

# CHILE NEWSLETTER

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## Exclusive: On-the-Spot Reports From Chile

The four articles below were received directly from Chile from a highly authoritative source whose identity must be strictly protected.

### Resistance, Non-cooperation Growing

The military junta is in control of Chile, and there is no doubt that it will be a long march for the democratic liberation forces in Chile, no matter which road they choose to follow. Equally important, however, is that the resistance is both continuing and emerging in new forms, despite the shock and the terror.

Resistance in Chile is taking numerous and varied forms, from fleeting cries and silent gestures of protest to armed struggle.

Freshly painted forbidden slogans are appearing on the walls of Santiago; women in the buses are complaining in loud voices about high prices and low wages; men in bars are saying openly that things were better under Allende; Chileans approach foreigners and tell them in furtive tones about what they have experienced and think, asking them to be sure that the truth is told abroad. Each of these acts is a risk, each is a resistance.

Resistance can also mean non-cooperation. Examples: the working class district in Santiago in which the military couldn't find anyone willing to serve on the neighborhood council; the Christian Democratic professor who refused to accept the post of dean of the faculty. Resistance can mean spreading derogatory jokes about the military (of which there are many) or finding embassies for people who are in danger of being arrested (a daily occurrence).

Resistance is also taking more active forms. Underground organizing is going on in neighborhoods and work places, broken regional links are being reconstructed. The struggle for liberation is just beginning. All this is clearly a first step, either to a return to conventional politics or to armed struggle, both of which have their advocates on the Left.

The Communist Party is intact and its strategy is to create alliances which will force an early return to civilian government. Secret negotiations between the Communists and the Christian Democrats for the formation of a national front of all democratic forces continue. The Christian Democrats' newspaper, "La Prensa", has transformed itself into a tabloid and has begun making oblique criticisms of government policy and has entered into political polemics with "El Mercurio", the voice of the

Right. Internal documents of the Christian Democratic Party are even more outspoken in their opposition to the junta.

The major proponents of armed struggle, on the other hand, are biding their time and preparing for the moment conditions are ripe. Guerrilla warfare on a small scale, however, has already begun. Rural headquarters were established in two southern mountain regions and the military admit to have captured only a small part of the left's arms.

More important, there has been an increase of urban resistance in working class districts and shantytowns, with a rising death curve of soldiers and carabineros during the past fortnight.

There have also been a series of commando actions, the most spectacular of which was the attack last week on the Santiago residence of Junta member, Torribio Merino. The commandos shot their way into the house in Quinta Normal, but the admiral was not there. They got away with no losses.

### Fascist Constitution Emerging

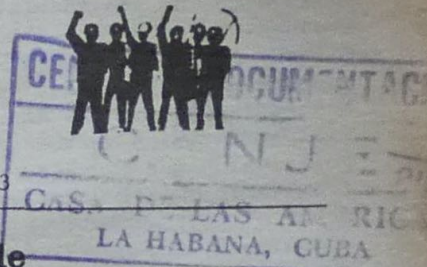
One of the first acts of the military junta was to name a commission charged with the writing of a new constitution, to replace the 1925 modification of Chile's original 1833 charter. This seven-man constitutional commission is composed entirely of upper class lawyers.

Recently the commission made public the bases and principles of the new constitution, in a 14-article report dated November 26, 1973.

Three characteristics emerge strongly from the text and the statements of the commission:

(1) The new constitution will do its best to disenfranchise the 45 per cent of the Chilean electorate who voted for the lefties parties of Salvador Allende's coalition in the March 1973 congressional elections -- by outlawing these parties and banning from public office both the men who led them and anyone who defends these leaders, the actions of the Allende government or resistance to the current military dictatorship.

Proportional representation will be abolished and indirect presidential election is likely, all to lessen chances of a leftist victory, while the executive powers which enabled Allende to push through a large part of his program by decree in the face of an opposition legislative majority will also disappear. "Never again" might be the motto of the new constitution.



