

1-1-1973

El 4 de junio: Birth of a Legend

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El 4 de junio: Birth of a Legend

by

Ronald E. Raven

An Essay

Submitted to the Office for Graduate Studies,
Graduate Division of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
1973

Major: History

Approved by:

P. Norman Guice

Aug. 22, 1973

*Alfred H. Keller,
Second Reader
Sept. 4, 1973*

Foreword

Sources on this period of Chilean history are very scarce in North America and often contradictory. Consequently I have adopted the following method of referencing: Direct quotes from sources are cited immediately; Sources used to create a composite picture of a time period are all cited together at the end of that period, i.e. each day; Bibliography includes sources consulted as well as cited; An additional bibliography of sources known to this author, which should be of primary importance but were unavailable to him during this research, is included at the end.

This paper is presented in two sections: A calendar of known facts of the "Socialist Republic"; and Interpretations of those facts, primarily the Socialist legend which has grown up around the "Republic", as well as other viewpoints, including this author's, challenging that legend.

Acknowledgement

I wish to acknowledge the kind cooperation I received in acquiring the manuscript material used in my research.

The Public Records Office, London, sent me the correspondence of the Foreign Office, all of which is copyrighted by Her Majesty the Queen of England.

Professor Paul W. Drake sent me his manuscript "The Populist Origins of Chilean Socialism in the 1930's" and reserves all rights to its use.

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The Setting

As dusk was falling on Santiago, Chile, that autumn evening of June 4, 1932, three men strode forcefully into the Moneda Palace. There they confronted a worried President Juan Montero and his cabinet with an ultimatum; resign turning the government over to them, or, face an armed clash in the capital city. The President refused to resign and grace the coup with an aura of legality. Not having the necessary forces to quell the revolt, Montero quietly left the Palace allowing the insurgents to seize the reins of government. With the assumption of power by the rebel junta, a government and a legend were born which were to haunt Chile for the next forty years.

This new regime came to be known in history as the "Socialist Republic", with the legend principally centering around the man perceived to be its leader, Colonel Marmaduke Grove. The three men who confronted President Montero that evening were to be the "Republic's" principal leaders and, among them, its executioner. Grove was the expected member of the trio. The charismatic commander of the air force had a history of revolutionary attempts and enforced exiles. He had led the insurgent troops into Santiago. His friend and trusted civilian aide, Eugenio Matte, accompanied him that evening. Matte's appearance was hardly startling either, as

he was Grove's assistant and the head of a small radical socialist group, New Public Action. As the only socialist leader involved in the coup, Matte became a member of the new socialist junta.

Rounding out the trio that evening was Carlos Dávila. On the surface, he appeared an unlikely partner. Dávila was a leading Santiago journalist and a man with an impeccable reputation. He had been the Ambassador to the United States under the right-wing Ibáñez military regime and had returned from that post only a year earlier. But Dávila was not only involved in the socialist revolt, he was the leader of the new junta and its only member destined to stay in power more than a fortnight.

That insurgent junta and the Grove legend have become so entwined over the years that the period has come to be known as "the twelve day Socialist Republic of Marmaduke Grove". The legend has been so built-up over the years by various leftist political factions that it has all but obscured the historical realities of the regime. Curiously, the traditionally history-conscious Left has conspicuously avoided publishing any hard data on that government. Consequently, Grove and the "Socialist Republic" have passed into history as the legend depicts them, unchallenged by historical research.

To evaluate the validity of the Grove legend, it must be put alongside the historical facts of the period. These facts are not widely known and are in dispute as little has been published since shortly after the "Republic's" fall. For North Americans, the best sources are still the international news reports at the time and the diplomatic dispatches to the various countries involved with Chile during the "Republic's" brief life. The Chilean sources, which should be invaluable, are lacking in this country. Only by a compilation of the observations of the reporters and diplomats on the scene can a North American hope to adequately test the legend.

The Twelve Day Republic:

A Calendar

June 4 - Saturday

On Friday, June 3, 1932, Defense Minister Ignacio Urratia had requested Colonel Marmaduke Grove to relinquish his command of the Chilean Air Force. Colonel Grove had agreed to turn over his command upon the arrival of his properly designated replacement. Commander Ramón Vergara, having been named Grove's successor, then had arrived at El Basque air base shortly after midnight to assume command of the Air Force, but upon his arrival Commander Vergara had been arrested and imprisoned by Grove's troops.

While these activities had begun as a seemingly routine military command change, no command change involving Grove was ever simple. He had twice been exiled and once discharged from the military for his political activities and insubordination.¹ His personal history of revolutionary activity was long and varied and had prompted former President Ibáñez to comment, "He [Grove] was born a revolutionary, as others are born blond or brunette."² While supposedly awaiting the arrival of his replacement, Grove had begun marshalling his forces for a coup. He had secured the aid of four powerful figures in Chilean politics and military affairs. The insurgent leadership was shared by Grove, General Arturo Puga,

Commander Arturo Merino, Carlos Dávila and Eugenio Matte. After meeting far into the night, the insurgents were ready to move against the government at the dawn of June 4.

Realizing something had gone awry in his attempts to oust Colonel Grove, President Montero called an early morning meeting of the leadership of all major political parties. There he explained he was expecting a barracks revolt and asked for their support in quelling the rebellion, should it occur. The leaders of all the parties, except the Liberals, pledged their loyalties to the Montero government against any military-imposed junta.

Early that same morning, Air Force planes took off from El Basque and headed up to Santiago, only ten miles to the north. Their mission was to bomb the city with pamphlets. The leaflets called for a new government dedicated to a socialist and state-controlled economy. Their message severely criticized foreign capitalism in Chile and the wealthy classes who assisted it in bleeding the poorer classes. The pamphlets also threatened to bomb the Moneda Palace if the government did not resign so a new government to implement their demands could be created.

When President Montero did not capitulate, Colonel Grove marched his troops from El Basque into Santiago. Fif-

teen blocks from the Moneda Palace he halted, stationed his troops and waited. As evening came, he, Dávila and Matte went to the Palace, confronted President Montero and assumed power.³

Despite the pledges and programs issued in the leaflets dropped by the planes, the junta was still unsure of its course that evening. Dávila was named to the new junta, and immediately became its principal spokesman, with General Puga as its Provisional President and Matte completing the membership. The country looked anxiously to Dávila, their trusted diplomat, for some explanation of the path this new "socialist" government was to follow. Only a month before he had issued a lengthy manifesto calling for state socialism. He had asserted that only state control of the production and distribution of the country's main products, including nitrates, could bring the country out of the depression. His manifesto had been premised on the assertion that Chile's condition warranted "a trial of socialism adapted to our national peculiarities."⁴ But when asked that evening about his plans, Davila could only answer with bland assurances: "We expect to put into effect here an outstanding regime that will be strong and solid, one that everyone can depend on. I really know little of what our program will be, except our plans for a socialist state."⁵

June 5 - Sunday

The first major act of the new junta was to unveil its plans for the transformation of Chile into a socialist state. That morning the junta published a manifesto (Appendix A) and a program of immediate action (Appendix B), which quickly produced repercussions at home and abroad. Their major points fell roughly into four areas of concern: political, economic, international and class-oriented.⁶ While most of the proposals were radical, the document as a whole was not very socialistic.

The political portions were the least radical. The junta declared itself in power, dissolved Congress and called for a new constitution, all of which were not unheard of actions, though unusual for the Chilean style of politics. The most radical move was to pardon the sailors and political prisoners involved in attempted revolutions against the former government. Such a move might allow more revolutionaries to assume an active role in the "revolution" and perhaps gain some support within the Navy, which had not participated in the coup.

The economic portions were not at all in the tradition of socialist programs. Nowhere was there any mention of

socializing the means of production. The major economic plans called for establishing monopolies and setting up a Commercial House of State upon which to base a social sector within the capitalist economy. Socialization of credit was the most radical program proposed. This move would require state control, at least, or possibly even outright destruction of the present financial system. As the financial sector was the heart of the capitalist enterprise, both foreign and domestic, this plan was certain to rouse resistance.

It was the international front which appeared most ominous after the release of the manifesto. The programs concerning the Compañía de Salitre de Chile (Cosach) were of prime importance.⁷ Cosach was the firm which controlled the nitrate industry, the country's most important product, as well as the source of most of her foreign investment and exchange. Any move towards the firm was a major policy switch and one which would be regarded as anti-imperialistic. The manifesto's calls to open mines outside of Cosach and dissolve the combine were certain to meet extreme resistance from abroad.

The class-oriented proposals gave the manifesto its radical flavor and set the path the junta followed to gain support. The distribution of food and unproductive farm

land to the unemployed, the suspension of evictions and occupation of abandoned houses were all visible payments which the masses could collect by supporting the junta. New tax measures against the rich were expected to add 500 million pesos to the state treasury as well as place the new regime firmly at the head of a mass-based movement.⁸

The manifesto made very clear that the upper classes were expected to be in opposition and the masses were to be favored at their expense.⁹ United States Ambassador Culberson analyzed the situation that evening in his report to Washington:

Junta for the time being has the military force necessary to maintain its power but the propertied and conservative classes will not accept the socialistic measures proposed without resistance. Moreover, the Junta will encounter practical difficulties at every turn in case it attempts to put in force its radical measures. If it should go so far as to resort to force and confiscation we will see resistance and conflict.¹⁰

The success or failure of the government was to rest on its ability to generate the support necessary to maintain itself in power while attempting to implement these proposals. An outlook for success was not shared in all quarters. After reading the reports of the manifesto and programs, British Foreign Office analyst R. L. Craige wrote, "If I were a prophet, I should predict a short and stormy life for this government."¹¹ The moral force of the legend of the "Social-

ist Republic" rests on its attempts to realize its radical manifesto.

June 6 - Monday

Monday morning brought back the realities of the world to Chile. It was the first workday under the new regime, the banks were to open and business to resume. However, the bank workers called a strike which was joined by other professionals to protest the new government's intentions toward the banks. The work interruption prevented the banks from opening. The junta replied by closing the banks for three days so that they could have time to investigate the bank problem in more detail and decide on a practical program.¹²

If the banks did not present enough of a problem, the courts compounded it. The Supreme Court ordered all courts suspended and inoperable under the junta. Even as the domestic resistance mounted, it was becoming clear that the mounting international concern over plans for the nitrate industry might eclipse all domestic concerns. The international community was clearly opposed to any nationalization plan.

