghai I visited a machine-tools factory which has its own university for the exclusive use of the 10,000 workers there.

Even while enrolled in the "normal" high school and university system, Chinese students are asked to combine physical and mental labor. Each academic year high school students spend a month working side by side with veteran workers. The high schools also have work shops where students learn how to handle machines.

Universities have full-fledged factories on campus where students of technical subjects such as chemistry can gain practical work experience in chemical factories. Humanities students, like those in history, actually go to urban factories to do research on local histories. They work in the factories while they interview veteran workers and read through historical documents. In the high schools the shop courses are for everyone, not just those who will not go on to a university.

I think most of us approve of these egalitarian tendencies in Chinese higher education. It should also be mentioned that education is absolutely free, and there is a herculean effort going on in China to make universities not simply places for the sons and daughters of the urban bureaucracy, but rather for workers, peasants, and soldiers of the Liberation Army. Students come from all over China, not just Peking and Shanghai, and

selection is based not only on academic record, but more importantly on the intensity of their activism in the community as it is perceived by co-workers and schoolmates.

All this is only beginning, however, and the possibility of failure still exists. Chinese students were quick to remind me that universities were shut down for three years while political struggles were waged on many fronts. Many students asked me about the student movement in America. I mentioned that some universities had been shut down for a month or two, and a few reforms made here and there, but

tions in which the student movement was going.

Now that I have been back in America for a while, I have a feeling for the latest developments, and for the kind of objections American students might have of youth culture in China. Perhaps in a few months I will lose this perspective. We can say, I think, the paths of Chinese and American students crossed in the late 1960's when both groups were engaged in spontaneous mass movements (sometimes anarchistic) in defiance of authority. But following the period of street rampages in both countries, Chinese and American students



basically it was the same university. They, of course, were well aware of the anti-war and black liberation facets of the student movement. I had to confess that I had been out of the country for about a year, and did not know about the latest direc-

went in two directions. The Chinese students now have structure for channeling their energies; the American students have the cultivation of the individual or small collective. I am

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organization and bargaining over bread and butter issues. What they do best is wring economic and power concessions from an unwilling elite. In fact, the Socialists and Communists seem to be really more comfortable as the slightly disloyal opposition in a capitalist system, than as the vanguard parties in a transitional government.

The Communist and Socialist parties played the game of the parliamentary road to socialism, came within two percentage points of winning in 1958, and finally won an election victory in 1970. This experience has shaped their thinking on several key questions. The first concerns state power. Over the years the Marxist opposition worked within the framework of the pro-capitalist state to gain concessions from the working class. Now they think that they can continue the process and turn the state apparatus against its creators, and use it to lop off the elite's economic and political power like so many slices of baloney. This we call the "baloney slice mentality."

The second question concerns the strategy and nature of party and class alliances. The Marxist opposition won concessions chiefly by entering into alliances with populist or social democratic parties. Their most frequent ally was the Radical Party, now a shell of its former strength. Because the Socialists and Communists organized its working class base only along trade union and electoral lines, such alliances represented a major commitment. In particular, the traditional left came to confuse "alliance of classes" with "party alliances" as the class lines more and more were blurred by the shifts of class, the decline of the

Radicals allegiance, the emergence of the Christian Democrats, and the consolidation of a unified right wing party. The basic concept that revolutionary power comes from the total organization of the working class got relegated to third place behind the idea of using the state to make changes, and relying on political alliances with various populist parties.

This policy has led to a weakening of the left's own voting strength. Along with the vote of women as a group, the UP has lost the last three by-elections because of its failure to win the active and enthusiastic support of all of its "natural base," the rural and urban working class. Most people in Chile work for a living—blue collar workers, white collar employees, salaried agricultural workers and their families comprise more than 70 per cent of the Chilean population. This is the "natural base" of the Chilean left, and it is a majority. Yet, the UP, primarily because of the influence of the Communist, and secondarily the Socialist, parties, has put great emphasis on the "middle sectors," the self-employed artisans and professionals, small and medium landowners, petty industrialists and merchants. Programs, propaganda, and preoccupation focus on this minority sector. As a result, the organization and mobilization of the "natural base" suffers.

