

THE REASONS OF THE JUNTA 1973

In Order of the Day No. 5, the Junta outlines for the public benefit the reasons which moved it to assume control of the country.

The text of the order is as follows:

Order of the Day Number 5

Whereas:

1. The Allende government has exceeded the bounds of legitimacy by violating the fundamental rights of liberty, of speech, and of education; the right to congregate, to strike, and to petition; the right to own property and, in general, the right to a worthy and stable existence;
2. the government has destroyed national unity, encouraged sterile and, in many cases, cruel class wranglings, disdained the invaluable help which every Chilean could give to preserve the country's welfare, and engendered a blind fratricidal struggle based on ideas alien to our national heritage which have been proven false and ineffective;
3. the government has shown itself to be incapable of assuring a peaceful association among Chileans by nonobservance of the common law on many occasions;
4. the government has placed itself outside the law on multiple occasions, resorting to arbitrary, dubious, ill-intentioned, and even flagrantly erroneous interpretations of it, which, for various reasons, have escaped sanction;
5. by the use of subterfuge, which the government was pleased to call *resquicios legales* (legal recourses), some laws have not been promulgated, others have been flouted, and a situation of illegitimacy engendered;
6. the government has repeatedly failed to observe the mutual respect which one power of the state owes to another, disregarding decisions approved by Congress, by the courts of justice and by the comptroller general of the republic, offering unacceptable excuses for so doing or none at all;
7. the supreme authority has deliberately exceeded its attributes . . . gravely compromising the rights and liberties of all;
8. the president himself has been unable to disguise the fact that the exercise of his personal authority is subject to decisions taken by committees of the political parties which support him, impairing the image of maximum authority which the constitution confers upon him;
9. the agricultural, commercial, and industrial economies of the country are in a state either of stagnation or recession and inflation is rampant, but there are no signs whatever that the government is interested in them, except as a mere spectator;
10. anarchy, stifling of liberties, moral and economic chaos, and, as far as the government is concerned, absolute irresponsibility and incapacity have led the country to ruin, preventing it from occupying its proper place among the leading nations of the continent;
11. the foregoing justify our opinion that the internal and external security of the country is in dire peril, that our very existence as an independent state is in danger, and that the continuance in power of the government is fatal to the interest of the republic and the welfare of its people;
12. that, moreover, the foregoing, viewed in the light of our national and historical idiosyncracies, is sufficient to justify our determination to oust an illegitimate, immoral government, no longer representative of national sentiment, in order to avoid the greater evils which threaten the country, there being no other reasonable method holding out promise of success, and it being our objective to reestablish normal economic and social conditions in the country, with peace, tranquillity, and security for all;
13. for the foregoing reasons the armed forces have taken upon themselves the moral duty, which the country imposes upon them, of deposing the government, which, although legitimate in the early exercise of its power, has since fallen into flagrant illegitimacy, assuming power for ourselves only for so long as circumstances so demand and counting on the support of the vast majority, all of which, before God and history, justifies our action; and hence whatever regulations, norms, and instructions we may think fit to lay down for the attainment of our objectives aimed at the common good and the maximum patriotic interest;
14. Consequently, the very legitimacy of the said norms obliges all, and especially those in authority, to abide by them.

Signed: Government Junta of the Armed Forces and Carabineros of Chile.

Santiago, September 11, 1973.

Speech by Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, 1975

Today Chile commemorates the recent achievement of its national liberation. Barely two years ago, somber misgivings filled the air, and the general feeling of anguish knew no bounds. Chilean women instinctively feared the destruction of their homes, realizing the extent to which violence had undermined their children's most elemental safety. Our youth rebelled against the sinister aims and alien ideas of a minority who endeavored to control their consciences and curtail their freedom. When it became evident that the country was in a state of chaos, workmen of all types protested by putting an indefinite stop to their activities.

In this atmosphere, an unsuccessful and corrupt government forfeited its last traces of legitimacy by neglecting its functions as the established authority and, seeking to divide Chileans by means of systematically fomented hatred, prepared a civil war which would have inflicted a death blow to our beloved nation.

Yet the proud, indomitable spirit rose again with renewed vigor. From the bottom of their hearts our people demanded their liberations, and on a morning such as this, our armed forces and carabineros [the Chilean police force], in complete unison, and, in fact, representing the last reserve of a juridically organized state, took over the government of the nation.

Our flag once again waved proudly, dignified and victorious, and the date of September 11 took its place among the most glorious periods of our independence.