Over the question of how to handle the international problems the first rift appeared in the new government.

Dávila took the lead in developing a policy of moderation. His policy statements that day contradicted both the letter and spirit of the previous day's manifesto. Dávila sent a telegram to the "New York Times" and had an interview with the "Times" (London) correspondent. He indicated that moderation, not radicalism, was to be his guiding principle. The government would proceed slowly in deciding the nitrate question. Any plan would be implemented within the existing recognized international monetary system. Confiscation of foreign currency bank accounts, as had been widely rumored, was also dismissed as a goal. In his telegram to the "New York Times" Davila best explained his new policy outlook: "Notwithstanding the socialistic atmosphere, the new government has not contemplated drastic measures far removed from past practices of most affairs of state . . . No changes of importance are considered except to foster international understanding between states."¹³ He indicated that within this policy Soviet Russia would probably be recognized.

Also taking up the policy of moderation was General Puga, the Provisional President. Appearing more clearly now as Dávila's ally, Puga tried to create the impression that the new government was not comprised entirely of revolutionaries or even represented all of them. In an interview that day,

he stated, ". . . we do not deny the formation of revolutionary groups to oppose us, among whom are some communistic members. I simply ask, Where is the government which has not some opposition?"¹⁴

The statements of Puga and Dávila emphasized the contradictions between the radical manifesto and practical reformist politics. Questions were being raised as to whether the country was going to be fully socialistic or simply one with a regulated capitalism; and whether it was to be rigid or pliable toward international interests. These policy questions were the first public sign of the growing factionalism within the junta. Reports in diplomatic circles of the previous day indicated Dávila and Puga were pushing for moderation; Grove and Matte for radicalism.¹⁵ The key to the answers of these questions was likely to be in the disposition of the Cosach problem.¹⁶

June 7 - Tuesday

As the junta members began to feel the pressure of rising opposition, they began a series of programs designed to build institutional and popular support. At the institutional level, the regime announced some new plans of importance. First, they dealt with the Congress. The legislative

body was partially dissolved and its functions pre-empted by the junta. Those legislators who had been appointed during the Ibáñez dictatorship were removed. New elections were scheduled for November to fill those seats. At that time Congress, hopefully friendly to the new regime, would resume its legislative function.

A second institutional move was the granting of amnesty to all social and political prisoners. These included naval personnel who had attempted earlier in the year to topple the government. These men were pardoned and reinstated in the military service, a move which would hopefully produce a military more loyal to the junta. This move would be opposed by most officers, but would be popular with the lower ranks and serve to reduce the officers' influence. As the naval officers had not supported the coup, the junta's seduction of the lower ranks was not an unsound policy.

The junta also announced its plan to eliminate unemployment within a month by the creation of new economic institutions. The government would create three state companies; one for agriculture, one for mining, and one industrial. The companies would hire the unemployed throughout the country as their labor force. The theory was that once these companies began operating they would strengthen the government's posi-

tion in the economic sphere. By adding a more dynamic sector to oppose the private sector, which was largely controlled by the government's opponents, the regime might be immune from economic pressures.

The real battle for survival was going to be for the allegiance of the people. By their absolute passivity during the coup, it was clear that they were not attached to the Montero government. However, it was equally clear that the new military-imposed regime had not yet captured their support. British Charge d'Affaires Thompson summarized the situation that morning:

Revolutionary government have failed to obtain the public support which they evidently counted upon, given the widespread discontent in the country due to the economic crisis. That this support is conspicuous by its absence is due to the extreme violence of methods used - aeroplanes, demonstrations and so forth - to unpopularity of military dictatorships of which this country has had enough for the time being and to the unhappy wording of their first proclamation which has given every reason to assume that the political views of the junta are of a deeper hue than pink.¹⁷

The questions over policies to be pursued to build popular support was accenting the split in the junta. Puga quietly resigned as Minister of Interior, though he remained on the junta. The ministry had been his more powerful position as it had given him control of the police forces. His replace-

ment, Rolando Merino, was more radical and a shift in the direction of the Left was beginning.¹⁸

The government announced the first two programs of a series of popular measures aimed at securing an alliance with the masses. No evictions were to be made for unpaid rent for any dwelling renting for less than 200 pesos a month. All tools and clothing held as collateral in government pawn shops were to be returned to their owners without charge. These measures were aimed at the urban poor and working classes. The decrees could have come directly from the proclamations of the Paris Commune of 1871, a predecessor the junta now seemed to be emulating.

The opposition, however, was neither dead nor withering away. Concern for their power was shown in three other proclamations issued that day. First, firearms were confiscated from the Civic Guards and other private organizations. These groups were largely middle and upper class, and intent on defending their homes and property. Second, the Finance Minister announced he would delay any moves to confiscate Cosach holdings until the government could study the question further. The government recommendations would likely be submitted to the new Congress in November, giving the international concerns sufficient time to negotiate an arrangement

suitable to all. Third, the government announced plans for the reorganization of the National University, then being administered by a board of three professors and three students. This move was in reply to student opponents who had seized a university building and were calling for a general strike to overturn the new regime.

On the other side of the spectrum there was increasing evidence of some mass movement in favor of the government. Workers held a number of demonstrations in Santiago that Tuesday, most of which were in support of the new junta. One, however, was anti-clerical and organized against nuns after the newspaper "La Libertad" announced the junta was considering laws banning religious orders. Even as the demonstration was in progress, the junta was denying any designs against either religious orders or their property. While the junta was prepared to challenge the propertied classes with many radical ideas for change, apparently it was not yet prepared to reopen the traditional liberal - conservative schism over the role of the Church in the society.¹⁹

June 8 - Wednesday

The split in the junta over policy was daily becoming more evident. While Dávila and Puga continued their pursuit

of moderation, Grove and Matte attempted to make the original program a reality. These differences became clearer that Wednesday as the workers of Santiago confronted the government with some genuinely radical demands. These demands were purported to be the price of their support.

The workingmen's societies of Santiago had called a mass open air rally, at which many speeches were given, some radical and violent in tone. It was then decided by the leaders at the rally to lay their demands before the junta. The crowd then marched down the Calle Moneda to the Palace, and once there, demanded an audience with the junta. It was Matte, the only genuine socialist leader in the regime, who came to listen to their demands.

The two most significant demands were for the regime to give the workers the use of the Club de la Unión and to arm a "Red Army". The Club de la Unión was a private aristocratic social club. The workers wanted it turned over to them for a recreation center in the "soviet style". More importantly the workers wanted to form a "Republican Socialist Guard" and have the government arm it. The workers would then take up arms to assist the junta in realizing its aim of socializing the country. No other single demand could have struck more fear into the hearts of the military or

conservatives than the specter of an armed, undisciplined workers' army. Matte listened to their demands. Addressing them, he told the rally that the junta was determined to carry out its full program and do justice to the long-suffering proletariat, a view clearly not shared by all his colleagues. However, he made no firm commitment toward fulfillment of the specific demands.

Other problems also had to be faced that day. Wednesday was the last day the banks were to be closed under Monday's order. The Finance Minister, Alfredo la Garique, announced the Central Bank was being reorganized and that a council of workers was to take over control of the Savings Banks. He also proposed expropriating the foreign currency accounts on deposit in Chilean banks. None of his proposals were put into effect that day. The time was approaching when these, or some other plans, had to be agreed upon and enacted if the banks were to open and the economy to normalize.

In another economic move the Minister of Education announced a plan to employ 100,000 of the unemployed. The plan called for the founding of state corporations, in addition to those proposed by the junta the previous day. These would be for transportation, warehousing, distribution and purchasing. Among their activities would be taking over con-

trol of the rail system. These corporations were designed to provide the social infrastructure necessary to support the productive corporations Davila had proposed. Together they could make the social sector dominant in the economy.

The junta also announced it was studying a proposal to trade nitrates for Soviet oil. Where this proposal originated is not clear, but it was certain to set off internal as well as international repercussions. The junta also prohibited the sale of arms, ammunition and explosives. This was a further attempt to disarm, or at least prevent the future arming, of the opposition's organizations. The junta recognized that if the workers were to be armed for the "Republic's" defense, the weapons would have to come from the government anyway, as most of the workers could not afford to adequately arm themselves.²⁰

June 9 - Thursday

Thursday was the day the banking question had to be decided. Despite Dávila's assurances of moderation, the junta promulgated two radical decrees. The Central Bank was nationalized and renamed the "Banco Del Estado". Its board of governors was dissolved and a new administration was to be appointed later by the government. The second decree was

of more importance to the international community. The junta announced all deposits of foreign currency were to be expropriated. These deposits were being credited to the government accounts. The owners of the deposits were to be reimbursed in pesos at the official exchange rate of June 3, the day before the revolution.²¹

The confiscation decree was certain to raise the ire of the international community. Not only was the peso no longer worth what it had been on June 3, but the official rate that day had been greatly inflated. To stop further devaluation of the peso, the junta enacted two additional controls. Only small withdrawals were allowed from banks, and these had to be in pesos. Strict controls were also imposed on the stock market in an attempt to rectify the fiscal situation.

While the financial problems generally occupied most of the junta's attention, Thursday marked its first serious step toward socializing the economy. The government announced plans to take over the big sugar refinery at Viña del Mar. The refinery would become state-owned and run by a committee of the state and the workers. This was the first attempt at internal property expropriation and the beginnings of the new Commercial House of the State. Such a move so soon in the regime's existence was bound to bring a reaction from both the

workers and the owners. The government did not have to wait long for a reaction. That same day the workers at the paper "El Mercurio" demanded the paper be turned over to them to be run on a socialized basis by a workers' committee.²²

June 10 - Friday

Banking continued to be the junta's main concern Friday. Reactions came that day from the international community in response to Thursday's decree. United States Ambassador Culberson, acting on behalf of the City National Bank of New York, protested the order seizing foreign currency deposits. Many of his diplomatic colleagues also submitted protests. The government did not remain unmoved in the face of these pressures. The Finance Minister met with leading bankers all day. The bankers complained not only that the decrees were unjust but also impossible to comply with and have the banks remain functional institutions. The Minister promised to reconsider the decrees and issue clarifying orders soon.

