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FASCISTS TAKE OVER IN CHILE



PRESIDENTE SALVADOR ALLENDE, surrounded by the workers and peasants that form the strength of the Popular Unity Government. Military forces, undoubtedly with the aid of the CIA, brutally murdered Allende, but the workers and peasants continue the fight to repulse the attack on democracy.

UFW Convention Held

A historical event took place on Oct. 21, 22, and 23 of 1973. The United Farmworkers Union held the first constitutional convention they have had since their inception in 1965. During the three days, convention delegates from all over the United States and Canada decided on what the future course of the Union should be. It was felt that the UFW delegates accomplished more in these three days than do most labor unions in a month. Below I will outline some of the major points covered in the constitution:

To be a member of the UFW you must be either working or actively seeking employment in the fields, or have worked full time for the Union (at least six months) as a boy-cutter receiving only \$5 a week.

To be an elected official, you must be a member in good standing as well as have worked for the union under the conditions described in the last paragraph.

Lawyers, Doctors and other hired staff are not considered as union members and will have no official vote. This plank effectively eliminates any high paid union officials and gives the voting power to those who have sacrificed to build a strong union.

The Convention also set up a public review board, autonomous from the union itself.

This board will have the final say on all appeals made either by

the membership or the executive board of the union. The importance of the review board is to prevent the black belling of any member who may hold different views than those expressed by the majority of the union, at any one time.

The delegates also passed a plank in the constitution holding all members of the union to a policy of non-violence.

A critical point which has always plagued the UFW, was the means by which dues were to be collected. Before a member paid dues whether he be employed or not. At the convention it was decided by the delegates that deduction of two per cent of their wages was a fairer way of collecting dues. This process will replace all other assessments.

The Union also took on a very strong internationalist outlook. Resolutions showing the UFW solidarity with all other oppressed peoples can be seen in the following statements:

- 1) Condemnation of the Chilean Fascist Coup.
- 2) Condemnation of Marco's dictatorship of the Philippines.
- 3) Condemnation of the repressive governments of South Africa.

One could see by the workers involvement in the convention that they are determined to fight

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On September 11 seditious Generals and Admirals betrayed their constitutional mandate and led a military coup against the legitimately elected popular Government of Chile. By the end of the day President Allende and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Chileans had been murdered. Thousands were arrested and detained in prisons, basements, ships and the Santiago Stadium. Open resistance by the people of Chile lasted a week. During this time all borders were closed and all communications shut down. It is impossible to know exactly how many have been killed or wounded and how many are political prisoners. But we know that the country is still under martial law and that there are orders to shoot violators of curfew on sight; we know that there are special orders to arrest foreigners and official Junta reports indicate that in Santiago's Stadium alone there are more than 6,000 prisoners. Estimates for the dead run into the several thousands and Newsweek Magazine (first week of October) reports a body-count of 2,300 for the Santiago Morgue alone.

The illegitimate Government of the Junta, composed of 12 Generals and 2 Civilians, has dissolved the Congress by decree. All political parties and trade unions have been outlawed. All municipal employees as well as all the duly elected and appointed authorities of the University of Chile have been fired and replaced by military administrators appointed by the Junta. Books have been burned in the streets of several cities. All Santiago newspapers except La Prensa and El Mercurio have been shut down. A price of 500,000 Escudos has been placed on the heads of the leaders of the various Parties that composed the Unidad Popular. On Sunday, September 30th, the Junta announced that all across-the-board cost-of-living wage increases have been cancelled. The Junta also announced the establishment of a system of neighborhood telephones to allow citizens to denounce to military authorities persons they believe

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FOREIGN PRESS

'The Chilean experiment: We're getting a distorted view'

By JAMES TAYLOR

Opinion

★ James Taylor is the managing editor of the United Church Observer.

Socialism is accepted in the Canadian political system. Three of our provinces have Socialist governments. But socialism is not yet accepted in the United States. That is why Canadian readers can rarely find in their newspapers information about Socialist governments elsewhere that is not distorted or misleading. The Canadian reader has become a victim of U.S. paranoia about socialism.

Nowhere has this distortion been more blatant than in stories about Chile, that long, narrow country at the bottom of South America that elected a Socialist government, headed by a president who was an avowed Marxist, Salvador Allende.

Close to civil war

Yesterday's coup that resulted in Allende's suicide was preceded by a transportation strike that brought the country to the verge of civil war. The implication was that this was a revolt against the president by the very people who elected him, the working classes.

But this was not a "truckers' strike." It was a truck-owners' strike. It had little support from unions, workers, or peasants. It was supported by doctors, lawyers, and engineers, and by store owners, not employees, who closed stores for 48 hours. Instead of being a revolt by the masses, it turns out to be a sabotaging action by the members of the former privileged classes, those who had benefited at the expense of the poor under the previous conservative governments.

That hasn't been said. Canadian newspapers do not have their own permanent correspondents in Chile. As a result, they have become dependent on American news sources. (Merely having a "Latin American correspondent" is not enough—the information about Chile available in Brazil, Argentina, or Peru may be even more distort-

ed than that available in North America. I was in Peru last March, when Peruvian papers reported the results of Chile's mid-term elections. They ignored Allende's unprecedented increase in popular vote, and interpreted his failure to win a clear majority as a triumph for Eduardo Frei's increasingly right-wing Christian Democratic party.)

The continuing distortion of U.S. news coverage of Chile was studied last year by Dr. John C. Pollock, sociologist and political scientist at Rutgers University, New Jersey. He examined all reports about Chile carried over two years in six of the "best" U.S. papers: the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Wall St. Journal, the Los Angeles Times and the Christian Science Monitor. His conclusion: "The American public has been fed a steady diet of homogenized information which is uniformly prejudiced against the government of President Salvador Allende."

Communist puppet

His contention is that U.S. media treat Chile as a battleground between Marxism and democracy, that they portrayed Allende as a puppet on a Communist string who was juggling Chile's economy into chaos for the sake of Socialist ideals, while they ignore the disruptive influence of U.S. monetary and trade pressures and the destructive actions of Chile's right-wing groups.

Allende's Socialist government was consistently portrayed as stifling freedom of the press. Any impartial visitor to Chile soon dis-

covered the opposite. There was probably no other country in the world, and certainly no other in Latin America, where the press had such freedom to attack the government. Almost all the country's radio stations, and a majority of the newspapers, were openly anti-government. Unfortunately, these papers were also the ones with the best contacts with North America. The publisher of El Mercurio, Santiago's dominant daily, is a vice-president of Pepsi Cola. And it was these papers' version of the news that most readily reached North American readers.

Court a tool?

So, on June 23, the New York Times ran a headline: "Court in Chile shuts paper over anti-Allende ad." Clearly implied is that Chilean courts had become tools of the government against any political opposition. What the story did not bother saying was that the ad advocated open disobedience, violence, and insurrection—an advertisement that would have been intolerable to the U.S. government, had any American editor accepted it. The story also left the impression that the closure of the newspaper was permanent. It was, in fact, for one day.

Similarly, labor unrest in Chile was continually exaggerated. An example comes from the usually irrefragable Christian Science Monitor. On June 25, they said of a strike by copper workers at El Teniente, the world's largest underground copper mine: "Much of the labor force is striking against the government. . . ." Other reports of the same dispute claimed as many as 12,000 copper workers had walked out.

The suggestion, of course, was that if workers have abandoned the government, what support had it left? More direct investigation, however, shows that of El Teniente's 12,750 workers, at least 70 per cent were

on the job during the strike, and among blue-collar workers, more than 90 per cent were working.

The support that the few strikers received came from unlikely allies—the various associations of landowners, industrialists, merchandise distributors, doctors, lawyers, and engineers, and from the right wing political parties. The "strike" was not supported, it now appears, by any major trade union. No other miners' union joined in the walkout. Presumably, we shall read, later this year, that agricultural production declined in Chile. It will be partly blamed on poor weather, partly on the government's policies of breaking up large private landholdings, and of encouraging peasants to "occupy" unproductive private property.

There will be little mention of a strike last October by owners and distributors that withheld seeds and fertilizer at planting time. There will be no mention of landowners shooting peasants who have occupied land (even after legal expropriation proceedings have been completed), nor that no murder charges have been laid against any of these shooters nor how such shootings affect the willingness of peasant farmers to stand in the middle of a field working their land.

A valiant effort

Whether the policies of the Allende government were right or wrong, Chile was making a valiant effort to be independent, economically, politically, and culturally. The aims were similar to Canada's, but Chile started with immense disadvantages in size and wealth compared to Canada.

Whether the Chilean experiment will continue, and in what form, is open to question today. But whatever the future holds, the Canadian media can help balance the news they give their readers by seeking continuing contacts on both sides of the controversies.

Protests at Federal Building

600 Chicanos arrested; 200,000 to be deported

STEVE RAND

Before the year is over more than 200,000 brown skinned persons will be summarily arrested, transported across the border and "repatriated" or "deported," depending on whose definition you accept.

Donald T. Williams, acting district director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is the man who made the prediction of a fifth of a million Los Angeles area pickups before the year is out. He uses the term "repatriation" in describing the mass arrests which take place annually in the Los Angeles area but which are little noticed by the non-Chicano population except when, like last week, over 600 were arrested in a single day.

Bert Corona, secretary of the Brotherhood of General Workers (CASA) which has many of the so-called illegal aliens in its organization, describes what happened last week quite differently. He said, "The raids are an attempt to divert attention from their own (INS) guilt by making our people the culprits." The raids, he said, are "A gestapo like dragnet in which the government takes an innocent, defenseless segment of the population and uses them as scapegoats like Hitler used the Jews."

Lost in the maze of statistics (which appear to be so overwhelming so as to make them incomprehensible to many people) are individual human tragedies of broken homes, fatherless and motherless children and young U.S. born Chicano youth whisked out of the country in which they were born to a land they know not.

INS Under Fire

At no time have these widespread raids taken place at a time when the INS has been under such fire. On a lesser scale it is Watergate in spades. As revealed by the New York Times, and as long charged by Chicano leaders, the INS along the U.S. Mexican border is one long corrupt mess.

On May 5, 1972, former Attorney General ordered Operation Clean Sweep, an inquiry into the working of the Immigration Service in the Southwest. For starters it can be reported that out of 11 persons indicted as a result of this probe 7 were immigration officers. Four have been convicted or have pleaded guilty.