I shall outline today the task which our government has undertaken. It has not been an easy path to follow, but on this second anniversary [of the military coup of September 11, 1973] we face a nation which lives in peace, order, and respect, after three years of chaos and Marxist-Leninist violence; a nation which threads its way among many stumbling blocks, but is convinced that it advances towards a definite goal; a nation which daily becomes more united, with renewed confidence in its own destiny. What a contrast this is to the desolate picture of a world universally submerged in spiritual oppression, moral confusion, and physical violence!

For this reason, my words this morning are those of a president of the republic who, in spite of fully assessing the difficult situation we still confront, can point with satisfaction to the ground we have already covered and invite the Chilean people to continue treading the path of progress in order and justice.

...One of the most difficult aspects of the task of national reconstruction, which directly affects every Chilean, is the socioeconomic field.

For this reason, rather than going into a very detailed and technical account of the matter, I would simply prefer to outline the fundamental objectives pursued by the government and the steps taken to achieve them.

One must not forget that the country's economic and productive system were so severely damaged, that it is no exaggeration to compare the conditions to those of a war-ridden nation.

All the symptoms for runaway inflation were present. The principal cause of this situation was the unprecedented increase in money issued by the Central Bank in order to pay for the fiscal deficit deriving from the excessive growth of the public sector. To this we must add the large losses suffered by the approximately 500 state enterprises, either seized, requisitioned, or bought by CORFO [Chilean Development Corporation, created in 1939 by a popular front government], and the combination of immorality and inefficiency with which unemployment was disguised by means of hiring unproductive political activists, all of which was financed by the state.

The situation of the productive sector was chaotic. It is enough to recall that agricultural production had fallen 30 percent, thus forcing the country to multiply its food imports by more than four; in 1973, these ascended to over 600 million U.S. dollars.

...Never had we been so dependent or suffered such an economic disaster, which compromised social peace and national security, as through the deliberate actions of the worst government in our history, the socialist regime, which had promised so-called economic independence.

The new government's first preoccupation was to take the necessary measures to allay the impending collapse. In order to prevent extreme inflation, fiscal expenditure has been rationalized, taxes have been increased...

From this perspective, the government has pursued three main objectives. The first of these is the rechanneling of our productive resources, that is, their progressive displacement toward those products which can be more efficiently produced.

It seems inconceivable—and unthinkable for the future—that for entire decades, and in benefit of an often artificial and overprotected industry, Chilean agriculture has been neglected, and full use has not been made of the country's mining possibilities. The fact that we possess a comparatively great mining and agricultural potential obliges us to channel our resources preferably in that direction. This does not mean a restriction of our industrial development, but rather its orientation towards fields which seem more advisable, such as the agricultural industry, among others.

This by no means implies an artificial manipulation of our economy. On the contrary, only a proper redistribution of our productive resources can do away with this long-standing absurdity and guarantee a rapid, solid, and sizable growth.

The socialist trends in our economy during the past decade have provoked the uncontrolled growth of the public sector, so that in 1973, fiscal expenditures were 26 percent of the product, and the state financed 80 percent of investment. The second objective of our economic and social policy is therefore to reduce this public sector.

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When we maintain that the state should only retain those productive activities or business enterprises which are of strategic or vital importance for national development and hand over the

rest to the responsibility of the private sector, we are by no means minimizing the functions of the state. Precisely because it is the state's supreme obligations to promote the common good, and its mission is so fundamental, it should not be driven to neglect its inherent and irreplaceable duties by performing tasks which can be adequately handled by private citizens. With respect to the state's intervention in the national economy, we are not guided by rigid dogma. There is no doubt that the modern era requires a state which engages in the active planning and flexible regulation of the economic field, but current factors should indicate how far it can go. What we do proclaim as a fundamental principle, however, is that this intervention should keep its subsidiary character and should not annul or invade the framework of private initiative, for the latter is essential for collective progress in a free economy.

...Having detained hyperinflation by means of the initial measures already described and laid the foundation for our economic future, the government has now devoted itself toward controlling inflation, which last April was still very high, with an added deficit of 1 billion U.S. dollars resulting from the low prices of copper.

A plan for economic recovery has been devised and put into practice, with the main purpose of defeating inflation. Otherwise we cannot expect the necessary degree of new investment, and what is even worse, the great efforts made by the government, as well as by the country in general, would have been wasted. ...However, the application of this plan for economic recovery has meant lowering the income of our countrymen to that which our present economic capacity can really afford.