The protests had an effect for the junta did not implement the decrees. Government officials privately expressed their opinions to the diplomatic corps that the decrees would be modified, at least toward foreign concerns, before being put into effect. To calm international fears the junta ad-

vanced a more moderate proposal. By its terms the newly nationalized Banco Del Estado would be the central feature. The shares of the old Central Bank owned by private citizens or other banks would be expropriated with payment at a fair price. In this manner the bank would be converted into a state organization and the investors would not be hurt. The state bank would then continue to serve the same function, in the same manner, as the private bank had. The only difference would be its new directors and the use of some of its assets to erect a new system of state credit banks to assist the masses.

These proposals did allay the international fears somewhat. The only fiscal decree the junta did put into force immediately was a new order closing shops which bought gold or silver and then melted it for export. In the financial field the junta was creating the impression of "paper revolutionaries". They appeared to attack the heart of capitalism, the banking and international investment businesses. However, after making radical pronouncements and hearing the anguished complaints, the revolutionaries brought about only mild reforms to stabilize the currency. Nothing that the revolutionaries had effected so far was more than a nuisance to the capitalists.

Lest anyone get the impression that the regime had abandoned socialism, Dávila issued a statement explaining the overall economic program for the country. According to him, the government was trying to found and promote state enterprises in all major economic sectors. Their purpose was to raise internal productivity, cut imports and improve the balance of trade. Socialism was part of this scheme. "Private enterprise will not be brought to an end, but a collectivist economy will be created to supplement the existing individualist economy. The latter will be submitted to severe controls in order to substitute, as far as possible, the competitive system for a far-reaching co-operative one."²³ Davila's message, and even his avoidance of the terms capitalism and socialism, sounded a note of restrained, responsible, moderate state action. Within the scope of Dávila's statement, the government announced it had plans for price controls on foods and an iodine monopoly. (Iodine is a by-product of nitrate mining.)

While the junta was appearing more moderate, a challenge arose from the leftists outside the government. A group of Communist students seized the National University, which was still closed awaiting reorganization after the earlier disturbance. The students seized the university press and

printed a manifesto demanding the right to participate in the new socialist government. Their manifesto also demanded that the government give the students suitable headquarters, either the Club de la Unión or the Municipal Theatre. The outburst was important for two reasons. First, the demonstration was lead by Elias Lafferte, the head of the Chilean (Moscow) Communist Party. Second, it was the first outbreak of a leftist or working-class protest against the "Republic". With the demand for participation in the decision-making process, the government was faced with a difficult political situation. It could either co-opt the leftist groups into the government, thus opening it to a charge of communism and possible international intervention, or it could keep the other groups outside of the government and thereby limit its already narrow potential power base. The junta did nothing for the moment, neither stopping the demonstration nor moving against the participants. That situation could not be tolerated indefinitely.²⁴

British Charge d'Affaires Thompson, in analyzing the confrontation between the Leftists and the government that evening, saw two ways the situation could be resolved. First, the alliance between the military and the government could break over the issue of radicalism. The military would then

revolt and pave the way for a return of a right-wing military dictator, such as Ibáñez. Second, the radicals could consolidate their position with the military, the Left and the people, remain in power and gain influence on the whole continent. This possibility held the greater fear for the British as it could create repercussions in other countries where Britain had interests. To forestall this possibility and interject the prospect of intervention into the junta's calculations, Thompson suggested that the Parliament and the press issue severe warnings against nationalizing foreign holdings.²⁵

June 11 - Saturday

Saturday was not a banking day so the junta could spend its time confronting other problems. Foremost was the recovery of the National University, still in communist hands. Grove, as Defense Minister, went on the radio in the early morning hours and broadcast a warning to the communists. While this warning was dutifully reported as a serious stand against communism, it sounded more like an inter-left polemic.

Grove's message was clear; the junta would not tolerate any attempt by the communists to prevent the government from realizing its previously announced socialist goals. "We are

disposed to continue the program as set forth without taking into consideration anybody or anything that may endeavor to make us break away."²⁶ The communists were being presented with a choice; either support the government and obtain socialism its way, or stay out of its path. Should they choose to exercise neither of these options, Grove made quite clear his feelings when he said, "We will use a hand of steel in putting down Communist actions designed to create a substitute for the regime as established by the junta."²⁷

A fact not as prominently reported about that speech was that Grove concluded by warning the Right that he would suffer no interference from that quarter either. Grove made clear his intention to back his words by sending a committee Saturday to take control of the University. The communists yielded without a struggle and no arrests or harassment of the insurgents took place. Despite Grove's strong words, it was becoming apparent that he was willing to accept allegiances from other Leftists willing to strive for socialism his way. Not all of the junta was inclined to be so liberal or friendly with the Left.

A huge demonstration of support was held that Saturday with an impressive international cast. Socialist leaders from Colombia, Ecuador and Peru came to praise the efforts of

the junta to achieve socialism. In that connection two more new programs were announced. First, a National Socialist Economic Council was named, with some workers among its members. Its job was to meet daily to advise the Cabinet of economic problems and suggest courses of action for their consideration. Second, the Department of Labor announced that it would begin feeding 250,000 unemployed in nine cities twice daily. Both programs were designed to generate worker support and restore the junta's reputation as a friend of the masses, after refusing the communist students' demands.

Even though banking was not the main topic of the day, it remained a problem which simply would not go away. The Finance Minister issued a statement confirming the original banking decrees. Given the radical atmosphere of the day, he maintained they were justified and would be put into effect. He also warned foreign banks that if they resisted, the government would take appropriate actions. His statement insured that banking was to remain a problem during the upcoming week.²⁸

June 12 - Sunday

Sunday could have been a quiet day for the government. After its first full week in existence, Sunday seemed like a

good time for the regime to rest, reflect on the distance covered and the course yet to be travelled. But for true revolutionaries, the Sabbath is just another day, and Matte and Grove were not in the mood to stop the revolution even for a day.

That Sunday afternoon, Dávila resigned from the junta. It was probably no accident that he was strongly criticized by the leftist paper "Opinión" that day. "Opinión" was a leading proponent of the movement to dissolve Cosach. Dávila was criticized for his moderation toward the foreign interests. Grove and Matte were still seen as sticking to the original radical program and did not come under fire from the Left.

It had become more apparent as the week went on that the junta and the principal leaders of the coup were not of one mind politically. Grove and Matte believed that great sacrifices by the capitalistic and foreign interests were necessary to socialize the country. Dávila, General Puga and General Arturo Merino, now Grove's successor as Commander of the Air Force, believed that socialism could be achieved through an evolutionary process, within the bounds of normal governmental activities. A clash between the groups was inevitable if the regime's course was ever to be clearly defined. So

The government could only look toward that segment of the people who were the weakest in terms of experience, organization and resources; the workers and the poor. Even here the regime's support was neither uniform nor strong. The rural work force was under the paternalistic control of the landlords, who remained the bastion of the opposition. So the government was heavily courting the urban workers, lower middle class and the unemployed. These were the traditional members of the Left. The radical press was now completely unbridled; their papers and posters covered the city, but the ever-present discord within the Left kept them from being a united political force. The regime had to know that it had a very weak base and its continued survival depended on a very impressive performance, very quickly.

The government announced a new vehicle for creating support. This program was designed to extend the government's ability to communicate with and influence the masses. A new commission was created to bring culture to the masses. Operating on the premise that a socialist state has a duty to advance public culture, the commission was endowed with impressive resources. It was to have a state-owned theater, radio station, printing plant, art school and movie studio. These facilities would allow the commission to disseminate

educational and entertaining programs to increase the musical, literary, artistic and social awareness of the people. Should the government strive long enough for the operations to become effective, the commission could also become a powerful tool for creating public opinion and support.³⁰

June 13 - Monday

Monday was the day to try to regroup the government if it was to have any hope of survival. Two significant personnel changes were announced. Rolando Merino was promoted from Interior Minister to the junta to fill Davila's place. Arturo Ruiz Mufei, a Santiago municipal official, was named the new Interior Minister. With these moves, Grove and Matte, alone among the original conspirators, remained in positions of power. Puga remained as the Provisional President, but his role was that of a figurehead. Grove and Matte had now filled all the powerful positions with radicals of their choosing. If they wished to make a radical government, the means were now at their disposal.

Grove commented that day on Dávila's resignation. He wished, he said, to put to rest the impression that Dávila's leaving was the result of another military coup. Speaking as the Defense Minister he gave the military view on the event:

I wish to make a statement denying the rumors, which are entirely untrue, about difficulties having occurred between members of the armed forces, concerning the alleged claims of military groups to exercise some control over the actions of the junta governing this country. On the contrary, it can be declared that the army does not desire to become mixed up in public affairs and simply wishes to remain united in its efforts to support and protect the Socialist Republic.³¹

Grove's statement read more like a plea for the army to stay in the barracks than a statement of solid military support for the revised junta.

The government reorganization had international effects since the moves were viewed as steps toward creating a more radical government. Washington was very disturbed as they had great confidence in Dávila, whom the government had known from his days there as Ambassador. The United States Ambassador let his apprehensions be known by protesting the banking decrees, state monopolies and any other contemplated moves against foreign interests.³² The British were extremely disturbed by the developments and the Chilean question was raised in that Monday's debate in Commons. The public warning Thompson had requested on Friday was delivered by Mr. Eden, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs:

His Majesty's government has not entered into official relations with the present government, but his Majesty's Charge d'Affaires has been instructed to inform (them) that his Majesty's government takes

a most serious view of these confiscatory measures and, if they are carried through, will strongly support a demand for full compensation for the British investors affected.³³

With the protests and the warning the specter of international intervention arose.

Knowing the international feelings on the previously announced banking decrees, the junta issued a change of policy. The Finance Minister officially retracted the decree establishing the Banco Del Estado. The Central Bank would return to its former operation. He also commented that nothing detrimental to any foreign interest would be done soon.

