

Chapter 1 : Revolution and Counterrevolution in Chile - Oxford Scholarship

This chapter focuses its attention on the Chilean Revolution. During a time of ongoing political change, a group of eighty priests, with Gustavo Gutierrez included, launched a new church radicalism in Chile, and expressed their great passion for socialism.

In other words, these crises have their root in the most profound problems of the soul, from whence they spread to the whole personality of present-day man and all his activities. We will study it especially as such. It also affects other peoples to the degree that Western influence has reached and taken root among them. In their case, the crisis is interwoven with problems peculiar to their respective cultures and civilizations and to the clash of these with the positive or negative elements of Western culture and civilization. It Is Universal This crisis is universal. There is no people that is not affected by it to a greater or lesser degree. It Is One This crisis is one. It is not a range of crises developing side by side, independently in each country, interrelated because of certain analogies of varying relevance. When a fire breaks out in a forest, one cannot regard it as a thousand autonomous and parallel fires of a thousand trees in close proximity. The unity of the phenomenon of combustion acts on the living unity that is the forest. Moreover, the great force of expansion of the flames results from the heat in which the innumerable flames of the different trees intermingle and multiply. Indeed, everything helps to make the forest fire a single fact, totally encompassing the thousand partial fires, however different from one another in their accidents. Western Christendom constituted a single whole that transcended the several Christian countries without absorbing them. A crisis occurred within this living unity, eventually affecting the whole through the combined and even fused heat of the ever more numerous local crises that across the centuries have never ceased to intertwine and augment one another. Consequently, Christendom, as a family of officially Catholic states, has long ceased to exist. The Western and Christian peoples are mere remnants of it. And now they are all agonizing under the action of this same evil. It Is Total In any given country, this crisis develops in such a profound level of problems that it spreads or unfolds, by the very order of things, in all powers of the soul, all fields of culture, and, in the end, all realms of human action. It Is Dominant Considered superficially, the events of our days seem a chaotic and inextricable tangle. From many points of view, they are indeed. However, one can discern profoundly consistent and vigorous resultants of this conjunction of so many disorderly forces when considering them from the standpoint of the great crisis we are analyzing. Indeed, under the impulse of these forces in delirium, the Western nations are being gradually driven toward a state of affairs which is taking the same form in all of them and is diametrically opposed to Christian civilization. Thus, this crisis is like a queen whom all the forces of chaos serve as efficient and docile vassals. It Is Processive This crisis is not a spectacular, isolated episode. It constitutes, on the contrary, a critical process already five centuries old. It is a long chain of causes and effects that, having originated at a certain moment with great intensity in the deepest recesses of the soul and the culture of Western man, has been producing successive convulsions since the fifteenth century. The words of Pius XII about a subtle and mysterious enemy of the Church can fittingly be applied to this process: It is to be found everywhere and among everyone; it can be both violent and astute. In these last centuries, it has attempted to disintegrate the intellectual, moral, and social unity in the mysterious organism of Christ. It has sought nature without grace, reason without faith, freedom without authority, and, at times, authority without freedom. Christ yes; the Church no! God yes; Christ no! Finally the impious shout: God is dead and, even, God never existed! And behold now the attempt to build the structure of the world on foundations which we do not hesitate to indicate as the main causes of the threat that hangs over humanity: Already at its inception, this crisis was strong enough to carry out all its potentialities. It is still strong enough to cause, by means of supreme upheavals, the ultimate destructions that are its logical outcome. Influenced and conditioned in different ways by all sorts of extrinsic factors cultural, social, economic, ethnic, geographic, and others, it follows paths that are sinuous at times. It nonetheless never ceases to progress toward its tragic end. It would not be amiss to add some details. In the fourteenth century, a transformation of mentality began to take place in Christian Europe; in the course of the fifteenth century, it became ever more apparent. The thirst for earthly pleasures became a burning

desire. Diversions became more and more frequent and sumptuous, increasingly engrossing men. In dress, manners, language, literature, and art, the growing yearning for a life filled with delights of fancy and the senses produced progressive manifestations of sensuality and softness. Little by little, the seriousness and austerity of former times lost their value. The whole trend was toward gaiety, affability, and festiveness. Hearts began to shy away from the love of sacrifice, from true devotion to the Cross, and from the aspiration to sanctity and eternal life. Chivalry, formerly one of the highest expressions of Christian austerity, became amorous and sentimental. The literature of love invaded all countries. Excesses of luxury and the consequent eagerness for gain spread throughout all social classes. Penetrating intellectual circles, this moral climate produced clear manifestations of pride, such as a taste for ostentatious and vain disputes, for inconsistent tricks of argument, and for fatuous exhibitions of learning. It praised old philosophical tendencies over which Scholasticism had triumphed. As the former zeal for the integrity of the Faith waned, these tendencies reappeared in new guises. The absolutism of legists, who adorned themselves with a conceited knowledge of Roman law, was favorably received by ambitious princes. And, all the while, in great and small alike, there was a fading of the will of yore to keep the royal power within its proper bounds as in the days of Saint Louis of France and Saint Ferdinand of Castile. The Pseudo-Reformation and the Renaissance This new state of soul contained a powerful although more or less unacknowledged desire for an order of things fundamentally different from that which had reached its heights in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An exaggerated and often delirious admiration for antiquity served as a means for the expression of this desire. In order to avoid direct confrontations with the old medieval tradition, humanism and the Renaissance frequently sought to relegate the Church, the supernatural, and the moral values of religion to a secondary plane. At the same time, the human type inspired by the pagan moralists was introduced by these movements as an ideal in Europe. This human type and the culture and civilization consistent with it were truly the precursors of the greedy, sensual, secularist, and pragmatic man of our days and of the materialistic culture and civilization into which we are sinking deeper and deeper. Efforts to effect a Christian Renaissance did not manage to crush in the germinal stage the factors that led to the gradual triumph of neopaganism. In some parts of Europe, this neopaganism developed without leading to formal apostasy. It found significant resistance. Even when it became established within souls, it did not dare ask them "at least in the beginning" to formally break with the Faith. However, in other countries, it openly attacked the Church. Pride and sensuality, whose satisfaction is the pleasure of pagan life, gave rise to Protestantism. Pride begot the spirit of doubt, free examination, and naturalistic interpretation of Scripture. It produced insurrection against ecclesiastical authority, expressed in all sects by the denial of the monarchical character of the Universal Church, that is to say, by a revolt against the Papacy. Some of the more radical sects also denied what could be called the higher aristocracy of the Church, namely, the bishops, her princes. Others even denied the hierarchical character of the priesthood itself by reducing it to a mere delegation of the people, lauded as the only true holder of priestly power. On the moral plane, the triumph of sensuality in Protestantism was affirmed by the suppression of ecclesiastical celibacy and by the introduction of divorce. The French Revolution The profound action of humanism and the Renaissance among Catholics spread unceasingly throughout France in a growing chain of consequences. Favored by the weakening of piety in the faithful caused by Jansenism and the other leavens sixteenth-century Protestantism had unfortunately left in the Most Christian Kingdom, this action gave rise in the eighteenth century to a nearly universal dissolution of customs, a frivolous and superficial way of considering things, and a deification of earthly life that paved the way for the gradual victory of irreligion. Doubts about the Church, the denial of the divinity of Christ, deism, and incipient atheism marked the stages of this apostasy. The French Revolution was the heir of Renaissance neopaganism and of Protestantism, with which it had a profound affinity. It carried out a work in every respect symmetrical to that of the Pseudo-Reformation. The Constitutional Church it attempted to set up before sinking into deism and atheism was an adaptation of the Church of France to the spirit of Protestantism. Communism Some sects arising from Protestantism transposed their religious tendencies directly to the political field, thus preparing the way for the republican spirit. In the seventeenth century, Saint Francis de Sales warned the Duke of Savoy against these republican tendencies. Out of the French Revolution came the communist movement of Babeuf. Later, the

