

Eyes on Chile

The increase of CIA and other U.S. imperialist intrigue in Chile puts a responsibility upon progressive and democratic-minded people in the United States, let alone anti-imperialists and Communists. A reactionary coup in Chile would have serious consequences for democratic struggles in the United States itself, both directly and indirectly. ✓

The history of U.S. imperialism's intrigues against people's rule in Cuba should be sufficient warning.

The significance of the fact that Nixon, then Vice President, was a prime advocate of arming Cuban counterrevolutionaries and of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April, 1961, must be given its full weight by all of us. To strengthen the "Hands off" Chile movement, and to expose and combat U.S. imperialism's activities is a responsibility that rests on all of us. ✓

DEC 21 1971
 M - 189,425
 S - 302,445

Allende Tightens His Grip

THE ANNOUNCEMENT by Dr. Salvador Allende, the Marxist president of Chile, that his government would seize full control of Chile's food distribution was sadly predictable, in light of other developments in that land.

The nationalization of major industry, the stifling of an opposition press, and the blaming of all expressions of discontent upon agitation by the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency indicate that Allende—the first and only Marxist ever to be freely elected by any country in the world—is little different in the application of repression from those Communists in other lands who seized power by violent means.

Dr. Allende's announcement followed a protest march by Chilean women, who took to the streets and banged empty pots, symbolic of their discontent over shortages in the food supply, especially meat, poultry and dairy products.

Sounding a particularly ominous note, Dr. Allende called for the organization of "neighborhood vigilance committees" to control supplies and prices in stores and other private outlets.

As could be expected, Dr. Allende blamed Chile's economic difficulties on a "campaign against Chile," waged by interests damaged by his government's seizure of foreign-owned copper, iron and nitrate properties, as well as large domestic industries.

Judging, however, from the track records of other Communist economies, the root causes of Chile's economic mess lie much closer to Chile's presidential palace.

The Soviet Union, for example, has shown a great eagerness in recent talks with Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans to sell raw materials to the United States in return for such finished products as trucks, automobiles and machine tools and the use of American technological expertise. The willingness and obvious need by the Russians to make such a swap must be seen in the context of Soviet pride.

When the symbol of Marxism everywhere must make so public a concession of the superiority of capitalism, Marxists everywhere must feel a bit uneasy about the validity of their theories.

But even beyond industry can be seen the true Achilles' heel of Communist nations everywhere—the total failure to achieve a viable agricultural system. Obsolete, capitalistic America has been selling grain to the USSR for years. Other Western nations have, similarly, been peddling their foodstuffs to the People's Republic of (Communist) China.

Some of the problem could no doubt be laid at the doorstep of overpopulation in China and large areas of wasteland in Russia, but consider the case of Castro's Cuba.

When Castro launched his revolution against the Fulgencio Batista government, it is true that Cuba was ripe for rebellion. The island nation had many problems, but famine was never among them. Despite the shortcomings of the old military dictators, there was always a plentiful harvest of sugar cane, tobacco and other farm products.

Castro wrought a change in agriculture in record time. Refugees from his warped style of liberation brought tales of starvation with them. Food rationing and the shortage of milk for children quickly became a commonplace experience for the Cuban people.

Despite no formal diplomatic ties with Washington, Castro, too, had to appeal for aid from the United States. It came in the form of radical students, who journeyed to Castro's paradise to help with the sugar-cane harvest.

Now, it appears that Allende has brought similar nutritional hardship to a rocky, mountainous land that has never known agricultural abundance.

We sympathize with the Chileans who must endure this hardship, but, from the evidence at hand, we must reject the notion that "Yanqui imperialism" had anything to do with it.



Chile: One year later and a lot less free

STATINTL

WHEN Salvador Allende, a Marxist, was elected president of Chile a year ago, he promised to lead the country to "socialism" by democratic means.

Looking at Chile a year later, a sad prediction must be made: either Dr. Allende or Chile's democratic tradition will survive — but not both.

In almost every action since taking office, the man who likes to be called "comrade president" has shown that his talk about democracy is merely tactical and that he secretly aims at setting up a communist-style "people's dictatorship." Here are some examples:

- He is diverting government advertising into Communist and extreme leftist newspapers, starving the democratic press and harassing it in other ways.

- In times of tension, he shuts down the Christian Democratic and National parties' radio stations and lets Communist propaganda monopolize the airwaves.

- When Marxist students riot at the University of Chile, he has the anti-Marxist rector arrested, not the rioters.

- He has proposed replacing courts and parliament with "neighborhood courts" and a "people's assembly." Only fierce opposition by the democratic parties has prevented these instru-

ments of totalitarian takeover from being put in position.

Among his few popular moves, Dr. Allende has confiscated U.S.-owned copper mines (in common with most people, Chileans like something for nothing) and decreed a 35 per cent wage increase while holding down prices.

The phony economics of the latter move is beginning to show. Chile is suffering from a flight of capital, a drying up of investment, inflation, massive foreign debts coming due, falling agricultural production and soaring food imports.

Recently, about 5,000 middle-class women marched on the presidential palace, banging empty pots to show their anger over food shortages. Dr. Allende panicked, declaring a state of emergency and screaming about "fascist" plots allegedly nurtured by the United States and its Central Intelligence Agency.

This was, of course, a typical demagogic effort to make the United States the scapegoat for the hash Dr. Allende has made of Chile's economy. Whether the Chilean people will fall for it is not known.

Also unknown is whether Chile's armed forces will stand by as Dr. Allende tries to fasten a totalitarian yoke on the country. They have a tradition of staying out of politics, and Dr. Allende is evidently counting on this as he cuts away at Chilean democracy, one slice at a time.

The comrade president, a friend and admirer of Cuba's Fidel Castro, clearly hopes that his election will be the last to be freely contested in Chile. The success or failure of his plans will be fateful for the 10 million Chileans and possibly, because of their example, for much of Latin America.

9 DEC 1971

STATINTL

ALLENDE IMPOSES CONTROL BY STATE ON SALES OF FOOD

Chile's Chief Says 'Fascist Sedition' Brought About Action on Distribution

By JUAN de ONIS
Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, Dec. 8— President Salvador Allende Gossens announced today that his left-wing Government would take over full control of food distribution in Chile as part of an "offensive against Fascist sedition."

The Government took control of three major wholesale distributors and put 22 cattle auction markets under state management.

The action came a week after the opposition Christian Democratic and National parties organized a major protest march by women who banged pots to symbolize anti-Government sentiment over food-supply problems, particularly shortages of meat, dairy products, and poultry.

The "March of the Empty Pots," in which at least 5,000 women joined, has been taken by Dr. Allende's Marxist Government as a political challenge. "Vigilance Committees" Urged

Dr. Allende, speaking before a national congress of the Central Labor Union, called for the organization of "neighborhood vigilance committees" to control supplies and prices in stores and other private outlets.

Union Delegates Cheer

The economic difficulties that have arisen since Dr. Allende took office in November, 1970, brought the suspension of all foreign-exchange transactions this week. Central Bank reserves were reported down to less than \$50-million.

Dr. Allende said that the economic problems were being exploited by political sectors whose interests had been hurt

by the Government's policy of nationalizing foreign-owned copper, iron and nitrate properties as well as large domestic industries.

The "campaign against Chile," he said, included the reduction of foreign lines of credit and the comment by Herbert G. Klein, President Nixon's director of communications, that Chile's Government "will not last long."

"To those who say the days of Chile's popular Government are numbered, I say that they can swallow their tongues, that this is not a no man's land, and that the Marines are not going to impose their will here," declared Dr. Allende as the 5,000 delegates and observers from socialist countries attending the union congress, stood and cheered in the Caupolicán Theater.

"If they restrict our credits, we will have to tighten our belts, but for each notch that the workers have to take in, the reactionaries here will have to take in 10," Dr. Allende added.

Dr. Allende said that the scheduled assembly of the Christian Democratic opposition at the National Stadium next week would be permitted to take place, but that the Government would put "600,000 people in the streets that day."

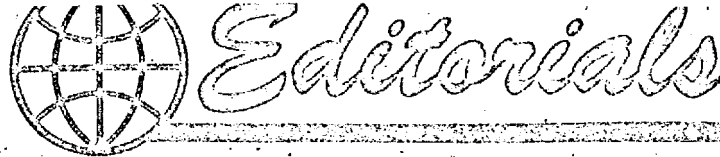
This appeared to reflect the comment by Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba here last week that the Chilean revolutionary process showed weakness in the "organization and mobilization of the masses," the "reactionaries" appeared better organized than the "popular forces," Mr. Castro said.

The Communist party newspaper, El Siglo, said editorially today that the women's march had been organized and financed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

Dr. Allende's speech was militant, but he stopped short of advocating violence. At one point, when he referred to the opposition, cries of "Kill them" came from the gallery.

"No, we are not going to kill them," Dr. Allende said. "That is what they want, a martyr; so that they can unleash a blood-bath."

He expressed confidence in the "loyalty and discipline" of the armed forces, which control public order in this capital under the state of emergency decreed after the women's march deteriorated into street



Chile vs. U.S. imperialism

The incendiary protests, of primarily middle class women, in Santiago, Chile, has been described by the commercial wire services as the "March of the Pots," a title bearing the earmarks of the CIA publicity machine.

Judging by past history the pots were copper and the whole affair stage-managed by the CIA and the U.S. copper trusts.

On Thursday, the day of the march, the two U.S. copper giants, Kennecott and Anaconda, went into a Santiago court in an attempt to compel the Allende government to cancel the nationalization of their copper mines.

The March of the Copper Trust followed by two days the thinly-veiled call for the overthrow of the Allende government by Herbert Klein and Robert Finch, two high Nixon aides.

The pattern has been laid in the overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954 and the Juan Bosch government in the Dominican Republic in 1963.

Both governments were constitutionally elected. Both were overthrown by U.S. imperialism. Arbenz had initiated a program of allotting the great landed estates to the landless peasants. Bosch had decided to increase the price of exported Dominican sugar.