The third question concerns the definition of revolution. The Chilean left as a whole, and especially the Socialist and Communist Parties, is preoccupied with the "commanding heights of the economy," and formal control over state power. It lacks almost entirely a concern for the social and cultural aspects of a revolution. To a degree which

we thought impossible before we came, the traditional left simply does not recognize the social and cultural questions as having any basic importance until the first economic and political stages of the revolution is over. Yet some of these same social and cultural questions are the very reasons for the UP's problems during the last few months.

The first and most important cultural and social question is sexual oppression in Chile. The Chilean woman is overtly and covertly a second class citizen. Legally, a married woman cannot buy, sell, or rent property without her husband's permission. (A law drafted under the Christian Democratic administration is just about ready to come into effect, and it will change this legal situation.) More important, most Chilean women have no real experience outside the house, except for the brief period bet-

household appliances that have "freed" (sic) the North American woman.

Beyond the incredibly-long working hours, Chilean women are victims of a chauvinist culture that pervades both left and right. The most popular leftist newspapers invariably feature a partially nude woman on the front page. The most recent issue of the UP comic book for popular education featured a naked woman, partially covered with a telephone and asked, "What's behind the telephone?" And so it goes. This astonishing lack of concern persists in the face of one clear fact: The inability of the Chilean left to win the woman's vote, including the vote of the working class woman, has been responsible for every single defeat of the left before and after the election victory of September, 1970. Since the presidential election, the UP has lost three out

of four elections because of the women's vote. So the UP has begun to discuss the situation. How do they do it? Recently, a UP magazine wrote an article very critical of UP election tactics. Alongside, it ran a picture of a young woman in a mini skirt bending over a ballot box—you could see her panties. So the discussion goes on. The proposal to create a Ministry of the Family which could be a vehicle for the organization of women remained tied up in Congress. We doubt that the left will change its policy with regard to the organization of women before a major confrontation with the right.

Another cultural and social prejudice which the left and right share is against the Indians. Most of Chile's 600,000 Indians live in two agricultural provinces in the south; other substantial numbers live in provincial cities or in Santiago. The UP's policy with regard to the Indians is both paternalistic and ambivalent. On the one hand, the UP has created such things as cultural centers and special schools designed to preserve Indian traditions. On the other hand, the UP is avoiding like the plague the fact that Indians compose 70 per cent of the population in one province and have only 20 per cent of the land. Over the years, land legally the property of the Indian community was stolen by the white settlers. This the UP acknowledges, but it will not support the return of these lands to their rightful owners. So the position is that the Indians have been wronged by the whites, but they will now be economically integrated into the dominant white society.

Finally, the UP has had to confront a society which is individualized and atomized because of the relative absence in both rural and urban areas of mutual aid and self-help organizations. The isolated individual has no leverage, so he becomes dependent on top-down decision making and bureaucratic implementation. Instead of building up autonomous mass organizations to handle certain community problems, the UP has encouraged its base to think that the government will take care of things. So, for instance, when the government intervened in eight textile companies last year, in only one case did the workers themselves petition the intervention. In the other cases, the government merely decided, advised the workers afterwards, and requested after-the-fact demonstrations of support from the left-controlled unions.

This top-down mode of operation poses ideological and practical problems. The practical problems derive from the nature of the Chilean bureaucracy—a soul-destroying apparatus which annually consumes weeks of people's time and energy in "tramites." The bureaucracy harasses the individual citizen. Moreover, it is controlled at the middle and lower levels by persons who are mostly rightists and who cannot be fired. So you have the problem, as one worker put it, "What's the sense of calling DRINCO (the price control agency) when a Christian Democrat answers the phone and won't do anything anyway?" So many government bureaucracies have little power to do anything positive. More important opposition bureaucrats can be negative. The UP may control the upper echelons of the government apparatus, but they cannot prevent the active sabotage of UP programs by dissident subordinates.