nineteenth-century schools of utopian communism and the so-called scientific communism of Marx burst forth from the increasingly ardent spirit of the Revolution. And what could be more logical? The normal fruit of deism is atheism. Sensuality, revolting against the fragile obstacles of divorce, tends of itself toward free love. Pride, enemy of all superiority, finally had to attack the last inequality, that of wealth. Drunk with dreams of a one-world republic, of the suppression of all ecclesiastical or civil authority, of the abolition of any Church, and of the abolition of the State itself after a transitional dictatorship of the workers, the revolutionary process now brings us the twentieth-century neobarbarian, its most recent and extreme product. Monarchy, Republic, and Religion To avoid any misunderstanding, it is necessary to emphasize that this exposition does not contain the assertion that the republic is necessarily a revolutionary regime. This error was condemned by Saint Pius X in the apostolic letter *Notre charge apostolique*, of August 25, From our perspective, the mass production of republics all over the world is a typical fruit of the Revolution and a capital aspect of it. A person cannot be termed a revolutionary for preferring, in view of concrete and local reasons, that his country be a democracy instead of an aristocracy or a monarchy, provided the rights of legitimate authority be respected. From this antimonarchical and antiaristocratic hatred are born the demagogic democracies, which combat tradition, persecute the elites, degrade the general tone of life, and create an ambience of vulgarity that constitutes, as it were, the dominant note of the culture and civilization — supposing the concepts of civilization and culture can be realized in such conditions. How different from this revolutionary democracy is the democracy described by Pius XII: History bears witness to the fact that, wherever true democracy reigns, the life of the people is as it were permeated with sound traditions, which it is illicit to destroy. The primary representatives of these traditions are first of all the leading classes, that is, the groups of men and women or the associations that set the tone, as we say, for the village or the city, for the region or the entire country. Whence the existence and influence, among all civilized peoples, of aristocratic institutions, aristocratic in the highest sense of the word, like certain academies of widespread and well-deserved fame. And the nobility is also in that number. Revolution, Counter-Revolution, and Dictatorship These considerations on the position of the Revolution and of Catholic thought concerning forms of government may lead some readers to inquire whether dictatorship is a revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary factor. To provide a clear answer to this question — to which many confused and even tendentious replies have been given — it is necessary to make a distinction between certain elements indiscriminately linked in the idea of dictatorship as public opinion conceives of it. Mistaking dictatorship in thesis for what it has been in practice in our century, the public sees dictatorship as a state of affairs in which a leader endowed with unlimited powers governs a country.

Chapter 2 : counter-revolution | Definition of counter-revolution in English by Oxford Dictionaries

The Revolution of (or Civil War of) was an attempt by Chilean liberals to overthrow the conservative government of president Manuel Montt and repeal the Chilean Constitution of After various battles and sieges, by late December government forces had subdued the revolutionaries.

Scott Stossel July-August The sexual revolution brought excess as well as progress. In the aftermath of AIDS, a new puritanism threatens to repeal both. Time-tested Secrets for Capturing the Heart of Mr. Right Warner Books, John Heidenry, What Wild Ecstasy: Laumann, and Gina Kolata, Sex in America: A Definitive Survey Little, Brown, Katie Roiphe, Last Night in Paradise: Gabriel Rotello, Sexual Ecology: During the primary season, Ronald Reagan worried publicly that Americans were having too much sex. Promiscuity, he lamented, had become "acceptable, even stylish. Who had set us on this road to Sodom? It was part of the sinful sixties-seventies counterculture; it was a weakening of morals caused by trends and policies, such as wider availability of contraceptives and broader acceptance of premarital sex, that liberals advocated; and it was bad. The sexual revolution is clearly one of those ideological battlegrounds—like the conflicts over college curricula, abortion, and "the sixties"—where liberals and conservatives clash over culture, politics, and religion simultaneously. Many liberals would insist—rightly—that the sexual revolution helped bring about changes for the better: Many conservatives would insist—also rightly—that the sexual revolution undermined traditional social and religious bonds and that this loosening of mores caused an explosion of sexually transmitted diseases STDs. Conservatives have used the epidemics of AIDS and other STDs to reenergize their traditional moral arguments against sex outside marriage. Today we live with what many people believe—despite some studies showing sexual activity today to be as promiscuous as, if not more promiscuous than, at the height of the revolution—is a counterrevolution ushered in by AIDS. But is this backlash against the revolution a reality? What is the connection between public morality and public health? And who has more authority to speak on these issues: Some 21 years later, on June 5, , Morbidity and Mortality Weekly reported the appearance of a strange new pneumonia in five otherwise healthy gay men. On neither day were the consequences of these events imaginable to most people. But "the pill" and AIDS serve in the popular imagination as the watershed developments that catalyzed and then killed the sexual revolution. It is not entirely clear, however, that a discrete "sexual revolution" is anything more than a cultural artifact. Although there is clearly a countervailing trend toward more puritanical attitudes in some segments of society, the preponderance of evidence shows that sexual behavior has remained "loose"—and may even be continuing on a loosening trend—in the time of AIDS. Nor, contrary to popular mythology, did the revolution really begin with the birth control pill: The same trends can be traced back to the end of World War I. By sex had begun to escape its institutional confinement in marriage and was starting to become an accepted—or at least acknowledged—part of the culture. During the s, for example, the number of young women engaging in premarital sex jumped sharply, to about 50 percent of the cohort. Economic prosperity after World War II shifted values away from puritanical self-denial and toward a demand for consumer goods; by the s, having lots of sex had become almost a commercial moral imperative. Business began catering to nonmarital sex: A new kind of establishment, the "singles bar," became a standard feature of the urban landscape; convenience stores sold "one-night-stand kits" that came with a toothbrush, condoms, razors, and, for women, an extra pair of underwear; and the concept that "sex sells" became ever more apparent in the proliferation of sexual scenes and innuendoes in entertainment and advertising. In the s, less than 25 percent of Americans thought premarital sex was acceptable; by the s, more than 75 percent found it acceptable. Between and , the marriage rate dropped by about 25 percent; the average age of marriage for both men and women rose steadily; and the number of divorced men and women jumped by percent. All told, according to a study by Adweek magazine, single people as a percentage of the total American adult population rose from 28 percent in to 41 percent in The sexual revolution was in full swing. It is significant that most people attribute the rise and decline of the revolution—now consolidated by popular understanding into a finite event—to developments that are not strictly speaking "moral" or "political. Thus the vaunted loosening and then