Today it is the copper trust. Then it was United Fruit and the U.S. sugar trust. And, all the time, it is U.S. imperialism.

Since the overthrows, both Guatemala and the Dominican Republic have been ruled by militaristic regimes subservient to U.S. capital.

Today, U.S. imperialism's program for Chile is also: counter-revolution, repression — and maximum profits.

The working people of Chile are determined to defend the government they elected constitutionally. They deserve the unstinting support of democratic-minded people throughout the world in their struggle, in taking whatever measures are necessary to defend their election, their government, their destiny — against U.S. imperialism.

24 NOV, 1971

Open Letter To The Silent Majority

Sidney Slomich

Here is a story, my friends. One night a man dreamt that a monster was on his chest, choking him, trying to kill him. The man woke up in terror and saw the monster above him. "What is going to happen to me," the man cried. "Don't ask me," replied the monster, "it's your dream."

Take your society, your law's integrity, and your country back from the experts. I have been an "expert" and I can tell you that experts gone wild — and they have — are like cancer. They know only one thing: more, more, more of the same. Nothing is more expert than cancer, nothing a better example of power without purpose. Cancer is ignorant, but, oh, it works, it grows.

I have been an expert, have lived among them in their anti-communities — could have rested among them. I hope I have left them well behind me. An expert sees his small piece of reality and little else. He confuses understanding with control and makes of the latter his single virtue. One of our leading social scientists has said that the chief accomplishment of this age is to have changed so many political problems into technical ones. We see in Vietnam, as at Auschwitz, the result of technical solutions to political problems.

So I have been an expert, and I'm not bragging about it. I accepted the necessity of working within the system, believed that it was possible in that way both to affect the system itself constructively and to accomplish something. Only in the late sixties did I come to understand that government, business, and what is correctly called "the Establishment," were too inert, too committed to the shape of things as they have been to inaugurate human policies, that for change the people had to take government back to themselves. Only the people awakened and grasping for power from these mindless megainstitutions can effect change.

In 1964 I sat in disbelief in a Washington think tank, listening to a very well-financed Army proposal to develop a computerized electronic warning system to alert the Pentagon when a Latin American country was likely to go "red," and — the system having been perfected on paper — to rent a whole Latin American country and array to test it out. This stupid and unbelievably naive project was the product of Ph.D.'s, men who call themselves and are called the scientists. When this project was discovered by Chileans who observed some strangely behaving researchers, it hit the press and was investigated by Congress. When, from the beginning, I criticized Project Camelot, I was asked, annoyedly, why I was always being so "negative." This is a particularly apt, yet typical, example of the allegedly scientific thinking that likes behind Vietnam and all the horrors it has brought to roost in this country and all over the world.

I could give many more examples, but I don't want to take up time with horror stories. Suffice it to say that over the last generation, especially the last fifteen years, the United States — at home and abroad — has been preoccupied not with human life and its purposes, but with ignorant power and control — that is to say with death — and has become, along with the Soviet Union, as a colleague in mindless adversity, the planet's greatest polluter, an agent of potentially total repression, and the greatest threat to continued human life the world has ever faced. I do not like to say these things, but one must speak plainly. There is a monster on our chest.

But it is our dream, and what happens next is up to us, to no one else. I can speak so plainly because I think this nation can throw the monster off its chest. The hope of this nation, that any nation, is that we can are that hope. The entire system

of expertise and secrecy demanded to prevent the people of this country from determining their own destinies is basically a fake. Over the last twenty years I have had a continuous Top Secret clearances from the Army, State, CIA, Defense, ACDA — sometimes from more than one. I never learned one thing of value. Everything valuable that I have learned, known, said, perceived, or written has come from an open, scholarly unclassified source or from newspapers, journals, or my own observations. All these sources are open to you.

There is no silent majority. Man is a speaking animal. There is only a silenced majority, a repressed, clamped-down, and frightened majority. You. You have been frightened and you have been silenced.

Look, these war rooms paneled in walnut, those massive files, those contracts for millions of dollars worth of death and death-research, those fancy desks and chairs, all the paraphernalia of power, bases, buildings, bombs, and all the rest, they are all yours. They belong to you. Take them back, make a human use of them, make this your society, as it is your life. Everything you do, everything you can do, to please yourself and build your life is more beautiful and more real than the fakery, abstraction, obsession, and desire for death that rules this country today. That's the only secret worth knowing. Once you know it you can take back this nation — with difficulty.

Once you know it you will. And then we'll speak not of the American Nightmare, but the American Dream.

(Sidney Slomich, author of *The American Nightmare*, has done research for the Army on Czechoslovakia, spent a number of years as an officer of the CIA, and has worked on strategic in Army think tanks, among them

Original Source: the Research Analysis Corporation. Slomich was senior scientist and then Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Study Group at Cal Tech's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, immersed in studies for NASA and ACDA on vital inspection and proliferation issues. He has also studied educational policy and counseled foreign governments in urban affairs for the Stanford Research Institute. For 16 years, Slomich worked exclusively within the established foreign policy and governmental system, in public and private organizations, usually in circumstances involving heavy or nearly exclusive use of classified, secret materials.)

M - 237,967

S - 566,377

NOV 11 1971

CROCKER SNOW JR.

Peace Corps shows gains

It's been just over 10 years since Congress, at President Kennedy's behest, formally established the Peace Corps "to help foreign countries meet their urgent needs for skilled manpower."

Today, in spite of a general US retreat from various military and economic commitments around the world, in spite of the current Senate shenanigans with the foreign aid bill, and in spite of an orgy of doubting our morals and motives abroad, the Peace Corps is alive and remarkably well.

Applications have risen by almost 40 percent this year and requests by foreign countries for volunteers are on the increase, too. Both are reversing four-year downward curves.

This turnaround, this resilience currently shown by the Peace Corps, suggests the fundamental merits of the concept. It indicates that it is not merely a glamorous gimmick of the '60s and the New Frontier to be discarded on the dustheap of broken American ideals. Yes, Virginia, there is a place in the world for volunteer service by the people of developed countries for the benefit of those that are developing.

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That's in the abstract. In the concrete, the modest resurgence of the Peace Corps is a credit to the redirection which has been brought about in the last few years by director Joseph Blatchford.

An energetic, former collegiate All-America tennis player, Blatchford first captured the public imagination as the man who was beamed by partner Spiro Agnew's wayward serve in a celebrated Washington tennis match several years ago.

The 36-year-old Blatchford weathered that indignity and has gone on to breathe new life into the volunteer organization which many people were beginning to view as an idea whose time had come—and gone.

Blatchford's contribution has been to set the Peace Corps in some notable "new directions." Contrary to Sargent Shriver's Corps of the early '60s, featuring phalanxes of Ivy-educated generalists floating the backwaters of the Nile or the Amazon on a postgraduate period abroad, the emphasis today is on experienced professionals fulfilling specific and often technical functions.

The Peace Corps—henceforth to be known as Action for its recent fusion with the domestic version Vista—is experimenting with all manner of volunteer service and servants now. This includes married couples serving as a team, and persons specially prepared through subsidized education at selected colleges (including the University of Massachusetts) for a year in-service domestically after

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This is one instance in which the hard figures have responded to the soft theorizing about improving and updating. Where the Peace Corps had been steadily declining in both applications and selected volunteers from a peak of more than 10,000 five years ago, this trend has now been reversed.

Applications jumped from 19,000 during the period September, 1969, to August, 1970, to 26,500 in the same 12-month period just ended. As of last month, there were 8213 volunteers in 56 countries around the world.

No one is doing any real tub-thumping about this state of affairs. For Peace Corps officials are anxious to maintain a low posture around the world, free from all the bravado and braggadocio associated with the venture 10 years ago.

One place where this is especially so is Chile where the Peace Corps maintains a modest and apparently satisfactory operation, and is very adverse to calling attention to it.

Chile is a land where several years ago two Communist senators launched a full-scale congressional investigation of alleged Peace Corps involvement with the CIA in an attempt to get rid of the program altogether. These elements had reason to believe they had an ally in Allende, the first freely-elected Marxist president in the Western Hemisphere.

Just a year ago, in fact at the time of Allende's inauguration, some Washington officials in the State Department were proposing that the Peace Corps be withdrawn from Chile before it was thrown out.

Neither thing happened. Today there are some 62 men and women volunteers in the country, engaged primarily in forestry and fishery works and in the noteworthy fish meal concentrate program. Requests from Chilean government for 22 additional volunteers are now outstanding, and a number of these are now in training, including a winning college basketball coach (from Delaware U.), requested to prep the Chilean national team for the next Pan American games.

The future of the Peace Corp in Chile as elsewhere isn't fully secure. Officials hasten to point out that the welcome mat could be withdrawn at any time.

But the organization is demonstrating more durability there than many an American corporation, such as Anaconda Copper. It's proven itself sufficiently so that it won't sink or swim simply on the future won-lost record of Chile's national basketball team.

Crocker Snow is assistant managing editor of the Morning Globe.

22 OCT 1971

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Lewis H. Dinguid

Mixing Poetry, Politics in Chile

STATINTL

✓ BUENOS AIRES—Pablo Neruda was the Communist party candidate for president of Chile last year, but not even Chilean conservatives would consider that venture unseemly for the nation's foremost poet.

Most of Latin America's literary greats have played at politics, and anyway, Neruda kept his major emphasis on his art. So Chileans were sure it was only a matter of time until the lifelong Communist won the Nobel Prize. Today's Stockholm announcement proved them right.

Chile, long and lean and beset by the harshness of nature, finds amplest expression in its politics and in its poetry.

OCCASIONALLY the two mix in the loquacious passions of the hemisphere's liveliest Congress, and some observers feel that such verbal tangles hone the talents of the poets.

But the greatest Chilean poetry is lyric, and the country's rude but beautiful geography is—as in Neruda's case—an inspiration.

Neruda, 67, is the second Chilean lyric poet to win the Nobel Prize for literature. When the late Gabriela Mistral received it in 1948, she said: "If the Nobel Prize were to honor my country, I think it should have been given to Neruda, since he is our greatest poet."

