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NIC/IA

NID # 2261-74

(F) w/ copy to be sent to Paper

13 December 1974

LM
ALD

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director

SUBJECT : Importance of the Chilean
Solidarity Movement in Europe

1. You recently asked that we look into the importance of the Chilean Solidarity Movement (CSM) in Europe [redacted]

[redacted] The question arose when [redacted] suggested that it constituted a serious vulnerability for the US which should be countered by US moves to cut off aid to Chile and otherwise clearly disavow the junta. The Congress may have already ameliorated the problem by the House move this week to cut off aid to Chile, but the problem will not thereby disappear.

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2. In response to your request:

a. I asked [redacted] to prepare a wrapup of the facts about the CSM in Europe (copy attached).

b. I convened a session of DDI analysts, together with [redacted] of DDO, to discuss the problem in the light of the [redacted] paper.

3. The discussion led to the following conclusions:

a. The Chile question is popular journalistic stuff all over Europe and it is true enough to say that it has replaced Vietnam as a convenient means of focusing anti-US sentiment. It offers a common ground for communists, socialists and left-to-moderate Christians and liberals to come together on an issue -- when they can agree on little else.

b. It is also an embarrassment to our friends in public and official quarters, and there is no respectable voice, public or official, actively willing to defend.

c. Whether measured as a rallying point for disparate groups, or as a public impact issue, it is most significant in Portugal, Greece, Italy and Sweden; least so in Britain and West Germany; France is in between.

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d. But measurements of impact are very imprecise. It should be noted that:

- Except for Sweden, no European government has shown itself actively exercised about US policy toward Chile, and certainly none has exerted any strong or recurrent pressure on the US to do anything.
- In all cases, it is local considerations that determine whether the communists, socialists and others come together or stay apart. Considered as a platform for building a broad anti-US coalition, the Chile issue is unique and marginal in that it does not have impact much beyond the issue itself.
- Offsetting the near-universal disapproval of US policy toward Chile, but much less publicized, is the lesson drawn in some quarters that Chile shows the folly of communists pushing too far or too fast for control. The Chilean lesson is central to the PCI's current "historic compromise" and "soft opposition" strategy, and is no doubt reflected in the USSR's general line of advising European communists to go slow and avoid risks.
- In Greece and especially in Portugal, fears that Chile shows what the US might do to them are no doubt sharpened by the CSM's activities, but would also no doubt be there if the CSM did not exist. They are the result of circumstances having nothing to do with Chile, and will grow or diminish for reasons having nothing to do with Chile.

4. These caveats should not be read as arguments against the US doing what it can to limit damage in Europe over Chile. Congressional action this week will help, though the credit will not go to the Administration. Apart from the aid question, there seems no reason why the US should not come on stronger in deploring any brutalities of which the junta is guilty. [REDACTED]

5. But one should not hold out hope that the CSM would cease anti-US attacks or go away. The historical record -- including [REDACTED]

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distortions and exaggerations -- is there, and an ostentatious switch on this issue, given what has been publicly said by the President and the Secretary, would probably not persuade those disposed to believe the worst. It would certainly not end the CSM's propaganda efforts. It would, however, help our friends to defend us better in public and private, and would remove an irritant with the neutrals, most notably the Swedes.

6. It would be marginal in its impact, case by case, compared to what the US can do on far more critical issues with key countries. Thus an ounce of help to Greece or Cyprus, or of aid to Portugal, would no doubt be worth a pound of gestures over the Chile issue in the country concerned.



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8. If you agree with the argument herein, it would be easy to adapt this memorandum to become a note to HAK from you. I suggest that nothing short of that level would do any good.



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National Intelligence Officer
for Western Europe

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SUBJECT: Ramifications of Chilean Solidarity Movement
in Western Europe

Summary

The Chilean solidarity question has replaced the Vietnamese solidarity question as the principle rallying point in Western Europe for leftist forces bent upon denigrating the United States and reducing its influence in Europe. In the fourteen months since the September 1973 coup d'etat, an extensive organizational network has been built up in Europe, supported and funded both by the Communist countries (the USSR, East Germany and Cuba are the major supporters) and by Western organizations. Major centers of exile activity are in Paris and Rome with supporting elements in Helsinki and London. Because of the strong emotional undercurrents connected with the Chilean issue and the extensive and intensive propaganda campaign which has been mounted to capitalize on them, there is practically no voice raised in Europe in defense of the Chilean Junta or in defense of the role the United States is said to have played in Chile in the recent past. The Chilean "example" is being cited to create a climate in Portugal, for instance, in which U.S. initiatives are immediately suspect. The Chilean campaign is also being used as the newest mechanism through which European non-communists are being brought into continuing cooperation with communist parties and front organizations in efforts which are basically anti-American and are intended to cast doubts on the United States' reliability, probity, and dedication to democratic principles. End Summary

The Socialist and Social Democratic parties in Western Europe rallied immediately to the cause of the Chilean exiles in late 1973. Early initiatives were taken in several European countries to ensure virtually free entry of Chilean refugees and exiles into such nations as Sweden, West Germany, and Austria.

