

ANALYZING CHILEAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

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CIENTO CINCUENTA AÑOS DE POLÍTICA EXTERIOR CHILENA. Edited by WALTER SANCHEZ AND TERESA PEREIRA. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1979. Pp. 418. \$10.00.)

CHILE Y EL FIN DE LA GUERRA FRÍA. INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES, ECONÓMICOS Y CULTURALES (ISEC). (Santiago: ISEC and Editorial del Pacífico, 1974. Pp. 115.)

LA PARTICIPACIÓN DE CHILE EN EL SISTEMA INTERNACIONAL. By FRANCISCO ORREGO VICUÑA. (Santiago: Editora Nacional Gabriela Mistral, 1974. Pp. 255.)

"AMÉRICA LATINA A LA HORA DE LAS DOCTRINAS DE LA SEGURIDAD NACIONAL." By GENARO ARRIAGADA and MANUEL ANTONIO GARRETÓN. In *Las fuerzas armadas en la sociedad civil*, Centro de Investigaciones Socioeconómicas (CISEC) (Santiago: CISEC, 1978.)

Scholars in Chile are aware of the critical importance of foreign relations in the context of national economic and political strategies; thus, the study of foreign policies is being given increased attention by political scientists, economists, historians, and specialists in international law. Careful study of the works published between 1974 and 1979, however, shows that there has been relatively little systematic investigation in this field and that the quality of the literature is uneven. The writings to be discussed here address both contemporary and historical issues in Chile's foreign relations. Clearly, the most ambitious undertaking is the volume edited by Sanchez and Pereira; the book by Orrego, a collection of essays and addresses by him, deals with historical, legal, and political aspects of Chilean foreign relations; the ISEC book is an attempt to define Chile's international situation in the world context of the 1970s; and the essay by Arriagada and Garretón discusses the ideology of national security as espoused by Latin American governments and especially the present Chilean regime.

As could be expected, there are a variety of stated or implicit theoretical approaches in these essays, and, in some cases, a lack of any identifiable theoretical outlook. In spite of this heterogeneity, there are some dominant themes and common concerns on the part of the au-

thors. The most obvious point is that there has been a rather serious and deep crisis in the political system of Chile. While there is no consensus on the origins and the nature of this crisis, it is clear that it has not only “spilled over” into the realm of foreign policy, but has, for more than a decade, affected domestic and international levels of political participation. Thus, recent Chilean governments and the present regime have looked to various external sources of support and to ideological models of international scope. Political actors in Europe, the United States, and Latin America have become involved in issues of Chilean politics as part of their own international strategies, and Chilean political groups attach high priority to cultivating external linkages.

Most writers share the view that a “consensual” style of decision making facilitates the conduct of foreign relations and maximizes broad internal support. Thus, the erosion of the political bases of consensus emerges as a major factor in determining the present crisis in Chilean foreign relations. While some authors believe that an emphasis on “pragmatism” could provide a way around the dilemma of ideological consistency versus effectiveness, this view seems to overlook the depth and intensity of the divisions and cleavages—social, economic, ideological—underlying the crisis of diplomacy, especially in the last decade. On the other hand, according to a minority view, the insufficient development of ideological perspectives on the part of governments and their sources of political support has impeded the elaboration of more coherent strategies in the international system, and/or has weakened the motivation to implement governmental strategies. This more “militant” point of view, which can be found among supporters of both the Allende government and the present regime, is not explored in the writings under review here.