tightening of sexual mores that bracket the revolution are in some sense more reducible to biology and technology than to changes in religion or politics or morality per se. This blending of science and morality is not a new phenomenon. In nineteenth-century America, physicians began to take the place of both church and state as the authoritative source of sexual norms. Victorian-era doctors and much of the public understood sex by analogy to the second law of thermodynamics, believing that profligate sex led to mental and physical degeneration. With this in mind, entrepreneurial inventors developed such devices as a genital cage that would ring an alarm when a boy wearing it had an erection, to prevent masturbation. STDs lent scientific urgency to calls for stricter sexual morality: In the s, conservatives were quick to label a burgeoning syphilis epidemic divine retribution for an era in which the rules governing sexual behavior were losing their force. For the biblically inclined, this argument had a certain logic to it. After all, we had been warned: The herpes virus, afflicting as many as 30 million people by the early s, had been deemed "the new scarlet letter" in a Time magazine cover story explicitly linking the disease to promiscuity. AIDS led to invigorated calls for monogamy and abstinence by religious leaders and public health officials. Both religious and secular authorities now had a powerful weapon, in the form of a medical threat, with which to bring the sexual revolution to a crashing halt. Today, science has become so woven into moral discourse about sexuality that it is hidden in plain sight. Ironically, this conflation of scientific and moral rhetoric in discourse about sexual activity owes much to the work of an obscure midwestern entomologist who in the s set out to separate religious and moral shibboleths about sex from actual sexual practices. But that year, when the university inaugurated a new course on marriage and asked Kinsey to give lectures for it, the sexual world shifted on its axis. Kinsey, frustrated at not having enough statistical material for his lectures, began collecting his own data by surveying students in the marriage class. Finding that data insufficient, he distributed questionnaires to students and the faculty at large. Finally, relying on the help of a legion of colleagues, research assistants, and graduate students, Kinsey began surveying anyone who would consent to be interviewed, ultimately collecting data on 18, people. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, which became known as the Kinsey report, dropped like an page bomb into American culture in No oneâ€”certainly not Kinsey or his publisher, who brought out a first printing of only 5, copiesâ€”expected the reaction it elicited. The statistics shocked and scandalized: The Kinsey report blew the lid off the container in which sexual experience had been sealed. Sexual activity previously labeled "deviant" or "immoral" seemed rampant among the very people who outwardly condemned it. In a scientific context, whatever the surveys found was "natural" and whatever was "natural" was "normal" and whatever was "normal" was morally okay. In other words, he sought to demolish "normal" as a meaningful category of sexual behavior. Whatever the moral interpretation. Present-day legal determination of sexual acts which are acceptable, or "natural," and those which are "contrary to nature" are not based on data obtained from biologists, nor from nature herself. Because previous study of sexual behavior had been little more than "a rationalization of the mores masquerading under the guise of objective science," the report aimed, in the words of its authors, to accumulate "scientific fact divorced from questions of moral value and social custom. Sex, one of the areas of life most laden with taboos, myths, and rules in every society, had historically been governed by traditional cultural authoritiesâ€”religion, folklore, literature, law. Whatever he found in his surveyâ€”and he found great quantities of adultery, homosexual sex, oral sex, prostitution, bondage, and bestialityâ€”was by definition acceptable. Our moral values needed to be brought more scientifically in line with our sexual practicesâ€”and the sexual goal of society, the Kinsey report implied, was to maximize the number of orgasms per week. The sexual revolution, though it owed much to interpretations and misinterpretations of Sigmund Freud and Wilhelm Reich, found its intellectual underpinnings here. Many of his respondents were simply the most eager volunteers; his statistical sample, while large, was hardly representative of the larger population. Thus the numbers he published in his reports were very likely grossly inflated. But this hardly mattered. Conservative critics attacked him on their terms, not his. From the Kinsey reports onward, this constant tension between permissiveness and restraint, between old cultural authorities and new ones, led to a growing moral bewilderment. The sexual revolution and its aftermath caused this tension to intensify. A Time poll found that 61 percent of Americans believed it was harder and harder to tell sexual right from wrong than in the past. And the most striking feature of the Janus Report on Sexual Behavior

was the increase in uncertainty between its two polling periods. We observed significantly less firm opinion and more irresolution in the second phase sample than in the first. The Age of Aquarius turned into the Age of Confusion. After the Morning After Katie Roiphe is nothing if not confused; hence she is well qualified to comment on our postrevolutionary era. Fears about committing a sin, about being ostracized, about experiencing shame no longer have resonance for many people, argues Roiphe; what really scares people today are things like having to get an abortion, contracting herpes, or dying of AIDS. Technical limitations to sexual freedom have begun to take on the character of moral strictures. America, Roiphe writes, "embraced the AIDS epidemic" not the terrible disease itself, but, in its abstract form, the idea of sexual peril" because it was "an actual crisis to give form and meaning to our free-floating doubts about sexual freedom. Sex, Fear, and Feminism, propelled Roiphe, then a year-old graduate student in English literature at Princeton, to minor cultural celebrityhood. But in the subsequent caricature that emerged from the negative backlash, Roiphe became a young Camille Paglia, a neoconservative, neofeminist provocateur who made up in glibness and flamboyance what she lacked in logic and accuracy. Unfortunately, no doubt urged on by her agent and publisher, Roiphe has chosen to continue this project in *Last Night in Paradise*. But this book comes by its intellectual confusion honestly: On balance, Roiphe seems to favor fewer rules, more wildness; beneath her analysis lies an implicit plea for *joie de vivre*, for recklessness, for abandon. Yet her longing for freedom and romance is tempered by a troubled reckoning of the consequences of so much freedom, so much fun. Without God, without rigid rules of social class, we have no material out of which to form new values. In seizing on our confused attempts to replace "old-fashioned morality" with "some new technical, institutional code" for sexual behavior, Roiphe is definitely onto something. She is right, for example, to point out that our "gentle moral relativism" which accepts legal abortion, birth control, same-sex marriages, and so on as no big deal brings out a "vestigial need for strong social codes, for judgment, context, and tradition. Struggling to find a comfortable middle ground between a nostalgically embellished "old-fashioned morality" and a similarly glorified sexual freedom, it is unsurprising that many people would feel the need for order, restraint, and rules. In , Warner Books published one of those advice-for-the-lovelorn pop-psychology books that line the self-help shelves of bookstores. Sales of *The Rules: Right*, by Ellen Fein and Sherrie Schneider, chugged along modestly for a few months. Then the authors went on Oprah. All of a sudden, the Rules were everywhere.

Chapter 3 : Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Chile by Paul M. Sweezy

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Alessandri was a very close second with Therefore, the incumbent president, Eduardo Frei Montalva , was ineligible as a candidate. Frei would then be eligible to run. Congress then decided on Allende. Soon after hearing news of his win, Allende signed a Statute of Constitutional Guarantees, which stated that he would follow the constitution during his presidency. Among the participants were small-scale businessmen, some professional unions, and student groups. Other than damaging the national economy, the principal effect of the day strike was drawing Army head, Gen. Carlos Prats , into the government as Interior Minister, an appeasement to the right wing. Prats had succeeded Army head Gen. Roberto Viaux , whom the Central Intelligence Agency had not attempted to discourage. The internecine parliamentary conflict, between the legislature and the executive branch, paralyzed the activities of government. Using his daughter as a messenger, he explained the situation to Fidel Castro. Castro gave four pieces of advice: Subsequently, most military officers remained under-funded, having only subsistence salaries. Because of the low salaries the military spent much time in military leisure-time facilities e. The military remained apart from society, being to some degree an endogamous group as officers frequently married the sisters of their comrades or the daughters of high-ranked older officers. Many officers had also relatives in the military. The Tacnazo was not a proper coup, but a protest against under-funding. On 22 August, the Chamber of Deputies with the Christian Democrats united with the National Party accused the government of unconstitutional acts and called upon the military to enforce constitutional order. He was forced to resign both as defence minister and as the Army commander-in-chief on 24 August , embarrassed by the Alejandrina Cox incident and a public protest of the wives of his generals at his house. General Augusto Pinochet replaced him as Army commander-in-chief the same day. Finally, the resolution condemned the creation and development of government-protected armed groups, which. It can be argued that the resolution called upon the armed forces to overthrow the government if it did not comply, as follows " To present the President of the Republic, Ministers of State, and members of the Armed and Police Forces with the grave breakdown of the legal and constitutional order He noted that the declaration had not obtained the two-thirds Senate majority "constitutionally required" to convict the president of abuse of power: It is neither the work nor the gift of the exploiting classes, and it will be defended by those who, with sacrifices accumulated over generations, have imposed it. With a tranquil conscience. I sustain that never before has Chile had a more democratic government than that over which I have the honor to preside. I solemnly reiterate my decision to develop democracy and a state of law to their ultimate consequences. Parliament has made itself a bastion against the transformations. He concluded by calling upon "the workers, all democrats and patriots" to join him in defending the Chilean Constitution and the "revolutionary process". In early newspaper reports, the U. Senate opened an investigation into possible U. The report stated that the CIA "actively supported the military Junta after the overthrow of Allende but did not assist Pinochet to assume the Presidency. He states that its covert support was crucial to engineering the coup, as well as for the consolidation of power by the Pinochet regime following the takeover. Winn documents an extensive CIA operation to fabricate reports of a coup against Allende, as justification for the imposition of military rule. The first, non-military, approach involved attempting a constitutional coup. This was known as the Track I approach, in which the CIA, with the approval of the 40 Committee , attempted to bribe the Chilean legislature, tried to influence public opinion against Allende, and provided funding to strikes designed to coerce him into resigning. It also attempted to get congress to confirm Jorge Alessandri as the winner of the presidential election. Alessandri, who was an accessory to the conspiracy, was ready to then resign and call for fresh elections. The other approach of the CIA, also known as the Track II approach, was an attempt to encourage a military coup by creating a climate of crisis across the country. False flag operatives contacted senior Chilean military officers and informed them that the U. By , the U. Newly-elected Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam was informed of the operation in February and signed a document ordering the