(2) It favors the corporate state, with similarities to Salazar's Portugal blended with fascist Italy and something totally Chilean taken from the neo-fascist "gremialista" movement which was behind the overthrow of the Allende Government. The Chilean "gremios" (equivalents of the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Medical Assn.) will be rewarded in the new constitution with political power and participation quite apart from their meager quantity of popular votes. The power of representatives popularly elected will be diminished, and politics are somehow to be kept out of such leftist bastions as labor unions.

(3) It enshrines the armed forces as the guardians of the constitution -- and thus the ultimate judges of the civilian political order. Instead of the U.S. Constitution's subjection of the armed forces to civilian control, Chile's new "modern state" according to "La Patria" of November 30, will feature military autonomy and the subjection of civilian politics to military overrule.

The underlying aim of the new constitution, explained Jaime Guzman, the youngest member of the commission and the junta's leading ideologue of "gremialismo," is to put an end to Chile's "ingenuous democracy" (democracia ingenua), as reported in "La Segunda" on November 30.

In an unpublished interview with a foreign correspondent, Guzman was less coy and more direct. When asked whether the principle of one person, one vote would prevail in the new constitution, he replied in the negative, asserting that what was needed was an authentically Chilean 'democracy', with more respect for authority and hierarchy.

When Guzman explained the project for the new constitution in more detail, with all of its corporate state characteristics, the journalist exclaimed: "But, that sounds like fascism!"

"Call it what you like," said Guzman, "Fascism is just another word and we are not afraid of words, but it will be a modern constitution."

## Low Profile Repression

"Senator Kennedy can relax," said the Chilean army colonel with faint irony. "We have ended the stage of massive slaughter (matanza masiva). Now we will begin with the selective slaughter (matanza selectiva)." This new phase of political repression in Chile has now begun. In many ways, it is even more sinister than the previous terror, belying the apparent tranquility on the surface of life in Santiago.

Instead of the haphazard mass slaughter of the first days, there is now a computerlike rationality and selectivity in political control and repression. Instead of dragnet operations, there is the knock on the door at midnight by the Chilean political police (Investigaciones). Instead of the major political leaders, it is the middle level cadres who are now the hunted targets.

Through the use of informers, torture and "truth" drugs, Chilean military intelligence are extracting the names of local leaders and mili-

tants, who are being hunted down with less fanfare, but increasing efficiency.

Another priority of the new repression is education. Many who thought they had survived the worst period are now finding that the investigation and purge of universities and schools have just begun. Professors are being told they can either resign their posts or face military trials on absurd but dangerous charges (inciting military mutiny, etc.).

Secondary education is undergoing an equally severe purge, with military principals appointed and "dangerous" subjects, like the French Revolution, eliminated from the curriculum. A similar purge is beginning in primary education, while all the teachers colleges have been closed for "restructuring." Teachers are being classified in permanent files, with categories like "possibly ideologically dangerous." This will make political control easier in the future.

While the persecution of intellectuals is accelerating, the workers, who bore the brunt of the initial brutal repression, have not been spared. Again, it is the local leaders, the links between the mass base and any regional or national organization, who have become the targets of the repression.

In Santiago a sit-down strike of construction workers on the new subway to protest the tripling of prices with wages frozen was ended by a police action in which 14 of the leaders were seized and executed without a trial. In the huge Hirmas cotton textile factory in Santiago, 7 labor leaders were taken away by military intelligence because of verbal protests against low wages. Their fates are unknown.

This new phase of political repression in Chile is featuring the crackdown on social interaction. Any party or gathering of friends carries with it the danger of a police raid and accusations of holding clandestine political meetings.

Chileans are being advised to report all plans to hold a party to their nearest police station for clearance (and frequently policing), neighbors are encouraged to report all such gatherings for investigation.

Perhaps Senator Kennedy can relax, but that is because he is not in Chile and because the terror has moved off the front pages of the world press and into the homes and work places of thousands of "selected" Chileans.