Despite these assurances, the Minister also brought an ominous shadow back to light; the question of the disposition of Cosach. The Cosach question had been largely ignored while the banking problems were in the forefront. Now it appeared that Cosach was to be the issue on which Grove wished to make his fight. The Minister announced that Cosach would be expected to provide drafts for foreign exchange necessary to continue operations. Also Cosach would be expected to continue full production during the period its future was under consideration. The Minister did caution the public not to expect immediate and violent measures yet as the matter still required much study. The fact that the matter was under study

again served a clear warning to foreign concerns.³⁴

June 14 - Tuesday

Tuesday the new junta began to mark its course more clearly. Senator Aurelio Nuñez Morgado was appointed the new Superintendent of Nitrate Mines. This was a particularly significant appointment as Senator Nuñez had just been elected to the leadership of the Radical Socialist Party in May. That Party was the most significant organization of the Left. His appointment was the junta's first move to incorporate other leftist groups into the government coalition. Nuñez's appointment to oversee the nitrate industry was particularly suitable from the radicals' viewpoint. A civil engineer by training, Nunez authored his party's strong stand against Cosach; "The 'Cosach' shall be immediately dissolved and those chiefly responsible for its formation shall be punished."³⁵ While mounting the challenge for a battle over Cosach, the junta did nothing in the banking field. Apparently banking was viewed as Dávila's fight which he had lost. The new junta would make its stand on nitrates.

The junta announced two additional debt reforms to aid the middle and lower classes. The government decreed a 30-day moratorium on all debts of retail merchants. Furthermore, they

extended the loans of small businessmen through the National Savings Banks. These moves would hopefully relieve some of the pressures on the small merchants allowing them to hold current prices and not contribute to the rising inflation. This, in turn, would aid the lower classes.

In another reform aimed at the middle class, the junta announced a solution to the university problem. Now that both the student opponents of the regime and the Communists had relinquished control of the buildings, the government felt confident enough to discontinue its earlier controls. The University was once more made a self-governing body. This practice was more in line with the Reforms of Córdoba,³⁶ which were the standards accepted by most of the educated classes. While none of these reforms were especially revolutionary, taken together they began to show a concerted push to acquire support from the middle classes.

While the new junta continued on its way, Dávila was not quite prepared to be totally left out of the public spotlight. Tuesday he published an open letter to his former colleagues and the country. He explained his resignation simply,

The Socialist Revolution is an accomplished fact.

It is possible that I have made mistakes. Many times I have gone against the opinions of most of you . . . but always I have proceeded

with the deepest revolutionary sincerity and in a manner foreign to all classes or groups or interests or considerations which did not aim at the same ideas which made us march together in a brief but transcendental step in the life of the country.

My withdrawal is not a subtraction from the revolutionary forces, but, on the contrary, an aid. It leaves my friends free of all personalist suspicions, so they can collaborate better to accomplish their work.³⁷

Davila's sentiments were certainly admirable and quite reassuring to the junta and the people. It was obvious that his resignation was that of a highly principled and public-spirited man, not the result of another military coup. But while his sentiments were above reproach, both his assurances to stay out of the government and his "revolutionary sincerity" were suspect. His actions had indicated that his revolutionary activities were confined to overthrowing the government, not to attempting a thoroughgoing revolution. The question remained: Would Dávila's revolutionary inclinations drive him to another coup?³⁸

June 15 - Wednesday

Wednesday was a day when the news of Chile mostly originated from foreign sources. This was not unusual in light of the "Times" (London) report on the following day that a strict censorship of the mails and cables leaving the country had

been imposed on Wednesday. The domestic situation did not seem to warrant such actions, but the international scene was heating up. It was learned late Tuesday that the British government was dispatching the cruiser H.M.S. Durban to Peru. The move, according to the Secretary of the Admiralty, was, ". . . in order to be ready in case of need for the protection of British interests in Chile."³⁹ Apparently, Mr. Eden's remarks to Commons Monday were not just rhetoric.

Also on the international scene Wednesday, the French Ambassador protested the measures which affected the French interests in Chile. In the United States, the Chilean Ambassador talked to the New York bankers, informing them that the Central Bank would operate as before. His conversations were to attempt to calm the fears of the international bankers, who controlled enormous investments in Chile.

The only real news from within Chile that day was the fact that the trolleys stopped running. The railway workers, who had become Grove's and Matte's most solid supporters, walked off their jobs to attend rallies called in support of the new junta. Wednesday had all the appearances of the calm before a storm.⁴⁰

The suspicion that a storm was coming was confirmed by Ambassador Culberson in a conversation with British envoy

Thompson, a conversation which Thompson reported to London but Culberson left out of his report to Washington:

United States Ambassador told me today (June 15) that preparations for counter revolutionary movement were actively progressing and he anticipated important developments in 2 or 3 days or at the most within a week. He felt position of Junta had greatly weakened. While I have no means of confirming the above I agree with His Excellency's further remark that much now depends upon the morale of N.C.O.'s. who are a more or less permanent body but who have been for months objective of communist propaganda. There is much reason to suppose their superiors are uneasily conscious that they have been made fools of while the conscripts are generally of such low mental calibre that they will follow any decisive lead.⁴¹

If such preparations were underway and Culberson knew of them it was reasonable to assume that Dávila, who was a personal friend of Culberson, was involved in the plot. Many elements were now prepared to back the moderate socialists against the radicals. A counter-coup lead by Dávila would have a good chance of regaining control of the government.

June 16 - Thursday

A climax of revolutionary action was reached on Thursday. The junta got the day off to a good start. They approved a plan to have the state represented by six, rather than three, members on the board of the revived Central Bank. Further, the junta announced it was appointing a commission to study

the foreign currency confiscation decrees and its report was due in a month and a half. During those 45 days, the decrees would be held in abeyance. This would give everyone time to find some livable solution to the banking problem.

Having put off the threat from the international interests, the junta turned to revolutionizing the country. The Health Ministry announced it was studying a new plan to socialize medicine. The plan called for the government to supervise the whole medical field. Free medical care would be given to everyone, with the program financed by an annual fee paid by each person in proportion to his income. While this plan would bring relief to the lower classes, and their enthusiastic support, it was sure to bring howls of pain from the upper classes and professionals.

The junta was not the only group to be in a revolutionary mood that day. The Liga de Acción, a leftist political group, published a manifesto demanding the dissolution of all religious orders and a total reorganization of the Church in Chile. The manifesto called for the nationalization of the clergy and restriction of their numbers to one clergyman for every 50,000 inhabitants. The League further proposed seizing the Church lands and putting them to public use. Lastly, the manifesto demanded Chile have a divorce law. While the ideas

were in the spirit of the day, they were not likely to win many converts to the radical causes from among the Conservatives.

While the junta was making revolutionary plans, its former members were engaged in the same task. Dávila and Generals Puga and Arturo Merino, three of the five original conspirators who had overthrown the government on June 4, decided to have another go at it that day. Their revolt began about seven in the evening. They began by sending a group of army officers into the Presidential Palace to arrest Colonel Grove. However, Grove hid in a back room until they left and then began making hasty calls for support.

It appeared that this latest coup would not be without a clash of arms. An insurgent infantry regiment occupied the Ministry of War Building across the street from the Presidential Palace. Grove's supporters in the Cavalry mounted machine guns on top of the Palace. Members of the Aviation School, still loyal to Grove, bombed the infantry barracks and dropped flares over the city. Some fire was exchanged across the Calle Moneda. Both sides spent most of their time broadcasting pleas for public support over the radio. Civilian crowds massed and some Communists responded to Grove's pleas for support by attacking two churches near the battle scene,

causing the Carabineros to be sent to quell the disturbance.

By 2:00 A.M., it was clear that the bulk of the military was supporting the insurgents. Grove's troops went over to the other side. General Merino, who had led the insurgent troops, entered the Palace and was greeted by General Puga, still a member of the junta. Merino assured him the insurgents only wanted Grove and Matte. Merino even offered Puga the presidency of the new junta, but Puga declined it. Grove and Matte were arrested. The insurgents had triumphed again, for the second time in as many weeks.

Even as this new socialist revolution was in progress, a change was clearly coming. More than 500 alleged communists were arrested, including their two most important leaders, Lafferte and Chamundez. The army officers who attacked the Palace in the early attempt to seize Grove explained to reporters that they wished the "Maintenance of national socialism, divested of Communists, and the expulsion from the government of the fanatic and anti-patriotic elements."⁴² The Thermidorian Reaction had arrived. This time the "Socialist Republic" was going to be much less socialist and little more republican.⁴³

June 17 - Friday

By early Friday it had become clear that a brief era had ended. The staffing of the new "Socialist Republic" and the statements of its members brought the changes into focus. General Puga moved from the junta to become Minister of Defense, Grove's previous position. Rolando Merino was dismissed from the junta and not given any position in the new government. The third junta member, Matte, was in jail with Grove awaiting transport into exile. Davila became the new Provisional President. General Arturo Merino was returned to his military command.

Early Friday the new government issued a manifesto explaining its goals and plans:

We wish to call a constitutional assembly, which at the earliest possible date will draw up a plan for a new political constitution, based on the Socialist Organization of the State.

While the assembly fulfills its duties, the new junta will uphold all statutes and resolutions within the present constitution and existing laws of the Republic unless they openly clash with the progressive spirit which now inspires the new regime.

The junta will give due respect to the independence of the courts of justice and commits itself to recognize and respect international obligations.⁴⁴

This manifesto was a statement of moderation in comparison with the June 5 document. The radical projects demanded

earlier were either absent or explicitly denied in the new program.⁴⁵

General Merino explained the army's role in the new regime, while criticizing Grove and Matte for allowing the army to become involved in politics:

It (the army) rose because it could not remain unmoved in the face of unruly actions by bold citizens who, forgetting patriotism, were exploiting communist ideas that were an insult to the national flag, despising the rights of other citizens of Chile.

We must start a period of social peace and welfare today, while the army units return to their garrisons, delivering into the hands of civilian patriots the pursuit and practical applications of sound Socialist ideals.⁴⁶

With General Merino emerging as the military strongman behind the new junta, his statement accented two trends of the new regime. First was his reaction against the radicalism of the previous regime which he characterized as "unpatriotic" and its actions "communist". Second, he downgraded class antagonism, which is the heart of all leftist ideologies. The "sound socialist ideals", if they conformed to Merino's speech, were likely to be very mild.