THE POLITICAL FAILURES

We think that at this moment the UP commands the support of pretty close to a majority of the Chilean population. The point is, though, that it ought to command an overwhelming majority just because there are more good guys than bad guys. The difference between the actual and potential support for the UP is due to three kinds of activity or inactivity.

First, the kind of failures concern the organized industrial working class. This is the traditional base of left support—it is substantial but not complete. Workers are not yet involved in the construction of socialist industries where they work. The UP has a really excellent plan for workers' participation in their industries which would really give them control over everything from the production process to allied working conditions. But, in the 70 plants which have been intervened and are passing over into the "social area" of the economy, workers' participation is a reality in only ten to 15 per cent. As a result, in some local union elections the UP has already lost some offices to the ultra-left or to the Christian Democrats. This promises to continue, as the workers use their vote to protest bureaucratism and top-down decision making. So in exactly that sector of the working class where the left ought to be really consolidating its support, it is losing ground to the right and left.

The second failure concerns agricultural workers. Historically, the left has not been

"Wild rumors were deliberately spread—the children would be kidnapped and indoctrinated in Cuba, etc. The campaign of terror continued before the election."

ween adolescence and marriage. The two principal exceptions to these are professionally-trained women, many of whom continue to work after marriage. There are also some families within the working classes in which both husband and wife hold down jobs. In general, though, there are two patterns for women who do not work for pay outside the house—the wives of the elite are on permanent vacation and the wives of the working class are on permanent duty. For the working class woman, her day begins at dawn and ends late at night. She has neither a maid nor basic

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Finally, the UP has had to confront a society which is individualized and atomized because of the relative absence in both rural and urban areas of mutual aid and self-help organizations. The isolated individual has no leverage, so he becomes dependent on top-down decision making and bureaucratic

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Economic basis for a socialist society"

of in the Chilean countryside. then, the agrarian reform to be a mechanism for support. What has happened, though, is quite the opposite. Agrarian reform is one of these things which "to" the peasants—it is not what they control and may not be what they want. The procedure of expropriating a dreary bureaucratic process which lasts a year. During the time, the peasant watches as the owner gathers all of his in-structure (major buildings, machines) onto the best which he will keep as his "reserve." What he can't use, he The peasants sit around for and watch the rape of farm.

The UP has a perfectly legal alternative to expropriation, at in some cases. This is "in-vention," and it is like what ens in industries. The government intervenes or arrives the farm, "closes the gate," whatever is there in terms of al investment must remain. r, though, the UP is reluctant to intervene instead of appropriation because of political from the "middle sectors." Whether the farm was ex-propriated or intervened, the ant in the reformed sector the opportunity to enter into ons with the formidable aucratic morass of 26 ate agencies who have insibilities for agriculture. hassles. To top it all off, the al organization of the med sector—be it the old amientos or the new centers agrarian reform—is dictated Santiago. Overworked cultural officials and cadre of arties do not have the time to lical education—to explain the proposed organization will od. Nor do they have the erty to modify plans to suit conditions. Agrarian reform posed.

The third failure concerns en. The traditional left ally does not believe that en can be organized. The omist explanation is that they not involved in the market my as producers; the winist explanation is that they biologically conservative and or beings. Whatever the anation, the UP has engaged activities to break down the omic and social structure keep women trapped and ted in their homes. This tion of the Chilean woman es the right. The right needs assive support of women, and hieves this through moralistic ideologica appeals. The left ot win the ideological battle ountering only at this l—people simply will not ve that communists are more al than non-Communists. The has to get out and organize hen, and to do that they have to ak down their social and omic isolation, the left has not un to do this, so it loses the ort of almost half its "natural e." most working class en.

summary, then, the left has ed to consolidate three sectors

of its natural base—industrial workers, agricultural workers, and working class women. It has used a strategy and tactics which are tailor made for the opposition.

THE OPPOSITION

The Chilean elite is definitely one of the most tenacious and clever on the continent—much too smart to be "gorillas." Whatever serious and real conflicts the elite has within its ranks, it has always managed to head off popular discontent with new reforms, better political maneuvering, and increased material pressure. After floundering around for nearly a year, the opposition looks like it has again risen to the occasion. The right now has the beginnings of a winning strategy, especially because of the handicaps the left has imposed on itself.