A great part of the so-called social costs of the economic program is merely the acknowledgment of the effects of the international crisis on the persistently low prices of copper. On this account alone each Chilean family receives a monthly average of 105,000 escudos [national currency] less than during 1970.

This impoverishment of the country, produced by factors which lie beyond our control, has necessarily meant a reduction in consumption, as well as the open manifestation of a higher rate of unemployment, particularly in the great urban centers. You will note that I say "open manifestation of unemployment", because it is common knowledge that in 1973 the enormous existing rage of unemployment was disguised by means of creating useless and unproductive jobs in the public sector, which required constant currency issues.

It is the government's duty to warn the public that, as a consequence of the temporary state of economic contraction resulting from the country's straitened circumstances, and from the agreement of CIPEC (copper-producing countries) in order to defend the price of copper, in 1975 production will decline approximately 10 percent compared with last year. This should not be disheartening or produce confusion, since it is contemplated in the economic plans and will be recovered in the near future.

To have eluded this "social cost" would have meant once more deceiving the people by allowing them to continue living on false hopes for a time, but within a few months Chile would have faced an even worse social and political situation than that of 1973.

It is far from agreeable for any government to assume the obligations of taking such drastic measures, especially when not personally responsible for the causes involved. But when power has been attained not through one's own will, or personal political ambition but by a moral, historical, and patriotic imperative, the exercise of authority only makes sense in the strict compliance with moral duty. I feel that the reason for the generous support which I, as well as the entire government, are continuously shown throughout the whole country, [is the reason of] the people's instinctive conviction that this is the case.

...The world beholds today a generalized crisis of the traditional forms of democracy, whose failures and exhaustion, at least as far as Chile is concerned, should be considered definitive.

This situation is particularly favorable for totalitarian regimes of differing ideologies, [having in] common scorn for the spiritual values of mankind, to take advantage of this weakness and seize power.

The profound crisis of contemporary democracy finds its deepest causes in the loss of the basic spiritual unity of the peoples of the world. The free play of (opposing ideas) in both the generation and exercise of power offers no major institutional obstacles if at least certain fundamental principles are accepted by the whole community, but when this minimal (consensus) is lost, society can no longer be ruled by the same mechanisms, whose efficiency has been damaged at its source.

The existence and propagation of Leninist-Marxism in the world today represents the destruction of the basic moral foundation from which the Western and Christian civilizations derive. Under the euphemism of alleged "Leninist morals", communism destroys all notion of good and evil, cynically judging acts according to whether or not they are convenient for totalitarian revolutions. And thus, in the name of that entirely immoral doctrine, we have witnessed the assassination of millions of beings; the slavery of entire nations; hatred, lies, and slander as an habitual line of conduct; and all kinds of aggression against man, his rights, and liberties. It is evidently impossible to live in democratic harmony with such doctrine.

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Facing today's novel circumstances, it is imperative to react in a vigorous and alert manner. In this day and age, a state's sovereignty not only depends on its territorial integrity, [but] its political, economic, and social organization must also constitute an efficient guarantee against another graver peril: the attempt of international communism, as the instrument of Soviet imperialism, to seize states, infiltrating them from within by means of the local Communist parties, aided by other groups who favor or condescend to Marxism by paving the way or ensuring their [freedom of act].

Direct territorial conquest is thus replaced by the penetration of the vital centers in free countries which naively permit the access of Marxism to the control of labor unions, universities,

and the mass media. Even the churches, which by definition should provide the most solid protection against this avalanche, have suffered Marxist infiltration in their ranks.

The world today faces an unprecedented form of war. Communism penetrates society ideologically and at the same time, from its various centers of power, imposes upon democratic governments a line of action which favors its own advancement. The universal character of the Leninist-Marxist revolution fits in perfectly with the imperialistic hegemony of the Soviet geopolitical school.

In this war, nothing can be of greater use to communism than the declaration of ideological neutrality by states which are not yet under its control. How can a state possibly defend itself in an ideological war if it officially declares its neutrality in the ideological field? To this, we must add that communist control of a country not only means the end of all personal liberty and state sovereignty but, it also involves the destruction of the very essence of nationality. The latter is inadmissible in the name of liberty. The fatherland, with its traditions and historical-cultural identity, cannot be the patrimony of any given generation, for it also belongs to those who built in the past, and those who have a right to its future inheritance. Nor can any generation so consider itself the sole possessor of its nationality as to feel authorized to destroy it.

