

control over all aspects of society; the development of society gave way to the development of the state. Under this all-encompassing military rule, two civilian institutions, the Supreme Court of Justice and the General Comptroller, have survived, thanks to their ready acceptance of the rulers' decrees.

Internal war

The seizure of power by the military marked the beginning of an internal war against the structures of the leftist national-populist state, which was blamed for the political disorder, for the economic crisis and, finally, for subversion. The internal war was, of course, directed first against the political leaders of the previous regime and the sections of the working class that had supported them, and, finally, against the entire working class. External security was relegated to the background in the haste to suppress the nation, the restless internal social groups and their movements. The people were now cast as the main enemy standing in the way of the stability and expansion of a state saved by the military from Communist anarchy.

There is no need to repeat the details of the physical repression and constant violation of human rights that have been the subject of numerous official reports by the United Nations and even the Organization of American States. The subjection of the people to the state has been accomplished by a variety of methods — physical, economic and ideological. Physical repression is practised only on people from the lower and middle classes who were connected with the Allende regime or have been involved in the human-rights campaign. Economic repression, as evidenced by increasing unemployment, lower real wages, and child-malnutrition, is being used to "re-educate" the workers in the school of "jungle capitalism". And the third prong of the internal war, ideological repression, consists in banning political parties, purging the universities and censoring the media, the aim being not only to prevent the opposition from expressing itself but also to depoliticize the country. Finally, the permanent state of siege rules out any serious opposition to the regime and serves as a pseudo-legal justification for the various arbitrary measures accompanying the repression. The military is now the only social group capable of concerted action in Chile.

The repression of the country at all levels produces the docile manpower necessary for a widespread capitalistic accumulation of wealth, providing the material

basis of national security. Reacting to the populist policies of state intervention, the military leaders have opted for financial orthodoxy in the public sector and liberal laissez-faire in the productive sectors, and have undertaken to dismantle all obstacles to the free play of forces in the market place. The deflationary financial policies, the withdrawal from the Andean Group, the dismantling of the public sector of the economy and the reduction in consumption have created an environment favourable to jungle capitalism and multinational corporations. The junta's economic advisers believe that the incestuous union of state nationalism and economic liberalism should transform Chile into a new South Korea.

Unfortunately, the perfect free market does not exist; economic agents are not all equal, and this inequality leads inevitably to imbalance and domination. By unrestrictedly opening the national market to private economic forces inside and outside the country, Chile has left itself little room to manoeuvre in the difficult confrontation taking place between national economies and transnational corporations.

Junta isolation

The excesses of the internal war and the militarization of the state are steadily isolating the junta from the United States, the social sectors backing the rulers, and their own troops.

First there is geopolitical isolation. Although the junta claims to be a forward bastion in the anti-Soviet struggle, it has not managed to establish good relations with the Western world. Even its ally the United States has been abandoning it since the past Presidential election. In the style of John Kennedy, President Carter claims to favour "democratic" models of development in the Third World. Washington's hostility, however, will not go so

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