What is a possible winning strategy for the right? The strategy depends on the ability of the right to continue economic sabotage. The UP, of course, is moving to control the economy through nationalizations, interventions, and stock purchases. But this control is not systematic—state controlled industries are not integrated horizontally or vertically.

The right still owns and controls the majority of large and basic industries. The government has gained control of less than fifty of the 250 companies it considers essential and central to the economy. Thus more than 80 per cent of the basic industrial producers are in elite hands. Furthermore, it controls many industries supplying semi-finished products to other industries. Then, it owns industries which produce the finished goods. Sabotage, then, can be effected at any level—basic, semi-finished, or finished goods. Moreover, the elite monopolizes distribution at all levels, allowing it to produce shortages at any point in the chain. All of this power in the industrial sector can be coordinated with other sources of power. Even though the vast majority of the banks are now nationalized, credit policy has not fundamentally changed and the opposition continues to benefit from abundant credit on gracious terms. Finally, in the agricultural sector, the law admits countless opportunities for the decapitalization of farms and the slaughter of breeding animals, etc. The elite can and does sabotage agricultural production. Then it does on to augment the problems it creates by screwing up the distribution network.

The point is that the right retains terrific economic power. But what the UP has been doing in terms of its propaganda is emphasizing the very important advances in state control over the economy. The right, then, can easily make the UP propaganda boomerang—blaming economic problems on the government which has formal control over economic institutions which seem to be the most important. The boomerang campaign is working beautifully. The right has been creating a wide variety of shortages, sometimes on a day's

notice. These include such things as: beef, noodles, sugar, toilet paper, fabrics, medicines, and cigarettes. The next day, the latest shortage gets front page headlines, and people rush out to stock up. Then the shortage is acute, and everyone blames the government. The government then turns around and blames the public—"increased purchasing power"—and zap goes its credibility. The right then slips off into a corner to plan the next sabotage.

The second major source of the opposition's power is the state apparatus. When the UP took over the "government" what it actually inherited was executive power—the presidency and top, appointed ministerial positions. The state bureaucracy at the middle and lower levels remains

ternally, what has happened during the last year is that the right wing, led by Frei, has emerged as the dominant force. Consequently, the PDC has entered into a tactical alliance with the Partido Nacional. This alliance is capable of stopping UP legislation cold (for example, selectively slashing the state budget when it passed through Congress). Moreover, it can utterly discredit the government by "impeaching" anyone, from a minister (as in the case of Toha, Minister of Interior) up to the President himself.

Finally, the opposition controls the judiciary. The mechanism of this control is not along party but class lines. The Chilean judiciary is much more independent than its American counterpart. There are no political appointees at upper

press (at a moment when the right wing press is more partisan than ever before), etc. are given the highest priority, and in some ways take precedence over a skillful propaganda campaign concerning alleged existing forfeiture, shortages, price rises, etc.

The second audience is the urban and rural working class itself. The Christian Democrats in particular have always concentrated on the landless peasantry in the countryside, and the white collar workers, technicians, and professionals in the urban areas. One goal is to re-enforce the idea that the opposition is classless, while the left is trying to promote conflict between different sections of the society. At the same time, the opposition has always promoted the idea that the "emplados" and the "obreros" have little in common. They are helped by a slight tendency to "obrerismo" within the left which makes the white collar worker feel like he can never really be an equal in a left wing party. During the last few months, a new campaign has developed in the extreme right aimed specifically at the different professional societies of Chile including engineers, lawyers, doctors, industrial scientists, and industrial managers. Much publicity has been given to the theme that the left has appointed technically inferior people to responsible positions.

The third audience is the huge artisan and small producer and shopkeeper population. The simple goal is to re-enforce and increase the identification of these little capitalists with the major capitalist families of the country. In its crudest attempts, the line is that the local Rockefeller or Morgan clans are simply larger versions of the family running a "mon and pot" store in an older business district.