The second area of common concern is the issue of the real or alleged decline of Chile’s international status and stature (Arriagada and Garretón, however, do not deal with this problem). There are various ways of appraising Chile’s decline in the Latin American subsystem: some authors look back to a “golden age” of Chilean power that is said to have lasted from the late 1830s to the end of the nineteenth century; others compare the present situation with the more recent past. In the first view, institutional stability, military power, and economic development appear to be of decisive importance; in the second, pluralistic democracy, cultural values, and efforts toward the attainment of social justice are given more weight. Many generalizations are also offered, often uncritically, of the “typical” Chilean outlook and “style” in the conduct of foreign relations. Unfortunately, systematic research on attitudes toward the outside world is still lacking in Chile and the reader is confronted by descriptions of a “national character” that are sometimes contradictory and that almost always fail to discriminate *to whom* in the

Chilean polity certain traits (for example, legalism, or imitativeness of foreign attitudes and ideas) are attributed. However, these and other publications make it abundantly clear that a process of "national introspection" is under way in Chile, by which some scholars are seeking to identify not only the structural but also the cultural and attitudinal roots of the breakdown of Chile's moderate political system. It is hoped that systematic empirical research will make it possible to offer some insights into this crucial problem area in the future.

The small volume published by ISEC, a research organization that was active in Santiago several years ago, provides valuable information on Christian Democratic perceptions of the international system and of Chile's role in it. The most valuable essay is by Gabriel Valdés, whose lucid and succinct account of political obstacles in the way of integration efforts remains an excellent source for the study of Frei's foreign policy, especially because he analyzes national responses to the integration process in the context of Chilean strategies on this issue.

Otto Boye, in his discussion of Chile's inter-American policies since World War II, describes and analyzes the foreign policies of Chile's governments since the presidency of Gabriel González Videla. Although not a detailed account of the diplomatic record, his essay is important since this area has remained almost unexplored, with the partial exception of some studies on Frei and Allende. Boye wrote before the takeover by the military, and predicted that the socialist countries would not be able or inclined to help Allende in his struggle to survive economically and politically in the face of intense domestic and foreign opposition.

In contrast to these two articles, the essays by Wally Meza on economic foreign policies and Alberto Sepúlveda on the world context of foreign policy offer few interesting observations. Meza's analysis was clearly outdated by the time the book went to press, since the junta's approach to foreign economic issues was completely at odds with Allende's. Sepúlveda discusses trends in the international system along the familiar lines of increasing multipolarity, which is said to increase the opportunities for Latin American diplomacy. In sum, however, the ISEC book makes a good effort to identify and describe critical areas of Chilean foreign relations. The volume could have been better if the authors had chosen to deal with the issues in greater detail and if a more even quality had been achieved.

Orrego's book is a collection of essays written between 1969 and 1973, dealing with various aspects of Chilean diplomatic history, international law, and contemporary foreign relations. Two of the essays critique Allende's international strategy, which, according to Orrego, was bound to lead to what he calls "*satelización marxista*." But Orrego is

at his best in the legal and historical perspectives; his books and essays on the law of the sea, for example, are widely known. In this volume, he offers a fine essay on the "Bello clause," an important forerunner of contemporary efforts to achieve economic integration. The other significant contribution is his analysis of the foreign policies of Minister Diego Portales in the 1830s and the gradual widening of Chile's international concerns until the end of the nineteenth century, when Chile was an active member of a system of interlocking subregional balances of power in South America. Orrego attaches great value to Portales' teachings: Chilean self-reliance in international politics, independence vis-à-vis the great powers, the need to preserve the balance of power with Chile's neighbors. The lesson of Portales, according to Orrego, is the imperative of a clear definition of, and adherence to, a set of interests and objectives to be fostered over long periods of time, thus basing diplomacy not on the whims of each government but on the firm foundation of national goals. As the author himself acknowledges, this has not been accomplished and indeed one wonders, in the face of the deep-seated domestic changes that have taken place and continue to take place in Chile, whether it is possible to demand greater continuity of behavior on the international scene.