## Brutality Toward ex-Allende Officials

Most of the major leaders of the Allende Government are being held on Dawson Island in the far south, with insufficient food, clothing and medical attention. Most of them are older men, unable to withstand such adverse conditions and this past week, some were taken to Santiago for emergency treatment.

Clodomiro Almeyda, socialist ex-foreign Minister, is extremely ill and may not survive. Daniel Vergara, the Communist ex-sub-secretary of Interior, has had to have an arm amputated due to gangrene. (His death has also been rumored but not confirmed.)

## Vote U.S. Aid to Chile

Cutting off foreign aid to the junta was dropped from the 1974 foreign aid bill passed early this month by Congress.

General language asking the President to use his influence to persuade the junta to respect international accords on human rights was substituted for an outright ban on aid to Chile until it was established that "human rights are being protected" by the junta.

The watered down version passed by Congress was written by Cong. Dante Fascell (of Florida), chairman of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs.

Fascell's Subcommittee has been delaying opening public hearings on the coup in Chile. Originally set for November, the hearings now would open no earlier than February, according to a committed source, leading to the speculation that they are being delayed to death.

## Liverpool Dockers Nix Chile Cargo

A ban on unloading Chilean goods in Great Britain--mainly copper--highlighted a number of strong anti-junta moves by British trade unions last month.

A bulletin from the Chile Information Bureau (CIB) in London, reports that dockworkers at Merseyside have decided to refuse to handle any cargo bound for Chile, including four Hawker-Hunter jet bombers--the sort used to bombard La Moneda--due to be shipped shortly from Liverpool.

"Workers at the Rolls-Royce factory at East Kilbride are refusing to fit or re-equip any engines for Chilean air force planes," CIB reported.

A vote to refuse to work on two frigates and two submarines being built in Scotland for the Chilean navy was taken by the Yarrow shop-stewards committee and the Scottish Trade Union Congress, CIB said, and plans to implement the resolutions are being worked out.

## Leyland Cancels Gift to Junta

British Leyland Motors Corp., object of a San Francisco NICH picket protest last month, has changed its mind about giving four MG-1300 cars as personal gifts to the members of the junta.

After protests from labor MP's and union leaders representing Leyland's 180,000 workers, the company decided to contribute the value of the cars -- about \$30,000 -- for the education of children whose parents were "casualties of the recent upheavals," according to a report from England.

## Juntas Unite!

Junta member, General Gustavo Leigh, wants the many military governments in Latin America to form a league for self-help and consultation, according to a source in Chile.

Leigh may have in mind expanding the League northward, since he also predicted the United States would have a military government within 8 years.

Others transferred to Santiago hospitals include Edgardo Enriquez, ex-Minister of Education and Rector of the University of Concepcion, and the socialist leader from working class San Miguel, Julio Palestro.

The probability of show trials for those leaders who survive the harsh conditions in the south is growing. Barring a continuing campaign of international pressure, the only hope of political prisoners in Chile is the Church, which has recently formed the Corporations of Peace, which arrange for free legal defense, pressure for improved prison conditions and due process, and give guidance to the families of prisoners. Within the constraints of a difficult situation the Church is doing good work.

Even those Popular Unity leaders who have secured asylum in Santiago embassies, however, may have to be classed still as political prisoners, given the apparent intention of the junta to convert the embassies into prisons by refusing to give safeconducts out of the country to any of the important leaders of the Allende Government or the parties of the UP coalition.

## U.S. May Accept Refugees

Although the U.S. State Department officially told the UN on November 1 that it is willing to admit non-Chilean refugees to this country, to date not one has been allowed in.

Meanwhile more than 1,300 of such refugees have found asylum in other countries.

Some 3,000 are still in UN camps in Chile looking for countries to accept them, and many more thousands are waiting just to enter the crowded camps as the first step toward seeking asylum abroad.

Letters and wires should be sent to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Washington, D.C. 20520, urging that the State Department take quick and effective action to begin granting asylum to refugees from Chile under the terms of its offer to the United Nations.