Neruda was born in Parral, a train stop 200 miles south of Santiago, where his father was a railroad worker. Actually his name was Neftali Ricardo Reyes, but he took his pen name from a Czech poet of the last century.

He has published more than 300 books of poetry, most of them translated into most languages. Among the better known are "Twenty Love Poems and a Song of Despair," "Residence on Earth," "General Canto" and "One Hundred Love Sonnets."

IN DEDICATING "these misnamed sonnets" to Matilde Urrutia, Neruda said he kept thinking of how "The poets of all time prepared rhymes that sounded like silver, crystal or cannonfire. I, with much humility, build these sonnets in wood, I gave them the sound of this opaque and pure substance . . . You and I walking through woods and sands, by lost lakes, through hundreds of latitudes, gathered fragments of pure branch, of wood submitted to the assaults of water and weather. . ."

The sonnets that follow are anything but wooden.

In recent years, Neruda has lived in a large home, on the rocks of Isla Negra, hard by the Pacific Ocean.

Politically, some of the sharpest criticism Neruda has met has come from those to the left of him.

In the late 1960s he accepted an invitation from Arthur Miller to visit the Pen Club in New York. The Socialist Party of President Salvador Allende—which is considerably to the left of Chile's Communists—slurred Neruda for having consorted with CIA-financed imperialists.

NERUDA ONLY partly smoothed the fuss by coming home through Cuba. His political writing is not

among his prized works, although swipes at the North Americans get big play at home.

When the Popular Unity coalition that elected Allende to the presidency last year was still forming, and Allende's candidacy was not yet certain, Neruda was put forth as a possible candidate by the Communists to improve their bargaining position. His name was dropped as Allende's candidacy grew.

The younger and more radical Communists and Socialists of Chile pick on both Allende and Neruda as being rather bourgeois and archaic, even traditionalist.

So there was some anguish in the younger literary set when Allende did precisely what Latin presidents have done for the last 150 years—presented what is, in effect, the national literary prize, the ambassadorship in Paris, to the country's foremost poet.

M - 49,632

OCT 13 1971

STATINTL

Letters to the editor

'Big stick' diplomacy dead in Chile

EDITOR:

William V. Shannon's "Hard line on Chile hazardous" in your Oct. 4 issue was reasonable and agreed with Robert McNamara's views.

Certainly the two American copper companies have cause for complaint against the Chilean government for refusing to pay them cash for their expropriated properties, although the Chileans insist that they were well compensated by taking excessive profits (over 10 per cent annually) from the country during the last 15 years. But the days of "carrying a big stick" and "sending down the Marines" are long past.

Mr. Shannon is quite mistaken in classifying Chile with the "undeveloped countries." Nor are its "decisions in the hands of a demagogue or politically inexperienced army officers without clear understanding capital investment and balance of trade."

Two years ago the country announced rejection of all foreign investments unless in government-controlled industries and of any further loans from the United States, with their restrictive conditions (and money from the Central Intelligence Agency, principally for the purchase of surplus military equipment). The government continues to adhere to these principles. However, it would still welcome further U.S. loans without the strings attached to previous ones, and is receiving considerable loans from other foreign countries under liberal terms.

Chileans all admire the United States and its progress and want to adopt some of its better features, but they feel that they have a few that we might adopt. They have had since 1923 Social Security collectible at age 59, unemployment insurance, medicare which covers childbirth and all costs including medicines.

The brave little democratic republic has a constitution similar to ours. They have defeated communism so far, and have elected several women mayors.

Seal Beach H.D. CARR

Chile now has a Marxist president, Salvador Allende, and has been seeking closer economic and technical ties with East Germany and Russia. Recent events, however, seem to indicate a strong movement toward national self-improvement, rather

than membership in a Communist bloc. Whatever type of government Chile finally adopts, many international authorities feel, will be uniquely Chilean. -- The editor.

DAILY WORLD
12 OCT 1971

Chile to make copper terms known Friday

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11 — Speaking at a news conference at the Chilean Embassy here, Clodomiro Almeyda, Chile's foreign minister, said that compensation to U.S. copper interests, recently nationalized by the People's Unity government of Chile, would not be announced until Oct. 15.

He also indicated that because in some cases mines were jointly owned by the Chilean government and the Kennecott Corp. this U.S. concern would not have to bear the full deduction based on "excess profits."

Chile's President Salvador Allende had announced Sept. 28 that, in the compensation for mines owned by U.S. firms, \$774 million would be deducted as excess profits made by the American companies since 1955, the date set by the legislation under which the

mines were nationalized July 6.

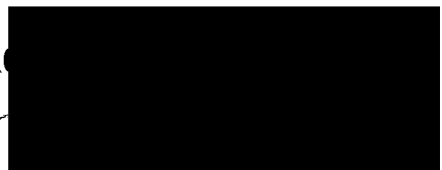
Allende ordered \$354 million deducted from compensation paid to Anaconda for its Chuquimata and El Salvador mines, and \$410 million from compensation to Kennecott for its interests in the giant El Teniente mine, the largest underground copper mine in the world.

Asked how long he believed the negotiations over copper would continue, Almeyda said, "Through the Autumn."

He also said Chile believed that

other Latin countries were willing to end the diplomatic isolation of Cuba, suspended by the Organization of American States (OAS), and that Cuba might send delegates to a conference of underdeveloped countries in Lima, Peru.

Almeyda's announcement followed reports that the Nixon Administration was considering reprisals against Chile which would become a pattern for the economic blackmail of all Latin American countries, as well as the increased activation of the CIA.



Chile: Progress marks Allende's first year

By Ignacio Cayango
Prensa Latina

Santiago de Chile

Since assuming office in November 1970, the Chilean government of President Salvador Allende has been carrying out far-reaching domestic economic reforms and an anti-imperialist foreign policy—a program which is opening a new page in Chilean and Latin American history. Although some left elements have criticized the government for moving too slowly, all the democratic forces of the country agree that the Popular Unity government must be defended from threats from the oligarchy and U.S. imperialism.

When Allende assumed the presidency, Chile was "a capitalist country dependent on imperialism" with "a national, monopolist bourgeoisie that was increasing its dependence on foreign capital"—in the words of the Popular Unity program.

During the preceding Christian Democratic administration of Eduardo Frei, the present opposition leader, there was an increase in exploitation by foreign capital. Between 1964 and 1970 the traditional oligarchy became stronger and a new breed of ambitious entrepreneurs closely linked to American corporations began to develop. Foreign interests created Chilean subsidiaries that penetrated all areas of industry and commerce.

The Popular Unity program proposed to break the stranglehold of the oligarchy and foreign capital. The program stated: "The forces of the Popular Unity have as their basic goal replacing the present economic structure and destroying national and foreign monopolies as well as latifundios, to begin building socialism. . . ."

To achieve this objective the program called for the establishment of a socialized sector of the economy that would include the nation's basic industries, the banking system, large corporations and monopolies and "all those activities which, in general, condition the economic and social development of the country." Alongside the socialized sector, there would also be mixed state-private enterprises and a private sector of medium and small businessmen, miners and manufacturers.

Expropriations, "interventions"

This remains the basic program of the government.

Two of the largest textile factories in the city of Concepcion, linked to a foreign monopoly operating in the country—the Bank of London,

which is the biggest in the textile industry, were expropriated in December. Since then there have been numerous government "interventions" in banks and companies using illegal practices in production or labor relations. The major part of the textile industry was "intervened" within a few months.

Allende signed a decree which provided that workers' representatives and government-appointed supervisors will equally share the administration of factories that have been "intervened." Present laws allow "intervention" or confiscation of installations and, in some specific cases, compensated expropriations.

On March 16, the two largest cement factories, both controlled by foreign capital and linked to national monopolies, were "intervened." The previous month the state bought 52% of the RCA electronics subsidiary, a controlling interest in the Zig-Zag publishing house, one of the most important newspaper monopolies and a textile mill of the Yarur clan. It also expropriated the Paper and Carton Co. of the Alessandri Matte group, headed by ex-President Jorge Alessandri, the rightwing candidate in the last election.

Copper nationalized

The most important step in returning the basic resources to the nation was the nationalization of the copper mines at the end of June. The move has been resisted from abroad. In March, agents of the right and the CIA compromised Chile's credit abroad by making fraudulent copper sales to force prices down in the world market. The plot was uncovered but American copper companies refused to pay their \$80 million debt to the Chilean government. Simultaneously, there was a slow down in production at the mines, but the workers who became aware of the situation tried to overcome it. Anaconda, Kennecott and Cerro Corp., all U.S. firms, made every effort to slow down future production and the resulting problems will take months to resolve.

Another important step was the nationalization of banking and credit institutions. When Allende became President, the economy was controlled by 10 financial groups which monopolized the banking credit in the 22 private banks. Since the "intervention" of the Edwards bank in December the state has gained control of more than 60% of the private banking shares. Among those already nationalized are the Banco Espanol, the third largest and which controlled more than 80 corporations; the Pan American and Continental banks, both linked to textile interests; the Bank of Credit and Investment, also a bastion of textile companies; and the South American Bank, which was linked to the Alessandri family and more than 60 corporations controlled by them. The Bank of Chile has been partially purchased by the state, thereby restricting the power of the main families of the oligarchy. The five foreign banks

STATINTL



RICHMOND, VA.
NEWS LEADER

E - 120,986

OCT 2 1971

Groucho and Karl:

President Salvador Allende of Chile lately has been acting as though the Marx Brothers were serving him as diplomatic advisers. He has nation-

alized every piece of American property in sight, and at the same time accused the United States of packing his country with agents of the CIA. Now, having made his calculations for compensating two American mining concerns, comrade Allende has determined that the companies owe Chile at least \$774 million in "excess profits."

What makes that so laughable is that the holdings of the two firms involved—Anaconda and Kennecott—have a book value of about \$500 million. Thus Allende has figured out that even after taking everything from the companies, Anaconda and Kennecott still will owe Chile a quarter of a billion bucks. Allende may want the Yankees to go home, but he also wants them to borrow the money for their plane tickets out.