closure of the operation several weeks later. Please help improve this article by adding citations to reliable sources. Unsourced material may be challenged and removed. September Learn how and when to remove this template message By 7: President Allende and Defence minister Orlando Letelier were unable to communicate with military leaders. Despite evidence that all branches of the Chilean armed forces were involved in the coup, Allende hoped that some units remained loyal to the government. Despite the lack of any military support, Allende refused to resign his office. Pinochet ordered an armoured and infantry force under General Sergio Arellano to advance upon the La Moneda presidential palace. When the troops moved forward, they were forced to retreat after coming under fire from GAP snipers perched on rooftops. General Arellano called for helicopter gunship support from the commander of the Chilean Army Puma helicopter squadron and the troops were able to advance again.

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People are being ruthlessly murdered and massacred everywhere, in the streets or at work, without trial, and on any pretext. The sports stadiums have been transformed into concentration camps. Progressive culture is being trampled underfoot. Marxist books are being burnt in bonfires in the squares, nazi style. While the democratic parties, trade-unions, and democratic organizations have been outlawed, mediaeval obscurantism is spreading over the whole country. The most fanatical, ultra-reactionary forces of darkness, the agents of American imperialism are strutting on the political stage. The democratic freedoms which the people had won through struggle and bloodshed were wiped out within one day. The events in Chile affect not only the Chilean people, but all the revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces of the world, therefore, the revolutionaries and the working people not only of Chile, but also of other countries, ought to draw conclusions from these events. Of course, we are not talking of an analysis of purely national details and aspects, or of specific actions, shortcomings or mistakes of the Chilean revolution, which do not go beyond the internal framework of this revolution. We are speaking of those universal laws which no revolution can avoid and which every revolution is obliged to apply. The problem is to examine and assess in the light of the events in Chile which views proved correct and which distorted on the issues of the theory and practice of the revolution, to verify which theses are revolutionary and which are opportunist, and to determine which attitudes and actions assist the revolution and which assist the counter-revolution. In the first place, it must be said that the period during which the Allende government remained in power is not a period which can easily be erased from the life of the Chilean people or from the whole history of Latin America. Interpreting the demands and wishes of the broadest popular masses, the Popular Unity government adopted a series of measures and carried out a number of reforms which were intended to strengthen the national freedom and independence of the country and the independent development of its. This government struck heavy blows at the local oligarchy and the American monopolies which held all the key positions and were making the law in the country. The inspirer of this progressive and anti-imperialist course was President Allende, one of the noblest figures to emerge from Latin America, an outstanding patriot and democratic fighter. Under his leadership the Chilean people struggled for the land reform, struggled for the nationalization of foreign companies, struggled for the democratization of the life of the country and for the freedom of Chile from American influence. Allende strongly supported the anti-imperialist liberation movements in Latin America and made his country an asylum for all the freedom fighters persecuted by the thugs and military juntas of Latin America. Could the big Chilean landowners, who saw their estates distributed to the poor peasants, forgive him for pursuing this course and this activity? Could the manufacturers of Santiago, who were expelled from their nationalized plants, tolerate this? Or the American companies which lost their power? It was certain that one day they would unite to overthrow him and regain their lost privileges. Here a natural question arises: Was Allende aware of the atmosphere which surrounded him, did he see the conspiracies being hatched up. Of course, he did. It assassinated cabinet ministers, functionaries of government parties and rank-and-file officials. It instigated and directed the organization of the counter-revolutionary strikes of the truck drivers; merchants, doctors and other petty-bourgeois strata. Finally it tried its strength in the military coup in June, which proved abortive. Several plans of the CIA for the overthrow of the lawful government were discovered. These attacks by internal and external reaction would have been sufficient to sound the alarm and make Allende reflect. They would have been ample reason to implement the great law of every revolution, that counter-revolutionary violence must be opposed with revolutionary violence. But President Allende did nothing, made no move. Certainly, he cannot be accused of lack of ideals. He loved the cause for which he fought with all his heart and, to the end, he believed in the justice of that cause. He did not lack personal courage and was ready to make, and did in fact make, the supreme sacrifice. But his tragedy was that he

believed he could convince the reactionary forces through reason to give up their activity and relinquish their past positions and privileges of their own good will. In Chile it was believed that the relatively old-established democratic traditions, parliament, the legal activity of political parties, the existence of a free press, etc. The reality, however, proved the opposite. The revolutionary and progressive forces in Chile have suffered a defeat. This is very serious, but temporary. The people are resisting, and this proves that the working masses are not reconciled to defeat, that they are determined to draw conclusions from this and to advance on the revolutionary road. The liberation struggle against reaction and imperialism has its zigzags, its ups and downs. There is no doubt that the Chilean people who have given so many proofs of their lofty patriotism, who have displayed such love for freedom and justice, and who hate imperialism and reaction so profoundly, will know how to mobilize their forces and fight the enemies blow for blow to ensure the final victory for themselves. For the Chilean people this is a grave, although temporary, misfortune, but for the modern revisionists it constitutes an all-round defeat, a complete overturning of their opportunist theories. In practice this has brought about that these parties have finally renounced the revolutionary struggle and strive for ordinary reforms of a narrow economic or administrative character. They have turned into bourgeois opposition parties and have offered to undertake the administration of the wealth of the bourgeoisie, just as the old social-democratic parties have done hitherto. Following instructions from Moscow, it claimed that the national bourgeoisie and imperialism had now been tamed, had become tolerant and reasonable, and that in the new class conditions, allegedly created by the present-day world development, they were no longer able to go over to counter-revolution. However, as the case of Chile proved once again these and similar theories make the working masses irresolute and disorientated, weaken their revolutionary spirit, and keep them immobilized in the face of the threats of the bourgeoisie, paralyse their capacity and make it impossible for them to carry out decisive revolutionary actions against the counter-revolutionary plans and actions of the bourgeoisie. As the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties had predicted and as time confirmed, the revisionists were against the revolution and aimed to turn the Soviet Union, as they did, into a capitalist country, from a base of the revolution into a base of counter-revolution. They worked for a very long time to sow confusion in the ranks of the revolutionaries and undermine the revolution. Everywhere and at every moment they have acted to extinguish the flames of revolutionary battles and national liberation struggles. Although for demagogical purposes they pretend to be for the revolution, with their views and activities the revisionists try to nip it in the bud or sabotage it when it bursts out. Their deviation from Marxism-Leninism, their abandonment of the class interests of the proletariat, their betrayal of the cause of national liberation of the peoples, has led the revisionists to complete denial of the revolution. For them, the theory and practice of the revolution have been reduced to a few reformist demands, which can be met within the framework of the capitalist order, without affecting its basis. Thus; according to this confusing logic, one can no longer speak about exploiters and exploited, hence according to them, social revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat become unnecessary. Under the mask of Leninism and its creative development the revisionists aimed at world domination, turning themselves into social-imperialists. Hence, they were against the revolution and the struggle of the peoples for liberation, and were against the communist parties which remained loyal to and defended Marxism-Leninism. By revising the fundamental question of Marxism, such as the theory of revolution, and propagating their opportunist theses, they wanted to convince the workers to give up their revolutionary class struggle, to submit to the bourgeoisie and accept capitalist slavery. The Soviet revisionists, as well as the other revisionists who managed to usurp state power, destroyed the party by stripping it of its revolutionary theory, rejected and trampled underfoot all the Leninist norms, and paved the way to liberalism and degeneration in the country. History has proved, and the events in Chile, where it was not yet a question of socialism but of a democratic regime, again made clear, that the establishment of socialism through the parliamentary road is utterly impossible. In the first place, it must be said that up till now it has never happened that the bourgeoisie has allowed the communists to win a majority in parliament and form their own government. Even in the occasional instance where the communists and their allies have managed to ensure a balance in their favour in parliament and enter the government; this has not led to any change in the bourgeois character of the parliament or the government, and their action has never