So far Sweden (411) and France (364) have accepted the greatest number of refugees, followed by Switzerland (151) and Cuba (130), according to a report from the World Council of Churches dated November 27.

## Venezuela Ousts Junta Reps

A group of "good will ambassadors" from the junta has been striking out all over Latin America and appears to have abandoned its tour after being booted out of Venezuela early this month.

Headed by Luis Vilarin, organizer of the infamous truck-owners strike during the last days of the Allende regime, the group started by being refused visas to Mexico, which feared that its presence would provoke rioting there.

The first stop was Bolivia, where Vilarin broke up his own press conference because of hostile questions and insulted the journalists there, according to La Paz newspapers.

Shortly after landing in Caracas, Vilarin and five others were declared "undesirable visitors" by the Venezuelan government and put on a plane for the Dominican Republic, according to "Excelsior" in Mexico City.

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## Chile: "Alone Against the World"

International revulsion against the fascistic horrors committed by the Chilean junta continued and increased this month, as many of the articles in this issue reveal.

In fact, the reaction is beginning to show up in Chile, despite the grave danger protestors put themselves in there. The practice of writing anti-junta slogans on Chilean paper money has become so widespread that the junta has declared the propagandized money illegal and valueless.

International criticism and rejection of junta representatives had led to a mounting anti-foreign campaign in the controlled Chilean press on December 5. The front-page headlines in "El Mercurio" proclaimed: "Chile is alone against the world!"

The news magazine "Ercilla" recently attacked "The New York Times" and "Newsweek" and other overseas publications it considers communist-controlled, under the headline, "The False Image: Chile Abroad." The upshot of all this appears to be a

hardening of the junta line, if that is possible.

Command of the army in the Santiago area has been shifted from a moderate, Gen. Brady, to Gen. Arrellano, a hardliner.

The Interior Minister, Gen. Bonilla, said to be the Christian Democrats' man in the junta, appears to be on his way out.

The navy and air force are already safely in the hands of hardliners.

The only international groups trying to shore up the junta's image are the banking and business communities. And even their initial enthusiasm seems to be slackening off, in the face of the junta's monstrous conduct.

All the more reason why we insist that proposed hearings on Chile be held soon by committees of the House and Senate. The chairmen are Cong. Dante Fascell, House Office Building, and Sen. Gale McGee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.. WRITE THEM!

## 20 Doctors Killed or Missing

Twenty Chilean doctors have been killed or have disappeared since the coup, "Excelsior", the Mexico City daily reported late last month.

The mayors of Concepcion and Coccidades died in prison after being tortured, the paper added.

A committee of French doctors accused the Chilean Medical Association of having brought down the persecution against doctors by making Chilean clinics and hospitals into "organized centers of denunciation."

Delegates to the Conference of Medical Schools from 17 Latin American countries meeting last month in Quito, Ecuador, voted to exclude the Chilean delegation from the meetings.

## Christian Democrats Fed Up?

A secret Christian Democrat document was published late last month by the right wing Santiago daily, "El Mercurio", urging that the party "work to discredit the junta and force the calling of elections as soon as possible." "Excelsior" reported last month in Mexico City.

One of the signers was former PDC presidential candidate Radomiro Tomic, a leftist suspected by the junta of being too sympathetic to ex-President Allende.

The next day Tomic issued his first statement supporting the junta, declaring that "the presence of the armed forces in the government can be indispensable for making really possible the construction of a new type of society."

"Excelsior" reported that a group of 25 Christian Democrats was arrested in Santiago for holding a clandestine meeting. Political meetings in Chile have been banned by the junta.

This month the party's newspaper, "La Prensa" called on the junta "to respect the human rights of political prisoners," according to "Excelsior."

## U.S. Expert Reports on Chile

A U.S. Catholic leader who traveled in Chile recently reported "widespread and systematic repression of human rights accomplished through violent intimidation which includes torture to inspire fear and silence."

Rev. Frederick H. McGuire, director of the Division for Latin America of the U.S. Catholic Conference, said that supporters of former President Allende are "subject to blanket persecution with no legal safeguards".