The U.S. State and Treasury Departments don't find Allende particularly amusing, and presumably will retaliate. One loan to Chile recently was held up by the United States, and there may be more of the same. It will have to be much more of the same to keep Allende from continuing to laugh at the big boy up north: Comrade Allende seems to relish the combination of Groucho and Karl in his marxism.

MIAMI, FLA.

HERALD

M - 380,828

S - 479,025

SEP 29 1971

CIA 'Over-Credited' In Chile

NOW and then, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency gets a break from the Communists. A good current example is the wave of political paranoia boiling up in Chile.

(Yes, we understand that President Salvador Allende is a Marxist who advocates socialism for Chile but in this instance we feel the term Communist more aptly categorizes the paranoia).

For instance, the telephone service has been poor in Chile. Who's to blame? The CIA.

Some sectors of the international press have scored Dr. Allende heavily. Who's the inspiration? The CIA. And so on.

We do not doubt that the CIA has a full complement of operatives in Chile, with all the appropriate cloaks, but we think those fellows are getting too much credit.

The statement over the weekend by Dr. Eduardo Frei, former president and leader in the Christian Democratic Party, reinforces that view.

Dr. Frei, remember, has held his silence until now and the Christian Democrats have been cooperating with the Allende government. Now that's off. He has accused the Communists of assuming control in the six-party coalition that elected Dr. Allende. Both he and the party charge that Chile is being steered into a leftist dictatorship. From here on, they promise, the Christian

Democrats will be part of the active opposition.

That automatically (in the eyes of the Allende government) brands the Christian Democrats and Dr. Frei as seditious, for all criticism is so labeled, and throws them into the ample laps of the CIA.

The popular and respected Dr. Frei hardly fits the role of CIA lap-baby, for his record establishes him as a Third World independent, positioned well on the left.

Chile was following a generally leftward trend some 50 years before Dr. Allende took over. Dr. Frei himself started the land reform and nationalization of copper companies. The difference is that Dr. Frei moved slowly and legally, and Dr. Allende has stepped up the pace and moved to change what is legal.

The Wall Street Journal estimates that Dr. Frei reduced the role of the private business sector in Chile's gross national product from 83 per cent to 69 per cent during his six years in office. After almost one year, Dr. Allende already has reduced it by an estimated 10 per cent.

Dr. Frei's previous warnings that Dr. Allende's brand of socialism cannot be imposed democratically lend extra weight to his latest charge that the dictatorship is taking shape.

So it is hardly credible to charge all these flaps to the handiwork of the CIA, though that outfit accepts all applause as well as criticism in silence.

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M - 245,132
S - 407,186

SEP 12 1971

STATINTL

Angela Davis idolized

Cuban TV promotes fierce anti-American

By MARTIN SCURAM

LA Times/Washington Post Service

HAVANA -- Mighty Mouse has liberated his fellow rodents and departed. Humphrey Bogart is waiting in the wings. But now the blue-gray tube is beaming still another North American folk hero into living rooms of Havana.

"An-gel-a- Davis . . ." The popular song all Cuba is singing sounds from the innards of the Soviet model television set. The striking face and Afro hairstyle of the young American radical lingers on the screen. Abrupt cutaway to fierce looking American police in riot helmets and gas masks charging forward with clubs swinging. Back to Angela Davis. Then to American police.

Slowly, dramatically, through still photos and motion picture film, the television tells the story of Angela Davis -- how she was hunted by the police, how she was found in that non-Afro wig, how she was jailed. Again, the headshot of the beautiful black revolutionary lingers on Cuban television screens. And all the while, the song's refrain is heard: "An-gel-a-Davis, Cuba wants your liberty!"

Just like the American kiddie cartoons in the early evenings and the old American movies at night, the Angela Davis story is presented courtesy of the government's Liberation Television Network. It is one of the ways Fidel Castro's regime helps Cubans keep tabs on life in the United States.

Propaganda dominates

When Cubans are not at home watching television, often they are in theaters watching movies. And among the visual fare in many of Cuba's leading theaters are a number of "documentaries" that are like the Angela Davis story, cinematically beautiful and propagandically powerful.

There is, for instance, the one that opens with a shot of a naked lady holding her hands over her breasts. It is, of course, an attack on the United States Central Intelligence Agency. The film cites the CIA involvement in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and then charges that the CIA was also responsible for the murder last year of Chile's army commander, Gen. Rene Schneider Chacau. In another eerie segment, the CIA is also depicted as the center of a mysterious spider web.

Then there is the documentary that opens with the photos of President Nixon and Gen. Creighton Abrams, U.S. commander in Vietnam. It features a creative musical score in the background; the basic theme is an American folk singer warbling (to the tune of Muskrat Ramble) "and it's one, two, three join that kappy way . . . ain't no time to wonder why, whoopee we're gonna die." For counterpoint, there is a discordant Star Spangled Banner.

The film is telling the story of the U.S.-South Vietnamese troops fleeing in apparent panic. Slipped into the midst of the documentary is a cartoon of Nixon fleeing in apparent panic. Here, the theater audience, which has been watching the documentaries in silence, begins to snicker and chortle. A few applaud.

Another chunk of Americana that the Castro government enthusiastically passed along to Cubans was the episodic saga of the Pentagon papers. "The secret documents," as the Cubans call it.

The official government newspaper, "Granma" published 32 issues between June 15 and July 21. A visitor to the "Granma's" offices counted 28 issues published during this period containing articles dealing with the Pentagon papers. Some were full-page articles, some quite long.

Moon shot played down

The stories told of the initial revelations by the New York Times, the efforts of the U.S. government to halt publication of the papers, the final U.S. Supreme Court decision, and the legal proceedings against Daniel Ellsberg (the man who leaked the documents) and his friends.

In contrast to the coverage given the Pentagon papers, the most recent moon landing mission of the U.S. astronauts received just scant attention in Granma. Small articles tucked on the inside international page. And President Nixon's planned trip to mainland China was announced in one news story. There was no editorial comment. In fact, the Cuban press did not bother to carry the late news of the Soviet Union's mild reaction to the planned trip.

Cubans see the U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam from the perspective of the North Vietnamese. Recently, for example, Granma published an editorial from Nhan Dan, the North Vietnamese daily, under the headline: "The Nixon doctrine is headed for complete defeat." The editorial warned that "The Nixon doctrine is very wicked and perfidious."

Throughout the headline and editorial, as in every issue of Granma, the name of President Nixon is sort of misspelled. Granma's style omits the "x" in "Nixon." In place of the "x", Granma inserts a Nazi-style swastika.

Epilogue: In Comaguey a

propaganda

couple of weeks ago, four Cuban youths in their early 20s stopped to talk with an American reporter along the narrow downtown main street Calle Avellaneda. Two were students, one a mechanic, and one on leave from a three-year hitch in the Army.

Viet war discussed

All four were intensely proud of their country and its accomplishments -- the opportunity for every Cuban youth to attend a university free of charge, the opportunity for all Cubans to receive free medical care. And at the same time, all four were intensely interested in how people can endure life today in the United States. They were concerned, they said, because they like the American people, but not the American government.

"It must be very bad in the United States now," said one of the students. What did he mean? One by one, the four started ticking off a list of bad things: "Police brutality . . . the secret documents that showed that your government does not tell you the truth . . . racial discrimination 'I hear Negroes have to ride in a special section of the buses,' said one youth who was black . . . assassinations . . . gangsters . . ."

Sept. 1971

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E. VLADIMIROV

Imperialist Intelligence and Propaganda

STATINTL

IN OUR DAYS, the role of propaganda and intelligence as major foreign policy instruments of the imperialist states is growing all the time. B. Murty, an American professor, emphasises that the functions of camouflaged ideological coercion and subversion of world law and order are being carried out by means of propaganda.¹ In effect, Murty recognises the close connection between propaganda and intelligence.

The intelligence agencies do not, of course, conduct their propaganda activity openly, but they possess the necessary means to promote ideological subversion abroad and render it more effective. A network of secret agents and paid informers, bribed newspaper and magazine publishers, corrupt politicians and adventurers, to whom the intelligence service assigns the role of "charity workers" and "educationalists"—all this makes it possible for the intelligence service to exercise anonymous control in spreading propaganda and disinformation.

Richard Helms, the head of the CIA, stated in a memorandum to the government, that the psychological warfare must be placed fully under the control of the US intelligence service. Psychological warfare, he stressed, is a sphere of government activity which must be dealt with only by professionals acting in secret. An American professor, Ransom, who for a long time took part in the military research programme of Harvard University, holds that the role of the CIA in undertaking political and psychological subversive acts has increased so much that it has become a major instrument of political war, and has far exceeded the functions determined by the law on the establishment of the CIA.²

Some bourgeois scholars call this process "politicising" the intelligence service. "The

agent influencing political affairs abroad is becoming a central figure," wrote Bergh, a West German expert on intelligence.³

In this way, a kind of an organisationally independent sphere of so-called unofficial propaganda is forming. In the opinion of Western specialists and politicians, this type of propaganda has a number of advantages over the official one. A report "The American Image Abroad", submitted to the American Senate in 1968 by the Republican Coordinating Committee, stresses that the material being spread by non-governmental agencies is accepted in foreign countries with greater trust than that put out by the government. In view of this, the committee recommended the government to encourage by every possible means the American organisations issuing information and propaganda material for foreign countries.

A vivid example of the kind of unofficial propaganda directed against the USSR and other socialist countries is the activity of Radio Free Europe, officially an independent organisation, but virtually controlled by the US authorities.

Speaking in the US Senate in January 1971, Senator C. Case said that 1,642 employees of Free Europe and about 1,500 professional workers of the Liberty radio station were maintained by the CIA. These subversive centres make use of 49 transmitters bought with CIA money. The American intelligence service expends annually over \$30 million on these radio saboteurs. Hundreds of millions of dollars have travelled from the US state treasury to the accounts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for over 20 years. As for the assertions that they are financed from "private donations", it transpires that these donations do not even cover advertising expenses on appeals to the American public for money.

