

17.55, Introduction to Latin American Studies, Fall 2006
Prof. Chappell Lawson
Session 11: The Breakdown of Chilean Democracy

Handout: Expanded Chronology of the Fall of Salvador Allende

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| Campaign 1970 | Christian Democrats nominate leftist, ensuring centrist support for Alessandri; Alessandri's television debate appearance reinforces impression of age (74); Allende promises collegial government within |
| UP | |
| September 4, 1970 | Allende wins election with 36.3% of vote; Alessandri gets 35%; Radomiro Tomic gets 27.8% |
| October 22, 1970 | General René Schneider wounded in botched kidnapping; later dies |
| October 25, 1970 | Congress confirms Allende, 153-35 |
| November 2, 1970 | Allende takes office |
| January 9, 1971 | Statute of Guarantees added to Constitution |
| March 4, 1971 | Municipal elections reveal countrywide split between UP and Opposition (49.7% vs. 48%) |
| May 10, 1971 | CD's announce policy of "constructive opposition" |
| May 21, 1971 | Allende's "Chilean Way" speech offers nationalization of large enterprises, maintenance of private small and medium-size businesses; respect for rule of law |
| June-July 1971 | CD-UP relationship sours; "government by legerdemain" |
| June 8, 1971 | Former Vice President Edmundo Pérez Zújovic murdered by leftist extremists of Vanguardia Organizada del Pueblo; suspects |
| subsequently | killed in shoot-out |
| July 11, 1971 | Congress unanimously approves UP proposal for nationalization of copper companies |
| July 18, 1971 | By-election in Valparaiso; CD and UP essentially tie; UP has about 50% of electorate |
| July 28, 1971 | Chilean government declares that copper companies' profits have been "excessive"; no compensation will be paid for their expropriation |
| September 10, 1971 | Fidel Castro begins 10-day visit |
| September 22, 1971 | Christian Democrats formally break with UP |
| November 1971 | Chile suspends intergovernmental debt payments |
| December 1971 | Congress impeaches Interior Minister Tohá for failing to investigate MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) |
| December 1, 1971 | March of Empty Pots; 5,000 women dispersed with tear gas; street skirmishes between leftist and rightist youth |
| December 2, 1971 | Allende declares state of emergency in Santiago province |
| December 3, 1971 | Regional military commander, General Augusto Pinochet, imposes curfew |
| 1972-1973 | Inflation begins; shortages become more pronounced; violence increases, |
| go | especially in chaotic countryside where MIR was seizing land Emergence of <i>focos</i> , <i>campamentos</i> , and <i>cordones</i> , where police did not |
| 1972 | Investment falls, deficit balloons to 40% of government spending in |

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| January 1972 his | Allende tries to move toward center but is thwarted by leftists within own coalition; state development company buys private companies' shares; use of 1932 decree to requisition factories |
| January 6, 1972 | Tohá suspended; reappointed to Defense; MIR credibly linked to Presidential Guard |
| January 16, 1972 | Two UP defeats in by-elections |
| January 19, 1972 | Nixon administration links debt repayment and expropriation; U.S. opposes multilateral development loans |
| January 28, 1972 | Allende reshuffles cabinet |
| February 7, 1972 | Allende proposes single UP list; CDs join forces with Nationalists; At UP conference, Socialists advocate attacking material base of opposition; Communists advocate suppression of MIR and dialogue with Christian Democrats |
| March 1972 | Allende vetoes opposition legislation designed to regulate requisitions |
| May 1972 national | Generals warn that inflation and production declines jeopardize defense |
| May 27, 1972 of | University Rector Edgardo Boeninger, a CD, is reelected after months of |
| May-June, 1972 | Marxist attempts to unseat him and continuous protests Leftists allegedly rig elections for leadership of the CUT (workers' confederation) |
| June 2, 1972 | Military Minister of Mining forced out by arm because he had been required to co-sign decrees of insistence |
| June 1972 | Negotiations over nationalizations break down; polarization increases; constitutional solution seems increasingly unlikely |
| June 1972 | Another UP leadership conference at Lo Curro Communist position on economic policy prevails; Vuskovic fired Too little, too late; economy continues to tank UP unwilling to impose austerity measures |
| July 15, 1972 | CUT election results announced; Communists declared winner; No agreement with CDs |
| July 27, 1972 | Congress impeaches Interior Minister del Canto after he supervises the illegal receipt of small arms from Cuba |
| August 21, 1972 | Nation-wide strike against government by small businessmen Official attempts to open shops lead to street skirmishes State of emergency declared in Santiago |
| August 30, 1972 | State of emergency in Concepción |
| September 2, 1972 | Allende denounces foiled coup attempt |
| Oct.-Nov. 1972 | Allende very sick for ten days; apparently suffers a heart attack |
| October 9, 1972 | Partial truckers' strike begins |
| October 10, 1972 | Vilarín arrested |
| October 11, 1972 | Full-scale truckers' strike; joined by other guilds |
| October 19, 1972 | Government requisitions last private wholesale distribution company |
| October 27, 1972 | Tanks called out in Santiago to maintain order |
| October 31, 1972 | Allende's cabinet resigns to give him a free hand Allende promulgates strict arms control law |
| November 2, 1972 days | Allende brings senior military officers into cabinet Prats is Minister of Interior; promises restoration of normality in four days |
| November 5, 1972 | Truckers' strike ends; Prats promises no nationalization |