McGuire's report of his "on-site investigation" was published November 30 in the "National Catholic Reporter," which ran an accompanying editorial headlined: "Bishops should speak out on Chile."

On the plight of labor under the junta, McGuire reported that any worker known or thought to have been sympathetic to the Allende government can be summarily fired. He cannot appeal to his union for help because the unions are powerless. Unscrupulous employers are taking advantage of the climate of fear by firing workers and refusing to give the severance pay guaranteed by Chilean law.

## Mrs. Allende Tours U.S.

Sra. Hortensia Allende, widow of slain Pres. Salvador Allende, completed an 18-day speaking and fund-raising tour of the U.S. and Canada with a speech in Chicago December 16.

Earlier she had spoken in Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Toronto and Montreal.

An attempt to disrupt the Los Angeles meeting with a tear gas device was a failure, and three anti-Castro Cubans were arrested.

## Amnesty Int. Drafts Torture Charges

A report by Amnesty International "said to charge Chile with torture," was in preparation in Paris, the "New York Times" reported December 12.

"The report gives detailed accounts," the "Times" said.

An Amnesty mission was in Chile for a week investigating the junta's conduct toward prisoners and was told by the Interior Minister that "whereas approximately 550 detainees would be charged with military crimes, approximately 1,000 would be left in detention without trial, perhaps for eight months," the "Times" reported.

## Economic Conditions Worsen

"The sudden drop in purchasing power and the specter of hunger (in Chile) have caused a dramatic shift in attitude toward the junta," the "New York Times" reported late last month.

"Dozens of the same housewives and workers who once expressed support for the junta are now openly critical of the new government's economic policies," a "Times" survey in Santiago showed.

A working couple with four children that earns a total of \$8,000 escudos monthly estimated that, with post-coup inflation, they need 15,000 escudos a month just to feed their families.

"Although the belt-tightening has hit all economic classes," the "Times" said, "it has become intolerable for the poorest Chileans, who must contend with such increases as 255% for bread, 600% for cooking oil, and 800% for chicken."

The junta had decreed a 12,000 escudo minimum wage, the paper added, but in all the working-class areas visited "residents asserted that they had not received these wage increases."

Another problem for working people, according to the "Times", is "the layoff of workers who are considered politically suspect by the new government authorities and factory managers."

Unemployment is high and rising in Santiago, the "Times" said.

Butchers in Santiago and other large cities went on strike briefly last month against the junta's retail price controls, "Excelsior" reported in Mexico City.

Because wholesale prices were unregulated, they were about equal to retail prices -- and in some cases even higher.

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## USLA Office Bombed

On December 3 a high power dynamite charge exploded outside the New York offices of USIA (U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners) and sent three staff members to the hospital. The bomb completely destroyed interior walls. It went off in the late afternoon, at the peak of office activity, with the intention of injuring those inside, police said.

The bombing came two days before a scheduled demonstration against a pro-junta benefit at Town Hall. This act of terrorism and a pouring rain did not deter over 1,000 people from demonstrating against the junta.

USIA speculates that this criminal act was the work of anti-Castro Cubans, who have been linked with other political bombings in New York City in recent months.

## Junta Expels Swedish Envoy

The most courageous member of Santiago's diplomatic community -- Swedish Ambassador Harold Edelstam -- has been ordered out of Chile by the junta after being beaten twice by Chilean police while protecting an Uruguayan political refugee from arrest.

A consistent and outspoken opponent of the junta's illegal methods, Edelstam intervened successfully with the junta shortly after the coup to end military attacks on the Cuban embassy in Santiago.

He later took over that embassy on behalf of Cuba after Cuba and Chile broke diplomatic ties, and even lived there for awhile to protect the political refugees who had found asylum there. He also welcomed political refugees at the Swedish embassy.

In one dramatic airport incident, when junta police tried to arrest a refugee group boarding a plane about to leave Chile, Edelstam personally intervened and forced the police to honor the safe-conduct passes held by the refugees and let them leave the country.