gone so far as to smash the old state machine and establish a new one. The main parts of the bourgeois state machine are the political and economic power and the armed forces. As long as these forces remain intact, i. It is known that Lenin did not deny the participation of the communists in the bourgeois parliament at certain moments. But he considered this participation only as at tribune to defend the interests of the working class, to expose the bourgeoisie and its state power, to force the bourgeoisie to take some measure in favour of the working people. At the same time, however, Lenin warned that, while fighting to make use of parliament in the interests of the working class, one should guard against the creation of parliamentary illusions, the fraud of bourgeois parliamentarianism. But to limit the class struggle to the struggle within the parliament, or to consider this struggle as the ultimate, the decisive form, to which all other forms of struggle are subordinate, means in fact to go over to the side of the bourgeoisie, against the proletariat. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. But the further they proceed on this course, the more they expose themselves and the more defeats they suffer. The whole history of the international communist and worker movement has proved that violent revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitute the universal law of proletarian revolution. In the stage off imperialism, both at its commencement and now, too, the danger of the establishment of a fascist military dictatorship whenever the capitalist monopolies think that their interests are threatened always exists. Moreover, it has been proved, especially from the end of the Second World War to this day, that American imperialism, British imperialism and others have gone to the assistance of the bourgeoisie of various countries to eliminate those governments or to suppress those revolutionary forces which, in one way or another, offer even the slightest threat to the foundations of the capitalist system. As long as imperialism exists, there still exists the basis and possibility for, and its unchangeable policy of, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, counter-revolutionary plots, the overthrow of lawful governments, the liquidation of democratic and progressive forces, and the strangling of the revolution. It is American imperialism which props up the fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal, which incites the revival of German fascism and Japanese militarism, which supports the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and keeps up the discrimination against the black people in its own country. It is American imperialism that helps the reactionary regimes of South Korea and the Saigon and Pnom Penh puppets, which has instigated the Zionist aggression and helps Israel to maintain its occupation of the Arab territories. All the furious winds of anti-communism, national oppression and capitalist exploitation blow from the United States of America. Throughout Latin America, with some rare exceptions, American imperialism has established tyrannical fascist regimes, which mercilessly suppress and exploit the people. On that continent, all the weapons used against demonstrations, the weapons which kill the workers and peasants, are made in the United States and supplied by it. The fascist military coup in Chile is not the deed of local reaction alone, but also of imperialism. For three years on end, during the whole time President Allende was in power, the Chilean rightist forces were incited, organized and encouraged in their counter-revolutionary activity by the United States. Chilean reaction and the American monopolies took revenge against President Allende for the progressive and anti-imperialist policy he followed. The undermining activity of the right-wing parties and all the reactionary forces, their acts of violence and terror were closely coordinated with the pressures exerted from outside by the American monopolies, with the economic blockade and the political struggle the American government waged against Chile. The events in Chile once again revealed the true face of American imperialism. They proved once more that American imperialism remains a rabid enemy of all the. But the counter-revolution in Chile is a deed not only of the avowedly reactionary forces and the American imperialists. The Allende government was. It bears responsibility also because it used all possible means. It fought to create that spiritual and political climate that was the prelude to the counter-revolution. The Soviet revisionists, too, were implicated in the events in Chile. A thousand threads link the Soviet leaders in intrigues and plots with American imperialism. They did not intend or desire to help the Allende government when it was in power, because this would have brought them into conflict and damaged their cordial relations with American imperialism. These stands of the Khrushchevite revisionists towards Chile and the theory of revolution had been confirmed before the Chilean events. They had been confirmed in the repeated tragic events in Iran: These stands were confirmed in the shocking events in Indonesia, where about ,

communists and progressives were killed and massacred. Once again the Soviet revisionists did nothing, took no action and did not consider withdrawing their embassy from Djakarta. This stand sheds light on the demagogic character of the much publicized severance of diplomatic relations with Chile now. Such is the reality. The Soviet government severed diplomatic relations with Chile in order to exploit the opportunity to pose as a supporter of the victims of reaction, as if it is on the side of those who struggle for freedom and independence and the revisionists are defenders of progressive regimes. The Soviet revisionists help any progressive regime just so long as this assists their imperialist interests.

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A Decisive Battle is at Hand In a speech outside the Miraflores palace on January 17, , upon his return from a twelve day trip abroad, President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela Nicolas Maduro Moros addressed an expectant crowd of well wishers. Seizing the moment in the midst of an economic crisis and an intense opposition campaign against his administration, Maduro spoke with a renewed sense of confidence and determination: We have the resources, the organized people [pueblo organizado], the historic project, the only one that exists in Venezuela. We have the force, moral and spiritual. We have the historic purpose. I am calling for meeting the challenge of the rebirth of the economy of the country. At the height of the guarimbas violent demonstrations during the first quarter of , the majority position of the Organization of American States OAS too came down on the side of the constitutional order. A great deal hangs in the balance with regard to the feasibility of advancing a democratic socialist project while under the continuous attack of a U. One gets the sense that a decisive battle is underway for the political future of Venezuela and indeed, for the cause of sovereignty throughout the region. Last Wednesday, President Maduro gave his annual address before the national assembly and the country Memoria y Cuenta , in his role as head of state during the year He made his way, walking along the streets towards the National Assembly amid the enthusiastic greetings and embraces of a great multitude of followers. Addressing the nation, he said: The Maduro administration is committed to maintaining the Grand Housing Mission that up to now has built , housing units and it has approved the resources to build , more housing units this coming year. It has also promised to increase the number of scholarships and pensions as well as increase the minimum wage by 15 percent and preserve the Food Mission. At the same time, Maduro ordered the immediate inspection of all of the food distribution networks of the country and threatened to bring the full weight of the law against those who continue the economic sabotage. This essay will offer a briefing on the current political standoff in Caracas and argue that only an effective counter offensive by the government, with the support of the popular sectors, can push back the opposition economic coup underway in Venezuela and start the country down the arduous road to economic recovery. By distinguishing the anatomy of the coup in Chile in September of from the short lived coup in Venezuela in April of and by reviewing the use of food as a political weapon during the oil strike in Venezuela from December to March , we aim at interpreting the dialectic at work in the present confrontation between revolution and counter revolution in this South American nation. The 23rd of January has cultural significance because it marks a break in Venezuelan history, when a dictatorship gave way to a power sharing arrangement between the major political parties AD, COPEI, URD called the pact of Punto Fijo or puntofijismo. This representative democracy also referred to as the Fourth Republic advanced the interests of transnational capital and the ruling class of Venezuela. It was characterized by routine rampant corruption and the prevalence of poverty for more than half the population. The 23rd and 24th of January are therefore set to be days of struggle for the hearts and minds of Venezuelan constituent power. After just a week on the queues, people were buying candles, in addition to food, because they heard that a coup was coming, because there was going to be a magnicide, because there was going to be generalized looting, because there was going to be a social explosion. This generates anxiety and this anxiety does not disappear but accumulates. For example, El Nacional published an opinion piece by journalist Marianella Salazar which lays out the details of an alleged military conspiracy to force Maduro to resign and seek asylum in Cuba where Raul Castro has already allegedly agreed to receive him! Here is how Salazar speculates that the plot might then unfold: Yet a return to the IMF is just what Salazar has in mind! Each onslaught by the ultra right has been deterred by the civic military alliance that has continued to back the constitutional order to this day. But is this time different? Are we witnessing the eve of another break in history, one that will restore a rehabilitated version of the neo-liberal regime of the fourth republic? Or will the Bolivarian cause weather yet another political and economic storm? The last fifteen years show that Chavismo does not strengthen its position by negotiating