The US intelligence agencies secretly subsidi-

¹ See B. Murty, *Propaganda and World Public Order. The Legal Regulation of the Ideological Instrument of Coercion*, New Haven—London, 1968, p. 11.

² See H. Ransom, *The Intelligence Establishment*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1970, pp. 94, 239.

³ H. Bergh, *ABC der Spione*, Pfaffenhofen, 1965, p. 83.

SEP 1971

Latin America: The Left on the Move

by John Gerassi

IN OCTOBER 1967, WASHINGTON counter-insurgency experts were understandably jubilant. With the death of Che Guevara and the failure of the Bolivian revolutionary *foco*, they thought serious left-wing agitation in Latin America would end—at least for the foreseeable future. In fact it did the very opposite. In Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Peru, while Che's death did indeed lead to the abandonment of his continental theory of revolution, it also stimulated new revolutionary thought and groups, and brought the struggle in less than four years to dramatic and unexpected results. In all five of these countries today, the left is either on the road to power or in the process of consolidating actual victories. It is no longer trying self-consciously to mimic the Cuban experience, no longer courageously (but inopportunistically) launching rural guerrilla adventures, no longer volunteristically declaiming that the objective conditions for revolution need only the development of subjective leadership. Rather the left is now soundly grounding its strategy and tactics in local reality; and that reality, although it varies in all five countries, seems to exclude precisely the Che (Regis Debray) model of guerrilla *foco*.

BECAUSE OF THE TUPAMAROS' spectacular exploits, it is Uruguay which has received most publicity. Indeed the *Tupas* have repeatedly robbed supposedly impregnable banks and gambling casinos, assaulted police headquarters, kidnapped high government officials, captured official radio stations long enough to broadcast 12-minute manifestoes, and, in general, convinced the country's 2.9 million people that they are invincible—despite massive US counter-insurgency aid to the government. But most importantly, the *Tupas* have helped radicalize that population, so much so that today all liberal and left-wing forces are united in one formidable front and that has been *Tupamaros'* strategy from the beginning.

Organized by socialist party cadres as early as 1961, the *Tupamaros*, which are armed forces of the clandestine Movement of National Liberation (MLN), never intended to seize power simply through violence. Their goal was, and is, to help build a mass political consciousness. Until 1963 their activity was limited to helping the non-unionized and exploited sugar workers of interior Uruguay to win bread-and-butter demands. Only when the government veered sharply to the right, broke relations with Cuba, installed press censorship and launched widespread repression did the *Tupas* begin their "retaliation." Although some of the money they stole went to help finance their own activities, it was distributed to the needy.

By making public the official documents they seized STATINTL banks or ministries, the *Tupas* exposed government corruption and showed up the collusion existing between the rich, the USAID programs, and the elected officials. In exchange for the release of kidnapped officials, the *Tupas* forced the government to distribute food to the needy and, in one dramatic case, to build a free workers clinic, winning the population's admiration and a great deal of cooperation as well.

"From 1967 on," one *Tupa* told me in Montevideo last June, "we were strong enough to seize power. But what good would that have done? The gorillas [right-wing generals] in Argentina and Brazil would have descended on tiny Uruguay and crushed us. Besides, the people might have cheered us, but would not have fought for us. Our people have to learn that it is for themselves that they are fighting. They have to want power. That takes years of politicization. We have to wait." Waiting, of course, has been costly not only to the government but to the *Tupas* themselves. The police also are learning from the struggle, and, as it has been intensified, the *Tupas* have begun to suffer serious losses. Scores have been killed, and there are currently over 100 in jail, including Raúl Sendic, once a socialist party official and one of the original leaders of the MLN. Also, as US counter-insurgency experts have taken over command of the hunt, torture has become a standard part of the government's retaliation. That was why the *Tupas* executed Dan Mitrione, the CIA's super-sleuth, whose office was in Montevideo's police headquarters.

With general elections scheduled for this November, it is campaign time in Uruguay now. In the past, only two parties have jockeyed for power: the *Blancos* (Whites), by and large representing the landed population and the *Colorados* (Reds), strong especially in Montevideo, where half of Uruguay's people live. But now a third party will be on the ballot, a united front which is so vast that it has official support from Moscow to Rome, joining together under a single banner the Communist and Christian Democratic parties, as well as Trotskyists, anarchists, pro-*Tupamaro* militants, left liberals and dissidents from the two major parties. The *Frente Amplio* offers none of the usual "advantages" (pork barrel posts, concessions, contracts, etc.) in exchange for votes; presidential candidate, General Liber Seregni, who once ruled Montevideo's army but resigned when ordered to use his troops for repression, promises only hard times ahead. Yet in a few short months, and starting from scratch with neither the press nor the airwaves in its favor, the *Frente* has become the front-runner, so much so that there is a great deal of talk that Pacheco will cancel the election. "That is why we will not

South America Coups

CIA Master Plan Seen

By Thayer Waldo
Chronicle Foreign Service

Mexico City

The violent toppling of still another Bolivian regime is seen by knowledgeable sources here as part of a far-reaching movement, backed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to seize power in a total of six South American republics.

Although it has been officially denied, CIA money, training and advice was liberally given to the rebel strategists who master-minded overthrow of Bolivia's leftist President Juan Jose Torres.

Similar action is reportedly planned over the next 18 months in Peru, Argentina and Chile, probably in that order. In Uruguay and Colombia, it is felt that attempts will be made to achieve the goal through the ballot box, with force reserved as a last resort.

Because the Bolivian political situation has been chronically chaotic throughout its history — the latest coup was number 187 in 146 years of independence — that republic was given top priority on the international planners' timetable.

EX-PRESIDENTS

The "brain trust" of this sweeping Latin American scheme includes four former presidents of the countries involved — all but one also ousted from office — prominent Catholic church leaders and conservative officers in the armed services' commands of each nation.

Their common aim is to prevent spread of Soviet and Communist Chinese penetration in that area, following a sharp decline in U.S. States influence there over the past several years.

CIA collaboration was sought by Peru's ex-president, Fernando Belaunde Terry, with the consent of his colleagues in the movement. Although it remains to be clarified whether President Nixon was consulted personally, there can be no doubt that CIA Director Richard Helms got the green light at top administration level.

PARTIES

The plotters seek to establish center-left, non-Communist regimes within the respective countries, relying chiefly on the leaders and programs of Social Democrat or Christian Democrat parties.

However, since they must also count on the aid of military men who are in many cases extreme political rightists, personally ambitious, or both, success in attaining those ends is at best uncertain.

The Bolivian developments offer a clear case in point. Former president Victor Paz Estenssoro of that landlocked Andean republic, a moderate Socialist, is a "brain trust" member; the main purpose of the revolt there was to let him return from seven years' exile in Lima and take over the presidency again.

FALANGE

But Colonel Hugo Banzer, backed by the fascist-oriented Bolivian Falange, had himself sworn in as chief executive before Paz could set foot on home soil.

During Paz's two periods in office, his Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and the Falange were bitter foes. Although they joined forces to help topple Torres, a voluntary surrender of power by one to the other is now considered most unlikely.

Observers believe that similar frustrations are apt to

crop up in at least three of the other target republics. It is regarded as most probable in Argentina, where the planners hope to put ex-president Arturo Frondizi back in office and keep former dictator Juan Peron out.

Uruguay and Colombia, however, represent the greatest risks, for prime reliance in both countries is to be placed on the electoral process.

ELECTION

The Uruguayan constitution forbids two consecutive presidential terms, but supporters of President Jorge Pacheco Areco are pressing for an amendment which would let him run again in November — with the country's present "state of emergency" measures maintained during the balloting.

They reason that traditionally conservative farmers and cattlemen will join the business community in voting for Pacheco against Liber Sergegni, the fiery ex-general who wants to nationalize industry and banking. And police power under the emergency decree is expected to keep leftist demonstrators off the streets.

The gamble will be even greater in Colombia, where a 16-year "co-existence" pact between the republic's two major political parties runs out in 1974.

There the CIA has taken the initiative, insisting on support for independent leftist Alfonso Lopez Michelsen over the objections of many who wanted to back respected former president Alberto Lleras Camargo.

ROJAS

But the man to beat, everyone admits, is aging General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, who ruled Colombia with an iron fist for 4½ years during the 1950s. Exiled, then tried and condemned for malfeasance in office, Rojas won a supreme court reversal of his conviction and made a stunning comeback, almost win-

ning the presidency last year.

The CIA view is that the ex-dictator must be defeated at all costs, and the CIA picked Lopez because he would let himself be put in office via a coup, if necessary, while Lleras would not.

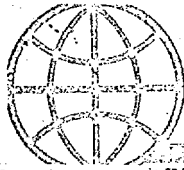
Last but by no means least is Chile. The Marxist government of President Salvador Allende was voted into power, whereas the Bolivian, Peruvian and Argentine regimes are all de facto. For that reason, Chile is last on the plotters schedule.

They believe that another year and a half of Allende's socialization program will have alienated enough Chileans to make his ouster from office both practical and popular.

Allende's immediate predecessor, Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei, would be the replacement. He, too, belongs to the international movement's "brain trust."

Well informed sources report that the CIA has committed a \$14 million fund to this six-nation project, with close to a million of it already spent in helping to finance the Bolivian rebels.

31 AUG 1971



Editorials

CIA still at work

Few will doubt the reports that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency had a hand in the overthrow of the Torres Government in Bolivia by a reactionary cabal closely linked to U.S. imperialist interests.

It was an operation in keeping with the role of this U.S. agency which maintains its own 30,000-strong army in Laos, its own airlines, has intruded in South Vietnam since the 1950s, organized an invasion of Cuba and otherwise played the role of hangman of progress, national-liberation struggles and socialism.

Its role in the hunting down of Ernesto Che Guevara and his companions in the mountains of Bolivia is well-attested.

The very same 800-man unit trained by U.S. Special Forces (Green Berets) which murdered Guevara joined Col. Hugo Banzer in his military putsch to overthrow the Torres Government.