The result of these three

(continued on page 7)

"The first and most important cultural and social question is sexual oppression in Chile. The Chilean woman is overtly and covertly a second class citizen."

in the control of persons whose jobs are protected by civil-service status. Although the UP has expanded civil-service hiring and has created and filled jobs at all levels with leftists, the state bureaucracy is home to people of all political persuasions. In the end, the left does not control official government agencies.

Moreover, the UP has a minority in both houses of Congress. Consequently, it cannot pass any legislation without the support of the Christian Democrats. Just as the left needs the PDC, so does the right. The Partido Nacional cannot use parliament to frustrate and discredit the UP without the support of the PDC. Thus, the Christian Democrats are the swing factor. For this reason, the internal fights between the left and right wings of the party have national repercussions. In-

levels—all are nominees of the equivalent of the American Bar Association. The legal profession as such is an opposition stronghold, and consequently the judicial system as well. Clearly, this will be the last sector of state power to pass into left control.

The third major source of power for the right is the social power it has derived from a very skillful ideological campaign. The first audience of the opposition is the women of Chile. The opposition faces practically no competition from the left as it runs campaigns of misinformation, rumors, distortions and omissions. The campaign has economic, moral and psychological aspects to play upon the very real fears of the isolated housewife. The unspecified general "good," the dangers to the Chilean family, the disappearance of freedom of the

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China

(continued from page 3)

tempted to say that the cultivation of the individual might lead to retreat or decadence, but I do not know enough about it yet. I do know, however, that Chinese students would criticize this trend, and that American students would be turned off by Chinese structure and organization in the aftermath of the militant stage of the Cultural Revolution.

CHINESE 'STUDENT LIFE' would seem too "regimented" for current American tastes: there is little opportunity for intellectual gymnastics, and no place for wasting time. There is considerable social pressure to conform to established behavior patterns for young revolutionaries, and the process of identifying potential leaders begins at an early age. But, as one student at Oswego State University told me, objections to the structure and "organization" of student life in China may tell us more about the American who objects than the situation in China. Americans in the Movement always had difficulty organizing. He said that anti-organization mentality and excessive individuality were "hippie hangups."

Two other aspects of student life in China might distress American students. Those who have visited China recently have reported the existence of an intense moral spirit all over China. Although I saw the same thing (and really believe it), it has been difficult for me to offer a satisfactory explanation of this spirit to Americans.

One radical theologian in Massachusetts told me that because there was such a spiritual abyss in America today we cannot believe a morality of justice exists anywhere in the world. Finally, we might be cynical of Chinese student patriotism. Is it because the right-wing in this country has tactfully monopolized all the patriotic symbols? I think so. All there is left for us to do is sneer.

The Chinese students would also criticize several trends in current American student life. They have great respect for the anti-war movement, black, brown, and Indian struggles, and women's liberation. Students spoke of this often during my month in China. They are absolutely opposed to drugs—and this position is based on a hundred years of humiliating and direct exposure to this degradation.

To them (Chinese) drugs mean escape from reality for the user, and economic exploitation by the pusher. They will be happy to learn that Alan Ginsberg is doing research on CIA involvement in

the Indochina opium and heroin traffic. Right on! Chinese students have no objection to people living together out of wedlock. They do object to obsession with sex and wandering from partner to partner. This, they say, is both decadent and exploitive. They are opposed to pornography because it exploits people, and is an economic rip-off. They were surprised and confused by the strange combination of radical politics and pornography in some of the representative underground newspapers I carried with me to China. They asked if women objected to this, and I said they most certainly did.

THERE ARE TWO ADDITIONAL things I did not talk about in China, because I did not realize they were significant trends in America. One is the apparent perversion of the ecology movement. The President must be overjoyed to know that so many young Americans take organic food so seriously, or think that dead birds are somehow more important than dead people. Kept within bounds, the petty ecology movement is an "acceptable" diversion for active students, so long as the heavy industrial offenders can roll along.