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| Nov.-Dec. 1972 | Martial law lifted in 21 provinces; Normality returns; expropriations slow, Papalera allowed to raise prices |
| December 16, 1973 | Allende travels to UN, USSR, elsewhere |
| December 1972 | Naval cadets at graduation ceremony boo Allende |
| January 10, 1973 | MAPU begins training with arms |
| items | Minister of Economy announces rationing system for 30 basic food items |
| January 30, 1973 | Opposition outraged; claims it will be used like Cuban rationing Admiral Huerta resigns as Minister of Public Works in protest Education Minister Jorge Tapia announces unified national curriculum Catholic hierarchy and CDs go nuts For the first time, a large number of officers express public |
| disagreement | |
| Jan-Feb 1973 | Minister agrees to "postpone" program Congressional campaign; limited violence; fairly clean Opposition theme is to gain 2/3 in both houses, override vetoes, |
| impeach, | |
| March 4, 1973 | and convict the president; essentially impossible UP claims it will win more than in 1970 Congressional elections; illiterates vote for first time Opposition wins 56%, but not enough to impeach Allende UP gains 2 seats in Senate and 6 in House; Radicals disappear Viewed as UP victory; in practice, offers no political solution Male vote splits 50-50; women vote heavily for opposition Eduardo Frei assumes presidency of Senate Allende moves toward center, but does not fully break with Altamirano |
| or | |
| | Almeyda CDs insist on definition of nationalization; threaten declaration of illegality; Military present Allende with fourteen conditions for continued participation |
| March 26, 1973 | Supreme Court decries government illegalities |
| March 27, 1973 | Military withdraws from cabinet |
| April-June 1973 | Parties become less relevant Congress impeaches four Cabinet officers Gremios, unions, extremists, and military become key players Leftist paramilitary activity registers "quantum jump" Communists arm their militia; Eastern Bloc guns arrive Gremios consolidate organization and cultivate ties to military Leftist infiltration of armed services Coup plotting begins in earnest among general officers of the army Air Force last to go; becomes convinced in June Military carries out repeated arms searches against leftists |
| May 6, 1973 | Patria y Libertad leader calls for new government Group active in arms running and links to armed forces Most leaders arrested or exiled during summer |
| May 15, 1973 | Allende promulgates decree implementing the portions of the nationalization agreement he accepts |
| May 19, 1973 | Copper workers strike against government |
| June 1973 | Labor violence, street fights, bombings in Santiago, etc. Communist position changes to anticipating armed confrontation Allende speaks of "chess game" with military to buy time |