The spider sitting in this web of subversive conspiracy against the Torres Government was U.S. Air Force Major Robert J. Lundin, whose private, special-purpose radio connection to the U.S. Embassy in La Paz is reported to have been used by the putschists. U.S. companies in Bolivia are reported to have bankrolled the gang who promised to undo the reforms the Torres Government had undertaken with the support of students, workers and masses of the people.

This imperialist-inspired coup is a warning. There is not letup in the plotting against socialist Cuba.

The defeat of U.S. imperialism's efforts to block the advance of the people's national independence struggle in Chile has intensified the subversive activities of the CIA there.

A grave responsibility rests upon the U.S. workers of hand and brain, white, black and brown, on the masses of people, because it is the imperialism of our country which plots against the liberties of other peoples.

Soviet festival sets new high in realism

MOSCOW (TASS)--The contest of short films that is held in the framework of the International Film Festival is widely commented upon by the Soviet Press. The newspaper "Sovetskaya Kultura" wrote: "These films are revelations by honest artists, the cinematic expression of what grieves them. This is truly political cinematography."

The audience warmly received the film of the veteran Cuban film maker Santiago Alvarez about the political assassination of General Schneider in Chile. Sequels from these films were shown over television to millions.

In the reviews on the film, the papers stressed that the main thing for Alvarez was to analyze the crime and to expose the political reasons for it. With the ruthless logic of a prosecutor, the film director exposes the United States CIA which is behind the crime. The CIA: these initials sound equally sinister in different languages.

They became a synonym for treacherous and cruel American imperialism.

FOREIGN AID

The Politics of Leverage

U.S. foreign aid, occasionally high-principled and altruistic, most of the time is used as a way of exerting diplomatic leverage. As such, its rationale can be precarious. Two recent examples:

► After the assassination last month of a Chilean opposition leader, former Vice President Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, the killers were identified as members of the extreme leftist Organized Vanguard of the People. But Communist and Socialist politicians, as well as several pro-government newspapers, accused the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency of being behind the murder. Defense Minister Alejandro Ríos Valdivia did not specifically blame the CIA, but he told the Chilean Senate that "hidden interests far beyond our borders . . . who are being harmed through revolutionary changes" were the real culprits. The Marxist government of Salvador Allende Gossens, while staunchly maintaining that it had never accused the U.S. of wrongdoing, refused to exonerate the CIA, and the charge stuck in the public mind.

The Nixon Administration is aware that such an incident could cause further damage to an already fragile relationship. It is also mindful that negotiations will soon be held to determine the value of U.S. copper properties that are to be nationalized by the Chilean government. Accordingly, Washington has adopted a stance of calculated ambiguity toward Chile. Last week the Administration decided to grant Santiago \$5,000,000 in credits for the purchase of paratroop equipment and a \$4,000,000 C-130 military transport. It was the first new military aid since the Allende government came to power last October.

► The Pakistan army's crackdown on East Pakistan last spring has resulted in the deaths of as many as 200,000 Bengalis. Another 6,000,000 have fled across the border, saddling India with a massive refugee problem.

The World Bank, as well as most of

the Western aid-giving nations, has concluded that economic aid to Pakistan should be suspended until the government of President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan takes significant steps toward easing its repression of the East. Last week, however, the Nixon Administration admitted that its economic aid to Pakistan, which amounted to \$213 million last year, will continue. Even military aid, which theoretically was cut off when the terror began in East Pakistan on March 25, will not be suspended for equipment ordered before that date.

The U.S. has a dual motive: maintaining leverage with Yahya to seek a settlement in East Pakistan, and preventing Islamabad from becoming even more reliant on Peking than it already is for military assistance. Though Yahya promised last week that he would convene a "legislature" within four months, the conflict in East Pakistan is continuing, and there is no sign that leverage is producing the desired result.

MIAMI HERALD

27 JUNE 1971

Hostility To Allende Increasing

Fed by Slaying Of High Ex-Official

By WILLIAM F. NICHOLSON
Associated Press Writer

SANTIAGO, Chile — In the darkened downtown movie theater, the mustachioed face of President Salvador Allende came on the screen one recent night during a newsreel. Hissing and derisive whistling came from some members of the audience.

He appeared again in another segment. More hissing and whistling. Others in the audience began clapping for the Marxist chief executive. There was even more hissing and whistling.

In recent weeks, Allende and his left-wing coalition government have encoun-



President Allende
... hissed in theaters

tered growing hostility from opposition parties and Chileans.

"I can't even talk about that man without losing my temper," said a Santiago secretary.

THE DISENCHANTMENT came to a head after the June 8 assassination of former Vice President Edmundo Perez Zujovic, a terrorist act that shocked the Chilean people.

The slaying of Zujovic, who was an outspoken anti-leftist, was blamed by police on the ultraleft "Organized Vanguard of the People," an anarchic group known by the nickname of "The Vop."

The Vop has criticized Allende publicly for going "too slowly" in transforming Chile into a socialist state.

The Communist and Socialist parties, the dominating groups in Allende's government, blamed the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for the slaying by using Vop members as "hired mercenaries."

That claim has been ridiculed by the opposition and by left-wing student groups.

AT THE SCHOOL of Philosophy at the University of Chile, where one Vop member, Daniel Vergara, studied, the student assembly rejected the charge "with indignation."

The Christian Democratic party, of which Zujovic was a member, has charged that Allende's toleration of the Vop and other armed leftist groups led to Zujovic's assassination and a climate "of hate and suspicion" in Chile. The party demanded that Allende disband all such groups and restore authority to the police.

Ex-President Eduardo Frei, under whom Zujovic served in the previous administration, cut short a European vacation to return to Chile. He said he wanted to "help put an end to the violence in Chile." The former president also charged that "calumnies and lies" in pro-government newspapers are "destroying the honor" of those who criticize Allende.

Sen. Narciso Irureta, president of the Christian Democratic Party, said over nationwide television that during the Frei Administration, left-wing extremists were put in jail and added that it was Allende who personally pardoned 43 leftists from prison terms after he took office last fall.

THOSE PARDONED included Arturo Rivera Calderon, one of the suspects in the Zujovic assassination, and

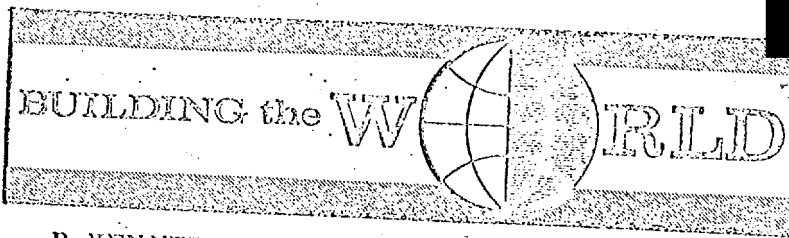
Max Josef Maranbio, a "revolutionary" bank robber who is now Allende's personal bodyguard.

The Christian Democratic and the right-wing National Party engineered voting recently to reject a request by Allende for 1,000 more uniformed policemen and 100 more detectives. The nationalists claimed Allende planned to select left-wing sympathizers for the posts.

The hostility shown against Allende apparently has had an effect. Allende did not mention the CIA in a recent speech during a pro-government rally against "sedition and terrorism."

2-3 JUN 1971

Approved For Release 2000/08/16 : CIA-RDP80-01601R



By KEN NEWCOMB

Cyrus Eaton urges complete U.S. withdrawal

NEW YORK—Far from ending the war in Vietnam as he promised, President Nixon has "surreptitiously escalated it into the remainder of Indochina—Cambodia and Laos—to the complete and utter shock of all Americans, old and young," Cyrus Eaton, financier, public figure and Lenin peace laureate, said in a speech at the Commonwealth Club of California. Eaton called for complete withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from Indochina and a prompt end of the war.

Eaton recently visited Chile. In his speech he sharply criticized Administration policy toward that country. Eaton conferred with President Allende while in Chile.

Eaton said that it is common knowledge in Chile that the CIA and other U.S. agencies, including the Embassy, worked actively behind the scenes to defeat Allende in the presidential election. He said also that the Nixon Administration "went out of its way to offend the Allende Government and the people of Chile" by first scheduling and then abruptly canceling a courtesy call by the U.S. aircraft carrier Enterprise to Valparaiso.

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U.S.-Chilean Relations Running Into Serious Snags

By JUAN de ONIS

Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, June 21—

Relations between the United States and the left-wing Government of Chile are running into serious snags.

Difficulties have developed because of widely publicized attacks by Marxist parties in the Government on the United States Central Intelligence Agency and because of Santiago's delay in honoring an agreement for the purchase of major United States copper investments here.

Both issues are looked upon as raising questions about the political intentions of the Government of President Salvador Allende Gossens, or about the President's ability to deal with radical elements in the governing Popular Unity coalition, which consists of the Communist, Socialist, Radical, Social Democratic and Popular Socialist parties.

The major uncertainty is how United States-Chilean relations will be affected by the Allende Government's nationalization of all U.S. copper investments—expected next month—and other large United States private investments here.

Review Due This Week

Edward M. Korry, the Ambassador to Chile, is going to Washington this week to review the situation with high officials. Mr. Korry met with Dr. Allende for more than an hour on Friday.

Although the Chilean Government two months ago said it agreed to the appointment of Nathaniel Davis, currently Ambassador in Guatemala, as the new ambassador here, the

State Department has not moved to replace Mr. Korry, who has been here since 1967.

The major reason appears to be the confidence that United States copper companies have expressed in Mr. Korry as spokesman before the Chilean Government on United States views.

For instance, Mr. Korry was evidently influential in bringing about an agreement between the Cerro Corporation and the Allende Government on the purchase of Cerro's Andina mine here.

Three Operations Chosen

The new mine, which represents an investment of \$155-million, is one of three big operations earmarked for nationalization. The others are the El Teniente Mine, in which Kennecott holds a 49 per cent interest, and the Chuquicamata, El Salvador, and Exotica Mines of Anaconda.

The purchase of Andina was agreed upon—with Dr. Allende's approval—a month ago. Charles Murphy, president of Cerro, left May 21 in the belief that an announcement would be made in a matter of days.