Paradoxically, on the day that the massive raids took place in the Los Angeles area, an event which only merited a half column story on the inside of Section II of the Los Angeles Times, James Graves, an INS agent, pleaded guilty to charges of corruption and providing false documents to Mexican aliens. This took place in San Diego and the report was sent out over the national news wires. It was, however, conspicuously missing from the pages of the Times.

(Since many industries in Southern California are dependent, to a larger degree than is generally recognized, on the use of Mexican labor, most of which is paid very low wages, it might be that the Times, always anxious to present the pleasant view of Southern California, is desirous of sweeping this scandal under the rug.)

Charges Against Agents

What are the charges against the accused INS agents? They range from smuggling of narcotics into the United States to the physical abuse of immigrants. They allow aliens to enter the U.S. for illegal purposes, including working on struck ranches in direct violation of the law.

It is believed that federal in-

vestigative agents have purchased entry documents in Calexico and San Ysidro in California. Other purchases have been made by immigrants in border cities in Texas.

The Border Patrol is charged with the responsibility of enforcing INS regulations. But, according to federal agents, some of the government workers have been running quite a different operation, a very profitable one to them and for the persons they are involved with.

They operate their own bracero (contract labor) program under which they supply illegal Mexican labor to large ranchers in return for hunting privileges, cash payments and other emoluments.

One of the gimmicks used by border agents is to claim that the entrance of Mexicans into the U.S., who would not otherwise qualify, is in the public interest. And, of course, more often than not, the corrupt agents claim that the incoming Mexicans are to be used as stool pigeons against those who are violating the U.S. laws. That takes place at the time and place that the agents are being paid off for allowing these Mexicans to cross the border.

Splitting the Take

Not only federal agents have had their hands in the till. An investigator for the California Motor Vehicle Department was charging each alien \$300 for admission into the U.S. while claiming that the entry of the illegal

aliens was necessary to help him detect other illegal aliens with fraudulent documents. He split his take with federal officials on the border.

One picket, at the expense of Mexican labor and to the benefit of the U.S. agents and growers, took place in Texas. There one of the growers needed workers to harvest a crop. He hired a crew of illegal Mexican workers and informed the chief patrol agent in his sector who saw to it that no raids took place during the harvest. In reporting this incident the NY Times stated that "When the crop was in, the rancher notified the sector chief, and before the Mexicans were paid, the patrol arrested them and sent them back across the border."

Summing it all up the account declares, "the rancher got his crop out of the field, the chief patrol agent got year round hunting rights on the ranch, and the Mexicans got nothing."

Mexicans Didn't Complain

Most Mexicans, fearful of having to answer for being in the U.S. illegally, did not complain. Some, however, did complain and had to deal with the same border patrol that was an integral part of the deal under which they were exploited. Told they would have to stay in jail pending settlement of their complaints about not getting paid for their work, the Mexican workers agreed to settle for ten percent of their earnings.

In another instance illegal aliens working a ranch were offered "voluntary departure" on the day before they were due to be paid. Those who refused to accept it were deported. And those few workers that the rancher considered indispensable for his operation were paroled into the U.S. as stool pigeons.

Sex appears to be a preoccupation for the border patrol and other government agents. It has always been used by those who seek to exploit Mexican women. One of the reasons that the United Farm Workers Union has insisted on a union hiring hall is that labor contractors and growers' agents have often made sex availability part of the price for the right to work in the United States.

Prostituting Women

It now appears that high government officials, as part and parcel of the border operation are demanding and getting sex from Mexican women for themselves and for their friends.

According to one agent, interviewed by the NY Times, "the same officials repeatedly used their connections in Mexico to obtain women for visitors from Congress and other agencies of government with authority over immigration matters."

One example cited was "an Assistant Attorney General, who has since left the Justice Department (and

who, was entertained at a Mexican house of prostitution through the efforts of immigration officials."

A pattern of corruption has been unveiled. It reaches into many of the high level government agencies such as the Office of Management and Budget, one of whose officials was escorted to a house of prostitution by a border agent in order to compromise him. That was "one" way of making sure that the Border Patrol and INS would get their full appropriation in the White House budget planning.

Raids Protested

And while all of this is going on the raids in Los Angeles continued at a rate in excess of last year when 140,884 were seized and tossed across the border from the Southern California area. In the first four months 66,669 were deported.

This week protests by Chicano, religious and other organizations have taken place in front of the federal building to protest the raids. Their charge is that the system in the United States, not the so-called illegal aliens, creates unemployment. And also, that every person, citizen or not, is entitled to due process under the Constitution. Court action is scheduled to be instituted by the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund and by volunteer attorneys of the American Civil Liberties Union to halt the raids.

SAFEWAY BOYCOTT CONTINUES

UFWA-Teamsters Agreement

The consequences of the UFWA-Teamster agreement, once it is signed, could be beneficial or detrimental to the UFWA.

On the one hand, the agreement will allow the UFWA with less than 10,000 members (compared to its peak of two years ago of 40,000) to grow as it will now be able to organize an estimated 2 million farm workers throughout the country.

On the other hand, if one considers the dwindling numbers now engaged in field work and the increasingly broader use of machines to work the fields, the gains are not that significant. At the same time, however, the members, are to have jurisdiction in canneries and other nonfield operations.

The Teamsters are also promising not to renew the lettuce contracts after 1975, but the two unions have fought and reached agreements before and there always was a loophole for the Teamsters to continue signing with the growers.

The new name of the union, United Farm Workers of America AFL-CIO, reflects two new directions for the union: 1. A desire to be part of the "American mainstream" and to wave the red, white, and blue. 2. A recognition of dependency. The Farm Workers' Union is now part of a larger union structure and is no longer an independent organization. The UFWA must now follow the lines set down by the AFL-CIO and must get the approval of all other unions that would be affected by a strike before picket lines can be set up. The most effective weapon of the union is thus limited. But a union with no economic power must bend to the demands of the bigger structure that is providing thousands of dollars to support workers on strike.

Only time will tell whether the agreement will insure the survival of the UFWA or will speed up its destruction.

The agreement reached by the Teamsters and the United Farm Workers of America on September 27, has not yet been signed and is not yet in effect. Once the agreement is signed the UFWA will drop the boycott against lettuce growers who

still have Teamster contracts but it will continue its boycott against table grape and wine companies which have contracts that have been repudiated by the Teamsters. In the meantime it continues its lettuce boycott and its picketing of Safeway.

The agreement provides that the Teamsters will renounce most of the contracts they have signed with growers covering field workers so that the UFWA will eventually have jurisdiction over all field workers. The Teamsters will retain jurisdiction in related non-field operations, such as canneries, creameries, frozen food processing plants, produce processing plants, produce markets, warehouses and trucking operations.

The signing of the agreement will mean that the Teamsters will "renounce and unilaterally resign" all contracts signed with the table and wine grape growers and with most other row crop growers, including two major lettuce growers, Mel Finnerman and D'Arrigo Brothers. The Teamsters would temporarily retain contracts they signed in July, 1970, with other Salinas Valley lettuce growers. But when these contracts expire on July 15, 1975, the Teamsters agree not to renew them again.

The UFWA is also promising to comply with all the rules and policies of the AFL-CIO regarding

Opinion

TEATRO A7 UCSD

Just as most white radicals in the United States have now turned to the ulcerated Guru Maharaj Ji, Chicanos undergoing a similar pseudo introspective state are allowing in Aztec mythology (crossbred with Catholicism) as evidenced by the Teatro Campesino of Luis Valdez.

El Teatro Campesino, a theatrical off-shoot of the Farmworkers Movement, appeared at UCSD recently as part of the Freshman Orientation given by MECHA to present "La Carpa de los Rasquachis." In Valdez' play the characters are victims of their own greed and sinfulness rather than the creations of an economic system which generates their poverty in order to assure the prosperity of others.

THE UNITED FARMWORKERS UNION IS ASKING YOU TO BOYCOTT THE FOLLOWING WINES:

GALLO

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| Paisano | Boone's Farm |
| Thunderbird | Spanada |
| Carlo Rossi | Tyrolia |
| Eden Rock | Ripple |
| Red Mountain | Thunderbird |

The play tells the story of Jesus Rasquachi, who comes to the U.S., to seek his fortune and dies in misery. His sons, who had rejected him, are also devoured in the end by drugs, money and a thirst for power. The play ends with the return of Quetzalcoatl, Aztec god of wisdom and civilization, to restore peace and plenty in the land and with an invitation to the audience to take up the ways of the Cross.

The mystification of Aztec Mythology seems to be a lasting plague in our community. It is unfortunate that our Chicano writers can find no better symbols than the sanguinary, imperialist Aztecs to offer as models of Peace and Justice when what we need is a critical class analysis of our situation in the United States.

Any wine which says on the label "Modesto, California" is Gallo. It is the only winery headquartered there.

FRANZIA

Any wine which says on the label "made and bottled in Rippon, California" is Franzia. It is the only winery headquartered there. All Franzia products have the number BW3654 on the case. Franzia is carried by Lucky stores, Longs Drugs and Safeway using private labels.

BOYCOTT WINES

GUILD

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| Sparkling Wines: | Brandy: |
| Winemasters' | Ceremony |
| Tres Grand | Roma |
| Cook's Imperial | St. Mark |
| Roma Reserve | Citation |
| Chibari Reserve | Parrott V.S. |
| Jeanne D'arc | Old San Francisco |
| La Boheme | Guild Blue |
| Ceremony | Ribbon |
| Versailles | |

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Lettuce growers and Teamster bureaucrats supported Nixon in '72.

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UNAM Report

UNAM
by Ricardo Villreal

On August 10, 1973, the Universidad Autonoma de Mexico was invaded by several hundred uniformed policemen of Mexico City. The reason for this savage intervention was to prevent the coalition of 200 students, teachers, and peasants (campesinos), who got together to solve some of the theoretical and crucial problems which the campesinos are continuously faced with. Since the government is unwilling to alleviate the miseries (low wages, poor health, bad housing, inflation, landless, etc.) 30 to 40 campesinos from around areas such as Vera Cruz, Oaxaca, and Jalisco got together and took their only alternative route of seeking help and advice from the students at La Universidad Autonoma de Mexico.