Grove's anti-foreign capitalist stance was also altered immediately by the regime. The new Finance Minister, Senator Zañarta, spoke about the new regime's approaches to the Cosach question. He did not believe Cosach would be so great

a problem under the new regime as it had been for Grove. He remarked that while the Cosach agreement could be altered, it could not be violated. Through a suitable alteration, he believed Chile could have her natural mineral rights protected, but without having to assume control over the mines or plants. His attitude made the possibility of nationalization and expropriation of the industry most unlikely. He was able to say that day, "I firmly believe that the settlement we will make will be equitable and acceptable to all parties concerned, while it will maintain unimpaired the sources of national wealth".⁴⁷ With such an attitude, international conciliation was likely and any changes to Cosach would be minor.

On its first day the new "Socialist Republic" repudiated the main points of its predecessor: class struggle to create a new society, anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism and radical change to reshape the state and its functions. Dávila's new government proclaimed its belief in socialism throughout its three-month life, but, from the first morning onward, it was evident that this time it was state socialism, not the "socialist revolution". The new junta was another reformist regime, but the revolution was over. The legend of the real "twelve day Socialist Republic" was born before the institution bearing its name even died.

Interpretations
and
Viewpoints

The Socialist Legend

The Socialists found themselves in a strange position, following the June 16 counter-revolution. A "Socialist Revolution" had overthrown the government and attempted a radical transformation of the country. All this before the Socialist Party was even formed. When the Party was established in 1933, it inherited the legacy of that revolution and a "Republic" which had failed in almost every important venture it had attempted. Despite its failure, the heritage of the "Republic" was a valuable asset as a rallying point for socialist organization. The "Republic's" programs had pointed the direction for the ensuing socialist policy, in the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist fields, to follow.

The noted interpreter of social revolutions, Regis Debray, has presented the current evolution Grove legend in his Conversations with Allende. Debray is one of the most influential radical philosophers on Latin America today. He first gained recognition for his works on the Cuban Revolution and the new revolutionary strategy. By the time of his capture in Bolivia, while fighting with Che Guevara, he had attained the acme of the writer-revolutionary. As a friend of President Allende, his interpretation of Chilean revolu-

tionary history has considerable force and impressive credibility. His version of the "Socialist Republic" is considered history in many quarters.

The capitulation to imperialism and the political repression of the Ibáñez dictatorship (1931) followed by the class rule of Montero (1932), had left behind a wave of social discontent expressed in strikes and other political actions by embryonic workers' organizations and left-wing political parties.

Tenacious political work by a number of socialist groups, combined with the discontent of the masses and the injustices committed by those in power, brought victory to a revolutionary movement led by Colonel Marmaduke Grove (military leader) and Eugenio Matte (civilian leader). On 4 June 1932 President Montero was ousted and a socialist government was established.

With a 150 point programme and under the slogan "Bread, a Roof and Shelter" the new government embarked on a series of concrete measures in favor of the dispossessed. Viewed today these measures appear extraordinarily ingenuous and naive - suspension of evictions of tenants, the return of objects pledged to the Popular Credit Bank, the granting of popular credits to small traders, etc. - but they undoubtedly provoked the immediate anger of the reactionary right. Moreover, the new government was clearly anti-imperialist: its economic programme stated that ... 'all heavy industry extracting primary products and a large part of the public services are in the hands of foreign enterprises. Our privileged classes have lived in the lap of luxury and comfort provided by foreign capitalism, in exchange for our natural wealth and the misery of the people'.

The programme of the revolutionaries did not attempt either the socialization of the means of production or the confiscation of great fortunes. Moreover, the government did not rely decisively on the masses to carry through its programme. It was therefore overthrown after twelve days by a coup d'etat supported by the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. But there is no doubt that, despite its short duration,

the Revolutionary Junta was an inspiration for the working class; and it united behind it five small socialist movements which fused the following year to found the Socialist Party.¹

No one has remained more closely identified with the Grove legend than the present President of Chile, Salvador Allende. Allende's long association with the Socialists and widespread campaigning on that legacy have done much to popularize Grove's reputation.

President Allende discussed the "Socialist Republic" with Debray and commented on that portion of the legacy which is viewed as most significant by contemporary leftists; the emergence of mass political consciousness and the development of the Socialist Party. "The Socialist Party has a tradition of anti-imperialism which is bound up in history with the process known in this country as the 'Socialist Revolution' which began 4 June 1932. Although it was only of short duration, this process had a profound influence on vanguard thought."² Allende was one of those whose thoughts were influenced by the "Republic".

In April, 1933, following the fall of Grove's government, the Socialist Party was founded. The legacy of the "Republic" and its former members were the dominant influences. Allende can well make his claims as to the origin of the Socialist

Party for, as he said to Debray, "I didn't join the Socialist Party, Regis - I am a founder, one of the founders of the Socialist Party".³ Another of those founders was Marmaduke Grove.⁴ As a Socialist participant in the Popular Front government under Cerda and as the leader who eventually brought the Socialist Party to power in 1970, Allende's view of the evolution of the party and its ideological origins is often considered the most knowledgeable and correct.

Allende's connections with Grove and the "Republic" were hardly ephemeral or coincidental. He was active enough as a student to be arrested five times following Grove's fall. His relationship to that government was personal as well as political. "Other members of my family were also put into prison [following the "Republic's" fall] including my brother-in-law, Marmaduke Grove's brother . . . As you can see, we had close ties with Grove."⁵ Allende continued his political association with Grove, though often critical of his tactics, throughout the next decade until finally ousting Grove from the Party leadership in 1943.⁶ Grove's influence on Allende appears undeniable. Allende's interpretation of the "Republic's" role in Chilean history remains unchallenged, knowledgeable and political.

Richard Feinberg's observations, The Triumph of Allende,

on the 1970 presidential election, presented the popular view of the Grove government. "Unfortunately for the well-intentioned Grove, he was deposed after twelve glorious days ('I should have armed the people', he said later). . . . Out of the ashes of 'Marma's' efforts was created, in the following year, the Socialist Party of Chile, of which Salvador Allende was the founder."⁷ Feinberg can be excused for relating this view as history. He was a Peace Corps agronomist working in Chile during the election. It is testimony to the strength of the legend, even among the agrarian sector, that this is the version he was told.

The essence of the Socialist interpretation of the "Socialist Republic" rests on four points. First: Grove led a socialist revolution rising out of the discontent of the oppressed masses. Second: The "Republic" was essentially anti-imperialist and pro-working class in orientation. Third: The causes of the "Republic's" fall were due to its program not being radical enough and not allowing sufficient mass participation to withstand the reaction of the bourgeoisie and foreign capitalists. Fourth: The "Republic" provided the ideological and organizational groundwork for its program's eventual triumph under Allende.

The legacy of the "Republic" was a mixed blessing for

the Socialists. Without the heritage, the Socialist leaders would not have had the moral authority among the leftists which was necessary to forge the many splinter groups into a coherent party. On the other hand, a careful study of the "Republic" would show a rather hollow inheritance. While its proclamations had sounded good, its actions had inevitably failed to match its decrees, and had often directly contradicted its espoused intentions. As a legend the "Republic" was a revered rallying point for the new Socialist Party. As history, it could become an albatross of failures around their necks, having to be explained away to other leftists.

The Communist Interpretation

If any doubt existed in the minds of the Left that the "Socialist Republic" was dead by mid-June, the next issue of the "Communist International" should have laid it to rest. In the summary article, "June Events in Chile", the "International" presented a detailed analysis of past history. Perhaps more than any other, this article, and the official view it represented, colored the ensuing reputation of the Grove government. Just as Marx had published his Civil War In France giving the official view a mere two days after the fall of the Commune, once again the Communists rushed to the

presses, published first and claimed the official interpretation for their own.

The Communist analysis was thorough and detailed, if strewn with inaccuracies. Their analysis began from the premise that a revolutionary mass had been waiting for the opportunity to make the inevitable revolution. In the Communist view, it could not have been a military coup, a revolution from the top. The revolution had to spring from the wells of proletarian discontent. "The fundamental and most important feature of the latest events (June 1932) is the deep revolutionary mass movement, particularly of the workers and urban petty bourgeoisie, which did not, however, have a revolutionary leadership and was therefore utilized by the opposing cliques of the ruling classes."⁸ The leaders were not the makers of the revolution but were, instead, the inept manipulators of its defeat. Dávila was seen as representing the bourgeoisie and the landed oligarchy. Grove was seen in a better light as being the leader of the petty bourgeois elements. The differences in the classes of the leaders caused the "Republic" to have two distinct phases.

The Dávila-Grove phase was seen as all thunder and little lightning. Worse yet, with what little lightning there was, its bolts were often aimed toward the revolution's friends

and not the enemies so thunderously enumerated.

Seeking to utilize the support of the masses . . . the Dávila-Grove government . . . engaged in extensive anti-imperialist and even anti-capitalist social demagoguery, and proclaimed the establishment of a "Socialist Republic of Chile". This demagoguery alarmed even a large section of the imperialist press at first . . . A few days later it had become sufficiently clear that Dávila had no intention of going beyond vague promises and demagogic attacks against imperialism. The government of the "Socialist Republic of Chile" not only repudiated all charges of "bolshhevism", "communism" and its intention to repeat the "Russian experience", but announced its intention to mercilessly suppress the Communist Party of Chile. The imperialist press regained its peace of mind - the introduction of socialism was in safe hands.⁹

Under Dávila, the "International" believed the "Republic" bordered on outright treason to the cause it espoused.

If that indictment was not enough, the Communists listed the individual failures of the period. The failure to dissolve Cosach was probably the most grievous sin. That could have been a strong blow against international imperialism. The old communist charge hurled against the Communards arose again. A revolution must nationalize the banks, not in decrees as Dávila did, but in practice. To strike at the banks is an essential double-edged revolutionary blow; it gives the revolution funds to carry on and, it hits at the very heart of the capitalist power, destroying its ability to continue. Other failures, not seizing foreign currency, not sufficiently

aiding the unemployed or disbanding religious orders, were also criticized in turn. But these were small errors, not tactical blunders as the banks and Cosach were. No true revolutionary would have allowed such imperialist institutions to elude his grasp.

The Grove-Matte period fared somewhat better under the Communist review. These leaders won qualified praise for their decision to confiscate foreign currency, for appointing Nuñez as Superintendent of Nitrate Mines with orders to dismantle Cosach, as well as for seizing excess gold from private sources. The moves to control food prices and feed the unemployed were seen as particularly laudable.