There has been no announcement. Instead, on May 23, the Chilean Copper Corporation took over management and financial control of El Teniente. Officials assert that the copper companies owe \$100-million in undistributed dividends that should have been paid to Chile since last September.

Some Government sources have indicated that nothing would be done on Andina until after July 12, when the Chilean Government is expected to take full control of the copper mines under a constitutional reform. The issue of compensation

for United States investors remains unclear.

Another large investor, besides the copper companies, is the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, which operates the telephone system, two hotels and a telephone equipment manufacturing concern.

An I.T.T. negotiating team began talks this week on a negotiated sale to the Chilean Government. The Government has already seized managerial control of the conglomerate's telephone directory company here.

The pressure for a state takeover of major manufacturing enterprises has involved the Ford Motor Company. The \$6-million Ford plant at Casablanca has been under a state-appointed manager since Ford announced last month that it was closing operations because it was losing money.

The Government tried to get General Motors to produce trucks in the Ford plant, but was turned down. The Government is reported negotiating with Fiat, the Italian company, to get the 400 former Ford employees back to work.

Some Antagonistic

These frictions were not unexpected in view of the Allende program to "construct socialism" in Chile. However, Dr. Allende has said that he wants to maintain the "best possible" relations with the United States.

There are radical elements within the Popular Unity Coalition, particularly in Dr. Allende's Socialist party, and on the fringes of the Government, such as the Revolutionary Left Movement, that are antagonistic toward the United States.

The Andina issue is believed to have started a conflict in

the Government between moderates and radicals, forcing the Government to back away from the agreement.

The attacks on the C.I.A. apparently reflect a similar situation. The attacks grew out of the assassination two weeks ago of Edmundo Pérez Zúkovic, a Christian Democratic Opposition leader, and former Minister of the Interior.

While the killers were identified as members of the People's Organized Vanguard, an extremist left-wing group, the pro-Government press, following official statements by the Communist and Socialist parties, said that "extreme rightists" and the C.I.A. had been behind the killing.

The U. S. requested last week that the Government disavow the charges against the C.I.A. Defense Minister Alejandro Ríos Valdivia said in the Senate Friday that the charges had no foundation, but the statement received little publicity.

It is understood that United States officials have indicated that the charges could contribute to attacks on Americans here, for which the Allende Government would be held responsible.

23 JUN 1971

Chile accuses CIA in murder plot

By Lionel Martin

Guardian Staff Correspondent

Havana

Two suspects in the assassination of Christian Democratic party leader Edmundo Perez Zukovic were killed during a shoot-out with police in Santiago June 13. Six others were arrested at the scene and a quantity of arms along with literature claiming credit for the assassination were seized, according to a televised speech by the Chilean minister of the interior, Jose Toha.

The two dead men—Roland Rivera Calderon and Arturo Rivera Calderon—were associated with an ultra-“left” splinter group, the Organized Vanguard of the People (VOP), officially dissolved over a year ago. Roland Rivera Calderon had also been a member of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) but was expelled in 1968 as an agent provocateur. The MIR has supported the Allende government and some of its leading militants are serving in his personal bodyguard.

The two main parties in Allende's ruling coalition—the Communists and the Socialists—denounced the June 8 Zukovic slaying as a right wing plot organized by Chilean reactionaries and the U.S. CIA under the code name, “Plan Calvo Sotelo.” (Jose Calvo Sotelo was a conservative Spanish politician whose dawn murder on July 13, 1936 was imputed to progressive forces and was used as the rationale for the army mutiny led by Francisco Franco which initiated the Spanish Civil War.)

Chain of reaction

The Zukovic killing has also been attributed by those who oppose Chile's new popular unity government to “left wing elements.” But the Zukovic affair is a key link in the chain of seditious activities that have been building up for more than six months. The first link was forged on October 22, 1970, days before Allende was to be sworn into office as president of the new socialist-oriented government.

On that day the army chief of staff, General Rene Schneider, was shot down in a manner suspiciously similar to the most recent murder. In both cases the car in which the victims were riding was blocked by other automobiles from which the assailants fired the fatal submachine gun shots.

The first phase of “Plan Calvo Sotelo,” the murder of Schneider, backfired on the schemers. Instead of causing the desired chaos and creating conditions for a coup or civil war, the assassination welded even greater popular unity. President Allende took office as planned and investigations proved what had been suspected from the first—that right wing subversive elements were behind the killing.

By design or chance, the murder of Zukovic occurred on the precise day which the military prosecutor closed his case against those accused of the Schneider assassination. The highest ranking conspirator, ex-general Roberto Viaux, faced 20 years and the material authors of the crime faced life imprisonment. Three of the accused conspirators Diego Izquierdo, Allen Cooper and Andres Widow, are believed to have fled to the U.S.

The Zukovic murder occurred as the voting date for the ratification of an important constitutional reform by the entire Congress draws close. This reform provided a part of Chile's organic law the nationalization of the great copper-mining-resources, a major plank in the program of the Popular Unity Coalition and a decisive

step in Chile's struggle out of the imperialist orbit.

In order to defeat the reform bill it was necessary to provoke an open confrontation between the powerful Christian Democratic party and the new coalition government. By blaming the left for the murder of Zukovic, a top man in the Christian Democratic party, it was hoped to open an unbridgeable schism between the two most powerful political forces in the country. Because Christian Democratic power largely depends on reformist doctrine and demogogy it has been politically impossible for its most conservative members to lead the party to militant and open opposition to the social reforms of the Allende government.

Following the murder, the Christian Democratic leadership made a statement holding the Popular Unity government culpable because of what it called “the spirit of hate and defamation” fanned by the pro-government news media. But the Christian Democratic party statement nowhere mentions the open provocative campaign of the conservative news media in Chile, the precedent of right wing violence in the Schneider affair or what is common knowledge to Chileans, the anti-government conspiratorial activities of right wingers backed by the CIA. Significantly, the reactionary Partido Nacional released a declaration that coincided on major points with that of the Christian Democratic party.

Anti-government commentators have directed all their accusations at the VOP for the murder of Zukovic. Shortly after the assassination, radio station Balmecceda in Santiago taped and broadcasted a telephone call which said, “This is a commando group of VOP. We have liquidated Perez Zukovic.”

Journalist Mario Gomez of the newspaper Puro Chile wrote that on the basis of information given by “a high personage linked to government circles” a group which had broken off from the VOP after its dissolution had actually carried out the assassination and that it was led by five ex-policemen and directed by two foreigners who are functionaries of the CIA.

MIR denounces assassination

The opposition press immediately took advantage of the murder to demand the elimination of certain militant left organizations. One of these is the MIR which was quick to repudiate the assassination of Zukovic and called for joint action to defend the government of Allende. The secretary-general of the MIR, Miguel Enriquez, went to the Presidential Palace shortly after the murder to express solidarity with the government. Another militant left organization, MR-2, also made a statement backing the government and calling on the workers to be vigilant.

A few days after the murder the Chilean Navy announced that as part of a link in a prolonged investigation they had boarded a Panamanian-flag merchant ship named “Puelche.” However before they were able to board it they took pictures of crewmen throwing cargo overboard. On the ship they found, according to extra-official reports, arms and other contraband material. According to one Prensa Latina dispatch they found 5000 submachineguns aboard.

Speculation has it that the Puelche was the instructional phase of the “Plan Calvo Sotelo.”

SAN ANGELO, TEX.
STANDARD-TIMES

M - 40,016

S - 42,315

JUN 22 1971

U. S. Catches It Again

Just because it is big and rich and inclined to throw its weight around, the United States is a highly visible and inviting target. But the nature of some attacks is bound to leave the mouths of most Americans ajar in surprise and wonderment.

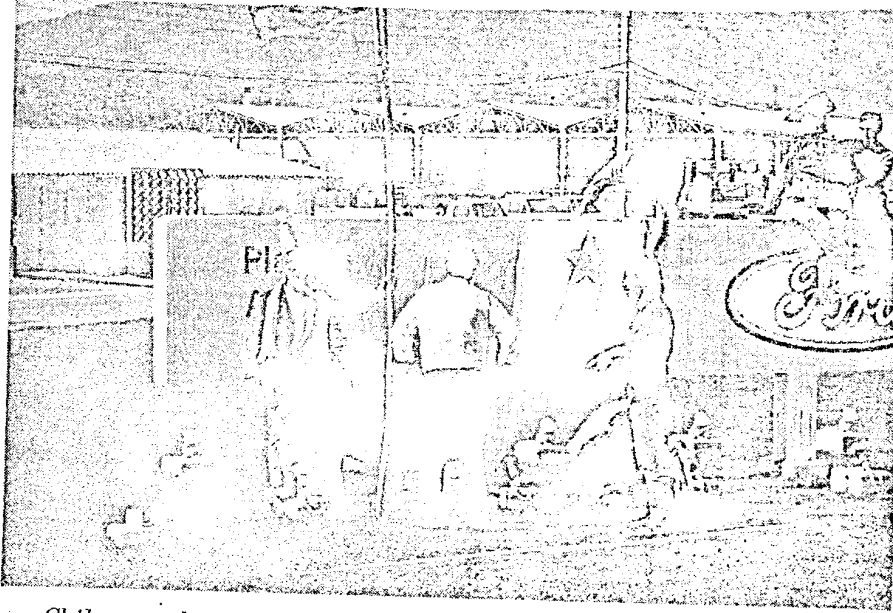
Take, for instance, the charge made by President Philibert Tsiranana of the Malagasy Republic that a certain Western power with colossal economic potential was assisting a Maoist group in efforts to stage an insurrection. Tsiranana said certain Malagasies had sold themselves to this power and were seen entering and leaving the side doors of its embassy at Tananarive. He did not name the United States, but the implication was so plain that our ambassador

has been recalled to this country "for consultation."

Or take the charge made by the two most powerful groups in Chile's left-wing government that the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency was behind the assassination of Edmundo Perez Zúkovic, a former Chilean vice president and prominent rightist. Perez Zúkovic, former interior minister and head of domestic intelligence operations in Chile, was killed with a burst of submachinegun fire June 8. He was an outspoken opponent of Marxist President Salvador Allende.