When the rector of this university learned of such plans, he called the District Attorney, Horacio Coutiño, to authorize the intervention by the police. This intervention also served to eliminate some of the leftist elements (such as students and teachers) permeating the university by arresting them. When the police arrived that morning on August 10th, the students and campesinos were surprised. This interference provoked a violent confrontation (which the police were anticipating and ready for) between students and policemen. The police were equipped with clubs, guns, gas, riot equipment. The students, teachers, and workers had only their hands to defend themselves. There was a lot of head-busting and broken bones. Twenty-four of the students

teachers, and workers were hospitalized with injuries, and 60 were arrested. Not everyone who took part in that meeting was arrested. It was known later that police agents had a list of selected students and teachers they wanted to apprehend. Of course, anyone who fought back was arrested automatically. Because of this incident the university suspended classes for a few weeks, and no one was allowed on the premises. Who are responsible for such fascist tactics? Well, there is no doubt that the C.I.A., through governmental officials, directs and manipulates such provocations against the U.N.A.M. as well as at thousands of other operations through Mexico and Latin America. Such was the C.I.A. military coup in Chile. All these provocations are geared to discredit and alienate the Student Movement from the rest of the population.

Third College Obituary

by William Busic

Many people believe we had a quiet summer. There were no ghetto or barrio uprisings, no college marches and no big rock concerts. It marked a victory for Middle America. Elsewhere Russian dissenters were imprisoned in mental institutions. A man died in Chile. Here in La Jolla an educational experiment came to an end. The Third College experiment ended this past summer with decisions made by the administration of the U.C. system.



ERNEST AND Julio Gallo, whose Gallo Winery is one of the nation's largest privately held companies, produce one-third of all U.S. wine. They're also being boycotted by the UFWA.

Matthews Campus was and is the original home of the different colleges at UCSD: Revelle, Muir, Third and Fourth. Today the centrally located campus houses most of the university administrative and student services offices. The Matthews dorms were never meant to be the permanent property of any one campus but "temporary housing until each campus has its own buildings." This means that the Matthews dorms are to be inhabited by succeeding waves of new students as each new campus is developed. It is this provision which allowed Third College to be killed.

Plans to admit students to Fourth College in the fall of 1974 are in progress although no new buildings have been built to house Third. There is no way any buildings for Third could be erected to fulfill this time schedule let alone meet the needs of the students. Where do Third students go—hell, Revelle or Muir? Or do they simply cease to exist? Their non-existence begins this school year with the invasion of Revelle and Muir students into the dorms at Matthews Campus, which was till now the acting home for Third College. This invasion of Revelle and Muir students has two aims: to purge the Matthews Campus of all Third students and to establish the proper atmosphere for Fourth College.

Third College was an experiment to improve the quality of education that minorities received at universities and colleges. In the process the experiment has also proven one of Hitler's main points: that a lie told long and loud enough will come to be accepted as a truth. This is what the university administration did with Third. It created carefully woven tales to undermine the students, staff and professors while handing out the rhetoric that it is infamous for. They covered their trail of deeds with the well oiled wheel of bureaucracy and maintained that Third College's problems were due to a "Fifth Column." But all the while their acts became more and more overt, as demonstrated by Chancellor McElroy's words last spring: "There are not enough qualified minority students to attend Third College." In the end it was open aggression against the remaining people who opposed the demise of Third College: Key professors were denied tenure. After all, without teachers there can be no Third College.

The latest act of the University Administration was a little trick they learned from the North Koreans and North Vietnamese, the human wave. This will solve all of the university administration's problems with Third College: what can withstand the onslaught of Mother, apple pie, football, red, white, and blue...or the invasion by Revelle and Muir students of Third College at the Matthews Campus dorms this fall?

iViva

La Huelga!

THE CHILEAN WOMAN

The following is part of an article on Chilean women written by Vania Bambirra for the independent leftist journal, Punto Final.* It is one of the first attempts by a Latin American (Brazilian) woman to define the role of women's consciousness in the struggles of dependent countries. Vania Bambirra is a Brazilian social scientist currently in exile in Chile. As the reader will see, her analysis of the role of women's liberation in the United States differs from that of most North American women involved in women's liberation.

The article as originally published began with a description of a recent national meeting of Communist women where the role of Chilean women within Chile's "revolutionary process" was discussed. According to the resolutions coming out of these discussions the role of Chilean women at this time is to share with men the responsibility of carrying forward the revolutionary process by attracting the majority of Chilean women into participation in concrete revolutionary work, and by working with their male comrades in winning the "battle of production." Bambirra agrees with the Communist women's conclusions but points out that they did not discuss the problems of women as women, and she presents her article as a beginning for the analysis of those problems.

The second section of her article is a summary of Margaret Benston's article, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," published in the Monthly Review. After summarizing that article, she compares the women's movement in developed capitalist countries with that in dependent capitalist countries. It is this section and the following that we have chosen to translate.

It is necessary to point out that the struggle for women's liberation in the dependent capitalist countries, although its essential economic content is the same as in the developed capitalist countries, must and does take a distinct political form. Its form in the U.S. and Canada, for example, is understandable and justifiable as a transitory form especially because the revolutionary struggle of the working class in those countries is passing through a long period of contraction, whose causes lie beyond the scope of this paper. Because of this situation, there is a proliferation of forms of struggle by different social sectors which question the system as a whole, but which start from those questions which affect their interests as special sectors. This is the case not only with women's liberation but also with the Black movement.

In the dependent capitalist countries, and in Chile in particular, where the class struggle has not contracted, but where—quite the contrary—it has acquired a constantly more defined and radical character, it does not make sense to establish movements of

specific social sectors isolated from the general context of the struggle of the oppressed classes. In other words, these specific movements must be under the direction of the working class through the revolutionary parties and organizations. From this point of view, the plans of the Assembly of Communist Women are correct—to the extent that the general orientation of their party as a whole is correct—which is not part of our discussion here.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that one shouldn't incorporate in a clear, defined and concrete manner the crucial problems that confront Chilean women, especially peasant and petit-bourgeois women, considering their problems separately as a special social category—"women." It is obvious that the resolution of those problems implies the development of the class struggle in general, but these problems should be formulated and pointed out partly because they will contribute to the dynamic of that same struggle. If women are made conscious of their exploitation as women, and if they learn the source of that exploitation then—as generally happens with all exploited groups—their revolutionary potential will be formed much more quickly and more vigorously into a revolutionary force. In other words, women workers have more motivation than male

workers to be revolutionaries. And there is no justification "in the name of the revolution" for not formulating clearly for women not only their class problems, but also their problems as women.

Since Chilean socialism is not being created, but rather the bases for its construction are being laid, what specific problems of the Chilean women must be stated, analyzed and resolved? ... Without a doubt it is clear to us that Chilean women—and especially middle-class women—who are relevant because that class is very significant in Chile—have a relatively privileged situation in comparison with that of women in the other countries of Latin America. Although the juridical-institutional norms that apply to Chilean women are in general the same as in the other countries of the continent in that they maintain

women as objects whose subjects are men, nevertheless those norms do contain a minimum of social gains that doubtless are the most advanced of any in the continent, with the exception of Cuba.

These gains are related to the existence of a more open system (compared to social institutions in other Latin American countries) of social institutions that make possible better conditions for exercising professions and thus achieving a relative economic and political independence within the family nucleus. In this sense, the woman herself may participate in the decisions of this nucleus and of broader social organizations ranging from work centers and unions to political parties.

This is made possible by the existence of conditions that, while they don't serve the needs of the whole population, do exist in Chile, such as Centros de Madres,* day-nurseries, etc. which reduce women's domestic duties. As pointed out earlier, this is a necessary condition for the liberation of women, and the emphasis given to this by the women in the Communist Party is without doubt, very important.

It is clear that the gains of the Chilean women are directly related to the necessity of employing the female work force on the one hand, and on the other, to the existence of a vast bureaucratic-state machine that has incorporated women into work. This has been the way that Chilean State Capitalism has tried to balance the budget of the middle-class family, where the feminine salary complemented the merger masculine salary, thus containing the pressures for greater purchasing power of these sectors.

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other countries. One can seek other examples in male-female relationships, where the Chilean woman tends to affirm herself in a much less servile way than in the other countries, which means that the role she plays tends to accentuate the equality between the two sexes, in that she also takes the initiative, as expressed from the very beginning in the going-steady relationship. As a mother, her opinions also tend to predominate, which could lead an observer to think that a sort of matriarchy is almost beginning to exist here.

Nevertheless, due observation seems relevant to us: it is true that in political life one finds the feminine presence even at the national level—but in many of these cases, the woman is the daughter, niece or some relative of an important male politician.* Or also on this level, the woman's presence often appears as the complement of the man, sustained by his prestige, be it her father, uncle, brother, etc.

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Women with baby waits outside Santiago's National Stadium where prisoners are being held.

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- Cresta Blanca
- Saratoga
- J. Pierrot
- Table and Dessert Wines:
- Wineasters' Garrett
- Tavola Alta
- Roma Virginia Dare
- Familia Cribari Lodi
- J. Pierrot La Mesa
- Cresta Blanca C.V.C.
- Mendocino
- Specialty Wines:
- Ocean Spray Cranberry Rose
- Vin Glogg (Parrot & Co.)

UNAM Report

UNAM
by Ricardo Villreal

On August 10, 1973, the Universidad Autonoma de Mexico was invaded by several hundred uniformed policemen of Mexico City. The reason for this savage intervention was to prevent the coalition of 200 students, teachers, and peasants (campesinos), who got together to solve some of the theoretical and crucial problems which the campesinos are continuously faced with. Since the government is unwilling to alleviate the miseries (low wages, poor health, bad housing, inflation, landless, etc.) 30 to 40 campesinos from around areas such as Vera Cruz, Oaxaca, and Jalisco got together and took their only alternative route of seeking help and advice from the students at la Universidad Autonoma de Mexico.



When the rector of this university learned of such plans, he called the District Attorney, Horacio Coutiño, to authorize the intervention by the police. This intervention also served to eliminate some of the leftist elements (such as students and teachers) permeating the university by arresting them. When the police arrived that morning on August 10th, the students and campesinos were surprised. This interference provoked a violent confrontation (which the police were anticipating and ready for) between students and policemen. The police were equipped with clubs, guns, gas, riot equipment. The students, teachers, and workers had only their hands to defend themselves. There was a lot of head-busting and broken bones. Twenty-four of the students

teachers, and workers were hospitalized with injuries, and 60 were arrested.