Although not specifically devoted to the discussion of Chilean foreign relations, the essay by Arriagada and Garretón is an important contribution to the interpretation of the international outlook of the military. Thus, the insights reached by the authors are useful for the interpretation of the foreign policies of the present Chilean government. The essay focuses on the emergence and the politico-ideological content of national security doctrines. The sections dealing with the domestic and international variables contributing to the emergence of the *seguridad nacional* ideology in Latin America do not add significantly to our knowledge of military politics; they remain at the level of macro-generalizations on politics and society in the region since the crisis of the "old order" in the first third of the century gave rise to new political actors and public policies. Similarly, the discussion of the international setting is a standard summary of changing patterns of foreign influence in the Latin American armed forces. The literature cited in this section and the events analyzed belong mainly to the fifties and sixties, while the last decade is not really taken into account. However, the main points are clearly formulated: on the domestic side, the dynamics of mobilization-demobilization of an increasingly politicized population appear to be the object of a global political choice by the military in countries such as Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. This choice places the military in favor of demobilization (Peru could be a partial exception). On the external side, the intermarriage of development and antisubversive goals in U.S. poli-

cies between the Kennedy and Nixon administrations is identified as a key factor in the consolidation of military regimes of a new and more ideologically articulate type.

In what is clearly the best section of their work, the authors analyze the ideological cross-currents in national security doctrines and the related ideologies on which military regimes are based. The "mix" of ideologies consists of national security and traditional Catholic, nationalistic, and technocratic elements. According to Arriagada and Garretón, the *seguridad nacional* element is the dominant one and its constituency is almost exclusively military, since the military have made this doctrine virtually their ideological "property." It might be asked, however, whether this is always the case: technocratic ideologies and economic liberalism appear to have a rather important impact on the military, especially in Chile, where technocratic values have now been reinterpreted to accommodate the new "laissez faire" approach to economics; this, in turn, seems to have been "internalized" by the military, who almost unanimously refuse to see potential contradictions between this approach and the requirements of national security.

According to the ideology of national security, the military are the bearers of true national values, traditions, and ideas; thus, their mission is not restricted to defense. Since national power—the attainment and increment of which is the "supreme law" of geopolitics—is a composite of economic, political, geographical, and cultural variables, the scope of action of the military government includes the defense of national values, national identity, traditions, etc. Obviously this will require a free hand for the military to deal with actors who hold "erroneous" or "perverse" views of society and the state since otherwise the present "pathological condition" of the body politic would ultimately lead to its death (the organic conception of the state is a central element of national security doctrine).

Based on quotations from Brazilian and Chilean sources, the authors contend that these ideas have reached a level of articulation that has led military spokesmen to argue that they possess a framework for organizing policymaking and political and economic action in national and international systems. While it is true that the military outlook is shaped in important ways by the ideological conception delineated by the authors, it should also be noted that they have not so far eliminated the significance of other important factors, both situational and psychological. Perhaps the most crucial role of national security conceptions lies in the *initial* shaping of expectations, preferences, and options on the part of military actors. However, as they become exposed to the realities of national and especially international politics, other factors become increasingly relevant. As Pinochet himself states in a passage of his *Geopolítica*, national power tends to expand until foreign power stops

its advance (p. 153, quoted by Arriagada and Garretón, p. 190). This basically Hobbesian conception of power leads to a much less ideological definition of international politics and foreign policy. Chilean diplomacy toward Argentina, for example, has been almost completely devoid of the ideological dimension that is so prominent in the policies towards the great powers. Similarly, on the domestic level, the national security rationale of governmental policies has become less and less visible and important as the realities of interest-group politics and the increasing weight of economic criteria assert themselves in the political process. Thus, the emphasis placed on national security ideologies, even if valuable for achieving a better understanding of military politics and policies, can also tend to obscure our grasp of an increasingly complex constellation of forces and groups operating under military rule.

By far the most ambitious work under review is *Ciento cincuenta años de política exterior chilena*, edited by Sanchez, a political scientist at the University of Chile, and Pereira, who teaches history at the Catholic University in Santiago. To be sure, the conception of the book is an interesting one, and some of the contributions in it are valuable, e.g., some of the essays written from a historical perspective; but the final product does not satisfy the reader who expects a multidisciplinary study of the record of Chile's foreign policy over one and a half centuries. The result of this combination of contributions from both academics and actors who are, or were, involved in the foreign policy process is uneven. There is no doubt that statements by officials who have had long and sometimes distinguished careers in diplomacy can enrich the study of foreign policy, especially in a political culture such as Chile's, where the writing of memoirs is not a widespread practice, but the mix of many perspectives and approaches is not complemented here by a unifying conceptual or analytic framework.