with the right but by confronting it. Something similar has happened during the Maduro administration. Maduro took some heat from the left for these talks and the shortages and price gouging only continued. Later in the year, Maduro launched an offensive to enforce price controls and anti-hoarding laws. While evoking the antipathy of big business, such measures may partly account for a recovery in the electoral base of Chavismo in time for the municipal elections in December that year. The PSUV and their allies won about three quarters of the municipalities in the December municipal elections. In what opposition leader Capriles had vowed would be a plebiscite on Chavismo, the PSUV and its allies together also won the popular vote by a margin of about 6. Of course, a year later things are different: A poll released in October by Venezuelan Institute of Data Analysis IVAD shows an erosion in the public approval rating of President Maduro though the think tank and polling firm Hinterlaces maintains that the opposition is in no better shape with regard to public confidence. But this does not necessarily translate into widespread disaffection. Those who are prepared to write the obituary on Chavismo will probably join their like-minded predecessors of the last fifteen years in underestimating the driving force behind the Bolivarian revolution: A major tactic of the right-wing Chilean opposition and the Nixon administration was to "make the economy scream" by provoking food shortages, a truckers strike, and mayhem in the streets. Political analyst Fernando Coronil describes the scene inside Miraflores Palace that day: The situation on the ground today in Venezuela, especially the shortages of basic goods, is reminiscent of the U. That coup succeeded and Chile was subjected to a decade and a half of brutal rule by the Pinochet dictatorship. This reversal of a military coup was unprecedented in Latin America and it came as a great surprise to the Venezuelan golpistas. Just months later, the same opposition groups launched an attempt at an economic coup against the Bolivarian government. Some of these laws, in particular those relating to land reform and oil industry policy, did not sit well with landowners and PDVSA. In a move that brought most harm to the poor and working class, gasoline and food were being used as a political weapon against the Bolivarian project. Gasoline supplies were dwindling, and service stations were closed. He contacted Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago, Mexico, Russia and other countries to ask them to send what they could. When basic foods grew scarce, he cobbled together another informal supply network, persuading Colombia The Dominican Republic, and others to send rice, flour, milk, meat and other products. The opposition attempt to cripple the oil industry did not sit well with the military, who were called in to secure the facilities. The management of PDVSA was replaced and an overall 18, almost half the workforce lost their jobs. The oil lockout and the subsequent government takeover of the management of PDVSA struck a great blow against the economic power of the oligarchy. Being a vertical organization the workers knew who had given the instruction to bring the industry to a halt. So just as on April 13, the patriotic soldiers and officials rebelled against the senior military officials. The patriotic workers and managers rejected the indications of their bosses who were committed to sabotage. The petroleum meritocracy was very arrogant and demeaning towards the people [pueblo]. These events occurred prior to the implementation of the social missions later in These are the social programs that have done so much to reduce economic inequality in the country, alleviate poverty and increase access to education, healthcare, and housing for millions of formerly excluded Venezuelans. It appears that the popular sectors had cast their lot, despite the trappings of economic and psychological warfare, for staying the Bolivarian course rather than opting for a restoration of the neoliberal regime. The damage wrought by an attempt at an economic coup by crippling the oil industry was devastating. Exports typically averaging 2. Economist Alfredo Serrano Mancilla indicates that by the end of the strike unemployment shot up to Poverty reduction that had been underway since suffered a reversal that could not be effectively remedied until the implementation of the missions established in the aftermath of the oil strike in pp. On August 15, , 5,, So in just a three year period, the Bolivarian revolution faced down a military coup, an economic coup and constitutional referendum by an opposition that sought regime change even this meant resorting to extra constitutional means. As a result, argues Ciccariello-Maher, the revolution only became more radicalized and determined. Translations by the authors are unofficial.

Chapter 6 : Michel Raptis (Author of Revolution and Counter Revolution in Chile)

La VÃ-a Chilena: Revolution and Counterrevolution in Chile, Left: East German stamp proclaiming solidarity with Allende; unknown source, accessed from Wikimedia Commons. Right: Magazine cover on Allende's election; accessed from Time Magazine 's website.

Share via Email Chilean troops make arrests during the military coup that overthrew President Salvador Allende. Only now was he throwing in his lot with a US government that detested the idealistic but ramshackle coalition of six parties headed by Dr Salvador Allende, the country doctor and upstanding freemason who was set on introducing elements of social democracy in a country long organised for the benefit of the landowners, industrialists and money men. For months the original plotters had kept Pinochet at a distance, judging him too loyal to the elected "and, as the results of the recent local elections showed, increasingly popular " Allende, and too loyal to the constitution to be allowed into the conspiracy. Most foreign journalists had given up and left Chile after weeks of waiting, many returning from deprived and poor Santiago " proud but provincial " to bustling Buenos Aires and their homes across the Andes. As troops fanned out in the town awaiting the arrival of Hawker Hunter jets to bomb and destroy civilian government, Allende desperately but vainly tried to contact Pinochet and for a few hours was convinced that his military commander had been kidnapped and silenced by the insurgents. On Tuesday, the counter-revolution was in full flood, telephone and telex lines were cut and the airports closed. Before 10am my friend and colleague, Stewart Russell of Reuters, and I trekked through deserted streets to the British embassy, above the Bank of London and South America, in search of a line that would take our story to London. No line was available but, as the firing in the streets increased, we were given house room and refreshments and could not but observe the unalloyed joy of many in the embassy, notably the British naval representatives, at the coup. At that time Admiral Gustavo Carvajal, one of the plotters, was on the phone to Allende offering him a plane if he would leave the country. But the president, a man with high blood pressure, was trenchant: Stuff your plane up your arses! You are talking to the president of the republic! By four in the afternoon the city, ringed by its Andean peaks, was quieter, so Stewart and I, robbed of connections with London, marched out of the bronze doors down the centre of the deserted streets to our hotels, our hands in the air. They whooped as he announced on television the closing down of congress, the political parties, the trade unions and the judges. At the beginning, when the curfew was clamped down at 6pm, there was a nightly rush for transport, public and private, as people scrambled to get indoors promptly. The soldiers were initially frightening with their battledress and machine guns as they blundered in, messed up the houses of suspects and carried off whatever took their fancy. Foreigners who were fleeing persecution " in Brazil, for instance " and who had been given political asylum by Allende were in particular danger, as were office holders in the trade unions. Later on, the squaddies, many of them country boys, came to be seen as figures of fun as they took the presence of books on cubism, for instance, as evidence that the householder was an admirer of Fidel Castro and thus worthy of being arrested and interrogated. Comedians on television joked nervously about stupid people being as thick as a soldier without a car. Over the weeks at the Moneda the flames consumed what they could, leaving a thick layer of ash. Many had been brought to a peak of perfection in their trade in the US itself or in its bases in the Panama canal zone by US instructors. Seven years before, at a dinner party in during a prolonged stay in the Chilean capital with my wife Georgie, I met Allende and his wife Hortensia "Tencha" for the first time. He and I got on famously right up until he was killed in the attack on the presidential palace. Such an atrocity, had it been committed by any Arab or Iranian, or indeed a Muslim of any persuasion, would have brought down instant punishment, or even war. But Pinochet was in no danger.

