

By Michael Smith

SANTIAGO, CHILE

Chile's Pinochet is down, but is he out?

RICARDO ARRIAGADA, AGE 28, CAST ONE of the votes that rejected Gen. Augusto Pinochet's bid for an eight-year presidential "term" October 5, but he is worried about what's to come. "For the moment it all seems fair and square," he said after voting, "but I don't know how Pinochet will react when he loses."

The opposition victory, by a 55 to 43 percent margin, sparked clashing emotions. Chileans took to the streets in joyous celebration of Pinochet's loss in the "yes" or "no" plebiscite, but once again the recalcitrant general says he's staying put. Pinochet's 1980 constitution allows him to stay in power for another year before calling elections, and fear is mounting as security forces crack down on forces demanding the 72-year-old army chief's ouster. On October 10 Defense Minister Patricio Carvajal announced there was nothing to prevent Pinochet from running in the elections to be held in December 1990.

Long lines and lots of heat: October 5 was an emotional day for teacher Ninoska Coloma, 29. Like many of the 7.2 million people who went to the polls, she waited two hours in 80-degree heat for the first chance to vote in her lifetime.

Coloma was one of 43,000 who voted in Santiago's National Stadium. Fifteen years ago, in the coup that brought Pinochet to power, the junta turned the sports arena into a concentration camp. Dozens of people were executed and thousands suffered torture and imprisonment there.

"I was moved when I went to vote in the place where so many people died," she said after casting her vote. "But the fact that this place also gave us the chance to defeat the dictator is a fitting memorial to those victims."

Chileans jumped at the chance to exercise a newfound right to vote, and long lines were the biggest headache that day. "I've waited 15 years for this so I can wait until midnight if I have to," said one elderly woman in Santiago.

There were isolated instances of irregularities, but the 300-plus international



Augusto Pinochet, Chile's recalcitrant general, says that he is staying put.

observers in Chile for the plebiscite were surprised the vote went so smoothly. "We witnessed an historic event," said the leader of the 70-member National Democratic Institute delegation, former Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez. "The Chilean government, having held a clean plebiscite and admitted defeat, took an important step forward on

the road to democracy."

Euphoria and tension: There was elation and anxiety in the air that night at the "no command" headquarters, where the 16-party opposition coalition issued hourly counts that showed Pinochet was losing.

The government was silent and the junta was meeting in the presidential palace. Many

feared a violent crackdown was in the works to disregard the results. They had good reason: middle- and upper-echelon army commanders loyal to Pinochet had concentrated forces in strategic points in Santiago and other cities, ready to be deployed to crush an opposition victory. The U.S. State Department had warned against such a plot.

In the Villa Francia shantytown, like many others in Santiago, people had prepared for the worst as best they could. Miguel and Americo, both 13—who called themselves "Commandantes One and Four"—fashioned Molotov cocktails, and they stockpiled tires and debris to make barricades.

They were preparing to battle Pinochet's tanks, heavy machine guns and crack commando troops literally with sticks and stones. "We're not going to let the fascists massacre us like they did in 1973," said Commandante One. His comrade nodded in agreement.

In the end there was no bloodshed. At 2 a.m. Under-Secretary of the Government Alberto Cardemil announced Pinochet had lost, and euphoria erupted. As Pinochet's motorcade passed the opposition headquarters, hundreds of people poured into the street. The crowds grew larger, and in downtown Santiago they marched to the presidential palace to dance on the lawn—embracing, weeping, singing for almost three days.

"This is beautiful," said Pablo Vasquez as he hugged a friend in the street in downtown Santiago. "I feel like there is a future now, that things will change."

The celebrations had a conciliatory tone. People chanted to members of the national police who watched in astonishment: "Understand it once and for all, the fight is not with you but only with Pinochet!" One woman hugged a policeman and cried, asking him to join in the celebration. He tried to hide the tears in his eyes.

Friday afternoon more than one million people went to a rally called by the opposition in Santiago's O'Higgins Park, and large

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In These Times reporter learns 'freedom of the press' in Chile means the right to run for your life

Journalists here really thought things had changed. Gen. Augusto Pinochet had just lost the plebiscite, and police accustomed to crushing demonstrations stood by to watch people take over downtown Santiago to celebrate. I had never before seen police smile and watch as the people took to the streets.

One member of the national police, dressed in riot garb, flashed the peace sign around his plexiglass shield. I actually believed reconciliation seemed near.