There are also important gaps in the coverage; in some cases this is due to an oversight in planning, in others it simply results from the subject being too narrowly defined. Thus, Alberto Baltra's essay does not give a comprehensive view of Chilean foreign economic relations and policies, as the reader is led to expect; noteworthy gaps are the issue of economic integration, which has been important in the foreign policy agenda of the last four Chilean administrations, and bilateral relations with countries such as Brazil, the major Western European powers, and Third World countries. (Baltra also mentions that it was agreed with the editors that, since he did not have space to deal with the problem of ocean resources, another author would pick up the topic; the reader will search in vain for such a discussion.)

Displaying his considerable mastery of the subject, historian Sergio Villalobos writes on the international system at the time of the inde-

pendence movements; however, he says relatively little about the emancipation of Chile, and tends to remain on the level of international and, specifically, great-power politics. Javier González, another historian, writes on the contributions of Minister Diego Portales to the formation of the state. However, he does not say much on the significance of Portales' ideas for his foreign policy. His only truly important point seems to be that the war against the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation of Marshall Santa Cruz was waged to preserve (or to restore) the South American balance of power. This marks the beginning of what was to become one of the tenets of Chilean diplomacy to this day: an alliance of northern and eastern neighbors must be avoided. Later on, this rule of thumb was complemented by alliance policies, as Orrego points out in his essay (see above).

Peter Sehlinger of Indiana University is the author of an interesting and learned article on the role of foreign economic agents in the War of the Pacific. Using primary sources and relying on the relevant historical literature, Sehlinger subtly analyzes the interests and moves of individuals, groups, and governments, concluding that the pressure of Peru's creditors lengthened the war since Peruvians were led to believe that some sort of assistance from the creditor's governments would be forthcoming. However, the financial agents did not succeed in leading their governments to intervene directly. Some of the points by Sehlinger are also made in Cristián Guerrero's discussion of relations with the United States up to 1916. Guerrero divides the bilateral relationship into several phases, showing that the level of cooperation and conflict changed considerably over the decades; at the end of his essay he notes the deep changes that took place in the post-World War I period. A second essay on Chile-U.S. relations, dealing with the more recent past, would have been welcome.

The paper on relations with Chile's neighbors, by coeditor Pereira, is rather too short and uninformative. The discussion of territorial issues in historical perspective is far too large to be dealt with in eleven and a half pages, especially since the author chooses to include the contemporary period up to 1977. There are no footnotes and no bibliography, and there are problems of style, which betray a lack of editorial work. In addition, the author commits a rather serious historical mistake when she states that ". . . in 1967 [Chile and Argentina] agreed to submit the decision [of the Beagle dispute] to the arbitration of the British Crown" (p. 93). Actually, the Chilean government *unilaterally* requested arbitration of the dispute by the Queen on 11 December 1967. For several years, Argentina argued that the Treaty of Arbitration of 1902 was not applicable to the dispute. This was the most critical issue in bilateral relations up to 1971, when an agreement was reached: a panel of judges from the international Court of Justice was to hear the case and

report to the Queen (Carmen G. Echeverría sets the record straight on this important matter in her essay [pp. 272–75]).

The second part of the book consists of a set of papers dealing with domestic variables affecting foreign policies. Luis Melo links the evolution of the foreign relations bureaucracy to various aspects and problems of diplomacy. He describes the tendency towards “professionalization” of the conduct of foreign policy, but does not deal with the multiplication of interested actors in the public sector who take part in the foreign policy process. The role of congress is discussed in legal terms by Jeanette Irigoin, who comments on changes in the law applying to ratification. Since congress has been closed for over eight years, much of the analysis deals with legal technicalities applying to the ratification of treaties by the executive. The political implications of this concentration of power and control over foreign policy are not dealt with.