Chapter 7 : Icarus Films: The Battle of Chile (Part 1 and Part 2)

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Augusto Pinochet to powerâ€”Chileans awakened to a scene that vividly recalled the terrible events of 25 years ago. The center of Santiago was again under military occupation. Clouds of tear gas polluted the air for blocks around downtown as police rioted against crowds of people who dared to commemorate the victims of the coup. At least two demonstrators were killed and people arrested. Now the arrest of former Chilean Dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet has touched a raw nerve, not only in Chile, but around the world. The coup began in the early morning hours of September 11, Tanks filled the streets of the major cities, and bombs rained down on La Moneda palace in Santiago, killing Allende. The coup was conducted with extraordinary savagery. Thousands were raped, subjected to inhuman torture, starved, abused, murdered. In the following 12 months 30, people were killed. They were the best and Most courageous leaders of their class, systematically picked off with sophisticated foreign intelligence help. And they were not just killedâ€”they were torn apart, to warn and terrify the next generation. The rest were dealt with arbitrarily, to terrorize the population and give graphic notice that the new regime would give no quarter. All haters of injustice around the world can only hope that Pinochet is prosecuted and dies in prison, and that the atrocities heâ€”and his U. Equally important, however, are the lessons to be learned from the defeat. That is the subject of this article. It continues to be the foundation of left politics in Chile todaythat peaceful reform, rather than revolutionary change, is the only possible option for the working-class movement. Yet everything that happened in points to the opposite conclusion. The Popular Unity period witnessed the acting out of an age-old drama: The class struggle in Chile over the course of reached the point of threatening the very existence of capitalist society. When faced with a growing military threat, however, Allende and other leaders of Popular Unity continued to believe in the possibility of reforming the state. The outcome, as we shall see, could have been different. The Radical Party formed the largest non-Marxist party in Popular Unity and represented elements of the middleclass center. Among the revolutionary left, doubts existed that the united left would ever win power through elections. These young revolutionaries had been profoundly influenced by the Cuban Revolution and, subsequently, by the revolutionary romanticism of Che Guevara. Popular Unity itself thus comprised a heterogeneous centerleft coalition committed to pursuing the electoral road to socialism in Chile. There had been a long-standing tradition within a large section of the Socialist Party that rejected the idea that socialism could be achieved in Chile by any other but revolutionary meansâ€”a view reflected in party pronouncements. It contained no challenge to the dominance of private capital; on the contrary, it gave the industrial bourgeoisie a range of guarantees and provided land- owners with generous compensation. The continuation of the existing political system together with constitutional guarantees of individual freedom. The existing legal system should remain. The armed forces and police should continue to guarantee democracy. It had the opposite effect. The success of the national strike raised the confidence of workers to fight. The number of strikes jumped from an already impressive 1, strikes involving , workers in , to an amazing 5, strikes involving , workers in Workers began occupying the factories during industrial disputes. Factory occupations rose from five in to 24 in ; they then jumped to in , and leaped in to Allende himself excited workers to believe that Chile could achieve socialism by using the existing capitalist state to bring about change. And just as in the case of our judicial system, it will adapt to new needs in order to generate, through constitutional means, a new system of institutions required by the superceding of capitalism. He stated further that he would enact only those new measures which could win approval from the Chilean Congress, which itself was dominated by the right. Peasant organizations not only maintained a high level of mobilization during the first months of the new government but also began to intensify the pace of land seizures, which increased to in and to in In May, however, Allende ordered a halt to land occupations and told the peasants to wait for the legal process to redistribute land. He also publicly criticized the leadership of MIR, which enjoyed influence over the peasant and shantytown organizations, instructing them, too, to restrict their activities within the law. Few open

confrontations occurred between workers and the new government during the first half of 1971. This was primarily because the government raised the wages of manual workers by 38 percent and those of white-collar workers by 25 percent. Unemployment was also reduced to less than 10 percent, and the economy began to grow again at a rate of 8 percent per year. But, as in many cases where workers seized factories and demanded nationalization, Allende was often forced to recognize a fait accompli. Landowners looked to the courts, where they could count on a sympathetic hearing, for relief from expropriations. Using their parliamentary majority to full advantage, the Christian Democrats began to throw legal obstacles in the way of reform. Meanwhile, the Chilean bourgeoisie quit biding its time and organized a major protest to coincide with the month-long visit of Fidel Castro at the end of 1971. But behind the protests over consumer shortages lay another and more far-reaching purpose: Between January and December 1971, the number of strikes reached 11, and there had been 11 land invasions. Imperialism Strikes Back The international bourgeoisie had already gotten the message. International capital, led by the U.S. There are few mourners for Allende or Marxism to be seen in Chile today. A State Department memorandum sent November 16 recorded that the number of summary executions during the 19 days following the coup were three times higher than the publicly acknowledged number. The argument is meant to show that, without U.S. aid, Allende can no longer hope to satisfy the owners of industry and the working class. He will have to choose to side with one or the other. But one side is armed, the other not. Such a course will tend to create confusion and a lack of direction among many workers. But it is not likely to lead to any great loss in the spontaneous militancy in the factories and mines. Because of that it will not satisfy those who hold real power in Chile. After a period their mass of support became demoralized and the government themselves were easily overthrown by right-wing military coups. That a significant distance had begun to open between the Allende government and the workers and peasants in whose interests it purported to act was demonstrated by events in the summer of 1971. The arrests were themselves protested with a mass march into downtown Santiago, where demonstrators demanded from the Communist Minister of the Interior the release of the 44 prisoners as well as the firing of the judge. But the Allende government did nothing. Cerrillos is a suburb of Santiago and at the time contained the largest concentration of industries in Chile: Expropriate all monopoly firms and those with more than 14 million escudos capital, as well as all industries which are in any way strategic, all those which belong to foreign capital, and all those which boycott production or do not fulfill their commitments to their workers. Set up the Popular Assembly to replace the bourgeois parliament. The Communist Party and the right wing of the Socialist Party immediately rejected the cordones. Revolutions always reach a point at which, if the revolutionary process does not go forward, it inevitably falls back and faces defeat. Events such as those at Melipilla and Cerrillos ignited precisely this debate within Popular Unity: At a June conference in Lo Curro, the right wing of Popular Unity argued that further reforms should await a wider electoral mandate. This would mean in practice limiting the *via chilena* to only what the middle-class sectors, both inside and outside of Popular Unity, would accept. The left wing of Popular Unity argued instead for speeding up the reform process, including the pace of nationalization, and for attributing more importance to the actual struggles on the ground. Always the discussion was about what UP should do from its position within the state. Representatives of the left political parties attended as well, with the exception of the Communist Party. In the same July 31 speech, therefore, Allende left no doubts about his allegiance to bourgeois democracy and his opposition to the development of the cordones. It is not a body alien to the nation, in the service of antinational interests. It must be won to the cause of progress in Chile and not pushed to the other side of the barricades. I shall eliminate any others if they appear. The failure of other groups—“notably MIR and the left wing of the Socialist Party”—to withdraw their support from Popular Unity and to establish a revolutionary party with the conscious aim of taking state power then finally sealed the fate of the *via chilena*. Workers in many areas had won significant control over production, but they had generally been unable to dominate the means of distribution. The impact of the strike might have been immediate and devastating, since the lack of road transportation could have halted all supplies. Moreover, shopkeepers closed their shops in support of the transportation bosses; doctors, lawyers, dentists and other professionals added to the atmosphere of panic by also joining the strike. They set up factory committees to organize distribution without the bosses and to

