Allende's Undoing: A Middle Class Stung

By JONATHAN KANDELL

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BUENOS AIRES, Sept. 14—
"I am not the President of all
Chileans," Dr. Salvador Allende
Gossens said a few months
after taking office almost three
years ago years ago.

What the Marxist President meant was that he had been elected by the urban squatters, the industrial workers and the

landless peasants, and that he con-sidered his Gov-ernment most be-News Analysis holden to them. Dr. Allende sucsuc-

ceeded in gaining the alliance of the poorest Chileans, but during his crisis-ridden tenure he also gained the undying enmity of the middle classes, whose support he never really sought sought.

military

that toppled his Government and took his life was not the usual Latin-American palace revolt. It came in the wake of political strikes by middle-class sectors and open calls from the

populical interposition parties for Dr. Allende's resignation or military action against him.

Tradition of Neutrality

Despite their conservative appearance, the Chilean armed forces have a strong tradition of neutrality on politics and support for constitutional government. For 40 years, before this week's coup, they had not interfered in the political process, and at crucial times—like last October's general business and transportation strike—President Allende had appealed to their patriotism and drawn them into his Cabinet.

When the armed forces finally did act—ruthlesch.

them into his Cabinet.

But he was prevented from further action by an implacacoup d'état nally did act—ruthlessly and ble legislature controlled by his

public letters and Government officials and supporters dismissed the court system as reactionary.

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A climate inexorably built up that prevented any sort of institutional solution. Dr. Allende was under heavy pressure by ultraleftists, who urged him to press ahead with programs no matter what the social, political and economic costs. And the voices of moderate opponents were drowned out by hardliners who urged nothing less than the President's removal.

Toward the end, the only dynamic process in Chile seemed to be the rapidly deteriorating economic situation. Official prices rose by more than 300 per cent in 12 months, agricultural and industrial production declined steeply with bad man agement in state enterprises and no investment in the pri

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Associated Press

Santiago firemen removing the body of Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens, wrapped in a poncho, from the presidential palace after the coup on Tuesday.

by Declining Fortunes

vate sector, and in every city only because of the real ecothere were lines of people nomic benefits of the first 18 waiting for food and consumer months of his Government, but

Not everybody suffered. A small upper class with easy access to dollars that could be exchanged on the black market for astronomical rates expressed.

Middle Class Blames Rich

"We have been asked to pay for the excesses of the rich," said Eduardo Pérez, a young construction engineer a few months before the military coup. "Things have got to change, or there is no hope for people like me."

It was a refrain that was increasingly repeated among middle-class opponents of Dr. Allende even in the midst of the economic crisis.

One Civilian Government

The coup has left the southern half of South America with only one civilian government—ironically, former dictator Juan Perón's Argentina.

And the aging Mr. Perón—who almost certainly will regain the presidency in elections later this month—has pointedly vating force behind the strikes by thousands of truck owners, a lesson to his youthful left-wing followers.

exchanged on the black market for astronomical rates survived comfortably, and confidently awaited Dr. Allende's overthrow.

But the middle class—that broad, loosely defined group ranging from white-collar workers and young professionals to shopkeepers—suffered a precipitous decline in its living standards and expectations.

Middle Class Blames Rich
"We have been asked to pay life, that we are creating a new society," said Alvaro Abarca, a Socialist albor leader in an industrial district seized by Santiago workers. "And everybody else here feels the same way—just ask them." Indeed, many did. At this stage it seems unlikely that the miltary Government will gain even a modicum of affection from the 40 per cent of the people who backed Dr. Allende even in the midst of the economic crisis.

vating force behind the strikes by thousands of truck owners, shopkeepers and professionals that paved the way for the military take-over.

"If President Allende does not leave, we will bang on the doors of the military barracks," the wife of a truck owner vowed in a speech during a demonstration by about 100, 000 women in Santiago last week.

Dr. Allende never lost the fervent support of the lower classes, which will undoubtedly consider him a martyr.

He gained their loyalty not cited the Chilean experience as a lesson to his youthful left-wing followers.

"If you want to do the same things Allende did in Chile," He told a group of left-wing Peronist youth leaders three days before the coup, "well, just look at what is happening to Allende."

Mr. Perón notwithstanding, it is doubtful that the failed Chilean experiment will dim revolutionary fervor on the continent. But it may well repeaceful and violent roads to socialism.