Not everyone who took part in that meeting was arrested. It was known later that police agents had a list of selected students and teachers they wanted to apprehend. Of course, anyone who fought back was arrested automatically. Because of this incident the university suspended classes for a few weeks, and no one was allowed on the premises. Who are responsible for such fascist tactics? Well, there is no doubt that the C.I.A., through governmental officials, directs and manipulates such provocations against the U.N.A.M. as well as at thousands of other operations through Mexico and Latin America. Such was the C.I.A. military coup in Chile. All these provocations are geared to discredit and alienate the Student Movement from the rest of the population.

Matthews Campus was and is the original home of the different colleges at UCSD: Revelle, Muir, Third and Fourth. Today the centrally located campus houses most of the university administrative and student services offices. The Matthews dorms were never meant to be the permanent property of any one campus but "temporary housing until each campus has its own buildings." This means that the Matthews dorms are to be inhabited by succeeding waves of new students as each new campus is developed. It is this provision which allowed Third College to be killed.

Plans to admit students to Fourth College in the fall of 1974 are in progress although no new buildings have been built to house Third. There is no way any buildings for Third could be erected to fulfill this time schedule let alone meet the needs of the students. Where do Third students go— to hell, Revelle or Muir? Or do they simply cease to exist? Their non-existence begins this school year with the invasion of Revelle and Muir students into the dorms at Matthews Campus, which was till now the acting home for Third College. This invasion of Revelle and Muir students has two aims: to purge the Matthews Campus of all Third students and to establish the proper atmosphere for Fourth College.

Third College was an experiment to improve the quality of education that minorities received at universities and colleges. In the process the experiment has also proven one of Hitler's main points: that a lie told long and loud enough will come to be accepted as a truth. This is what the university administration did with Third. It created carefully woven tales to undermine the students, staff and professors while handing out the rhetoric that it is infamous for. They covered their trail of deeds with the well oiled wheel of bureaucracy and maintained that Third College's problems were due to a "Fifth Column." But all the while their acts became more and more overt, as demonstrated by Chancellor McElroy's words last spring: "There are not enough qualified minority students to attend Third College." In the end it was open aggression against the remaining people who opposed the demise of Third College; key professors were denied tenure. After all, without teachers there can be no Third College.

The latest act of the University Administration was a little trick they learned from the North Koreans and North Vietnamese, the human wave. This will solve all of the university administration's problems with Third College: what can withstand the onslaught of Mother, apple pie, football, red, white, and blue...or the invasion by Revelle and Muir students of Third College at the Matthews Campus dorms this fall?

Third College Obituary

by William Busic

Many people believe we had a quiet summer. There were no ghetto or barrio uprisings, no college marches and no big rock concerts. It marked a victory for Middle America. Elsewhere Russian dissenters were imprisoned in mental institutions. A man died in Chile. Here in La Jolla an educational experiment came to an end. The Third College experiment ended this past summer with decisions made by the administration of the U.C. system.



ERNEST AND Julio Gallo, whose Gallo Winery is one of the nation's largest privately held companies, produce one-third of all U.S. wine. They're also being boycotted by the UFWA.

i Viva

La Huelga!

THE CHILEAN WOMAN

The following is part of an article on Chilean women written by Vania Bambirra for the independent leftist journal, Punto Final.* It is one of the first attempts by a Latin American (Brazilian) woman to define the role of women's consciousness in the struggles of dependent countries. Vania Bambirra is a Brazilian social scientist currently in exile in Chile. As the reader will see, her analysis of the role of women's liberation in the United States differs from that of most North American women involved in women's liberation.

The article as originally published began with a description of a recent national meeting of Communist women where the role of Chilean women within Chile's "revolutionary process" was discussed. According to the resolutions coming out of these discussions, the role of Chilean women at this time is to share with men the responsibility of carrying forward the revolutionary process by attracting the majority of Chilean women into participation in concrete revolutionary work, and by working with their male comrades in winning the "battle of production." Bambirra agrees with the Communist women's conclusions but points out that they did not discuss the problems of women as women, and she presents her article as a beginning for the analysis of those problems.

The second section of her article is a summary of Margaret Benston's article, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," published in the Monthly Review. After summarizing that article, she compares the women's movement in developed capitalist countries with that in dependent capitalist countries. It is this section and the following that we have chosen to translate.

It is necessary to point out that the struggle for women's liberation in the dependent capitalist countries, although its essential economic content is the same as in the developed capitalist countries, must and does take a distinct political form. Its form in the U.S. and Canada, for example, is understandable and justifiable as a transitory form especially because the revolutionary struggle of the working class in those countries is passing through a long period of contraction, whose causes lie beyond the scope of this paper. Because of this situation, there is a proliferation of forms of struggle by different social sectors which question the system as a whole, but which start from those questions which affect their interests as special sectors. This is the case not only with women's liberation but also with the Black movement.

In the dependent capitalist countries, and in Chile in particular, where the class struggle has not contracted, but where—quite the contrary—it has acquired a constantly more defined and radical character, it does not make sense to establish movements of

specific social sectors isolated from the general context of the struggle of the oppressed classes. In other words, these specific movements must be under the direction of the working class through the revolutionary parties and organizations. From this point of view, the plans of the Assembly of Communist Women are correct to the extent that the general orientation of their party as a whole is correct—which is not part of our discussion here.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that one shouldn't incorporate in a clear, defined and concrete manner the crucial problems that confront Chilean women, especially peasant and petit-bourgeois women, considering their problems separately as a special social category—"women." It is obvious that the resolution of those problems implies the development of the class struggle in general, but these problems should be formulated and pointed out partly because they will contribute to the dynamic of that same struggle. If women are made conscious of their exploitation as women, and if they learn the source of that exploitation then—as generally happens with all exploited groups—their revolutionary potential will be formed much more quickly and more vigorously into a revolutionary force. In other words, women workers have more motivation than male

workers to be revolutionaries. And there is no justification "in the name of the revolution" for not formulating clearly for women not only their class problems, but also their problems as women.

Since Chilean socialism is not being created, but rather the bases for its construction are being laid, what specific problems of the Chilean women must be stated, analyzed and resolved? ... Without a doubt it is clear to us that Chilean women—and especially middle-class women—who are relevant because that class is very significant in Chile—have a relatively privileged situation in comparison with that of women in the other countries of Latin America. Although the juridical-institutional norms that apply to Chilean women are in general the same as in the other countries of the continent in that they maintain

women as objects whose subjects are men, nevertheless those norms do contain a minimum of social gains that doubtless are the most advanced of any in the continent, with the exception of Cuba.

These gains are related to the existence of a more open system (compared to social institutions in other Latin American countries) of social institutions that make possible better conditions for exercising professions and thus achieving a relative economic and political independence within the family nucleus. In this sense, the woman herself may participate in the decisions of this nucleus and of broader social organizations ranging from work centers and unions to political parties.

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cont from p 2

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WOMEN: SUFFRAGE & LIBERATION

August 24, 1919 is the day that North American women celebrate the acquisition of the vote. No meager achievement, it required a significant amount of organization, dedication, and willingness to break with traditional roles of socialization. In several countries throughout Latin America the vote seems to have had a minimal amount of success in heightening the political consciousness of women. Hence, the significance behind granting women suffrage in relation to her emancipation should be closely examined.



Within the United States women have been voicing their opinion at the polls for over half a century, while in some Latin American countries women have only been allowed that right for little over a decade. In Chile women suffrage was granted in 1949; in Peru women gained the vote in 1955; Colombia in 1957; and Paraguay as late as 1961. It is important to point out that in several countries the vote was permitted only in hope of securing the success of a particular candidate or issue and completely disassociated with advancing the political autonomy of the women.

Unfortunately, the vote has often been viewed as an end in itself rather than merely as a means to an end. In Peru, Chile and the United States the organization of women grew out of the desire to gain the vote. However, once the vote was gained the organizations dissolved. It should be understood that the vote isolated, can achieve very little for it is only a tool which can be utilized by radical or conservative factions alike. For example, the Peruvian government allowed women the vote as a means of securing a conservative candidate which would follow General Manuel Odría.

One of the reasons for the relatively weak feminist movement in Latin America is the strong influence of Catholicism. The doctrines of Catholicism

teach women that they are subservient of men and should be content with their situation. The crucial obstacle preventing the advancement of women is the idea in Catholicism that a woman does not have the right to direct her own mind or body. Catholicism preaches that women should never make decisions on their own but should depend on the "wisdom" of men, whether it be father, brother, or husband. Through this kind of indoctrination the Latina is taught that she is not an entire person unto herself but rather a parasite living off the efforts of men.

Hence, the end result is that women are left with a small amount of respect for or confidence in themselves. They perceive their limitations and, therefore, do not see any need to develop their own ideas and minds independent of men. Denying women the RIGHT to vote only serves to reinforce these myths of inferiority.

The acquisition of the vote was a supremely symbolic action, which created a positive psychological development in the minds of women. First, it recognized women as human beings with the capability of reason. Secondly, it proved that women were autonomous and equal to men within the political arena. Thirdly, it made clear that women were rejecting that part of their socialization which professes that they should be seen but not heard. In practice, the vote can be used as a tool for educating and mobilizing women in a struggle against their oppression an oppression that forces women to be ideologically, economically and physically dependent upon men. The indoctrination which Latinas receive is so embedded within the capitalist structure and Latin American culture, that to stand up against that oppression is to deny one's system of government as well as one's culture.

It is unfortunate that the symbolism associated with women suffrage has little connection to the reality of the present situation of women. In Peru, a limited number of women exercise their right to vote: out of the

total female population only 31% exercise their right to vote; in contrast, 61% out of the total female population vote in Chile (But today, we worry about feminist gains in Chile with the Junta having taken over). Their reluctance to vote it seems, is due to ignorance of the political impact or hesitance to participating in the political apparatus which directs their lives. Many women in the United States as well as Latin America, still possess a fear of politics and feel it is a business which ought to be left to men. Yet these women fail to understand that men do not suffer from the problems faced by women daily, or that men do not receive the same type of socialization as women... A man's needs and reasoning are different from that of women. The only manner in which women's needs can be honestly represented is by women themselves once they have attained political power in governing bodies. The vote should be perceived as only one achievement along the hardous struggle towards the complete emancipation of women: economic, social, political, and cultural.



