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**Latin America**

**REGIONAL AND  
POLITICAL ANALYSIS**

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Chile: Return to Civilian Rule

Chilean President Pinochet's announced plans to return the country to civilian rule by 1985 represents a significant policy departure. His blueprint for a return to "normality," the delivery to Washington of an advance text of his speech of last Saturday, and recent reports that he is considering restricting the power of the notorious National Intelligence Directorate (DINA), all suggest that Pinochet has finally become convinced that draconian measures are no longer necessary in Chile and that it is time for a new image.



President Pinochet

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Pinochet's suggested schedule for a return to civilian rule culminates in limited popular elections in 1985. These elections would choose two-thirds of the delegates to a legislative assembly that would then appoint a new president. Prior to this, the junta in 1980 will name the members of a single legislative chamber that will rule jointly with the armed forces for four or five years.

Pinochet warned that the entire plan depends on continued signs of "recuperation" from the Allende years. If the announced time frame is followed, Chile will be on a similar but slower schedule of the constitutional changes announced by the military governments of Bolivia and Peru.

The reasons for Pinochet's surprise announcement are obscure, but he has been under considerable pressure from the military and the government establishment to do something about Chile's human rights image and begin some process toward returning to political normality.

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Complaints by members of the junta and the military services about the poor human rights image and DINA's excessive power have increased in recent months. Many senior officers [REDACTED] have told Pinochet that subversion is under control, the state of siege should be lifted, and DINA's arrest power should be terminated.

The results of Supreme Court President Eyzaguirre's surprise visit last month to a DINA detention center may have been the last straw. Eyzaguirre reported his discovery of severely abused prisoners to Pinochet and informed the President that he was going to order the Supreme Court to investigate DINA's illegal activities. Eyzaguirre sent copies of his report to the other junta members, navy Admiral Merino and air force General Leigh, who have long advocated a move toward civilian rule, and Carabinero (National Police) General Mendoza. Eyzaguirre was assured by the navy and air force leaders that they oppose DINA's activities and had so informed the President.

Subsequently, Pinochet [REDACTED] ordered DINA to prepare a study of how the organization could be converted to a strictly intelligence-collection agency. The reorganized DINA would have no detention powers and would work closely with the intelligence directorates of the armed forces and the carabineros. The President ordered the reorganization plan to be presented to him before the end of July. Pinochet, undoubtedly reflecting his aversion to the chaos of the Allende years, has been dragging his feet on the DINA issue. He probably believes that it is premature to curtail DINA or to return the country to civilian rule before 1985. Characteristically, he lashed out during his speech against foreign intervention in Chilean affairs under the guise of defending human rights.


Pressure from his colleagues in recent months has made Pinochet's stance increasingly unsupportable. The fact that political normalization will be supervised closely by the armed forces probably increased his willingness to make the election announcement. In addition, internal security is well in hand and the country is on the road to economic recovery. An added inducement, of course, is the announcement's expected beneficial effects on the government's popular support and its human rights image.

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Very little in the present operation of the government will actually change, at least for the present. It is always possible that Pinochet will backslide on reforming DINA or ending the state of siege. The fact is, however, that there is now an announced specific plan to return the civilians to a political role and the military to the barracks.



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