But the day after the plebiscite everything returned to "normal." A mass of people filled seven entire city blocks and wanted to march past the palace where Pinochet has his office. A line of approximately 75 police officers held back the crowd with their shields. Three water cannons and four "skunks"—jeeps that spew tear gas out of little ports in their sides—waited behind the police line.

About 25 photographers and reporters stood near with the police to watch. The

national police soon charged the crowd. The water cannon did its job. Tear gas filled the air. Shoes littered the street in the aftermath of the stampede of 50,000 people vacating the area in half a minute.

When the police finished with the crowd, they came for the journalists.

I began to get nervous when five or six officers ran toward me. I held up my government press pass, but they kept coming. "Journalist, journalist!" I tried to scream, but one raised his night stick. "Get the fuck out of here!" he screamed, and I felt a sharp pain on my back where his club came down.

Another group came at me from the other direction, and again I screamed, "journalist," to no avail. One hit me on the arm, and the hysterical glare in his eyes scared me. I dodged another group of police who swung at me as I continued to run. For the first time in Chile I was terrified.

I really believed anything could happen in the melee. They could shoot or beat

us all to death. There was no sense of security; I had no rights. The concept of police brutality does not exist here. I ran and ran, and they finally stopped coming.

The next night battered reporters and photographers described a concerted effort by police to persecute the press.

More than 20 journalists working for *Newsweek*, *CBS*, *USA Today* and other foreign media had been wounded by police in separate incidents.

Lee Malis, a Gamma Liaison photographer, suffered several bruised ribs and serious contusions. The police destroyed his camera equipment and smashed rolls of film. "I rolled up in a ball to protect myself as five or six (police) beat and kicked me," he said as he nursed a swollen hand. "I guess they hit me 20 or 30 times."

Newsday photographer Liana Nieto was hospitalized with a chipped hip, hairline fractures in her spine and 20 stitches to the head. At least six police beat her unconscious.

Two journalists were wounded with buckshot.

Newsweek photographer Chris Morris talked through his broken nose when recounting the incident. "They were like animals, really. Four of them threw me to the ground, kicked, and beat me in the face with their sticks," he said from his hotel bed.

An entire CBS crew was attacked the following day. "A group of police jumped us. They knew we were journalists since we had our cameras," related cameraman Ricardo Correa. "After a while I couldn't see through the blood on my face."

The U.S., Spanish and Argentine embassies lodged formal protests with the Chilean government. And the Foreign Correspondents Association met with the police, who issued an apology.

That's some consolation. What will happen when most of the media leaves and Chile is no longer a story? And what about those of us who stay? —M.S.

By Miles Harvey

Why? We don't know

The media's "who's in first?" election-coverage shtick is getting to be as confusing—and as laughable—as Abbott and Costello's famous "who's on first?" comedy routine. On October 5, for example, a front-page *New York Times* headline announced, "Latest poll finds Dukakis is closing the gap with Bush." The story below said that, according to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll, the Democrat was "closing in on Vice President Bush." The poll, of just 1,034 registered voters nationwide, showed Bush with 45 percent of the vote and Dukakis with 43 percent—compared to a poll the same two media outlets had taken 10 days earlier that showed Bush leading 46 percent to 40 percent. It wasn't until page 14 that the *Times* explained, in small print no less, that "in theory, in 19 out of 20 cases the results based on such samples will differ by no more than 3 percentage points in either direction from what would be obtained by seeking out all American adults." The *Times*, however, failed to translate that math-speak: that 3 percent swing meant that Dukakis might not only have been "closing the gap with Bush," but in fact might have been *ahead* by as much as 46 percent for Dukakis to 42 percent for Bush. Conversely, Bush might just as easily have been *widening his lead* by as big a margin as 48 percent to 40 percent. Or the two candidates could have been tied. And all that is not taking into account the swing in the earlier poll. A truthful *Times* headline would have read: "Latest poll demonstrates that in theory, *Times* has no idea who's winning presidential race." But that's hardly news—and it's certainly not fit to print.

