

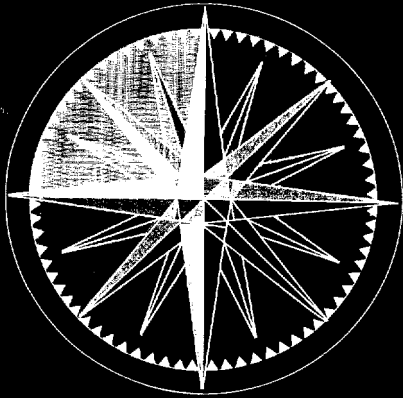
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Release 2006/08/30 : CIA-RDP79-00927A004900120004-4

23 July 1965

OCI No. 0299/65C

Copy No. 52



# SPECIAL REPORT

LATIN AMERICAN NATIONALISM AND THE CHILEAN THIRD-FORCE CONCEPT

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
OFFICE OF CURRENT INTELLIGENCE

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## LATIN AMERICAN NATIONALISM AND THE CHILEAN THIRD-FORCE CONCEPT

An entrenched brand of neonationalism developed in Latin America since World War II has characteristically manifested itself internationally in a quest for enhanced prestige through adoption of a foreign policy which features "independence" from the United States. Such nationalistic currents underlay the third-force overtures of the Quadros-Goulart administration in Brazil. A new approach, however, now is being made by Chile's Christian Democratic government to promote, shape, and direct a reappraisal of Latin America's posture relative to the world at large. This effort, although deriving much of its strength from basic nationalism, differs fundamentally as a result of the addition of inspiration and dogma from the Christian Democratic movement. This non-Communist, noncapitalist approach has appeal to Latin American neonationalists and is reflected in Chilean President Frei's recent conversations with European leaders.

### The Emerging Nationalism

The current brand of nationalism in Latin America is associated with a complex milieu of accelerated development, revolutionary expansion of mass awareness, and the emergence of a meaningful middle class. This increasingly articulate and politically significant group, attempting to provide the leadership for masses whose wants are expanding, tends to deep frustration with the inadequacies of traditional sociopolitical structures as well as with the distribution and ownership of wealth and means of production. One of the results has been the rise of popular nationalism--a nationalism which is political and economic, but also cultural and intellectual which has displaced an older "aristocratic" nationalism, and which has found political expression primarily

in parties of the left such as the Christian Democrats.

Popular nationalism emerged early in Mexico because of the Revolution of 1910, and involved "nativism," or glorification of the Indian cultural background and legacy. This attitude manifested itself in favorable legislation enacted for the Indian and mestizo masses by their middle-class political leaders, including protectionist trade measures adopted on the assumption that domestic industry would be stimulated to the benefit of the workers. There followed antiforeign economic laws and increased state control of natural resources, many of which were foreign exploited. Before World War II, similar legislation was enacted in such other countries as Chile, Uruguay, Colombia, Bolivia, and Brazil.

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Nationalism has tended to be highly emotional as well as xenophobic. After World War II it took an aggressive turn, manifesting itself for example in efforts of Chile, Ecuador, and Peru to assert territorial control over 200 miles of adjacent ocean; seizure of foreign fishing craft by these nations along with Mexico and Nicaragua; and anti-colonialism directed especially against British possessions in the Western Hemisphere.

Latin American nationalists remain suspicious, if not actually hostile, toward foreign capital, toward the government and programs of the United States, and toward industrialized, "developed" nations. They demand a greater place in the sun. They are in a hurry to drive upward politically and economically in the world and therefore they are willing to accept radical approaches that promise speedy results. An aspect of this is an eager compulsion to adopt a posture of "independence" in world affairs--attributable in part to the need for expanded markets for basic products and in part to a nationalistic urge to win greater international prestige. Latin American nations have an intense desire to participate in international decision making. The United Nations has provided encouragement for these wishes and strengthened the shibboleths of "self-determina-

tion," "sovereignty," and "independence."

Related to nationalism is what the Latin Americans call tercerismo, or the quest for a "third position"--a concept which cannot be equated with neutralism. It appears to be a reflection of the Latin American nations' desire to be accorded a greater world role both individually and as a bloc with a corresponding diminution of US ties. This may lead them to seek to reduce the US position in the hemisphere on the assumption that only thus can they attain national fulfillment.

Chile's Leadership

The current leadership of Latin American tercerismo has been actively sought by the Chilean Christian Democratic Party (PDC) which swept into power in the 1964-1965 presidential and congressional elections. This pursuit has tended to bring Chilean foreign policy into conflict with US objectives in East-West relations and the Organization of American States--especially over the Dominican Republic affair. The principal causes of this have been Chilean popular nationalism, basic PDC doctrine, and a vision of Christian Democracy as the vanguard of an inter-American movement of the future.

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The PDC is, by its own definition, an uncompromising party of the left, and its program reflects this orientation. It is not anti-Communist but rather is non-Communist and maintains that it must contest the Communist Party at the grass roots in order to defeat it. Therefore, the PDC has attempted to penetrate ideologically the labor unions, student groups, and other traditional Communist strongholds. Nationalistic attitudes which the PDC shares with the Communists include steadfast opposition both to foreign imperialism and domestic oligarchy. There is no doubt that most PDC policy makers are critical of capitalism and foreign interests in Chile, but they favor legal nationalization of foreign investment.