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done so in youth movements. In the student movement, for example, from the school assemblies to the directive posts at the level of student centers, to the federations, the woman's presence is hardly more than an adornment.

Furthermore, women do not stand out within the most theoretical professions. What women in economics, philosophy, sociology, engineering, architecture, mathematics, physics, agronomy etc. have really contributed to the advance of these sciences and technical studies in Chile? There are one or two cases, but "the exception confirms the rule"; nor are there women among the political leaders of the workers' movement, not to mention the peasants movement. Women have excelled most in art and literature, and one thinks of a Gabriela Mistral, of a Violeta Parra, and even here there aren't many cases, given that these activities are socially acceptable for women...

The little that women participate in these fields that we have mentioned is not limited to Chile, but in general applies to the condition, as "object" that woman has had and is still subjected to in contemporary society...

Pablo Neruda dies



On September 23, twelve days after the fascist coup in Chile, Pablo Neruda died at the age of 69, reportedly of a "heart collapse." It was previously reported by the Mexican paper *Ultimas Noticias* that Neruda had been placed under house arrest by the junta.

Neruda, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1971, had always combined his political activities as a Communist with his work as a poet. He was a Chilean diplomat in 1936 at the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain, when that country's elected government was taken over by the fascist junta of Generalissimo Francisco Franco with the aid of German and Italian fascists. This experience led to his joining the Communist Party in Chile, of which he was an active member to the day he died.

In 1944 Neruda was elected to the Senate, and when Gonzalo Videla outlawed the Communist Party in 1948, Neruda denounced this action in a Senate speech. He was forced underground and eventually had to go into exile.

In 1970 he ran as Communist candidate for President, but resigned to further his party's United Front policy that led to the victory of Salvador Allende.

Neruda's poetry often dealt with the class struggle, and was always filled with a deep humanism. He was a great partisan of the socialist countries and traveled extensively in the Soviet Union.

LA UNITED FRUIT CO.

Cuando sonó la trompeta, estubo todo preparado en la tierra, y Jehová repartió el mundo a Coca-Cola Inc., Anacanda, Ford Motors, y otras entidades: la Compañía Frutera Inc. se reservó lo más jugoso, la costa central de mi tierra, la dulce cintura de América. Bautizó de nuevo sus tierras como "Repúblicas Bananas," y sobre los muertos dormidos, sobre los héroes inquietos que conquistaron la grandeza, la libertad y las banderas, estableció la ópera bufa: enajenó los albedrios, regaló coronas de César, desvaneció la envidia, atrajo la dictadura de las moscas, moscas Trojillos, moscas Tachos, moscas Carias, moscas Martínez, moscas Ubico, moscas húmedas de sangre humilde y mermelada, moscas borrachas que zumban sobre las tumbas populares, moscas de circo, sabias moscas entendidas en tiranía.

CANCIÓN

pablo neruda

Los ojos que se murieron, no murieron, los mataron, los matarán. Todos los ojos del mundo morirán, porque el mundo está muriendo en Vietnam.

Porque manejan la historia los crueldes y los ariscos y ustedes ven la victoria de la muerte en San Francisco.

Pregunta el hombre: Algún día terminará la agonía? Maldición! Terminará la crueldad y reinará la alegría? Maldición!

Los nazis con su guadaña cortaron el corazón de España! Maldición! Y ladra el perro a la luna y el niño desde la cuna crece sin duda ninguna en la opresión. Maldición!

Proclamamos la alegría! Reclamamos rebeldía! Bendición!

Para que el hombre algún día se case con la alegría! Bendición!

Si la vida es buena o mala ustedes lo dirán: ésta es una suave sala, pero matan en Vietnam.

Sigamos viendo esta farsa del dolor para continuar la vida y el amor.

Porque si muere la muerte no la matarán los otros: la lucha la matará antes de que nos mate a nosotros.



SUPLICADO



Pablo Neruda

NUMBER OF DEAD IN CHILE NOT AVAILABLE

A strong earthquake shook Chile last week but residents in Santiago huddled in doorways, caught between fear of the trembling earth and the rifles of soldiers and carabinieri enforcing a strict curfew.

Last week the Military Junta ruling in Chile stated that a total of 476 persons had been killed since the coup Sept. 11 that overthrew the Socialist government of President Salvador Allende. Newsweek correspondent John Barnes, on the other hand, alipped into the Santiago City morgue and saw 200 bodies on one day and 70, the following day. He was able to obtain an official morgue body-count from the daughter of a member of its staff: "by the fourteenth day following the coup, she said, the morgue had received and processed 2,796 corpses."

The victims came from the poblaciones, the slums that encircle Santiago and house Allende's main supporters. Barnes estimates that 200 Chileans are being killed each day.

They receive instructions against Chile

By PABLO NERUDA

But we have to see behind all them, there is something behind the traitors and the gnawing rats, an empire which sets the table, and serves up the nourishment and the bullets. They want to repeat in you their great success in Greece. Greek playboys at the banquet, and bullets for the people in the mountains: we'll have to destroy the flight of the new Victory of Samothrace, we'll have to hang, kill, lose men, sink the murderous knife held to us from New York, we'll have to use fire to break the spirit of the man who was emerging in all countries as if born from the earth that had been splashed with blood. We have to arm Chiang and the vicious Videla, give them money for prisons, wings so they can bomb their own populations, give them a handout, a few dollars, and they do the rest, they lie, bribe, dance on the dead bodies and their first ladies wear the most expensive minks. The suffering of the people does not matter: copper executives need this sacrifice: facts are facts: the generals retire from the army and serve as vice-presidents of the Chuquicamata Copper Firm, and in the nitrate works the "Chilean" general decides with his trailing sword how much the natives may mention when they ask for a raise in wages. In this way they decide from above, from the roll of dollars, in this way the dwarf traitor receives his instructions, and the generals act as the police force, and the trunk of the tree of the country rots.

Translated by Robert Bly and James Wright

MIR - The Underground Surfaces

It is business as usual at the large Santiago bank until several cars pull up out front. Out of the cars emerge a cameraman, soundman, director and what appears to be several actors. The director tells the guard in front of the bank that they are there to shoot a scene for a film.

Before the guard can respond, the director barks out orders to the "actors," the cameras roll and the action begins. The whole crew moves into the bank, and the "actors" quickly round up the unsuspecting bank tellers and lock them in the bathroom. The "actors" then take the money and emerge from the bank still pretending to film the episode.

They leave the same way they came. Minutes later they abandon the stolen cars, remove their disguises and individually blend into the crowds.

Three weeks later at the same bank, three special investigative police cars stop out front. The "investigators" and a "judge," along with a few people dressed as robbers, get out of the cars. This time they explain to the bank guard that they are there in order to re-enact the crime. They go in, lock up the tellers and rob the bank again. After they drive away, the "investigators" remove the police emblems from the cars and merge into the traffic.

Later, the radio announces that the two bank robberies were expropriations for the revolution carried out by the armed guerrilla organization, MIR.

The Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR—Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria) is the most important political group to the left of the U.P. government. The action described above was one of many carried out by MIR before Allende became president.



Recent Chile solidarity rally in New York.

THE FORMATION OF MIR

MIR was organized in 1965 at the University of Concepcion from student and other leftist groups which were dissatisfied with the political strategy and tactics of the traditional left parties in Chile. They criticized the Chilean Communist Party for being too bourgeois to lead a revolution and for following the Soviet line uncritically. Though many Miristas are former Socialists, they have criticized the Socialist Party for its insistence on the electoral path to revolution. MIR believes that peaceful revolution is impossible, that armed struggle is inevitable. "The seizing of power by the workers," they have written, "will be possible only through armed struggle." The ruling class will not surrender its power without a struggle, and revolutionary war is the inevitable result.*

In June, 1969, after a battle with the police at the University of Concepcion, MIR decided to build a clandestine organization. In the next two and a half years, MIR's actions included expropriations from banks and supermarkets, bombings of imperialist targets like the First National City Bank of New York and an attack on the Santiago Police headquarters.

On another level, MIR was involved in factory take-overs by workers, the seizing of the Catholic University in Santiago by 2,000 slum-dwellers, and student protests. MIR also organized land takeovers in the countryside among peasants, and in the city among "los sin casa," the homeless ones.

LOS SIN CASA

There are many homeless people in Chile's cities, as in the cities of other Latin American countries, where migrations of peasants from the impoverished countryside have led to the mushrooming of shanty towns. Called "callampas" (mushrooms), these shanty towns are grim sores where people live in tents, cardboard shacks or in the open. MIR began to organize among those people in late 1969, urging groups without land or homes to unite in concerted action to improve

* As of November, 1970, there were eight of these revolutionary poblaciones, which differed from each other in structure and projects.

their lives. In at least eight cases, groups did act, and eight revolutionary "poblaciones," or "Campamentos," (poor towns, or camps) grew out of those actions.**

Ranquil was one of these poblaciones. The result of a land invasion undertaken in mid-1970, Ranquil contained about 1,000 families and several Miristas from the organization's sub-group called "Los Sin Casa."** At first glance, Ranquil resembled the callampas most of its inhabitants had fled. There were few wood homes; most of the pobladores (inhabitants of the poblacion) lived in tents or in tiny shacks made of wood and cardboard. But Ranquil was different. Armed guards admitted visitors only if they had passes or special permission from Ranquil's governing body. Posters, flags and political information brightened dark walls and replaced non-existent windows. A nurse, a former nun, ran a clinic, which was staffed by volunteer MIR medical students from the University of Chile. Everywhere one looked, there was evidence of tight organization and high political consciousness. When the people's militias—composed of men and women—started drilling, it was clear that the people of Ranquil meant to defend their land.

Pobladores explained their community organization: the poblacion is divided up into blocks and each block sends a popularly elected delegate to a poblacion "directorio." Further, pobladores take part in various work fronts, such as the frente de salud (health front) or the frente cultural, which oversees all cultural and educational projects, as well as sports events. Each Front also sends a delegate to the "directorio."

No one starves in Ranquil. Though most of the pobladores cook and eat in their own homes, there is a community kitchen where rotating members of the community prepare food each day for those who need it. Strict rules govern social life. Drinking, wife-beating, child-beating, and gambling are forbidden, and a system of people's courts deals with these and other problems. Men and women share almost equally in the governing bodies, the courts and in the militias. Nevertheless, most household work is still done by women.