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Many Chileans who initially found asylum in eastern Europe have subsequently moved to Western Europe. Christian Democrats -- while not as initially vociferous as their Social Democratic counterparts -- were also involved from the first in attempts at joint actions on behalf of the Chileans.

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[Redacted]

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Another very early example of such co-operation occurred in Austria, where a "Chile Solidarity Front" was formed in November 1973 by some 12 local groups, ranging from the communist youth, through the Socialist youth, to the Catholic Workers Youth and the "Working Group : Critical Christianity."

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Financial assistance to the Chilean solidarity movement has been substantial. [Redacted]

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to the new movement. Western European funds were not far behind. Early in 1974, when Beatriz Allende visited Sweden, for example, Prime Minister Palme presented her with \$110,000 to be used for the Chilean "resistance movement."

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[Redacted]

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The Uruguan Tupamaros announced that \$3 million obtained from a kidnap ransom was being made available to the Chilean resistance.) In September

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[Redacted]

Several European governments have been pressured by their political parties to cut off aid and support to Chile, and the West German and Belgium governments have announced that they were doing so. Labor union calls for boycotts of shipping to Chile have thus far had less effect.

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[Redacted]

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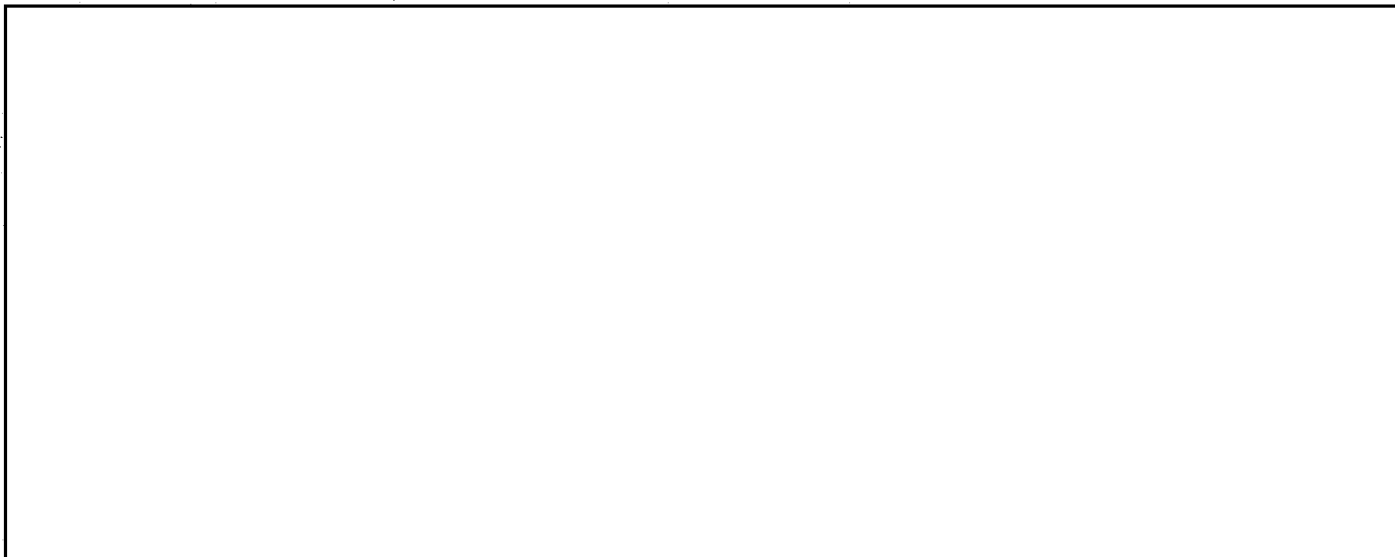
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- 3 -

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In short, the Chilean issue has struck a responsive chord in Europe, especially among the left-of-center. Europeans have

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SECRET

Approved For Release 2005/04/13 : CIA-RDP79R01099A001500040001-7

- 4 -

responded strongly in terms of financial and material support. For a number of reasons, not the least of which is publicity from U.S. media sources which is replayed and distorted extensively throughout Europe, the United States (and the Central Intelligence Agency) has been coupled in European thinking with the overthrow of the Allende government and continued support of the Junta, including its most repressive undemocratic measures. The European Communists and the Soviet bloc have seized upon this issue to replace Vietnam in their dual campaign to reduce U.S. influence, prestige, and creditability in Europe and to encourage and facilitate broad non-Communist - Communist collaboration. Despite some setbacks arising from overplaying the Communist hand in some forums and from fractionalization within the Chilean exile movement itself, the campaign appears to have been quite successful to date; certainly it is well funded and highly organized. The "Chilean example" is being used with success by communists and leftists to undermine the U.S. position in such places as Portugal, where an unstable internal situation lends itself to drawing parallels, however inexact, with Chile.

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