What's in second? Exactly

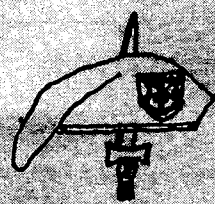
Earlier this year *U.S. News & World Report* took an in-depth look at the failings of polls. The article read, "even a casual glance at the contradictory poll results of this political year demonstrates that the uncertainties far surpass the standard 3-percent-plus-or-minus warning. For example, an NBC News poll a month before the New Hampshire primary had Michael Dukakis trailing Richard Gephardt 18 points to 19. A *Los Angeles Times* poll conducted the same day showed Dukakis leading 37 to 8. The actual result: Dukakis 36, Gephardt 20." In fact, polling consultant Irving Crespi told *U.S. News* that political polls are off by an average of 5.7 percent with one-third off by more than 6.4 percent. So why does the media insist on stressing polls at the expense of serious election coverage of the candidates and the issues?

Type casting

When producers for the Spanish TV program *En Portada* needed to dub British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's words into Castilian last month, they came up with just the right voice for the job. According to the Spanish newspaper *El Pais*, they chose the same woman who is the Spanish voice of Angela Channing, the wicked woman of TV's *Falcon Crest*.

Federally funded lifestyles of the rich and famous

Former President Gerald Ford rang up a phone bill of \$40,000 last year—and the U.S. taxpayers picked up the tab. According to *Common Cause* magazine, Richard Nixon's phone tab was \$33,500 and Jimmy Carter's came to a hardly peanuts total of \$19,000. These are just a few of the bills the U.S. government picks up for its former head honchos. The magazine reports that Americans have spent \$112 million on ex-presidents and their families over the past decade on such ostensibly important items as pensions, travel, office expenses and lifetime Secret Service protection—and such obviously less-important items as car washes and hand-made oriental rugs. Sen. Lawton Chiles (D-FL) is sponsoring a bill that would limit some of these costs. As *In These Times* went to press, the Reagan administration had not taken a stand on the legislation. But it will be interesting to see if soon-to-be former President Reagan, known for his love of the lavish, will still be insistent on "getting the government off our backs" when it's his weight the rest of us are carrying.



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Another very silly military exercise

WHITE MOUNTAINS, N.H. —This year fall brought more to the White Mountains than crisp air, brilliant foliage and throngs of rubbernecking tourists. Leaf-peepers in the "Live Free or Die" state could also spot bands of scruffy-faced guerrillas trouncing about in the woods, hiding from their fellow Army buddies.

It was part of a military training exercise of the 10th Mountain Division and the Green Berets. "Firestorm '88," which ran from mid-September to mid-October, focused on counter guerrilla warfare. Last month about 200 soldiers dressed as "guerrillas," parachuted or snuck into the White Mountains and surrounding area in New Hampshire and Maine.

Throughout the exercise, the guerrillas and their uniformed enemy played cat-and-mouse games, capturing prisoners and "eliminating" opponents. Both sides used M-16 rifles fitted with lasers: receivers planted around the soldiers' backpacks buzzed when a hit by laser beam was scored.

The Army also tried to involve local civilians in the war games. It gave out a phone number that residents were urged to call to solve the

"pesky guerrilla problem in no time." Storefronts were plastered with "Wanted Guerrillas" posters showing stubble-faced men wearing bandannas and watch caps.

Officers involved in the exercise say that, while the operation was serious, it was also intended to be fun for both the troops and public. "It's important to the troops and the civilians to know that we're not so serious," said Maj. Stan Moore of the 10th Special Forces group.

The exercise, like other official war games, was based on a fictional scenario. This one took place in "New Maine." According to the scenario, the guerrillas of New Maine were struggling for more freedom and more economic opportunity, but were not Marxists.

This exercise was unique, said Moore, because both sides were American, but were playing as if the other side is non-American. "Training like this is essential to the defense of the nation and its interests," he said. "That's why we appreciate the tolerance of local residents."

But not all local residents were tolerant. "It's sheer nonsense," said Michael Klare, director of the Peace and World Security Studies program at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass. "Guerrillas are largely moved by political motivation and a successful guerrilla operation must

have the backing of the civilian population."

Most disturbing, said Klare, is that such exercises "are preparing the American public for another Vietnam type of conflict." Klare, the author of *Low Intensity Conflict*, says Firestorm '88 was part of "the swinging pendulum back to the pre-Vietnam-era mentality. It's mobilizing public support for that kind of a war."

The exercise also bothered Ash Eames of Wentworth, a town on the edge of the White Mountains National Forest. "This is training for the big stuff," said Eames, a staffer for the New Hampshire Central America Network in Concord. "It epitomizes the thinking of the Western world's leaders that the world is divided between good and evil, and the only solution to that kind of thinking is war. At every opportunity we need to interrupt that kind of thinking."