But Grove and Matte did not rate a clean slate from the "International" critics either. Certainly they were still in part responsible for the failures of the first phase, although their performance improved after getting more leeway by dumping Dávila. Both their greatest failure and greatest significance came in the field of political theory. Their failure was their inability to establish any clear political program or delineate a course of action. This incapacitated their efforts to form any mass organization which could have supported the regime and carried through its programs.

The Communists viewed the significance of the Grove-Matte

the Party, or notice that the Party had been upstaged by a genuinely revolutionary group. As a legend, the "Republic" was obscure and harmless to the Communists; as history it could come back to haunt the Party in its Latin American ventures.

To both of the major groups of the Left, Communists and Socialists, the "Republic" was best preserved as legend, not as written history. For their own sectarian interests, they chose to preserve and use the legend. The best explanation might have been to view the "Republic" as a military coup with socialist policies, but this would never fit either of their needs. Perhaps that is what Norton saw, when viewing the week-old "Republic", he wrote, "A socialism which rides into power on a military dictatorship will be neither dangerous to its opponents nor effective to its friends".¹³

A Foreign Perspective

The British Embassy saw the "revolution" in an entirely different light than the Left did. In a confidential letter to the Cabinet, Charge d'Affaires Thompson analyzed the "revolution's" causes and course. His point of departure was radically different from the Left's premise. The British saw the uprising as a personalistic revolt by Grove against being

relieved of his command by a weak President Montero. Thompson said the coup, ". . . needn't have been. One well-led and well-disciplined machine-gun company of a British line regiment could have put an end to the entire movement".¹⁴ Having succeeded in cowing the weak President into allowing him to assume power, Grove then set up a military dictatorship.¹⁵

While a military dictatorship, in and of itself, did not particularly bother the British, this regime greatly upset them as they believed it to be primarily incompetent, and secondarily, favoring radicalism. Thompson reported that responsible opinion in Chile ". . . believed that it would scarcely have been possible to collect together a more irresponsible collection of men . . ." ¹⁶ than Grove's cabinet. While Thompson had no faith in the ability of the regime to effect its program, he felt extremely uneasy about the prospects of what these irresponsible radicals might attempt.¹⁷

With the exit of Dávila and Arturo Merino from the government things took a decided turn for the worse. In reporting these personnel changes, Thompson commented, "In other words we are dealing with a virtual dictator (Grove) who has violent views and whom I firmly believe is not quite responsible for his actions".¹⁸ At this point, began a very definite and somewhat uncontrolled movement toward communism. Fanned on

by the radical propaganda and atmosphere, the country rapidly drifted to the point of either becoming communist or having another military revolt to restore the government to firm and competent hands.¹⁹ The counter-coup came and the ". . . result of the counter-revolution is welcomed by all responsible opinion here as having saved us from a communistic regime (in retrospect it seems clear the situation on June 15 and 16 was about as bad as it could be)."²⁰

Thompson believed that the counter-coup was partially the result of the sound British policy. The pressures caused by the warnings from Parliament and the press and the dispatching of a warship formed part of the causes which moved the military to revolt.

I have heard from several sources that the movements of H.M.S. Durban formed the subject of discussion at various meetings of military officers which preceded the counter-revolution of the 16th June, and also that they caused no small stir in naval circles. The news appears to have come as a severe blow to the pride of the armed forces and may well have proved one of the factors which determined them to act against Grove.²¹

Despite this reprieve from communism, Thompson still felt the future was rather bleak as the passions of the masses, loosed by Grove and Matte, would prove difficult to control and their radicalism, once awakened, might reappear in the future.²²

A Historical Analysis

To render an accurate evaluation of the legend of the "Socialist Republic" one must inspect each of its four main contentions. First, that Grove led a socialist revolution arising out of the discontent of the oppressed masses. The analysis of both the Socialist and Communist Parties support this contention. No other assertion of the legend rests on so little evidence. It is true that the masses, and the country as a whole, were dissatisfied with the state of affairs in Chile during the early 1930's. President Ibáñez had been forced into resigning in 1931 by popular strikes, particularly among the professions. The people were not particularly pleased with his successor's, President Montero's, attempts to alleviate the effects of the world depression on Chile either. However, the people were not prepared to, and did not, revolt. The "Socialist Revolution" was a military coup. Of its five main leaders, only Matte had any real and tangible connections with the masses. At no time during the day-long revolt of June 4 did the people come out and aid in the overthrow of the government. Their only revolutionary activity in aid of the coup was withholding support from either side. The "Socialist Revolution" was a revolution

from the top, made by a group of well-intentioned men, joined together by the common desire to attempt to relieve Chile's problems by socialist methods.

Second, the legend contends that the "Republic" was essentially anti-imperialistic and pro-working class in orientation. There is little doubt that the "Republic" favored the lower classes. From its initial manifesto until its fall, most of its decrees were for reforms in their favor. These reforms were the essence of its claim to being socialist. The anti-imperialist claim is harder to accept. While the manifesto and many decrees did attack foreign capitalists, the government took no action on this front. Each program announced in that direction was rescinded almost immediately. The only real threat to the capitalists came in the second week when Grove appointed Nuñez to resolve the nitrate problem. Perhaps with more time the anti-imperialist intentions could have become reality. While the "Republic" did aid the workers, it never effectively challenged the imperialists.

Third, the legend alleges that the causes of the "Republic's" downfall were due to its program not being radical enough and not allowing sufficient mass participation to withstand the reaction of the bourgeoisie and foreign capitalists. While this explains the "Republic's" demise in

proper revolutionary fashion, it hardly does justice to the known facts. The main cause of Grove's fall was that he had become the leader of a military coup which no longer had the support of the military. After purging Dávila and Arturo Merino, and stripping Puga of any real power, Grove had alienated his main pillars of support. Coupled with the military's fear of communism and foreign intervention, his position became untenable.

The upper classes never really made any serious attempt to crush the "Republic". Neither did the threat from abroad smash the revolution. The United States and Britian were clearly worried about their investments. They could be expected to make serious demands or even impose sanctions on Chile if their holdings were nationalized. However, the one lone warship sent by Britian toward Chile was neither a strong enough nor real enough threat to topple the government.

If anything, the "Republic" was too radical too quickly. The military saw the radicalism as moving toward communism. They joined behind the moderate socialist faction led by Dávila before the Grove faction had time to build any real mass base of support. There were some indications that the masses had begun to move toward Grove's positions. The Communists replying to his pleas for support during the June 16

coup and the railway workers striking to protest his ouster, pointed out that with more time he might have built an alternate power base to replace the military. Grove's mistake was not in purging Dávila and the power he represented, but in doing it too soon and leaving himself nowhere to turn for support.

To have armed the workers, as they demanded, for a Commune-style defense would have been suicidal. There was no reason to believe the workers would have defended the government, regardless of how radical it was. Had the workers attempted to do so, they surely would have been crushed by the military. For the "Republic" to have been more radical, without a revolutionary mass to sustain it, would only have shortened its existence even further.

Finally, the legend contends that the "Republic" provided the ideological and organizational groundwork for its program's eventual triumph. Herein lies the legend's strength. The "Republic" provided the Socialists with three important guides. First, the Socialists renounced any intention of attempting the revolution by coup again. Rather they would build an electoral coalition to seize power within the system. Given Chile's legalistic political tradition this was the wisest method of obtaining and maintaining power.

Second, the "Republic's" fall pointed out the need for consolidation and organization of the Left. Within a year this was accomplished, with the founding of a coalition Socialist Party of Chile. This new party provided the Socialists and the whole Left with a base of support upon which to work. Lastly, the "Republic" provided a rallying point to attract converts. It stood as a real and visible example of an alternate direction in which the country could move. By its presence in the political heritage, the legend of the "Socialist Republic" provided the motivation to make itself a reality.

Appendixes

Appendix A

DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA
TO THE COUNTRY MADE AT 2.20 A.M., June
5th, 1932.

Those elements of the people who hold advanced political and economic doctrines can be certain that their basic aspirations will be fully satisfied by the Socialist Government of Chile, whose sole desire is to bring to the unprotected classes the health and well being to which they have a legitimate right as the producers of the whole wealth of the country.

The workers' organizations, whatever political theories they may hold, have an exceptional opportunity for displaying their loyal co-operation with the work commenced by those whose chief aim is the practical well being of the productive forces of the country.

The different Governments which have succeeded one another in the past years have completely failed. The liberal doctrines and the specious adherence to legalistic forms which inspired their administrative and political conduct, cut them off entirely from their times and from reality. Further they all lacked sufficient strength with which to combat the aggressive influence of foreign imperialism.

The proletariat, the productive classes and the whole nation have borne the effects of a social and economic

regime which permits the exploitation of labour, unbridled speculation and the sway of galling privileges. The growing disorganization of our national economy, the domination, becoming daily more absolute, of foreign interests, created and operated by plutocracy and oligarcy, the heedlessness and inefficiency of the former Governments have continued to accentuate in a tragic degree the misery of the people and the approaching death of our national independence.

Yesterday, the heart felt desire for self-preservation, which was growing in the public conscience, found the means of becoming a reality through the assistance of the armed forces. The necessity of placing the organization of the nation's economy upon foundations of justice and of giving to the State a functional structure suited to the present complexity of its nature could now no longer be postponed. For this end, therefore, a radical change of regime was required.

The new Government will apply itself energetically to the solution of the social, political and economic problems of Chile. Its action will not be checked by petty personal and party considerations and it will keep aloof from any influence which can weaken its moral force. Its sole aim will be the realization of its fundamental plans:- the scientific organization of the productive forces under the control of the State, the establishment of social justice, and the assurance to every Chilean of the right to live and to work.

We are attempting to lay the foundations of a society better than the present one within the natural limits imposed

by the resources of the country and its historical features. To attain this end, we believe that the action of the Government must be inspired by socialist principles which reflect the various needs and desires of the present time. It is no longer possible to shut oneself up in the ivory tower of the anachronistic theory of liberal individualism and of the superstitious respect for laws which result solely in the paralization of society and to use these fetiches as a pretext for inaction.