Secondly, and perhaps most discouraging, is the appearance of an anti-reality trend which is so closely tied with the cultivation of the individual. Here I am referring to the cult of magic. A surprising number of students are concerned with the study of magic and the supernatural. To the degree that they are the same people who were in the streets two years ago, Nixon must be relieved to hear about this. Satan worshippers dressed in fascist uniforms recruit in Harvard Square and Philadelphia. Television is filled with films about ghosts and the supernatural. Georg Lukacs, the Hungarian Marxist literary critic, has identified this with the politics of despair and ultra-pessimism. Although the Chinese have no love for Lukacs, I am sure they would agree on this sad fact.

I suppose the implication of what I am saying is that while the small "commune" of six or seven people might help us to get our own heads straight, we should ask ourselves if it is the ultimate goal. There are thousands of small communes around, but few last more than a couple of years.

The student movement has changed a lot over the last two years and is now facing a crisis characterized by apathy. Do we really believe Nixon has made peace with Asia (or the Third World in general)? Do we know what is happening in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam each day? If we are going to have special editions on the Third World, we must ask ourselves why.

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Chile

(continued from page 5)

ideological efforts is to gain allies for the very firm section of the Chilean population which is actually threatened by the Unidad popular program. The UP program is clearly an attack against less than five per cent of the population. Another ten to fifteen percent may not gain much, and may even lose a little. That still leaves another 80 to 85 per cent of the people on the side of the left. At the moment, though, the UP commands 50 per cent at best of the population. The difference between its potential and actual support represents the successful "alliance of classes" of the right.

The Chilean elite is a worthy opponent and can develop a strategy for grinding down the UP. One already seems to exist. Assuming that the UP cannot break out of the current impasse, the following scenario is very probable.

Agricultural production will not go up because of the destruction of infrastructure and the inability to replace it. Distribution problems will become more acute because of opposition interference and the failure of the state to create alternative channels. This will create a real food shortage which the government will be unable to overcome through importation. So, the urban working class will start to see the effects of income redistribution eroded and their ability to consume decreased.

Industrial production has risen sharply this past year as plants started to produce at near-capacity levels. But investment, whether private or state, was practically non-existent. Consequently, production will level off as demand continues to increase because of income distribution. Thus, "natural" shortages combined with overt sabotage of production and/or distribution will threaten a runaway inflation.

On the legislative front, the UP can easily be stymied. Unable to

pass adequate laws suited to its purposes, the UP will have to make do with older legislation. With this older legislation, it cannot gain systematic and integrated control over enough of the economy.

The net result of all this is the potential loss of popular support. Between September, 1970 and April, 1971, the vote for the UP rose from 36 per cent to 50 per cent. But if the economy gets out of hand—if shortages become chronic and inflation sky-rockets—unless the proper political work is done, the UP will clearly lose some of its newly won converts.

If the UP is again reduced to a minority government, the right has any number of alternatives open to it. 1) The opposition can so hamstring major pieces of UP legislation that the UP must, in self-defense, call for a plebiscite on the issue. If this happens when the UP is very weak, it will lose the plebiscite and have to resign. 2) The opposition can continue to discredit the government by approving constitutional accusations against ministers. It could go so far as to impeach the president for alleged wrongdoings. This, justified or not, would be the end of the UP's effective life. 3) The opposition can entertain itself on the economic, legislative, and psychological fronts while it wins a few more by-elections and waits for the national elections of 1973. If the opposition maintains its Congressional majority in these elections, the UP becomes effectively a caretaker government until the 1976 presidential elections. 4) The opposition could stage a coup d'etat. But why bother to alienate a legalistically-minded population when there are so many perfectly legal ways to incapacitate a government?

THE SOLUTION TO THE LEFT'S PROBLEMS

The real tragedy of the situation is that the left is to blame for creating the conditions which favor the right. What has happened is that the traditional left has a very

narrow understanding of what the "peaceful" road to socialism implies. The traditional left tends to equate "peaceful" with parliamentary and bureaucratic maneuvers in which popular organization and mobilization play no role. Likewise, the traditional left understands the "violent" road to socialism in terms of "blood in the streets." All kinds of non-bloody violence, such as struggle campaigns that people wage for their own self-interests, are likewise ruled out of hand. Put these two notions together, and you wind up with a traditional Marxist left that doesn't believe that conflict, or if you like institutional, social, cultural, and psychological violence, is necessary to break with the old ways of doing things. And, change without conflict is a very un-Marxist notion.