Sweden was the first country to accept refugees from Chile under the United Nations sponsored relief program.

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### Executions Without Trial

Carlos Berger, head of the Chuquicamata copper complex under Allende, was executed last month by the junta along with 26 copper workers, "Excelsior", the Mexico City daily reported. The junta said they were killed during an escape attempt.

The fatal shooting by the junta of former Socialist Senator Luis Espinoza--reportedly while trying to escape--is seen by observers as a thinly disguised execution.

The junta has been criticized often by international human rights agencies for this practice.

In Antofogasta, the paper went on, another 22 Chileans, all of whom had just been sentenced to jail terms, were shot "because the junta preferred them dead," while at about the same time Gen. Pinochet was assuring the world that "the nation is peaceful."

The Chilean Bar Association has asked the junta to guarantee defense counsel to political prisoners, according to "Excelsior", and to obtain warrants from judges before making house searches and arrests.

### Chileans Protest Journalists' Arrests

The Santiago Press Club protested to the junta about the arrest of 47 Chilean journalists since the coup, according to "Excelsior", the Mexico City daily.

Dervett Bascunan, editor of the leftist magazine, "Andino," is known to have been executed.

### Italian Fascists Laud Junta

Giorgio Almirante, vice-president of Italy under Mussolini and currently the principal leader of the Italian neo-fascists, has sent a letter of congratulations to Gen. Augusto Pinochet, head of the Chilean junta.

Almirante's letter was personally delivered by delegates from the neo-fascist group, "The Italian Social Movement," which is presently on a visit to Chile.

Before meeting Pinochet, the Italian emissaries -- actually members of parliament -- met with the junta ministers of economic affairs and of housing.

### U.S. Banks Finance Junta

There has been a dramatic turnaround in the availability of private bank loans for Chile since the coup. Under Allende, credit had dried up and by mid-1973 was down to \$30-million, from a high (under Frei) of \$300-million.

Recently Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. issued a \$20-million loan to the Chilean Central Bank and a short-term loan to the government.

James Greene, v.p. of Manufacturers, said: "This is a question of psychological assistance and an expression of good faith... In financial circles in my country, there is full confidence in the government." ("Le Monde, Dec. 1)

A banking group--including Bankers Trust, Irving Trust, Citibank and some Canadian banks--issued a \$170-million credit line to the junta, with a second group adding \$60-70 million. These credits are to help the junta meet current needs. The Inter-American Development Bank agreed to lend the Chilean Development Corp. \$19.5-million.

It appears that many corporations and banks are taking a wait-and-see attitude toward Chile, because of the instability of the government due to mounting resistance to the junta inside Chile and continuing international dismay concerning developing fascism there.

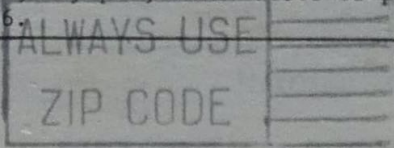
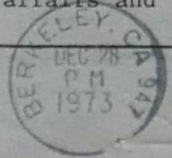
### Olympia, Wash., Chile Symposium

The Northwest Symposium on Chile will be held at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Wash., on January 25 and 26. The Evergreen Latin American Studies Group is sponsoring the two-day symposium, which will include lectures, films, workshops, panel discussions, and Chilean cultural events.

Keynote speakers will be Dr. James Petras, a sociologist well-versed in Chilean affairs; Dr. Richard Fagen, president-elect of the Latin American Studies Association; Dr. Jorge Neff, formerly of the University of Chile and an Undersecretary of Education in the Frei administration; Dr. Maurice Zeitlin, a sociologist; and David Hathaway, a graduate student in Chile at the time of the coup.

The entire symposium, including workshops and panels discussions, will be free. For more information, contact The Evergreen Latin American Studies Group, c/o Evergreen State College, Lab. 3011, Olympia, Wash. 98505 or phone (206) 866-6726.

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