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| army | Arming of workers and encouragement of People's Power provokes |
| June 9, 1973 | Workers not armed or trained fast enough to win Communist Ramona Parra brigade clashes with Air Force unit First open armed encounter between leftist extremists and military |
| June 27, 1973 | Alejandrina Cox incident; Prats weakened |
| June 29, 1973 | Attempted coup (<i>tancazo</i>) Allende makes ambiguous appeal to popular militias Workers do not rally in center of Santiago Main military leaders loyal Prats literally suppresses the coup single-handedly Workers seize factories; number taken over jumps from 282 to 526 Workers take full control of <i>cordones</i> and expel CDs and police |
| June 30, 1973 | General officers representing heads of all services meet; agree to draft memorandum for Allende outlining objections and conditions for remaining in government |
| July 2, 1973 | Copper miners return to work; Inter-service memo presented to Allende, Prats, and Tohá; Comptroller refuses to register Allende's partial veto of nationalization law |
| July 3, 1973 | Allende rejects military conditions; forms all-civilian cabinet |
| July 4, 1973 | Pinochet changes contingency plans to more overt, aggressive strategy |
| July 10, 1973 | Navy and Air Force heads begin coup planning Prats replaces Tohá as Defense Minister Allende vacillates on military issue |
| July 19, 1973 | MIR and Patria y Libertad both call for armed conflict |
| July 25, 1973 after | Truckers launch new strike; government tries to break strike but fails ten days |
| July 27, 1973 | Allende's naval aide-de-camp killed CDs give Allende the same list the military does |
| July 30, 1973 | Cuban vice prime minister and secret police chief arrive in capital |
| August 3, 1973 | CD and UP talks break down again |
| August 7, 1973 | Mutinous plot in Navy reveals institutional corrosion |
| August 9, 1973 | New cabinet with substantial military representation fails to end truckers' strike; successive ultimata |
| August 13, 1973 | Patria y Libertad dynamites power line, blocking Allende's speech |
| August 17, 1973 | Institutional crisis in Air Force over resignation of General/Minister Ruíz; Gustavo Leigh takes over as head of Air Force; Prats: a mediocre coup plotter replaced with a smart, highly ambitious one |
| August 21, 1973 | Wives of officers protest in front of Prats' house |
| August 22, 1973 | General officers, including Pinochet, declare loyalty to Prats Council of Generals convenes and votes Prats out Chamber of Deputies declares the government outside the law; vote against Allende is 81 to 45 in Chamber |
| August 23, 1973 | Prats resigns as Defense Minister; Letelier appointed as Defense Minister; |
| August 25, 1973 | Pinochet takes over as head of armed forces; all officers deciding what to do -- act or be purged; Pinochet waits until all heads of services have lined up behind a coup Patricio Alwyn calls for cabinet of 6+ military officers ("white coup") |

August 28, 1973 Allende's eighth cabinet has 4 military officers
Officers indicate that agreement with CDs will forestall coup
Cardinal Silva also requests agreement
Almost total paralysis of economic activity in some parts of country
Council of Army Generals meets continuously; memos discuss coup

August 29, 1973 Army versus leftists; soldier killed; many arrests and daily arms
searches

September 1973 Rightist sabotage
Crisis in Navy over who will be in command; Navy openly rebellious
Government devalues currency 40%
Executive Committee of UP declares itself in solidarity with naval
mutineers CDs vow to impeach all ministers; Shopkeepers strike in
solidarity with truckers and professionals; Melees in Santiago, many
wounded; Lots of coup plotting; *carabinero* generals enter coup
plotting; Prats recommends Allende fire 5-6 generals; Allende
announces that there is only enough flour for 3-4 days; Allende plans
to call plebiscite on his remaining in office; speech set for 10th

September 7, 1973 Army (except Pinochet) endorses coup on 10th or 11th
Six-hour disastrous meeting between President and Merino

September 8, 1973 Merino endorses coup

September 9, 1973 Altamirano makes inflammatory speech; junior *carabinero* generals favor
coup; Merino, Leigh, & Pinochet sign pledge to launch coup on the 11th

September 10, 1973 Allende pushes speech back

September 11, 1973 Institutional coup d'état
Navy seizes Valparaíso rapidly; Concepción falls by 9 a.m.
Military has disrupted leftist communication
Air Force requests Allende's resignation and offers safe passage
Allende refuses to resign, but also refuses to call for revolution
Allende requests workers stay at their posts and be ready
Junta proclaims only return of institutionality; no class bias
Troops advance on La Moneda; several killed by leftist snipers
Carabineros split, but most refuse to fight for Allende
Some resistance within military, but not chain of command mostly
intact

Navy offers president safe passage
Junta gives 11 a.m. deadline
Allende signals willingness to resign, but insists officers come to him;
Junta suggests Allende come to them at Ministry of Defense
Continuing negotiations over surrender fail
La Moneda bombed; tanks surround palace and fire tear gas, then
invade

Allende kills himself; others leave, surrender, or are killed
Fighting at factories, universities, etc, especially Valparaíso
UP supporters and others taken to National Stadium
Martial law and strict curfew imposed; only scattered resistance
3,000-10,000 die; many of them executed
Hundreds murdered in National Stadium, where 7,000 detained
Widespread repression but economic situation rapidly returns to
normal 10,000 Chileans flee country claiming asylum