Under Frei, the MIR pobladores lived under constant threat of attack. After all, they had taken over land from the state or from private interests; and the Frei government saw the revolutionary poblaciones as havens for criminals and guerrillas. But under the UP government, Ranquil has grown and become stronger. For the first time in their lives, the children of Ranquil have milk every day. The clinic, now called Doctor Ernesto Che Guevara, was recognized by the National Health Service, and university trained nurses, a mid-wife and a general practitioner were assigned to work there. Every child in the poblacion from three to fifteen years attends school; during the regular school year, they go to the state-supported schools, but during the summer months of 1970-1971 (November-January), all Ranquil children attended special schools staffed by the pobladores themselves, aided by university students.

In January, 1971, the inhabitants of Ranquil celebrated their growing solidarity: they re-named their poblacion *Nueva Habana*.

MIR AND THE UP

MIR's organizing activities among homeless people, workers, peasants and students continued throughout the presidential campaign of 1970, but the organization declared a moratorium on armed actions as part

of its new policy towards the Unidad Popular. Throughout the campaign, MIR remained skeptical of the UP's chances of victory, of the effectiveness of an electoral struggle as such, and highly critical of the bourgeois groups included in the UP.

When Allende won, MIR redefined its position towards the UP. The group recognized that "the electoral majority of the left, above and beyond the possible direction the political leadership may take... opens up a new historical period of the working class. Numerous and new sectors of the people have been incorporated into the struggle for socialism, and the electoral victory gave the masses the feeling of victory and the right to govern." Because of this acceptance of the UP victory as significant for the struggle towards socialism, MIR decided to support it.

The fundamental task of the moment is to defend the electoral victory from the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to push for mass mobilizations starting from these objectives, and to formulate a policy towards the lower rank officers and the troops of the armed forces. We shall point out the dangers that await the people in the path of seizing power by the workers starting from an electoral majority, with the intention of preparing it for the confrontation that this path necessarily implies. We shall fight the maneuvers of the "mummies," we shall denounce the devious intentions of Christian Democracy and its past politics, we shall support the revolutionary sectors of the UP, and we shall try to shift the decision-making centers from La Moneda (the presidential palace) and the corridors of Congress to the mobilized fronts of the masses.

** The description of Ranquil comes out of several visits there in August-November 1970, by a member of the NACLA staff.



Hugo Gallert, Labor Today

Non-Aligned Nations Conference

The Fourth Conference of non-aligned nations took place September 6 through September 9 in Algiers. Fifty-nine heads of state were in attendance along with representatives of seventeen other nations for a total of seventy-six participating nations. Chile, Peru and Argentina were represented for the first time.

These countries have been called Third World Nations, Under-Developed Nations and Non-Aligned Nations. With these many labels to choose from, a serious problem arises when there is no agreement among the participants as to their classification. Many questioned their role at such a conference and, more importantly, the way they should act with respect to the rest of the world since the conference in one way or another centered on the world political and economic situation.



Fidel Castro

76 nations attended conference

PARTICIPANTS

Afghanistan	Egypt	Liberia	Niger
Algeria	Equatorial Guinea	Libya	Nigeria
Argentina	Ethiopia	Madagascar	Oman
Bangladesh	Gabon	Malawi	Sri Lanka
Bahrain	Gambia	Malaysia	Sudan
Bhutan	Ghana	Morocco	Swaziland
Botsswana	Guinea	Peru	Syria
Burma	Guyana	Qatar	Tanzania
Burundi	India	Saudi Arabia	Togo
Cambodia (RGNUC)	Indonesia	Sierra Leone	Trinidad
Cameroun	Iraq	Singapore	Tunisia
Cent. African Republic	Ivory Coast	Somalia	Uganda
Chad	Jamaica	South Vietnam	United Arab Emirates
Chile	Jordan	(Provisional Revolutionary Govt.)	Upper Volta
Congo	Kenya	Mali	South Yemen
Cuba	Kuwait	Malta	Yugoslavia
Cyprus	Laos	Mauritania	Zaire
Dehoney	Lebanon	Mauritius	Zambia
	Lesotho	Nepal	

Observers included: Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela. Also 14 African anticolonial movements, the Puerto Rican Socialist party and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Special guests were Austria, Finland and Sweden. UN Secretary General Waldheim also attended.

CASTRO SPELLS OUT OPTION

Several forms of the division of the world have been spoken of at this conference. For us the world is divided into capitalist countries and socialist countries, imperialist countries and colonial countries, reactionary countries and progressive countries: into governments that support imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism and governments that are against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

The theory of the two imperialisms — one led by the United States and the other allegedly by the Soviet Union—which was promulgated by the theoreticians of capitalism, has found an echo among spokesmen and leaders of some of the non-aligned countries, sometimes by conscious design and sometimes out of ignorance of history and of the realities of the world today. This is, of course, contributed to by those who, from alleged revolutionary positions, lamentably betray the cause of internationalism.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba opposes and will resolutely oppose this position under all circumstances.

And therefore we feel obliged to take up this essential and delicate question.

Some people try to ignore the heroic and unique service rendered to humanity by the Soviet people. They act as if the glorious October Revolution had nothing to do with the system of colonialism that dominated the world until World War II and the conditions that made possible the liberation of many peoples formerly subjugated by the colonial countries, the disappearance of capitalism in many parts of the world and the emergence of forces which keep the insatiable greed and aggressive designs of imperialism in line.

How can one rate the Soviet Union as imperialist? Where are its monopoly enterprises? ... What industries, mines, oil fields does it possess in the underdeveloped world? Which workers are exploited in any country of Asia, Africa or Latin America by Soviet capital?

The economic cooperation which the Soviet Union extends to Cuba and to other countries is not extracted from the sweat and sacrifice of the exploited

workers of another country, but rather from the sweat and effort of the Soviet workers.

One must not forget for one moment that the weapons used by Cuba to defeat the mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs and to defend itself against the United States, by the Arab peoples to resist imperialist aggression, by African liberation forces against Portuguese colonialism and the weapons wielded by the people of Vietnam in their heroic, unique and victorious struggle, came from the socialist countries, essentially from the Soviet Union.

Who did the "non-aligned" countries protest against for the intervention and blockade of Cuba, the intervention in Santo Domingo, and for maintaining military bases in Guantanamo, Panama and Puerto Rico against the will of these countries' peoples? Who was behind the murder of Lumumba? Who supported the assassins of Amilcar Cabral? Who contributes to the maintenance of a white racist state in Zimbabwe and helps convert South Africa into a

labor reservoir of Black men and women under conditions of semi-slavery? In all these cases the culprit is United States imperialism, which also endorses Portuguese colonialism imposed on the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique. All efforts to pit the non-aligned countries against the socialist camp are profoundly counter-revolutionary and benefit only the interests of the imperialists. Inventing a false enemy serves only the one purpose—to mask the true enemy.

fortunately, not even a consensus on the definition of imperialism could be reached so that these non-aligned nations, as a homogeneous group of exploited nations could be united by a common goal. Today Third World nations cannot hide together under the vague umbrella of non-alignment as they did in 1961 when the world was in the middle of the tense years known as the "cold war." (The 1961 meeting was the first conference of non-aligned nations called under the leadership of Tito of Yugoslavia, Nehru of India and Nasser of Egypt.) The threat of a world take-over by Communist forces is no longer played up by the capitalist nations as it was in the late fifties and early sixties. After all, Nixon did visit China and Russia. According to some the prospect of a Third World War is less eminent.

Even so, neutrality and non-alignment are nonetheless still non-realistic positions. No matter how small, insignificant, underdeveloped it may seem, a nation must align itself either with the capitalist camp or the socialist camp. The tiny island of Cuba has proved this point.

The success and future of the non-aligned movement depends on not being swayed, confused or deceived by imperialist ideology. Only the strongest alliance of all progressive forces of the world will be able to conquer the still powerful forces of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism and to struggle successfully for achievement of justice and peace of all peoples of the world. To alienate the friendship of the socialist camp is to weaken ourselves and put ourselves at the mercy of the forces of imperialism.

FIGHTING ERUPTS IN MIDDLE EAST

Fighting continues to escalate, in the Middle East between Israeli and Arab forces as Syria and Egypt fight to regain control of territories lost during the 1967 war. Territories occupied by Israel since then include the Sinai Peninsula, Jordan's West Bank, the Syrian Golan Heights and the Gaza Strip, a Palestinian area formerly administered by Egypt.

Iraq and Algeria have announced that their jets are fighting along side Syrian and Egyptian aircraft. Kuwait has also joined Iraq, Algeria, Morocco and Sudan in offering to provide reinforcements on the Arab side.

Since 1967 more than 50 Israeli settlements have been built in the occupied territories, including one in the Sinai that is intended as a major city. All Israeli government leaders agree on the necessity of keeping "strategic" areas, such as the Golan Heights, Jerusalem and the Straits of Tiran. There has been extensive discussion, however, as to whether Israel should annex the whole area.

The real intentions of the Zionist rulers were exposed by the recent action of the Israeli Labor Party. Until now, purchase of land and settlement by Israelis had been restricted formally, although it was rarely enforced.

Under the new plan approved by the Labor Party, known as the Galili plan, a compromise was worked out between "hawk" proposals by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and the "dove" position of Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir.

According to the Sept 1 *Washington Post*, the plan allows "the purchase of land by Israelis in the occupied territories...under certain conditions. Israeli settlement in the occupied territories will be intensified and is (or was, before the present action) to include larger investments in the urban regional center which is known as the future town of Yamit. Israel planned to spend \$300 million in the next five years for the resettlement of Palestinian refugees and for the expansion of the productive capacity of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories.

The idea of resettlement became clear when Dayan called for the exclusion of Arab workers from agricultural settlements in the occupied

territories for "basic security" reasons.

Terence Smith, writing from Israel in the Sept 4 *New York Times*, reported on how Israeli businessmen had made millions from the 1967 colonial war and the exploitation of the occupied territories. Smith quoted Aharon Dovrat, an economist and managing director of Klal, Israel's largest and fastest-growing management corporation:

"This country was suffering a genuine depression before the six-day war," Dovrat said.

"The war snapped the country out of that mood," he continued. "Suddenly there were opportunities everywhere. We had a million new consumers in the occupied territories and a new source of labor. Since then everything has been on the upswing..."