In response to Firestorm '88, the New Hampshire Central America Network sponsored a negotiation session to which both the "good guys" and the "bad guys" were invited. Prior to the event Arnie Alpert of the American Friends Service Committee said: "We want the public to be aware that in addition to insurgents and counterinsurgents, there are peacemakers." But none of the marauding warriors showed up.

—Eric E. Aldrich

Brazil's new constitution

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL—As the world anxiously awaited the outcome of Chile's plebiscite (see story on page 3), on October 5 Brazilians quietly celebrated the promulgation of a new constitution—the country's eighth since independence in 1822.

The new document replaces the authoritarian legal structure left behind by the Brazilian military, which ruled the country by decree from 1964 to 1985. The constitution was the first task of the Brazilian congress under civilian rule. Its passage officially restores a host of individual and collective rights that the armed forces had annulled. The amount of progressive new legislation contained in the constitution is also impressive. But making those laws into a day-to-day reality is perhaps the greatest challenge ahead.

Individual rights enjoy a prominent place in the charter, including the provision that police cannot detain criminal suspects without a judge's authorization. Throughout Brazil, police abuse of poorer suspects is rampant, and frequently condoned by the middle class. The constitution obliges police to inform a prisoner's family of his or her whereabouts immediately after arrest. Individuals charged with torture (as well as those who order it) can be held without bail.

The new Brazilian constitution also prohibits censorship in any form, provides for broad freedom of assembly and the unrestricted right to strike. Though President Jose Sarney warned that such measures would "render the country ungovernable," the congress stood firm in establishing the 44-hour workweek, eight-hour workday and time-and-a-half pay for overtime as constitutional rights. New mothers gained the right to a generous maternity leave, and new fathers can claim

time off from work as well. The constitution grants labor unions unlimited freedom to organize, and allows for stiff penalties against anyone found guilty of racism or discrimination.

Such provisos are ambitious in a country known for its strikingly skewed distribution of income between rich and poor, and for its chronic unwillingness to grant disadvantaged groups the benefits of economic growth. "The great task now will be to translate these rights into day-to-day realities for the majority of Brazilians," remarked Marcio Bastos, president of the national Order of Lawyers. "Only with a democratic government and an organized society will it be possible to execute what this constitution ordains," added Maria Lucia Karam, a Rio de Janeiro judge.

Though traditionally underrepresented groups such as Indians, women, blacks and environmentalists made important contributions to the constitution-writing process, many argue that their achievements were largely symbolic. The battle over including a significant land reform in the constitution saw the organized right wing emerge as a savvy lobby group. Large landowners thwarted lawmakers' attempts to design a major redistributive reform, despite widespread agreement that only such a proviso can save Brazil's small farmers from extinction. After a strenuous pressure campaign by the right-wing Democratic Rural Union (UDR), the assembly voted in May to exclude so-called "productive" lands from expropriation. The UDR's victory convinced many that the rich remain the most politically powerful minority in Brazil.

The military also scored critical victories in the rewritten constitution, which officially sanctions the armed forces' role as the protector of national security against internal, as well as foreign, aggression. Some

analysts allege that this single clause puts the entire charter in jeopardy, since it lends legitimacy to the military's claim that it should seize power when civilian governments are unable to manage social and political strife.

"We still have a record [in Brazil] with six military men holding cabinet posts, and the information and intelligence services are either totally militarized or close to it," commented Carlos Alberto Sardenberg of the influential *Jornal do Brasil*. He argues that the military's almost uncontested control over security matters indicates that Brazil has made very little progress in institutionalizing effective civilian command over the armed forces.

Left-leaning members of the constituent assembly did achieve some gains in the economic sphere, although these may be the first to undergo revision in the years ahead. The constitution states that annual interest rates cannot exceed 12 percent, for example, and it prohibits foreign investors from gaining majority shares in mining and petroleum ventures. Brazilian and not multinational enterprises must get the first crack at government contracts.

Those measures elicited cries of dismay from Sarney and others who advocate opening—rather than closing—the ailing economy to foreign investment. Big business denounced the constitution as a "catalogue of suicidal solutions" to the country's economic woes. The conservative daily *El Globo* dismissed the new legislation as the legacy of a nationalism "as false as it is obsolete."

Overall, the document's heterogeneous and sometimes contradictory character reflects a mistrust between leftists and conservatives that is destined to be a feature of the political scene for as long as civilian rule lasts.