The historical justification of any government rests upon the action it takes in the interest of the masses. We have come to power with the object of carrying out a program of spiritual and material renovation. We wish to imbue every national activity with a rhythm of energy, youth, efficiency and discipline. We will convert into facts not only our immediate aims, which we are publishing to-day, but also our general plans for the socialization of the State, trusting, as we do, in their beneficent results and possessing the assurance that, in the opinion of the country, they will find sufficient moral support to prevent any reactionary force from harming or destroying them.

We do not believe that the spiritual reserves of Chile are exhausted. Everywhere there are brave men prepared for constructive action. If until yesterday these men found no

public scope for their ideals, the time has now come when they can take the initiative. We address ourselves to them confident that they will be able to co-operate effectively in the realization of the ideal which we of the present Government keep before us.

Credit must be controlled by the State for the benefit of the masses in order to avoid the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist .

The Government will not permit the paralization of productive activities and therefore no concern, whether Chilean or foreign, will be allowed to withdraw, on the pretext of protecting the interest or profits of its capital, from the fulfilment of the duty it possesses to contribute, by its production, to the solution of the economic problems of the country.

The Government recognizes its obligation to control internal and external commerce, taking solely into consideration the interests of society.

Consequently, in its dealings with foreign markets, it will aim at freeing the administration of the country from the yoke of international and national capitalism.

If it is found necessary, the Government will immediately import on its own account, sugar, petroleum, petrol, and other essential articles.

In order that it may at once take control of internal commerce, the Government will demand from all national and foreign concerns a declaration of their stocks of essential articles, so that it may be in a position to guarantee to the people their normal living requirements.

The Government recognizes as one of its fundamental duties the assurance of the necessities of life to every individual of society and for this end it will employ every means at the disposal of the country.

The Government intends to make work obligatory, so that every man may possess the means wherewith to acquire his needs.

During the interval in which the economy of the country is being so re-organized that the Government may be able to carry out its obligation of providing work for all, the necessary steps will be taken to give food, clothes and lodging to the people.

Under the control of the workers' organizations, the distribution of food will now be efficiently carried out and assistance will be rendered by the personnel, transport and equipment which the Army has at its disposal.

Until such time as the Government can fulfil its promise to give a home to every individual, it will guarantee a shelter to those who to-day do not possess the means to pay for one.

The State recognizes that property has a social reason for existence and that it must therefore be used in the interests of the people as a whole.

In order to avoid the injustice created by the unequal distribution of wealth, the system of taxation will be modified and large incomes will be heavily taxed.

While this modification is being carried out, a progressively increasing capital levy will be imposed on all fortunes of more than one million pesos.

An economic executive committee will take control of the processes of production and distribution in order to adjust them to the needs of the masses.

The committee will supervise the productive enterprises of the State which will be formed with the object of restoring our capacity of payment for imported articles by creating new markets for our exports.

Public education will be re-organized upon a basis of functional, technical and administrative independence.

Appendix B

THIRTY POINTS OF THE JUNTA'S IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME.

1. Assumption of the whole of the Public Authority by the Executive Council and its Ministry.
2. Dissolution of the National Congress.
3. Organisation of the control of food stuffs, with requisition (requisamiento) and other measures of the kind that may be required to assure "el abaratamiento de la población" - (presumably means reduction of cost of living).
4. Heavy tax on all big fortunes, without exception, to obtain a sum not less than \$500,000,000 pesos. (Rate of exchange not stated).
5. Increase of complementary tax on incomes over \$36,000 per annum, and an additional tax on Chileans resident abroad.
6. Expropriation of deposits in foreign money and gold, paying for them in currency at 6d to the peso.
7. Immediate use of the fiscal farms, of those in debt to credit institutions and of those that are unproductive for lack of exploitation, for colonisation with unemployed, implanted with technical assistance of the State. Army transport to be used in the installation of the colonists.
8. Expropriation of the land taken over by the State at a just valuation and up to the amount of the respective

mortgage obligation.

9. Suspension of the eviction of small renters who have fallen behind in their payments and immediate occupation of empty houses. The Army will assist in the work.
10. Amnesty for the seamen condemned for the incidents of Coquimbo and Talcahuano and of others under trial or sentenced for political offences, the law relating to the interior security of the State being derogated.
11. Immediate reopening of the nitrate oficinas using the Shanks process and other auxiliaries tending to low cost of production.
12. Liquidation or immediate reorganisation of the Cosach.
13. State monopoly of gold and exploitation to produce 30 kilos a day.
14. Monopoly of Iodine, then of petroleum, matches, tobacco, alcohol and sugar.
15. Organisation of production till dumping of nitrate and iodine is practicable.
16. State monopoly of foreign trade.
17. Progressive and continuous socialisation of credit.
18. Organisation of a State "Casa de Comercio" annexed to the railways for the purchase and sale of articles of prime necessity (frutos del pais).
19. Reorganisation of the diplomatic and consular service to adapt it to the requirements of foreign trade.
20. Celebration of "Indo-American" treaties.

21. Revision of salaries, pensions and retiring allowances reorganising the staff of the public and municipal employees, suppressing useless departments and posts. \$36,000 pesos per annum to be the maximum salary for fiscal, semi-fiscal and municipal services.
22. Reorganisation, selection and reduction of the armed forces.
23. Improvement and extension of primary education.
24. Recognition of the Soviet government and revision of the contracts of foreign companies that amount to monopolies.
25. Prohibition to import sumptuary articles, silks, cars, perfumes, and whatever may be replaced by national industry.
26. Suppression of tax on Argentine cattle, wheat and raw materials for national industries elaborating food stuffs.
27. Study of the organisation of a constituent assembly on a functional basis to dictate the new Fundamental Constitution of the State.
28. Creation of a Ministry of National Health, establishing unity of action in the sanitary services of the country.
29. Reorganisation of the Administration of Justice.
30. Tribunal de Sancion Nacional. (The creation of a Court for the punishment of offenders against the State.)

Notes

Chapter 1 - Twelve Day Republic

¹Jack Ray Thomas, Marmaduke Grove, A Political Biography (Ohio State University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1963) pp. 42, 80-81, 92-93, 111-16, 139-40, 165-66; Luis Galdames, A History of Chile (Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1941), pp. 479-80.

²Paul W. Drake, "The Populist Origins of Chilean Socialism in the 1930's" (MS, 1973) p. 8.

³"Socialist Revolt in Chile Upsets Montero Regime; Davila in New Junta", New York Times, June 5, 1932, p. 1; "Revolt in Chile", Times (London), June 6, 1932, p. 12; Henry Gratton Doyle, "Chile in a New Revolution", Current History, XXXVI (July 1932), pp. 477-78; Jack Ray Thomas, Marmaduke Grove, pp. 182-93, and "The Socialist Republic of Chile", Journal of Inter-American Studies, VI (April, 1964), pp. 210-15; Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1932 (Washington, D.C.; United States Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 430-32, Telegram 48 (June 4, 10 am), Telegram 49 (June 4, 4 pm), Telegram 51 (June 5, 10 am); Public Records Office, London, (hereafter PRO) Correspondence of the Foreign Office, MS A3878 Telegram 91 (June 4, 12 pm), MS A3385 Telegram 93 (June 5, 12 pm), file A86/86/9.

⁴"Chile's New Leader Well-Known Envoy", New York Times, June 5, 1932, p. 34.

⁵"Socialist Revolt Succeeds in Chile", New York Times, June 5, 1932, p. 34.

⁶In the U.S. Ambassador's report the main proposals were:
The assumption by the Junta and its ministry of the entire public power.

The dissolution of the National Congress.

The organization of a Committee of Subsistence Control, with requisitioning and such other powers as are necessary to assure the provisioning of the people. Distribution of food-stuffs, using among others, those of the Army.

Increase in the surtax on incomes greater than 36,000 pesos a year, and of the additional tax on Chileans abroad.

The immediate assignment of the fiscal farms, of those

belonging to persons who are indebted to credit institutions and of those which are unproductive because of lack of exploitation, for the colonization with the unemployed, establishing collective colonization with unemployed, under the technical direction of the state.

The suspension of ejections of small lessees behind in their rents and the immediate occupation of vacant houses.

The pardon of the sailors condemned for the happenings at Coquimbo and Talcahuano and all others on trial and convicted for political crimes and the repeal of the law of Internal Safety of the State.

The immediate opening of the nitrate of Icinas that use the Shanks process and other low-cost production methods.

The immediate liquidation or reorganization of Cosach.

The monopoly of iodine and soon of gasoline, matches, tobacco, alcohol and sugar.

The progressive and constant increase of the socialization of credit.

The organization of the Commercial House of the State annexed to the railways for the purchase and sale of the articles of prime necessity.

Looking into the establishment of an operating Constituent Assembly which will draft a new fundamental State Constitution.

Diplomatic Papers, pp. 432-33, Telegram 53 (June 5, 5 pm)

⁷The Cosach combine was created in 1931 by a special act of the Chilean Congress. It was to acquire the assets of thirty nitrate companies. Half of the shares of the new combine were to be owned by the Chilean government; the other half by investors, mostly British and American. Cosach switched its entire operation over to the Guggenheim process of nitrate extraction thereby causing the older and smaller mines, using the Shanks method, to be shut down. Acquiring the firms and the rights to the Guggenheim process had been terribly expensive in the eyes of the Chileans. The conversion to the Guggenheim process had also produced massive unemployment in the mining, not only among miners, but in the whole sector of the economy which supplied them. The cost and unemployment sealed Cosach's fate in the minds of the public. The combine became the symbol of the oppressive foreign capitalism which was controlling the Chilean economy.

The extent to which foreign investments controlled the Chilean economy was frightening to many Chileans. The American investment in Cosach alone was \$375 million, with a total

investment of about \$1 billion throughout the economy. The British investment in Chile was about £25 million. In addition to nitrates, foreign concerns owned the copper industry, the Chilean telephone system and substantial portions of the iron mining, the electric companies, tramways, steamships and much other property. Still Cosach was the one in the public eye and its disposition was likely to be the precedent for dealing with the other foreign investments.

"Chile's Socialist Shift Is More Than Just Another Revolution", Business Week, (June 15, 1932), p. 20; "U.S. Investments", "British Capital in Chile", Times, (June 7, 1932), p. 14.