"Scores of personal fortunes have been made since the war," Smith continues, "many by independent contractors whom the Government hired on a crash cost-plus basis to build fortifications and settlements in the occupied Arab territories. Some have grown rich because of the sudden expansion of postwar markets, others from the Sinai Peninsula oil fields..."

In the midst of a world which covets their oil, the Arab nations are fighting these Israeli exploiters and their backers.

A real solution is needed - one that represents the interests of the Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian peoples, and those of the working masses of Israel.

beneficia de estos reajustes! Las oligarquías dominantes en los países productores y los grandes capitalistas internacionales. Las oligarquías nacionales ven aumentados su riqueza y la utilizan en inversiones "seguras" es decir en que no tiene mucho que ver con la situación real. Quien realmente controla el petróleo producido en los países árabes (también en Latinoamérica y otras partes del mundo, aunque estos países parecen atrasados en la lucha debido seguramente a su mayor dependencia del capitalismo de USA) no son precisamente los gobiernos nacionalistas de los países productores, sino más bien los grandes monopolios internacionales (Chevron, Exxon, Mobil, etc.), bajo cuyo poder se encuentra más del 80% de todo el petróleo proveniente del tercer mundo. Y es así como vemos que los grandes monopolios internacionales resisten tímidos ataques de los gobernantes de los países productores.



Israel's plans for the occupied territories include ending use of Arab laborers, like those above, for 'security' reasons.

cont from p 1

to be "extremists." The Christian Democratic Party of ex-President Frei has officially come out in support of the Junta, and General Bonilla, the ex-aide of Frei, has declared that before order is restored "it will be necessary to eliminate all communists, socialists and left-Christians" (*Le Monde*, Sept. 29, p. 15).

Thus, the Military, the Christian Democratic Party and the right-wing National Party have joined hands with the fascist terrorist organization "Patria y Libertad" in violating the Constitution to rule by terror. Why?

In 1970 the people of Chile elected Allende to the Presidency and the Unidad Popular to the Government with a vote of 33%. In the General Elections of March 19-73 the Unidad Popular obtained 44% of the votes. Thus, in spite of the so-called "invisible blockade" of the Chilean economy (i.e., the withholding of American aid which had so lavishly been bestowed on the previous Government of Frei; the international lowering of the price of copper;

the copper mine of El Teniente (May-July 1973) 90% of the blue-collar workers and 7% of the white-collar workers stayed on the job.

The working people of Chile were not deceived and we must not be deceived. Canada's *United Church Observer* puts it clearly: what has happened in Chile is the result of a "sabotaging action by the members of the former privileged classes, those who have benefited at the expense of the poor under the previous conservative governments." The misinformation and biased analysis of the events which we were fed is so gross that one must turn to a magazine from Franco's Spain for a definition: "As we search for a name to describe what has happened we must reject the words 'military coup' and hold onto a simpler, more explicit word: fascism" (*Triunfo*, Sept. 22).

The Uruguayan, Venezuelan, Italian and German Christian Democratic Parties, among others, have criticized the position of the Chilean Christian Democrats and have condemned the fascist coup. Trade Unions all over Latin America, in England, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Holland, France, Norway...have condemned the fascist take-over.

cont from p 1

Agri-business and their allies around the world.

Help the Farmworkers in their struggle against oppression. Whatever you do, do not shop at Safeway, and Boycott Scab Grapes and Lettuce. HASTA LA VICTORIA!

UFW RESOLUTION

This is the official resolution passed by the founding Convention of the United Farmworkers of America (UFWA) in Fresno!

The tragic events in Chile have not escaped the attention of the farmworkers. We note the violent overthrow of a constitutional government whose base was the working people of Chile, and whose program encouraged Chilean farmworkers to organize. We know that the large landholders in Chile, like those in California favor the repression of working people's organizations.

At this point, with the aspirations and needs of U. S. farmworkers in mind, we feel that a two-fold call is in order:

The Junta . . .

Versus the People



Chile's new military dictators. Army commander in chief Augusto Pinochet (second from left) is top dog.

the embargoes on copper exports; the outpouring of capital from Chile to Swiss and American Banks; etc.) in spite of the constant opposition of the Senate which systematically vetoed Allende's Cabinet; in spite of the vicious propaganda of an opposition press freer than any in the world; in spite of the increasing acts of terrorism by the commandos of "Patria y Libertad," the support for the policies of the Unidad Popular continued to increase.

The "Chilean Way," the peaceful road to Socialism by Constitutional means had the support of workers, miners, peasants and the lower middle-class. Those who had controlled and sold the wealth of the Nation for 150 years, the inventors and defenders of a Constitution which had served them well until 1970, had to make a choice between Democracy and Fascism. They have chosen the latter as the only coherent way of protecting their interests.

In the process the U. S. Press has tried to make us believe that the "truckers' strike" of July-September, 1973 was a workers' strike, when in effect it was a truck-owners' strike. It has also overlooked telling us that during the much-touted strike at

The United Farm Workers at their meeting in Fresno on September 23 passed a resolution in support of the workers and peasants of Chile and asked that the U. S. Government not recognize the Junta. On September 30, at a Conference for Solidarity with Chile, held in Helsinki, the representatives of 50 nations pledged to unite in defense of the Chilean people. Only some thirty countries so far have recognized the Junta, among them the United States. On September 30, Senator Fulbright criticized the speed of such recognition.

Let us unite behind all national and international efforts on behalf of the Chilean people, in defense of political prisoners, and in demanding that economic aid be withheld from the Junta.

mejorar su armamento (proveniente de USA principalmente) para así perpetuar la explotación de las clases populares. Los monopolios obtienen sus ganancias aumentando escandalosamente el precio del petróleo, basándose en el "gran" aumento de los precios en el mercado y creando alarma acerca de la falta de fuentes de energía, lo cual pueden aprovechar para, por ejemplo, justificar la construcción de nuevas refineras en USA (hace varios años no se construye ninguna debido entre otras cosas a razones ecológicas). Quien

1) That Congress support the resolutions (by Senator E. Kennedy and Rep. D. Frazier) urging the military junta to honor the Declaration of Human Rights, respecting the safety of political prisoners, especially farmworkers and trade union members, and guaranteeing their right to legal protection and to sanctuary.

2) That the U. S. government withhold diplomatic recognition from the repressive military junta, and suspend military and economic aid to this junta.

realmente sufre las consecuencias son las clases populares que ven disminuir el valor de su dinero, mientras que los monopolistas aumentan sus ganancias más y más.

Las fuentes de energía son patrimonio de la humanidad y sin embargo son manipulados por el imperialismo internacional y sus aliados para perpetuar su explotación de hombre por el hombre.

Sólo un reparto equitativo, basado en acuerdos justos entre países productores y consumidores puede conducir a una utilización beneficiosa para todos los hombres de las fuentes de energía. Y esto significa destruir las estructuras de capitalismo internacional y significa llevar a cabo una transformación radical de las estructuras económicas y sociales.

PETRÓLEO EN LOS PAÍSES ÁRABES

Hace unos meses Nixon, en un mensaje dirigido al Congreso sobre la política energética, se manifestaba de acuerdo en la formación de una organización de países importadores de petróleo a nivel mundial, organización que tendría como objetivo luchar contra las decisiones de la OPEP, Organización de Países Exportadores de Petróleo. La alma de Nixon y de otros gobernantes de países industrializados estaba en cierto modo justificada, ya que la eficacia de la acción emprendida por la OPEP ha sido algo muy importante desde hace unos cuantos años. La lucha parece haber comenzado y se le quiere dar aires catastróficos. La relativa pérdida de la independencia energética de los Estados Unidos y el nacimiento en los países productores, principalmente árabes, de una conciencia acerca de un derecho sobre el petróleo de sus países, ha producido una ola de terror entre los grandes monopolistas internacionales que temen perder su posición de compradores privilegiados de la que es, y seguirá siendo por mucho tiempo la principal fuente de energía.

El temor, aunque justificado en parte, sólo es eso: un temor

Chile's Right Wing

Following their own analysis, MIR decided to work with the government as well as on its own.* Within the government, MIR's primary role has been in the area of intelligence and security. Miristas make up the core of President Allende's personal guard. The right has criticized Allende for using armed guerrillas as guards; but after several assassination attempts, Allende insists that special protection is necessary. He explained why he had chosen Miristas. "So I have here now these young comrades all with proven revolutionary records, all militants, all volunteers, to organize and control my security."

Meanwhile, MIR's activities outside the government apparatus reflect their commitment to push for mass mobilizations and to make the exploited aware of their own power. These actions have often led to the point of confrontation with the UP government. By the beginning of 1971, it was clear that MIR intended to push the UP from the left so that the UP would act on the most revolutionary aspects of its program.

This activity was most evident in the south of Chile where the MIR-led Revolutionary Peasant Movement (MCR—Movimiento Campesino Revolucionario) organized and led Indian and non-Indian peasants in armed land invasions throughout the Chilean summer (November-January), thereby presenting the government with their version of agrarian reform. In the beginning the UP did little to stop the land seizures, and the tactic spread to other areas of Chile. Finally, the protest of landowners and other rightists, and Allende's concern for legality, led, on May 16, 1971, to a confrontation between police and landless peasants at a fundo in Santiago province. Five peasants were arrested and the rest expelled. MIR attacked the UP for giving in to the opposition, but later agreed not to seize any more land unless the landowner abused it or the government failed to redistribute it.

Another area where MIR is pressing from the left is in university reform. The UP Program recognizes the need for a restructuring of the University, but so far the UP government has done little in the field of education. Especially in Concepcion, MIR is pushing for university reform as a necessary step towards building a new society.

Finally, MIR has infiltrated counter-revolutionary groups. Allende credits MIR with providing the information that resulted in the arrest of members of the rightist terror organization that assassinated the head of the Chilean Army General Rene Schneider just prior to Allende's confirmation by Congress. Without this information, Allende's position vis-a-vis the military could have been disastrous.

MIR's support for the UP was crystallized in April, 1971, when MIR asked its members to vote for the UP in the municipal elections of that month. At that time MIR announced that it would do the same in the 1973 national Congressional elections.