Christian Democrats, like Communists, see themselves as a world movement, but maintain that their goal is a "social revolution with liberty." In speaking of this social upheaval, President Frei has said, "we are in the presence of a vast revolution. Old formulas are dead and a new age has been born.... Today we are present at the birth of a new civilization based on work which will reach total development of the human being at all levels of society."

Ideologically, therefore, Chilean Christian Democracy, in endeavoring to present an imaginative nationalistic program, is much farther to the left on the political spectrum than its European counterparts. Frei dreams of a synthesis of justice and freedom in an economy that is

based entirely on man's ability, not on inherited factors of money, class, or race. In order to achieve this goal he has proposed leftist, Christian, non-Marxist, noncapitalist solutions which have the twofold purpose of raising Chile's standard of living and undermining Communist popularity with the masses.

Non-Communist, Noncapitalist

One of the PDC's fundamental inconsistencies is apparent in its attitude toward Communism. Although the party has always argued for the legality of the Communist Party and at various times has supported Communist candidates, it is ideologically in conflict with Communism over the application of Christian values to politics and the concept of the "social revolution with liberty." Furthermore, the party is divided between a vociferous group of pseudo-Marxist extremists and a majority of moderates. As a result, the party is unable to agree on the true character and significance of Communism in Latin America, and tends officially to ignore the dangers of Communist subversion.

As nationalists, most PDC members nevertheless summarily reject Communism as a non-Chilean ideology directed by a foreign nation. Frei himself has denounced "as typical of their system" the Communist propagandists who attacked him during the presidential campaign. He has also said, "We reject Communist doctrine and tactics. But before Communism we see that there is something worse: anti-Communism."

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Frei's statement sums up the somewhat more definite Christian Democratic attitude toward capitalism. The PDC has historically been critical of the heavily protected, high-profit, restricted-market "capitalism" prevalent in Chile and most of Latin America. Therefore, the party rejects capitalism as a valid solution for Chile's economic and social problems. In a recent interview Frei said, "Capitalism, while successful in the United States, has not worked out in Latin America, nor does it represent the joint human and ideological values of our concepts of life--capitalism as a social philosophy and Communism as its antidote are obsolete."

#### Independent Foreign Policy

This rejection of both Communism and the Latin American type of capitalism, together with progress in the Christian Democrats' attempt to capture and lead Chilean nationalism, has led toward an "independent foreign policy" posture. This position is personified by Foreign Minister Valdes, who has declared that the world is divided between north and south, i.e., between have and have-not nations. Latin America, he said, "must have a voice in and be a connecting bridge with the peoples of the unsatisfied nations which have come to call themselves the third world, the nonaligned, or the noncomprised." Latin America, he went on, "cannot exhaust itself only in the organization of a perfect inter-American system. The ancient

nationalistic systems of other epochs have lost force and nationalisms must act solely in benefit of the people and not of mere small groups of privilege and monopoly."

Valdes, who sees Latin American economic underdevelopment, social misery, and disunity--as well as the United States--as foes, has always despised the paternalistic attitude of the "colossus of the north" toward the rest of the American nations. Earlier this year he provoked controversy by stating that the interests of the US and Latin America in the Organization of American States were divergent. He demanded--and later denied that he had demanded--economic compensation for support of US policies, implying that the Latin American nations could thereby increase their influence within the inter-American system and presumably satisfy their nationalistic aspirations.

The foreign minister, in contrast to President Frei, delighted in the success of their current European tour, saying that now Chile would enjoy greater respect "in certain quarters." Frei, on the other hand, continued to advance Chilean nationalism and tercerismo in a doctrinaire manner, albeit not at the expense of the United States.

In Paris, Frei urged Europe to join Latin America in a new alliance for progress. He stated that Chile wanted to build political independence without forcing a showdown with the US. "We want a system linked with all people,

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especially Europe." The United States, he went on, "is a world power and it exerts hegemony in several parts of the world. Among the people of Latin America there is a desire for true political and economic independence. I want a system without hegemony," he said. Reporting these statements, the Manchester Guardian called Frei the "De Gaulle of Latin America."

More sophisticated and wiser politically than Valdes, Frei has not allowed himself to be placed in a position of open opposition to the US. He has apparently gained limited French economic, cultural, and technical assistance for his country. This reflects his admiration of France and the similarity between Chilean tercerismo and De Gaulle's own "third world" policy. From all of the evidence available, Frei has made a great impression on European ruling circles. His idealistic sincerity and nationalistic belief in his country have overshadowed his apparent naiveté about Communism.

Chilean tercerismo has developed in conjunction with the growth and popularity of the Christian Democratic Party, the emotionalism of Latin American nationalism, and the majority rejection of Communism and capi-



Frei: "Excuse me, Mr. Policeman. Where do I find the third road?"  
DeGaulle: "Wait just a moment. I'm also looking for it."

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-Bogota, El Tiempo, 7 July 1965

talism as a solution to Chilean problems. Chile's present "independent foreign policy" seeks a cultural and economic entente with Europe; it calls for trade and diplomatic relations with all countries; it presses for more inter-American political and economic cooperation without US predominance; and, finally, it is an attempt to make Chile influential in the international field. Increased European economic assistance and moral support might enhance the future prestige of Chilean tercerismo among other liberal Latin American governments.

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