—Elizabeth Station

Bush: the life of the (Grand Old) Party

"A star was born," declared public relations expert Tex McCrary in 1971 after witnessing then-U.N. Ambassador George Bush in action at a social function. McCrary, who called Bush "a cross between Billy Graham and Bob Hope with a touch of Will Rogers," was right. A star was born: Bush used the ambassadorship to catapult his political career in the wake of a disastrous 1970 senatorial loss to Lloyd Bentsen.

But how Bush became ambassador is one of the most interesting and telling details of his long rise to the top of the Republican Party.

When Bush gave up his Texas congressional seat to run for the Senate against Bentsen in 1970, the Nixon administration assured him that if he lost, the White House would have a role for him, according to jour-

nalists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in their book *Nixon in the White House*.

After Bush's loss, he was called to a meeting at the White House with President Nixon. Nixon had decided to appoint Bush to the White House staff as an "assistant to the president," with unspecified duties, according to a Dec. 9, 1970, memorandum written by H.R. Haldeman, Nixon's chief of staff. In *These Times* discovered the memo among Nixon's documents at the National Archives.

Bush told Nixon that he'd be delighted to take on that assignment, according to the memo, but then made a pitch for himself to be appointed instead as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

Haldeman's memorandum indicates that Bush did quite a job: "He explained the reason for his interest in the United Nations was his feeling that for too long the president had

not been represented there by anyone who was a strong advocate. He also pointed out there was a dearth (sic) of Nixon advocacy in New York City and the general New York area and that he could fill that need in the New York social circles he would be moving in as ambassador."

After the meeting, Nixon called Haldeman and said that he'd been "very strongly persuaded by Bush's arguments, and that he had decided he wanted him to take the U.N. post instead."

And so it was that George Bush advanced his career, apparently with no mention of international relations or foreign countries and scarcely any mention of the United Nations. With promises of Nixon-boosting and party-going, Bush had talked his way into being the new ambassador to the United Nations and, more importantly, to New York.

—Robert Ranftel

The wrong way to fight AIDS

Illinois is the only state that requires mandatory premarital testing for the AIDS virus. The testing has long been criticized by civil libertarians as well as medical groups. And now the *Chicago Tribune*, citing Illinois Department of Public Health figures, reports that of the 125,000 people required to take the test in the first nine months of 1988, only 15 people were found to be infected with the virus. The cost of finding those cases was \$693,000 apiece—based on medical fees paid by the couples, state expenditures to monitor the program and revenue losses in Illinois counties due to Illinois residents opting to get cheaper marriage licenses in neighboring states.

The wrong way to fight drugs

The *Washington Post* reports that of 2,100 Customs Service employees tested for drugs, a grand total of one tested positive.

The wrong way to fight dissent

Delores Huerta, the 58-year-old first vice president of the United Farm Workers (UFW), is still recovering from a clash with San Francisco police last month that left her with two broken ribs and a ruptured spleen. Huerta was injured when baton-wielding police forced demonstrators away from the site of a \$1,000-a-plate fundraiser for Vice President Bush. Huerta had come to San Francisco to demonstrate after Bush announced his firm opposition to the UFW's boycott of table grapes. The four-year-old boycott's aim, among others, is to protest the use of dangerous pesticides on the grapes. Yes, that's the same George Bush who's campaigning as an environmentalist (see page 7). And the same one who wants to broaden police powers.



Return of the caricature from the black lagoon

In 1956 more than 150 college newspapers officially endorsed a possum for president. The country ended up getting stuck with a rat, Dwight Eisenhower, but that was hardly cartoonist Walt Kelly's fault. Kelly's comic strip "Pogo," about a wry possum of the same name, served as an important tool of social criticism from its inception in 1948 until Kelly's death in 1973. During the days of redbaiting and blacklisting, for example, Kelly daringly lampooned Sen. Joseph McCarthy with a cartoon character named Simple J. Malarkey. It's just too bad that "Pogo" wasn't around for all the Reagan-era fun. But there's good news—next year, Pogo and his pals from the infamous Okefenokee Swamp will be back drawling their way across the nation's funny pages. A Chicago-based writer-artist duo, Larry Doyle and Neil Sternecky, is behind the strip's return. "It would be hard to be more liberal than Walt Kelly," says Doyle playfully. "But we're going to give it a shot."