Alberto Baltra’s essay on foreign economic relations makes some interesting points on North-South issues and international cooperation, but deals only tangentially with Chile’s external sector and its implications for diplomacy. One exception is the discussion of the issue of nitrate exports to Argentina and Brazil during the González Videla government (Baltra took part in the negotiations on this issue with the Dutra and Perón governments).

According to René Silva E., a former director of *El Mercurio*, Chile’s leading daily newspaper, the press exerts a “moderating influence” on foreign policy (p. 171). Silva attributes the decision of the second Ibáñez administration, to seek the assistance of the Klein-Saks mission to advise it on questions of economic policy, to the influence of *El Mercurio* and its owner, Agustín Edwards. Silva also commends the role of the newspaper in criticizing the defunct Treaty of Economic Union between Chile and Argentina. Unfortunately, Silva’s comments do not deal with the whole spectrum of the press; thus his contribution falls short of being an objective analysis of the influence of the media.

There is no doubt that the most valuable essay in this part, and probably in the whole book, is Ricardo Couyoumdjian’s study of Chilean neutrality in the First World War. The author dispels the myth of a pro-German neutrality, and, based on painstaking documentary research, shows that there was an important element of opportunism in the Chilean diplomatic posture. At the same time, for economic reasons neutrality could not be strictly enforced. This left ample room for all sorts of transactions with the belligerents.

The third section of the book, devoted to the contemporary period, begins with a discussion by Enrique Bernstein (a distinguished retired diplomat who today is special advisor to foreign relations minister René Rojas on regional security. Bernstein defines the Chilean stance towards the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (or Río

Treaty) but he does it more in legal than in political terms. However, the article lacks an analysis of the national political context of such important issues as the use of treaty sanctions against Cuba. A second weakness is the total absence of bibliographic and documentary evidence to support the portrayal of Chile's inter-American policy as one of caution and pragmatism: while interested in promoting economic cooperation through the system, Chilean governments are fearful of OAS interference in bilateral relations, e.g., Chilean-Bolivian problems.

Alexander Sutulov's discussion of copper policies is interesting historically and technologically. Sutulov also sees Chilean copper in a global context; however, he does not deal with the last two decades, which have clearly been most eventful in terms of the interrelationship among copper policies, the economy, and international relations. Chilean and North American authors have explored these areas in great detail; their works should have been taken into account in this essay.

The well-informed discussion of Antarctic affairs by Oscar Pinochet is one of the best contributions to the volume. He gives an excellent synthesis of issues at the national, bilateral, and multilateral levels, and draws attention to the growing complexity and potential economic impact of interests and claims in the area. The chronological accounts of the Beagle issue and of the 1975–78 Chilean-Bolivian negotiations on the corridor problem, the first by Carmen G. Echeverría and the second by the same author and Walter Sánchez, are useful efforts to establish the record of bilateral relations on two critical issues. Horacio Toro presents a scheme for the analysis of "national security" in the light of the governmental definition of a "national objective" for Chile. The topic is crucial for understanding the current government's view of international relations, but the author's discussion remains at the ideological level and does not really deal with the operational meaning of the ideology of national security.

The essay by Walter Sánchez is clearly the most ambitious in the book, since he purports to "uncover . . . deeply rooted processes," "tendencies and continuities" in foreign policy (p. 375). Unfortunately, he seems less than certain that the goal of scientific analysis can be achieved, and warns that the task of "objective diagnosis" exceeds "the ability of any analyst of our generation" (p. 378). However, it is not the impossibility of describing and explaining foreign policy that accounts for the unsatisfactory results of his efforts. First, there are problems of style, which make the writing difficult to understand and, at times, confusing. Second, many statements are qualified by the use of expressions such as "it seems that," or "apparently," when, in fact, there is no empirical problem of ambiguous or contradictory evidence.