It seems to us that the UP must change its strategy and tactics during this year if the strategy of the opposition is not to work. It must shift its emphasis from parliamentary fights and legal bickering and turn its attention to the organization of its natural base. This means serious political work with urban and rural workers. The left should move to implement its theoretically excellent plans for workers' control in both the industrial and agricultural areas. The left must give special attention to the organization of working class women. In this area, the left must formulate a program which will free women to participate in non-household activities, which will give them the necessary skills to defend their special interests, and which will allow them full participation in political parties. The left should encourage mass organizations to tackle the bureaucracies which are harassing them. It should abandon the illusion that well-meaning bureaucrats can turn the state apparatus on its tail without a mass movement to which the bureaucracy must respond. It must stop promoting the idea that the economic dislocations are minor. Instead it must launch a vigorous ideological and organizational campaign so that people understand what power the elite still has, what measures the

government can and cannot take, and what the government needs in the way of popular participation to solve these problems.

In summary, the Chilean left must devote the bulk of its energy to educating, organizing, and mobilizing its own base. During the last year, it put bureaucratic and legal power first, and people power second. Perhaps this wasn't really a mistake. But this year, the left has to reverse the priorities. It can never achieve real state power except on the strength of an organized and mobilized natural base.

At this point, the reader is probably ready to chalk off the Chilean "revolution" as yet another case that didn't quite make it. This judgment is definitely premature because there are definite possibilities that a revolutionary left will emerge. There are two reasons for this possibility. One, of course, is the objective situation. We doubt that there is a politically astute person anywhere in the Chilean left who is not acutely conscious that the UP is in trouble. When these people have to choose between their commitment to the construction of socialism and their commitment to time-tested methods which are failing to get them there, a very large number are going to be willing to try new tactics and strategies. The Chilean left knows better than anybody else that this is their big chance—if they screw up they won't get another for 50 years. The second reason is more purely ideological. Within the Marxist left, growing numbers of people have come to believe that the only correct revolutionary line is to build power from the base up

through the organization and mobilization of the population. These people provide the internal criticism of all the UP's top-down, "short-cut," measures. At the same time, they pursue the organizing strategy of a mass line within their own parties.

Who are the proponents of a revolutionary line? At the moment, it seems fair to say that there are two small parties in their entirety—one is MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) which is outside the UP; the other is MAPU (Movement of United Popular Action) which is inside. Within the Socialist Party there are several factions which support a more aggressive mass line. Finally, within the Communist part there is some sign of support at the base for it. There are no immediate possibilities for the unification of these diverse sectors of support. But to the extent that each sector pursues a mass line within its respective party, the basis for a unified revolutionary party in the future will be laid.

Since we fundamentally believe that the hope for the Chilean people lies in the construction of a socialist society, and since the leadership of the opposition parties are determined to block this goal, the question for the coming year and a half must be whether the political thinking of the left can be changed from within. If not, then in all probability the UP will fall, and the hopes and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Chilean people will have been betrayed by their own leadership.

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Brazil

(continued from page 2)

made to order for foreign investors. Indeed, Goulart's ouster in 1964 was very likely precipitated by his plan to nationalize oil refineries and control the flow of profits leaving Brazil. Furthermore, Goulart had expropriated the iron ore claims of the U.S. Hanna Mining Company. A few months after the coup the military announced a "liberalization" of government restrictions on the export of foreign profits. By June of 1965 Hanna Mining Co.'s holdings were restored.

THE U.S. WAS QUICK to respond to the new prospects for business. In July of 1964, the U.S. approved a \$888 million program of economic aid for Brazil. Since 1964, eighty-five per cent of Brazilian industry has fallen into

foreign ownership. (R. Bourne, Le Monde, Nov. 6, 1971)

The role of Brazil in Latin America has disturbing parallels to the U.S. role in Indochina: "In the past, foreign investors have been somewhat wary of the overall prospect for the (Southeast) region. I must say though, that the U.S. actions in Vietnam this year—which have demonstrated that the U.S. will continue to give effective protection to the free nations of the region—have considerably reassured both Asian and Western investors." (Remarks of Richard B. Robinson, Vice President for the Far Eastern Operations of the Chase Manhattan Bank, 1965)

The significance of Fidel's Latin American tour has not been lost on the Nixon Administration and the investments it represents in Latin America. Neither has the significance of Fidel's tour been lost on large numbers of Latin Americans who presently see the very real threat of U.S.-Brazilian aggression on the continent.