⁸"New Revolution Reported in Southern Chile", Christian Science Monitor, June 6, 1932, p. 1; "Junta's Plans Alarm Americans", "Chile Acts to Seize Estates and Trade, Plans Monopolies", "Chile Investments Worry Washington", New York Times, June 6, 1932, p. 8, p. 1, p. 8; "Revolt in Chile", Times, June 6, 1932, p. 12; PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3382 Telegram (June 5, 12 pm), MS A 3391 Telegram 94 (June 5, 2pm), MS A3386 Telegrams 96, 97 (June 5, 5pm), file A86/86/9.

⁹PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3384 Telegram 95 (June 5, 5pm), file A86/86/9.

¹⁰Diplomatic Papers, p. 433, Telegram 54 (June 5, 6pm).

¹¹PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3378 Minutes, June 6, p.2, file A86/86/9.

¹²PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3384 Telegram 95 (June 5, 5pm), file 86/86/9.

¹³Carlos Davila, "Davila Pledges Moderation in Chile", New York Times, June 7, 1932, p. 1.

¹⁴"Regime Considers Itself Moderate", New York Times, June 7, 1932, p. 4.

¹⁵Diplomatic Papers, pp. 433-35, Telegram 54 (June 5, 6pm), Telegram 57 (June 6, 4 pm).

¹⁶"Junta in Chile", "British Capital in Chile", "U.S. Investments", "Revolution in Chile", Times, June 7, 1932, p. 14, p. 14, p. 14, p. 15; "Davila Pledges Moderation", "Regime

Considers Itself Moderate", New York Times, June 7, 1932, p. 1, p. 4; Doyle, "New Revolution", pp. 478-79; Diplomatic Papers, pp. 433-35, Telegram 54 (June 5, 6pm), Telegram 57 (June 6, 4pm).

¹⁷PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3449 Telegram 100 (June 7, 11 am), file A86/86/9.

¹⁸PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3435 Telegram 103 (June 7, 12 pm), file A86/86/9.

¹⁹"Future of Cosach", Times, June 8, 1932, p. 13; "Chile Found Leading Way to Socialism", "New Chilean Regime to Postpone Action on Cosach Combine", Christian Science Monitor, June 7, 1932, p. 1, p. 5; "Counter-Revolt Reported Gaining", "Labor Pledges Aid to Regime in Chile", New York Times, June 8, 1932, p. 7; Thomas, "Socialist Republic", p. 216; PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3433 Telegram 101 (June 7, 12 pm), MS A3449 Telegram 100 (June 7, 11am), file A86/86/9.

²⁰"Chilean Workers Rule Savings Banks", "Workers Demand Use of Club", New York Times, June 9, 1932, p. 1; "Workers Demand for 'Red Army'", Times, June 9, 1932, p. 12; Doyle, "New Revolution", p. 479; PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3581 Letter from Chilean Ambassador, June 8, 1932, file A86/86/9.

²¹Diplomatic Papers, pp. 437-38, Telegram 67 (June 9, 11 am), Telegram 70 (June 9, 4 pm); PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3498 Telegram 108 (June 9, 6 pm), file A86/86/9.

²²"Foreign Deposits Seized in Chile", New York Times, June 10, 1932, p. 5; "Chilean Junta", Times, June 10, 1932, p. 14; "Chile's New Socialist Junta Starts Nationalization Work", Christian Science Monitor, June 9, 1932, p. 1; Doyle, "New Revolution", pp. 478-79; Diplomatic Papers, pp. 436-37, Telegram 63 (June 8, 11 am).

²³"Chilean Finance", Times, June 11, 1932, p. 11.

²⁴"Chile's Currency Policy Protested", Christian Science Monitor, June 10, 1932, p. 1; "Chilean Finance", Times, June 11, 1932, p. 11; "Our Envoy in Chile Protests Seizures", "Bankers Ask Modifications", New York Times, June 11, 1932, p. 21; Diplomatic Papers, pp. 439-40, Telegram 75 (June 10, midnight), Telegram 76 (June 11, 9 am).

²⁵PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3537 Telegrams 115, 116 (June 10, 8 pm), file A 86/86/9.

²⁶"Chile Warns Reds to Halt Activities", New York Times, June 12, 1932, p. 10.

²⁷"Chile Warns Reds to Halt Activities", New York Times, June 12, 1932, p. 10.

²⁸"Chilean Junta to Enforce Orders on Foreign Banks", Christian Science Monitor, June 11, 1932, p. 1; "Socialist Council Named", "Chile Warns Reds to Halt Activities", New York Times, June 12, 1932, p. 10; "Maintaining Order in Chile", Times, June 13, 1932, p. 12; Diplomatic Papers, p. 440, Telegram 76 (June 11, 9 am).

²⁹Diplomatic Papers, pp. 440-41, Telegram 82 (June 13, 1 am).

³⁰"Davila Resigns After Week in Chilean Saddle", Christian Science Monitor, June 13, 1932, p. 1; "Davila Forced Out of Chilean Junta", New York Times, June 13, 1932, p. 1; "Changes in Chilean Junta", Times, June 14, 1932, p. 14; Diplomatic Papers, pp. 440-41, Telegram 82 (June 13, 1 am); PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3581 Telegram 119 (June 13, 1 pm), file A86/68/9.

³¹"Merino Takes Place of Davila in Chile", New York Times, June 14, 1932, p. 10.

³²Diplomatic Papers, pp. 442-43, Telegram 84 (June 13, 4 pm).

³³"House of Commons", Times, June 14, 1932, p. 8.

³⁴"Merino Takes Place of Davila in Chile", "Move Disturbs Washington", New York Times, June 14, 1932, p. 10; "Chilean Junta Filled, Investors Take Hope", Christian Science Monitor, June 14, 1932, p. 1; "Changes in Chilean Junta", "House of Commons", Times, June 14, 1932, p. 14, p. 8; "New Member of Junta", Times, June 15, 1932, p. 14; Diplomatic Papers, pp. 442-44, Telegram 84 (June 13, 4 pm), Telegram 86 (June 13, 6 pm), Telegram 87 (June 14, 11 am).

³⁵PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3858 Letter, Thompson to Foreign Office, May 19, 1932, p. 73, file A86/86/9.

³⁶The Reforms of Córdoba came out of the student strike at the University of Córdoba, Argentina, in 1917. The student demands called for a total reform of the university system: 1) Universities were to be autonomous and academic freedom respected; 2) Universities were to be governed by a board comprised of representatives of the state, alumni, faculty and students; 3) Methods of instruction were to be changed to allow more student participation, with optional attendance; 4) Instructorships were to be filled by competitive examinations, not by appointments. These reforms were embodied in a law passed in 1918 and set the precedent followed by most Latin American universities in the ensuing years.

³⁷"Month's Moratorium Declared", New York Times, June 15, 1932, p. 5.

³⁸"Debt Moratorium for Retailers is Declared in Chile", Christian Science Monitor, June 15, 1932, p. 3; "Month's Moratorium Declared", New York Times, June 15, 1932, p. 5; "Chilean Nitrate Mines", Times, June 17, 1932, p. 13; Diplomatic Papers, pp. 445-46, Telegram 89 (June 14, 5 pm), Telegram 92 (June 14, 8 pm); PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3617 Telegram 126 (June 14, 5 pm), file A86/86/9.

³⁹"Protection of British Interests", Times, June 15, 1932, p. 14.

⁴⁰"Trolley Halt in Santiago", "Washington Doubts Extremes in Chile", New York Times, June 16, 1932, p. 5; "Protection of British Interests", Times, June 15, 1932, p. 14; "Censorship", Times, June 16, 1932, p. 13; "British Warship Sent Near Chile", "France Said to Have Protested", New York Times, June 15, 1932, p. 5.

⁴¹PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3653 Telegrams 132, 133 (June 15, 5 pm), file A86/86/9.

⁴²"Army Battles Reds in Chilean Revolt", New York Times, June 17, 1932, p. 1.

⁴³"Army Battles Reds in Chilean Revolt", New York Times, June 17, 1932, p. 1; "Davila Again Heads Chile's Government", "Washington Calm on Chilean Revolt", New York Times, June 18, 1932, p. 5; "New Revolt in Chile", Times, June 18, 1932, p. 12;

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⁴⁴"Davila Again Heads Chile's Government", New York Times, June 18, 1932, p. 5.

⁴⁵Diplomatic Papers, pp. 450-51, Telegram 96 (June 17, 11 am).

⁴⁶"Davila Again Heads Chile's Government", New York Times, June 18, 1932, p. 5.

⁴⁷Ibid.

Chapter 2 - Interpretations and Viewpoints

¹Regis Debray, The Chilean Revolution: Conversations with Allende (New York, Pantheon Books, 1971) pp. 133-34.

²Ibid., p. 70.

³Ibid., p. 61.

⁴Paul W. Drake, "The Chilean Socialist Party and Coalition Politics, 1932-1946" (MS, n.d.) pp. 4-5.

⁵Debray, p. 63.

⁶Drake, "Chilean Socialist Party", p. 21.

⁷Richard Feinberg, The Triumph of Allende: Chile's Legal Revolution (New York, Mentor Books, 1972) p. 31.

⁸Sinai, "June Events in Chile", Communist International, IX (July 15, 1932), p. 432.

⁹Ibid., p. 433.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 436.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., pp. 432-37.

¹³Henry Kitterdige Norton, "South American Radicalism Scores Victory in Chile", New York Times, June 12, 1932, IX, p. 3.

¹⁴PRO, Foreign Office, MS A4107 Letter from G. H. Thompson to Sir John Simon, June 19, 1932, file A86/86/9.

¹⁵PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3384, Telegram 95 (June 5, 5 pm), file A86/86/9.

¹⁶PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3386 Telegram 96 (June 5, 5 pm), file A86/86/9.

¹⁷PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3391 Telegram 94 (June 5, 2 pm), file A86/86/9.

¹⁸PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3617 Telegram 126 (June 14, 5 pm), file A86/86/9.

¹⁹PRO, Foreign Office, MS A4107 Letter from Thompson to Simon, June 19, 1932, p. 2, file A86/86/9.

²⁰PRO, Foreign Office, MS A3734 Telegram 137 (June 18, 2 pm), file A86/86/9.

²¹PRO, Foreign Office, MS A4107, Letter from Thompson to Simon, June 19, 1932, p. 2, file A86/86/9.

²²Ibid., p. 3.

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