But beyond these problems there is a fundamental contradiction in the essay between two quite different approaches to the study and

conduct of diplomacy. On the one hand, the need for a realistic identification of the national interest is a major concern of the author. According to Sánchez, the national interest is “generally” constant, since “sometimes” changes in a “country or the world” are not reflected in a change of diplomacy and “international posture.” This is the approach taken at one pole of the analysis (p. 377). A markedly pragmatic orientation results from this outlook: the author asks for “successive adaptations”; along this line, “it seems that the great challenge for Chilean foreign policy is to *preserve* and *adapt* her diplomacy to the diplomacy of the most powerful country in the world” (pp. 404–5, italics added). On the other hand, there is a clear endorsement of a specific ideology of foreign policy; unlike other lines of argumentation, this is presented in quite unambiguous terms. This ideology supports the international conduct of the government even amidst the present “situation of isolation” and “lack of understanding” for the Chilean position. In addition, the affirmation of a nationalistic stance inside the country is said to constitute a stronghold against those who promote international actions against the government: “The more Chile is attacked internationally, the more unity is achieved around the government. This was clearly shown by the outcome of the *consulta nacional* of 1978, in which the government achieved a clear majority in spite of the internal criticism that followed this presidential decision” (p. 400).

In this perspective, the problem of human rights must be regarded as a direct result of a transitory state of war in which loss of control could not be avoided. As the author puts it, those problems arose because “including the government and its own middle level commands were not able [sic] to avoid excesses on the part of subordinates who did not help [to project] a better world image” (p. 400). But in a sense such problems have a salutary effect on the country, which, under adverse conditions, is said to grow and become stronger. The following statement makes this point abundantly clear and advocates a strongly ideological international outlook:

Instead of withdrawing and hiding in the fortress of isolation, Chile has not fulfilled the wishes of her adversaries and has made her views clear without indulging in weaknesses. Fully aware of the fact that once again the struggle is an unequal one, the government knows that the two super powers vote against Chile, and all countries that are members of the international oligarchy which leads the Assembly have denounced her before international public opinion. Chile has heard those criticisms that are well intentioned and are backed by facts, but not those that rest on doubtful moral and political foundations. [P. 404]

There are also some startling assertions: according to Sánchez, the “end of the old controversy of Tacna and Arica” was “accelerated” in the second administration of Arturo Alessandri, both by the president and his foreign minister Ernesto Barros. The latter did not serve in the sec-

ond but in the first Alessandri administration, and the end of the Tacna and Arica issue came under Carlos Ibáñez in 1929, i.e., three years before the return of Arturo Alessandri to the presidency.

In conclusion, this book will be used to the extent that scholars will find some of the essays useful for their work. The overall quality, however, is unsatisfactory, and there is a manifest lack of clarity and of organization in the whole effort.

Systematic study of Chilean foreign relations is only beginning. This area of research has rightly been identified as a crucial one for understanding Chile's political development. If it is true that the area of choice of Latin American governments increases as bipolarity in the international system becomes less important, studies of foreign policy should become more interesting; the era of mere accommodation will have ended and thus diplomacy will be a matter of choice as well as of imperatives.

So far, however, the paradox that emerges from existing studies is that the level of intellectual accomplishment tends to be inversely correlated with the authors' claims. Essays in diplomatic history (e.g., Sehlinger and Couyoumdjian in Sánchez and Pereira), which do not intend to provide grand interpretations, are likely to be more informative and useful than the more ambitious but less rigorous writings that seek to uncover the "basic forces" of international behavior. Similarly, essays that do not make many scientific claims but that are written by well-informed observers of and participants in the foreign policy process sometimes make quite useful, although obviously incomplete and partial, contributions. Chilean political scientists, economists, and historians at various institutions are now undertaking research projects that will likely lead to significant new writing in the near future. To be sure, the magnitude of the research task is large and academic resources in the country are far from adequate (and, of course, there are other limitations [for a discussion of the state of the field of international relations in Chile, see Manfred Wilhelm, "Desarrollo y crisis de los estudios de relaciones internacionales en Chile," *Estudios Sociales* 17 (1977): 2–26]). There is no doubt that progress in this area will be slow, but we hope that in this field, too, the eighties will be better than the seventies.