

After 1 Year, Junta Imposing New Chile

By Joseph Novitski

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SANTIAGO, Sept. 11—A year ago, Chile's experiment in revolutionary socialism broke down and was ended by military rule. Military rule have shocked the country and changed its direction, but have not yet changed its political soul.

The four men of the military junta that replaced President Salvador Allende last year are still working on that. Their aim is to remake Chile in their preferred image: hard-working, apolitical, efficient, authoritarian and above all anti-Marxist.

In recent months, leaders of a government youth organization, trained in a government-run camp, have spread out to organize followers. Economic policymakers and businessmen now believe they can roll back 40 years of state intervention in the economy.

Social planners working under air force officers have purged leftist leadership from about 20,000 neighborhood organizations and are rebuilding them along government-approved lines. The planners' highest national priority is a nursery school education program, a sort of Chilean Project Head Start, scheduled to begin next year.

The top military leaders have closed Congress, recessed political parties, outlawed the left and shut down all opposition newspapers. They rely heavily on not one, but five, internal intelligence services. But they insist they are not just another military government nor is their aim just to stabilize the country between two civilian govern-

ments.

"We are slightly special gorillas," said Gen. Gustavo Leigh, the air force commander-in-chief, using the favorite Spanish pejorative term for military officers.

"We have aims, not deadlines," said Gen. Augusto Pinochet, the army commander-in-chief, leader of the junta and chief of state, with the title of supreme chief of the nation.

"If you do not form a new generation, the roots of evil will stay on and will spring up again," said Enrique Ortuzar, a lawyer who leads the government commission drafting a new constitution.

The roots of evil, according to military officers and civilians like Ortuzar who help them with their political planning, lie in parts of

the liberal democratic system which dated to 1925.

That system made the country famous in South America for constitutional stability for 48 years despite a brief period of turbulence in the 1930s. But it broke down, they believe, under the strain of years of intense politicking and the final blow of the Allende government, an attempt to install Marxist socialism in a liberal constitutional framework.

The 34 months of the Allende government crippled the economy and the constant political strain left Chileans, after the coup, in a strangely apolitical mood.

"They act like people with a hangover after a two-week binge," remarked a Latin American who has visited often over the years.

This mood favors the jun-

ta's plans for remaking the country. In mining camps, on the waterfronts, in factories, offices and shopping streets and even in the shantytowns of the poor, who were favored by Allende's policies, people often express agreement with the junta that the political system broke down. Rough-spoken men look sideways and spit and women screw up their faces in distaste when they talk about civilian politicians.

"We politicians must bear a great deal of the blame for the system's collapse and for what came after," said Renan Fuentealba, a former president of Chile's Christian Democratic Party, the largest party and thus, one, the political center of gravity. "We could not make it hold together," he said.

A year ago today, the nine political PARTIES THAT political PARTIES political PARTIES THAT made democracy work had given up. For months gangs from the left and right had been fighting out their differences with rocks and staves in almost daily street battles. Even convinced, active supporters inside Allende's socialist government knew it could not survive.

"We had the feeling that the ship of state was drifting," one recalled recently. "We could feel the coup coming like a storm, and, those days, we left for the office, we never knew for sure we'd come home."

The hatred divided fami-



SALVADOR ALLENDE
... military's nemesis



EDUARDO FREI
... disenchanted

lies. Men rode on armed night patrols to protect their small houses in middle-class districts. Teen-age boys carried staves to school in their jacket sleeves. Neighborhood observers from the left and right kept lists of enemies on their blocks.

Today, the hatred is submerged but not gone. The organized left was shattered in the brief fighting after the coup and driven underground by the repression that has followed.

The consensus of uncommitted observers' estimates is now that more than 2,500 died in the first few months.

Another 8,416 persons have gone into forced exile, after seeking asylum in foreign embassies. About twice that number are believed to have left of their own accord.

About 8,000 are still detained for political reasons, many at five known detention camps.

Torture was recently still in use during interrogations, according to church groups and the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States—despite government orders to stop it and the reported punishment of an unspecified number of responsible officials.

Hatred sometimes shows thorough when men discuss Chile as it was a year ago. An air force colonel and a businessman used the same phrase:

"They were going to kill us, all of us who were against Marxism."

"Don't forget it," warned Freddy Bustamante a union shop steward at the giant

Chuquicamata copper mine.

"We were at the edge of civil war, and no doubt about it. They awoke hatred in me, the leftists, and, even though I'm a Christian, I've still got it."

So, today there are informers in offices, factories, hospitals and classrooms. There is a curfew from 1 a.m. to 5:30 a.m. For two months there have been massive police and military sweeps through the urban shantytowns where Allende's voting support was concentrated.

The records of the Santiago Court of Appeals this year show more than 1,000 petitions to find out where men or women taken detained in the night have been sent.

"If we arrest, say, Jose Gonzalez, and then tell people about it, in one hour everything he had set up disappears," Gen. Pinochet explained to foreign correspondents last week. "The intelligence services will be maintained because they are the only way of assuring tranquility for our citizens."

There is tranquility for most people today. Life goes on at a normal, if slightly subdued pace. So far, as one can tell in travelling, a majority of the 9.3 million people accept the junta. The military government also has many active supporters.

But there are other reactions.

A year ago, women fought over places in food lines in Santiago. Today, there are no food lines but poor families stick to beans and bread and some poor parents report that they often skip at

least one meal to make sure their children have enough to eat.

Among some of the staples of the Chilean diet, rice is eight times more expensive than a year ago, tea has doubled in price and sugar is six times dearer.

Inflation continues at the rate of 250 per cent a year, and salaries have not kept pace. The economic pinch hurts, and the junta, after 12 months, is being judged as a government, not as acway out of a political impasse.

"They're making laws that only benefit the rich," said an elevator operator. "They're legislating very badly."

A year ago, factories were occupied and production had broken down. National transport had been crippled for months by a truckowners' strike against Allende. The government was broke.

Today, Chile's credit rating has been restored in Western financial markets. Copper production has risen 41 per cent and steel and cement output are up. Factories are working, but not all of them at full capacity.

Unemployment, according to the national statistical institute, stands at 10.3 per cent in the Santiago area, where most consumer industries are centered.

Copper miners, factory hands and office workers say they miss the right to organize and express their grievances.

"This does not mean there is resistance," warned a young leader of an underground leftist party, who left Chile briefly and was interviewed recently in another capital. "There is none."

Still, the civilian political conscience seems to be stirring. Lawyers who accepted the junta in good faith express worries over what they see as distortions in the judicial system, introduced by military trials of men charged for political offenses committed before the coup.

There is accurate way of measuring the doubts that have begun to crop up among anti-Marxists who supported the coup. But perhaps the quiet position adopted by Christian Democrat Edward Frei, who was president before Allende, is an indicator. After acquie-

ing in the coup, he has privately begun to criticize the military's policies, particularly in human rights. The military government is not a unified bloc. For every hard-line officer, who believes that the frontiers should be closed and Chile run like a barracks, there is another, more moderate officer.

"I am Chilean and, luckily I know our history well," Gen. Pinochet said last week. "For that reason, I know that our idiosyncrasy will not accept a government that lasts forever, but a government that will be up to the government to decide how the constitution is to be promulgated," said Enrique Ortuzar, the head of the constitutional drafting commission. "But I have no doubt that for a constitution to have true moral force, it must be supported by the people in a plebiscite."

A high government official with regular access to ranking military officers said, "It would not surprise me if we began talking about elections again in Chile in about six or eight years."