Clearly, MIR supports the nationalization of the copper mines and the UP decision to minimize compensation. But MIR is critical of other aspects of UP policy. One article in *Punto Final*, an independent magazine which often reflects MIR's views, indicated what may be a key point of confrontation in the



Chilean soldiers burn books and pamphlets thought to contain ideas "subversive" to fascist junta.

future with the UP. The article raised the question: "Socialism or State Capitalism?" In a discussion of the internal organization of the nationalized textile factories, Gladys Diaz pointed out the limitations of nationalization where control of the factory passes to a state bureaucracy rather than to the workers.

Also, MIR's position is that armed struggle will eventually be necessary when the Chilean Right and U.S. imperialist forces decide to move against the UP government. Therefore, MIR holds that the development of a mass base with a revolutionary commitment to defend the people's government is the highest priority.

Thus far, this position has not been strongly represented in the UP's course of action. Allende is attempting to institute change and actually stall the Right's response by remaining within the legal framework of Chile's constitution. The question for Allende is not whether building mass support is correct, but rather how to build it without provoking the Right into anti-government action.

NEWSBRIEFS

A farm laborer was electrocuted, and two other men were injured slightly when an irrigation pipe they were handling brushed across a 12,000-volt power line on a Hemet ranch. The Riverside County coroner's office reported that Alfredo M. Acosta, about 25, of Tijuana and two other men were attempting to dislodge a jack rabbit from the inside of the pipe when it struck the line. Acosta was rushed to Hemet Valley Hospital, but he died a short time later.

Workers at nearly 1,000 Mexican companies, including General Motors of Mexico, went on strike after failing to get a 20% across-the-board salary increase recommended by a union-management panel. Government officials said unions representing 3.5 million workers reached agreement with management last week on the increase, but the raises still have to be negotiated individually with the companies.

BOYCOTT GRAPES



CESAR CHAVEZ

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any boycott. This means that the farm workers will have to get approval from other unions affected by a boycott before launching one.

The UFWA is also conceding its arch-rival, Fitzsimmons, the authority to be one of the two final arbiters in any disputes between the UFWA and the Teamsters. AFL-CIO President George Meany and Teamster President Frank E. Fitzsimmons have agreed to be the "final determiners" of all differences which come up under the peace treaty.

The growers are expected to protest terms of the peace treaty and to insist that the Teamsters cannot legally cancel their contracts. But AFL-CIO and Teamster officials say there is nothing the growers can do to force the Teamsters to maintain the contracts.

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happen next. As the tension continued, some nerves frayed: one soldier fired on an ambulance which had sped through a check-point; the driver was killed.

Fortunately, the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) had infiltrated the anti-Schneider conspiracy and tipped off the authorities. Police quickly rounded up a group of rightists as suspects. The press publicized the assassination as a rightist conspiracy against Chile's electoral process, and the image of Allende and the Left as being committed to constitutional procedure was strengthened. The Right had blundered, and Allende and the UP were able to turn this tragedy to their own advantage.

Military investigators indicted many prestigious Chileans for involvement in the conspiracy, including General Roberto Viaux, who had gained notoriety in 1969 when he led an unsuccessful military coup with a small number of troops in Santiago. Viaux was forced into retirement after the attempted coup, the first in Chile since the 1930s, but he did not retire from conspiratorial actions. In June 1971, a military court convicted Viaux of having conspired to kidnap Schneider and sentenced him to thirty years in prison, a sentence which he is now serving.

CUENTO

Era en noviembre del año mil novecientos setenta y uno y toda la Raza estaba gozando la música del fabuloso conjunto "The Syndicate." Yo sé que era un conjunto fabuloso porque yo tocaba el bajo eléctrico en ese conjunto. La música estaba a toda madre y todos lo sabían. El piso estaba lleno y amontonado de batos locos con sus rucas, y de batos sanos con sus novias. Todos estaban felices, corriendo con los corridos y empapándose de sudor. Y los que no se empapaban de sudor bailando se empapaban de espuma con la birra. Por cualquier lado se veían los vasos o llenitos hasta arriba con cerveza, o vacíos hasta mero abajo. Era puro ambiente limpio esa noche.

De donde tocaba yo se veía todo lo que sucedía. Mis ojos ya estaban acostumbrados a la oscuridad de estos bales. Todos estaban sonriendo. Pero también podía ver para afuera por una ventana al lado de la sala. Mientras tiraba las cuerdas de la guitarra pelaba los ojos para distinguir lo de afuera. Al fin noté algo que me hizo perder la nota. Era una luz roja sobre un Ford blanco. Era el Miñe! La Chota! El Marrano! El Puerco! Pero me calmé y no dije nada. Solamente le señalé a mi hermano que echara ojo para afuera. Mi hermano levantó las pestañas y se hipnotizó al ver cinco más de esas luces. Los radios de las patrullas se acercaban y casi podía oír lo que ordenaban.

Dentro de un instante se abrió la puerta de mero atrás y salieron como diez batos corriendo. Las novias nada más les gritaron sin poder detenerlos. Pero la música siguió y se puso más ruidosa con esperanzas de cubrir la emoción. Pero la demás Raza no se pudo aguantar y dentro de un minuto estaban todos en la calle. Se oían los gritos por un lado y las botas marchando por otro. Todos los del conjunto dejamos los instrumentos y salimos para ver lo que sucedía. No había ningún motivo para esto. La peléa era injusta. Los puercos peleaban con garrotes y trancasos mientras la gente peleaba con gritos y maldiciones. La Raza se encontraba trepada en los autos patrulleros sin saber por qué. Y la chota nada más gritaba sus órdenes: "Everybody clear the streets and go home or you will be arrested for unlawful assembly and disturbing the peace!" "We repeat..."



Presidential palace in flames. Allende found his trust in the military misplaced.

Y las pinchis chotas seguían reventando cabezas inocentes mientras la Raza se defendía lo mejor que podía contra los animales de chamarra negra y cazco blanco. Y los aborrecidos Forés seguían llegando y de cada uno salían dos cabrones más. Y a echar garrotazos y pararse muy machotes con sus protecciones y armas.

La burla de los puercos era muy evidente—Y fue más evidente cuando al fin, despues de media hora, las calles se calmaron de nuevo y el último Ford se despidió del barrio. Y el Ford blanco con la luz roja en el techo presumía las palabras pintadas en un lado "Your Safety—Our Business" "Su Seguridad Es Nuestro Negocio."

—Rafael C. Hernandez



The Schneider conspiracy involved many other influential members of the Chilean ruling class, and those now awaiting trial (August 1971) include an admiral, several generals and several large landholders. Even Senator Raul Morales, a leader of the conservative Democrat Radical Party, was implicated, and the military court asked for a waiver of the Senator's Congressional immunity in order to question him. Morales disputed the request and took the matter to the Court of Appeals which upheld the right of the military investigators to question him. But Morales appealed to the Supreme Court and won, escaping any further investigation of his role in the assassination. The case caused nationwide indignation against the Supreme Court and reinforced Allende's contention that the entire judicial system must be reformed.

In June 1971, terrorists murdered former Minister of the Interior, Edmundo Perez Zujovic. A founder (with Eduardo Frei) of the Christian Democrat Party, Perez had been a key figure in the conservative branch of the party for many years prior to his assassination. As Minister of the Interior in charge of national police under Frei, Perez was considered responsible for the Frei government's most repressive actions against the people, including the massacre at Puerto Montt in 1969, where police killed nine farmworkers and injured thirty others who had illegally occupied farmland.

The Perez assassination was carried out by the VOP, the Organized People's Vanguard. As explained elsewhere in this pamphlet, the VOP is a small adventurist left-wing group which was expelled from the broader based MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) in 1969. The government and MIR denounced VOP's action as counterrevolutionary and claimed that VOP was controlled by the Chilean Right and the CIA.

Meanwhile, the parties in opposition to the government, especially the Christian Democrats, tried to blame the assassination on Allende and the Unidad Popular. The right wing of the Christian Democrats attributed the assassination to the government's toleration of armed leftist groups. They also claimed that Perez was the "permanent victim of a campaign of slander that was published daily in the media supporting the current government." The right-wing National Party agreed and branded the assassination as "the culmination of a series of attacks committed lately by armed Marxist bands... whose action have been tolerated by the government." They referred to other terrorist actions undertaken by VOP, none of which the government had "tolerated." Behind the accusations of both parties lay a demand that Allende repudiate and outlaw MIR, even though MIR had nothing to do with the assassination.

In the course of the following weeks, a new political alliance was born. The right wing of the Christian Democrat Party, under the leadership of Eduardo Frei, began to work closely with the rightist National Party. On June 16 the two parties together voted out the UP-controlled steering committee of the Chamber of Deputies and installed a Christian Democrat leadership, thereby breaking an informal agreement with the UP which had conceded the Senate presidency to the Christian Democrats. Finally, in a move which profoundly alienated the leftist youth wing of the party, the Christian Democrats and the National Party agreed to field only one candidate in an off-election held July 18 in Valparaiso. Their candidate, an independent, Dr. Oscar Mann, won the election, defeating the Unidad Popular candidate.

For awhile in July, the Chilean conservative press hailed the birth of a new political force: Christian Democracy and the National Party together would be a powerful opposition to the leftist government. But

the left wing of the Christian Democrat Party refused to tolerate the alliance, and in late July the party split over the issue. The split, which had been imminent for many months occurred at a meeting of the party's National Council, when one of the party's leading theorists, Juan Bosco Parra, proposed to the council that the party rule out any formal alliance with the right-wing parties. The council rejected the proposal by a vote of ten to four. The leaders of the Christian Democrat left wing and its youth wing decided it was futile to struggle with the growing conservatism of the party and resigned. Within a week of the council meeting, 20 percent of the youth wing and 13 percent of the general party membership, including eight deputies, had left the party.

Most of the dissidents regrouped and formed a new political organization, the Movement of the Christian Left (MIC—Movimiento de la Izquierda Cristiana), and announced that they would not join the UP but would work closely with the government. In a series of complicated political moves, some members of MAPU joined the MIC, including Minister of Agriculture Jacques Chonchol. He had become disatisfied with MAPU's increasingly militant stance within the UP. As a formality, Chonchol offered Allende his resignation when he left MAPU, but Allende asked him to remain in the cabinet.

The Christian Democrat split lessens the possibility of a strong rightist-center bloc in Congress and gives Allende added legitimacy to carry through the UP's Program. In some ways, the split means the frustration of rightist attempts to form a political coalition which would give their anti-UP actions legitimacy.

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