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Chile: Social revolution vs. Bureaucratic reform

By Patricia Garrett and Adam Schesch

Patricia Garrett and Adam Schesch have been living in Chile since November 1970, the month Allende's Unidad Popular assumed power. Garrett is a sociologist and Schesch a historian from the U.W.; both are teaching at the University of Chile. Their article will appear in sections in several issues of the Cardinal.

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INTRODUCTION

Is the peaceful road to socialism possible? Can one dismantle a political economy of economic exploitation and political oppression, and overturn an entire system of social and cultural inequality without violence? Will a national elite permit itself to be stripped of its wealth and power without a fight?

People of all shades of political opinion have been asking these questions since the end of the 19th century. Chile may finally provide an answer—because historically and currently the traditional left has been committed to traveling the peaceful road to socialism and most sections of the right have felt the left could be defeated the same way.

When we entered Chile just before Allende was inaugurated, it was an epoch of great hope and profound expectation for the left. The government responded to this spirit—it carried out a rapid and sometimes dramatic series of moves. It seemed to consolidate strength—indeed it polled a slight majority in the municipal elections of April, 1971. Then things changed. After the assassination of Perex Zuchovic, former cabinet member under Frei, the Unidad Popular clearly went on the defensive. It has been on the defensive ever since, unable to recapture the initiative which now lies clearly with the right.

Most everybody, left and right, agrees that the next one and a half years are decisive for the future of the Unidad Popular (UP). The UP

has a limited amount of time to get on top of the situation and really solve the basic problems it faces as a government. We feel that it cannot do so without fundamental changes in thinking and practice—that the UP has gone about as far as it can go using its current tactics and that it has to change. Otherwise, Chile is going to demonstrate that the peaceful road to socialism is not possible.

How did the UP get into the government in the first place? The simplest answer is that the UP coalition of the socialist and communist parties, with the aid of an old non-Marxist populist party and a section of the Christian Democrats organized into a new party called MAPU, polled 36.2 per cent of the popular vote in September, 1970. The UP did not come from nowhere to do this—voting strength of the left alone has been between 25 percent and 33 per cent for almost two decades. In fact, Allende polled relatively more votes in 1964 (38 per cent) when he lost to Frei than he did in 1970 (36.2 per cent) when he defeated Alessandri. The difference between 1964 and 1970 is the difference between a two man center and a three man race—in 1970, the center and the right each had a candidate, splitting the non-UP vote and allowing Allende to win the first plurality.

It was still possible that Allende's victory would not be confirmed by Congress, which was necessary since he did not have a majority. Why did Congress go along? Part of the

answer is probably the leadership of Tomic, the presidential candidate within the Christian Democratic Party. His early recognition of the Allende victory threatened an internal breach within the PDC if his party violated the customary rules of the game i.e. Congress ratifies whoever places first. Another answer is the behavior of the UP itself. It accepted without difficulty the PDC demand that a charter of basic rights and privileges be added to the Constitution and the UP publicly swear to uphold these rights. Finally, the right wing utterly discredited itself. When the right wing plot to kidnap the Commander in Chief of the Army in Santiago, General Rene Schenider, resulted in his murder, the right crawled into a hold under a barrage of outcries. The murder guaranteed Congressional ratification of Allende's victory.

The UP took office as a minority government, but several conditions were favorable to its success. First the extreme right was totally out of favor as a result of the Schenider murder. Second, the legal opposition, principally the Partido Nacional (right) and the PDC (center) lacked a common strategy. Third, the campaign programs of the UP and the PDC had fundamental points in common—such as the nationalization of copper. The PDC was, therefore, honor bound

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