protect production against sabotage. In a word, the cordones reemerged and successfully turned the tide against the bosses. Where they had occupied factories, for instance in the town of Arica in Northern Chile, they were told to allow the old bosses to take over again. As the bosses did so they sacked the militant workers. The strike lasted 74 days during the months of April, May and June. The miners struck against the Allende regime because it refused to give them the wage increases promised in their contract. Then] the bourgeoisie began to make demagogic use of the conflict. Organizations to the left of Allende displayed no better an attitude toward the miners: Leading officers within the armed forces viewed Souper as acting prematurely and withheld their support. But none of the opposition parties, including the Christian Democrats, decried the coup attempt. It was a clear signal of a more ominous military threat. The working class once again sprang into action to thwart the coup attempt.

Chapter 8 : Library of Dr. Thomas G. Mathews: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Chile

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Revolution and Counterrevolution in Chile, Left: East German stamp proclaiming solidarity with Allende; unknown source, accessed from Wikimedia Commons. A strong opposition fomented among Chileans across classes, in the military, and abroad as the United States, embattled in the Cold War, sought to maintain its hegemonic influence in Latin America and the Western Hemisphere. The Chilean revolutionary experiment met its end on September 11th, , when counterrevolutionary forces coalesced in a military coup that toppled the longest standing democracy on the South American continent. Photograph by James N. Wallace, accessed from Wikimedia Commons. Duke University Press Books, Accessed November 10, In this way, the editors offer a balanced resource on a controversial topic. Translated by Ryan Judge. In *The Chile Reader*: Accessed November 1, In the s, the Christian Democrats held power under the president Eduardo Frei and enacted a number of reform policies to improve standards of living and inequality in Chile. This is a pamphlet from the Christian Democrat Party discussing agrarian reform during this time. The authors of the pamphlet contrast the productive capacity of Chile through figures on unused land and jobless poor with the current unequal situation. They give many figures on the inequity of land ownership in Chile and discuss urbanization and overcrowding as a growing problem in Chile. The authors portray land reform as a means to improve living conditions of the peasant classes and improve the welfare of the entire nation without hurting the land owning classes. The address of landowners is notable because the supporters of the Christian Democrat Party were primarily from the middle and upper classes. The Election of This chapter contains three images pictured below from the election of , demonstrating how contentious the election was and how politicized the electorate in Chile had become. The first image shows young people painting murals in support of Allende. The center and left campaigns engaged people through art, music, and street rallies during the election of The second photo demonstrates the fears the right and its supporters held concerning Allende and the possible election of a Marxist. The third image of newspapers speculating the outcome of the election shows how uncertain and how close the election was in Chile. He claims that the election of Allende in Chile will affect the U. Importantly, he notes that Allende was democratically elected and therefore the legitimate leader of Chile in the eyes of the nation and the world. Interviews with Peasants and Landowners. In these documents, we see the undemocratic elements of the socialist revolution as there were leftist groups using force to bring forth revolution in the country. It is important not to ignore this element as it lead to later problems for the Allende government: Workers march celebrating the nationalization of the Yarur cotton mill. Interviews with Workers at the Yarur Cotton Mill. This account tells the story of the strike and takeover of the Yarur Cotton Mill. This source furthermore contributes to the theory that hypermobilization of revolutionary forces destabilized the democratic revolutionary effort by the Allende administration. Interview with Carmen Saenz. According to the footnotes of the provider of the source, she misrepresents facts about the economy that she says caused her disdain for the president. She claims that for her it was a matter of fixing the economy that the introduction of socialism had broken. She cites unbelievable inflation, yet at the time of the protest, inflation had not yet begun to seriously affect the economy. Translated by Trevor Martenson. When the military attacked the presidential palace, Salvador Allende gave a final speech broadcasted over the radio just before his death. In this speech Allende addresses the people of Chile, expressing his gratitude for the loyalty of the people and his dismay at the betrayal by the military of Chileans everywhere. An audio recording of the speech with translated subtitles can be found below. Posted by Argentina Independent, September 11, Accessed December 3, Debray, a journalist and academic who fought alongside Che Guevara in Bolivia before his death, writes a glowing assessment of the Allende regime in Chile in a long introduction to two interviews with Allende on the first year of his presidency. In the interview, Allende criticizes international communism. Accessed November 20, In this speech before the UN, Allende explains the democratic revolution taking place in his country and the economic pressures from abroad that are causing it harm. This blockade consists of a

international lowering of copper prices to retaliate against Chile for nationalizing its copper industry, a credit blockade, inability to purchase needed U. Allende also discusses the nationalization of foreign owned corporations, characterizing this as the right of Chile to its own resources, an historic wrong being righted with respect for international law. Unknown source, accessed from stripes. The Fall of Salvador Allende. Little, Brown and Company, Kissinger further suggests that Salvador Allende was his own undoing in that he created political instability through radical socialism that he himself could not control. Cornell University Press, Nathaniel Davis, author of this historical memoir and U. Zelman, Patricio Leon, H. This work is a collection of essays by Chilean academics commentating on the Allende government during his presidency. The contributing authors represent both supporters and opponents of Allende and Unidad Popular. Accessed November 14, This source provides a helpful timeline of the events of the revolution and counterrevolution in Chile from It is a useful historical resource giving several important dates in the revolutionary period. The Battle of Chile: The Insurrection of the Bourgeoisie Part One. Accessed November 19, In this book, historian Mark Falcoff analyzes the story of the Chilean revolution in the grander context of modern Chilean history. Falcoff furthermore suggests that a military coup was not what the United States wanted. In his interpretation of the Church Report a Congressional investigation of U. The example of U. The University of North Carolina Press, The author of this book suggests that Chile was but one important episode in a larger Cold War between the U. The struggle of Chile for democratic socialist revolution under the shadow of U. Harmer suggests that the opposition of Allende and his supporters to U. His analysis of internal factors causing the violent end of the revolution suggests that responsibility falls more to the political moderates in the country who were unsuccessful in asserting a middle ground among the political clamor. He furthermore claims that the influence of international powers, particularly in this case, the U. Thus in this book, the author seeks to bring focus to both the internal and external factors at play, rather than emphasize one more than the other as different observers have done. The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, The University of Pittsburgh Press, In this book, political scholar Paul E. Sigmund analyzes Allende, his predecessor, and his successor. University of Chile Institute of International Studies, The contributors include historians, academics, political commentators, and government officials. Accessed December 2, According to the authors, hypermobilization occurs when a social group is mobilized by political forces and it seeks to fulfill all of its needs as quickly as possible, but cannot because of the lack of resources, causing conflict. These conflicts occurred between Allende and the working class of Chile, who saw the democratic processes as not working fast enough to suit their needs. Women during the March of the Empty Pots. UMI Dissertations Publishing

Chapter 9 : The Sexual Counterrevolution

The Chilean workers are not alone in their opposition to the forces of counter-revolution; the revolutionary movement that began in Mexico with Villa's guerrilla bands has not yet come to an end.