Our country temporarily forgot these truths and experienced the bitter consequences. To begin with, communism was allowed direct or indirect control of fundamentally influential media and was given ample facilities for political action and propaganda. Later its vocabulary and ideas were gradually adopted by democratic sectors, who from the habit of dialogue inadvertently became imbued with its myths and slogans. Thus the “non-capitalistic road to development,” “community socialism,” “Christians for socialism,” and other such manifestations appeared, which when it comes to the definition of their doctrines, were either devoid of meaning or could only answer to Marxist ideology.

It is not surprising that these sectors never quite realized the virtual suicide they were committing by allowing Marxism access to power when they could have avoided it constitutionally. And not content with this, they officially introduced the most unrestricted ideological pluralism into our constitution, by declaring that to sustain or spread any political idea would not constitute offense. Thus, guerrillas, terrorism, or the organization of paramilitary forces could go unpunished if endowed with the protective cloak of “political ideas.”

Now that we have risen from the bottom of the abyss to which this attitude led us, Chile has resolutely proclaimed its nationalistic and Christian definition, by means of a Declaration of Principles, laying down the foundations for the future state which our regime is endeavoring to build, [which will include] a sense of time.

Not to permit the enemy access to the control of the mass media, university or trade unions, does not in any way curtail the legitimate freedom of expressions of cultural thought or of labor organization. On the contrary, it implies preventing them from the destruction they would be exposed to if the very forces who intend to annihilate them are allowed to grow freely.

We Chileans have recently had proof of these harsh realities and are firmly determined not to repeat the same mistakes.

The classic concept of punishment is often defined nowadays by the appearance of terrorism, a contemporary iniquity by means of which small minorities commit criminal offenses against innocent people who generally have no connection whatsoever with the objectives of the delinquents. Because of the danger and cruelty involved, society is under the obligation of drastic self-defense, thus giving birth to new restrictive measures in the exercise of personal liberty or lawful rights, in order to reconcile these with the imperative of security which every community justly demands.

The aforementioned is directly related to the problem of human rights, on which I wish to dwell for a moment, since it is still being used all over the world as an instrument to oppose our government and our country. Human rights, in the measure that they are truly such, are universal and inviolable, but they are certainly not unrestricted or of equal hierarchy. As outward manifestations of liberty, they are, without exception, subject to the restrictions imposed upon them by the common good. In this respect, it is curious to observe that those who admit without hesitation that the right to private property is limited by its social function, are often the first to protest the restriction of other rights and liberties, even if also applied for the sake of common good.

Nor are all rights of the same hierarchy. Even among the natural rights, some are more fundamentally important than others. They may usually all be exercised simultaneously, but this is impossible when society becomes sick. The latter situation is precisely a symptom of political abnormality requiring an exceptional juridical regime in which the exercise of some rights is limited or can even be suspended in order to ensure the free exercise of other more important ones.

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Those who condemn the juridical restrictions essential for the present state of emergency in which we are living should definitively understand the reason why their arguments go against the mature conviction of the Chilean people. The vast majority of our fellow countrymen accepts and supports these restrictions because they are aware that [such restrictions] are the necessary price to be paid for the peace and social order which make our country a veritable island within a world convulsed by violence, terrorism, and general disorder.

The greatest possible enforcement and highest respect of all human rights implies that these rights not be exercised by those individuals who spread doctrines or commit acts which, in fact, seek to abolish them.

...If we feel ready today to reduce by some degrees the state of siege, it is thanks to the efficient action which the government has taken to dismember organized extremist groups. But while any kind of significant subversive actions still exists, whether overt or covert, we are

obliged to maintain the necessary restrictions to ensure social peace and prevent the return of chaos.

...Chileans:

Soon after our independence, Chile was one of the first countries in the world to abolish slavery. Now our country has broken the chain of totalitarian Marxism, the great twentieth-century slavery, before which so many bow their heads without the courage to defeat it. We are thus once again pioneers in humanity's fight for liberation.

Our victory over communism is especially significant because of the geopolitical strategic importance of our country in the defense and security of the continent, but even more so for its deep spiritual content.

Today Chile will ignite the flame of liberty, as a living symbol of its faith and hope for a world which at present labors in darkness.

As president of Chile, I feel certain that this flame will be lit with the support of the entire Chilean population, whose hearts beat in unison with the highest and purest patriotism.

I will devotedly implore Our Holy Lord, with deep humility before the magnitude of our task, never to allow this flame to die down and that Chile may always face, with renewed vigor, the tempests which may arise and keep its patriotic oath of forever being "the tomb of the free or else the shelter against oppression."