These two attacks have at least the virtue of some consistency. But if we are in bed with Mao Tse-tung, it must be news to him. And if Mao is in bed with us, it must be news to President Nixon.

21 JUN 1971



Chilean workers at Ford plant: Business pays the price of social change

CHILE:

Operation Tranquilizer

In the square outside Santiago's Metropolitan Cathedral last week, a gray-clad military band played a funeral march for Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, a former Chilean Vice President and Minister of the Interior who had been murdered by machine-gun-toting terrorists. Just eight months before, the same band had played the same tune on the same spot for another assassinated Chilean leader, army Chief of Staff Gen. René Schneider. To most Chileans, the repeat performance had an ominous ring, for their country has long been spared the horrors of political assassination. "It's so out of keeping with our traditions," observed a dismayed bystander. "Two murders within such a short period of time—it's enough to make us feel that we are becoming another Guatemala."

Despite an intensive manhunt, the killers of Pérez Zujovic remained at large by the end of the week, and their motives were still the subject of speculation. The right wing of Chile's political spectrum blamed the left, the left blamed the right and some radical politicians blamed the CIA. But although Pérez Zujovic had been his political enemy, President Salvador Allende Cosens described the murder as "an attack against Chile" and "a deliberate attempt to alter the march of the country." Allende's concern was understandable, for since he came to power late last year at the head of a freely elected Marxist government, he has been largely successful in maintaining a tranquil political climate in which to conduct a unique experiment in revolution: the conversion of Chile into a socialist state by an orderly legislative process.

On the economic front, Allende can point to some solid accomplishments.

for the short term, at least. Making good on his campaign pledge to halt Chile's runaway inflation (the cost of living went up 35 per cent in 1970), Allende simply mandated a minimum 35 per cent increase on all wages, while simultaneously clamping down on price increases. As a result of this sudden upsurge in purchasing power, Chileans have been caught up in a buying binge like nothing they have ever experienced before. Television sets, refrigerators, furniture and clothing vanish from Santiago's stores as fast as producers can stock the shelves. And even some of Santiago's poorest neighborhoods are now graced by an eye-filling array of pantsuits, suggesting that the new prosperity has filtered a substantial distance down the economic ladder.

Targets: But something has to give, and so far the price of social change has been paid primarily by big business. Already, nine of Chile's 22 privately owned banks have come under government control. Two weeks ago, government representatives marched into Ford's assembly plant in Santiago and took over operations. In addition, Allende's major targets, the U.S.-operated copper mines that are Chile's main source of wealth, are almost within his grasp. The Chilean Congress recently approved a constitutional amendment that would allow the government to buy out the American interest in the mines. No price has yet been mentioned, but American copper executives are awaiting the negotiations with dread and resignation.

So far, Allende's program has been carried out so smoothly that his opponents refer to it, with grudging admiration, as "Operation Tranquilizer." "This government is tearing down the capitalist system," says one banker. "And I get the feeling that most Chileans don't seem to realize it—or even care." Nonetheless, the revolution may yet fall far short of its goals.

present-day Santiago, signs of economic trouble are already in evidence. Chile's dollar reserves, which stood at some \$388 million five months ago, reportedly have declined to \$220 million, and unemployment may have risen to as high as 10 per cent of the labor force, according to unofficial estimates.

Meanwhile, impending nationalization has hurt Chilean copper production, in part because many native-born managerial and technical personnel have abandoned their jobs. At the Chuquibambilla mine in the northern Chilean desert, where Anaconda developed the largest open-pit mine in the world, scores of senior Chilean staff workers quit when the government announced that they could no longer draw their pay in U.S. dollars. Similarly, at Kennecott's El Teniente mine, 77 per cent of the top administrators have left their posts. And their replacements appear to be faring poorly. "The other day," a departing American manager for Anaconda said recently, "the afternoon shift at Chuquibambilla sat down and threw a barbecue. When one of the Communists who is now running the mine ordered them back to work, they told him to go to hell."

Glee: Some of Allende's critics view these problems with barely restrained glee. "Far be it from me to want to see Chile plunged into economic disaster," a leading right-wing politician told NEWSWEEK's John Barnes, "but I'm afraid there's going to be the most terrible economic crisis around about next April or May." Naturally, Allende hopes to stave off such disaster. Although pursuing a policy that almost amounts to expropriation in some sectors of the economy, he has carefully stayed within the bounds of existing Chilean laws, and he has been careful to preserve Chile's overseas credit lines. A keen student of Cuba's painful search for new foreign bankrollers and its ultimate dependence on the Communist bloc, Allende is not about to cut Chile loose from its lucrative markets in Western Europe, Japan and the U.S.

Domestic political considerations further limit Allende's present scope for action. His oft-stated political goal is to alter Chile's constitution and replace its two-house Congress with a single-chambered assembly. But Allende's Unidad Popular, the ruling coalition of Socialists and Communists, does not command a parliamentary majority and has little chance at present of pushing such a program past the opposition Christian Democrats and Nationalists. The best bet is that Allende will hold his political program in abeyance until the 1973 Congressional elections, in hopes of securing a legislative majority. To get that kind of support, however, he will need an extended period of peace and quiet. And if his Operation Tranquilizer does not succeed in stemming the violence that claimed the lives of Schneider and Pérez Zujovic, the revolution may yet fall far short of its goals.

JUN 2 0 1977

M - 237,967
S - 566,377

Threatened by radicals in his own coalition

Chile's President becomes a 'law and order' man

By Otto Zausmer

The assassination of Eduardo Pérez Zúkovic, the former Chilean Minister of the Interior is much more than a dramatic murder story. It has all the elements of highest political intrigue and could be of tremendous importance for Chile's domestic politics.

What happened was that 10 days ago Zúkovic, who was on his way home, was chased by three men in a car. He was killed and the murderers disappeared before they could be arrested.

There was no obvious explanation. In fact, even today there is no clear motive for the crime.

President Allende, the leader of the left-wing coalition, who was elected last year with a plurality of 36 percent of the votes and then chosen by a majority of his own followers and the opposition parties in Parliament, immediately strongly condemned the murder.

Dr. Allende, who himself is a convinced Marxist from way back, vowed right away that he would do anything he could to uphold law, order and internal peace.

His own coalition partners, communists and extreme left-wingers, quickly blamed the assassination on the United States and the Central Intelligence Agency.

Dr. Allende and his government did not pick up this accusation. In fact, Dr. Allende ordered his police to hunt down the assassins and a few days later two suspects were trapped and killed in a shoot-out with police. Several others were arrested.

It turned out that the two suspects who died were brothers, members of left-wing splinter organizations which advocate violence as a means of political goals. One of them was pardoned by Dr. Allende for another crime only a few months ago.

The President proved that he meant what he said many months ago — that he was determined to give Chile a socialist government through legal processes and not through violence.

Given his coalition, which is composed of left-wing elements, some of whom agree with him and others who are determined to use force, Dr. Allende has been hard-put to maintain law, order and internal peace.

But so far he has done it. He went as far as he could in preventing mob rule in takeover of private property and in keeping political life on an even keel.

This, of course, has displeased the more extreme elements in his coalition and created tension and dissatisfaction among some of his own back-

As an experienced, radical politician, Dr. Allende knows only too well that in a group composed of hotheads, even extreme hotheads, and cooler politicians, the tail can easily wag the dog, with the extremists determining the direction in which the whole group is to go. Dr. Allende does not want to see this as Chile's future. Besides, he still has to take into account the conservative spirit of the armed forces. Whether he has gained popularity since his election or not, his opponents from the center and right, who made up more than 60 percent of the vote last fall have not all gone away or died.

Above all, Dr. Allende has seen all around him in Latin America a wave of political kidnappings and political blackmail by extremists, left and right. He cannot afford such conditions while he is trying to change Chile from a capitalist to a socialist society, a task which has in itself produced tremendous problems.

It is therefore understandable that Dr. Allende wants to make sure that he is not alienated by his own extremists while dealing

with his erstwhile political opponents and the traditions of Chile's society.

One of his major methods in attempting to achieve his goals has been to bring in supporters from the opposition camp, the Center and the Conservatives. For several months he has done quite well in this respect. By emphasizing legality and by adhering to his promise to Congress that he would not interfere with freedom of speech, vote and press, he has gained the confidence of at least some of the more liberal Christian Democrats whom his party ousted in the election.

Zúkovic was a prominent member of the Conservative Wing of that Christian Democratic Party and his assassination could be a severe setback to Dr. Allende in his efforts at reaching an understanding with the Christian Democrats. This, of course, would be exactly what the extreme revolutionaries would cherish, and this might well have been one of the objectives of the political wire pullers behind the two murders.

It would be a further advantage to them if they could at the same time put the blame for the crime on the United States Central Intelligence Agency and alienate the Allende government from Washington.

So far, Dr. Allende has been able to keep his relations to the United States, if not cordial, correct and it might be in his and the United States' interest to keep them that way.

Diplomatic observers feel that these are some of the motives for the assassination of Eduardo Pérez Zúkovic. Whether their analysis is correct or not will be seen in the next few months.

If they are correct, then the Zúkovic murder will be only the first indication of the brewing power struggle in the present regime, Dr. Allende vs.

Tycoon Says CIA in Chile

Miami Herald-Los Angeles Times Wire

SAN FRANCISCO -- Industrialist Cyrus Eaton Friday charged that the U.S. government used its Central Intelligence Agency to attempt to prevent the election of Socialist Salvador Allende as president of Chile.

The 87-year-old steel, utility and railroad tycoon from Cleveland said at a meeting here:

"Although the United States professes not to have taken any part in the (Chilean) presidential election, it is common knowledge in Chile that, behind the scenes, every conceivable wire was pulled by the CIA and other American agencies, including our embassy, to defeat Allende."

He admitted, however, that he has no proof of that participation.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
 EXAMINER
 E - 204,749
 EXAMINER & CHRONICLE
 S - 640,004, 91971

CIA Fought Allende In Chile' -- Cyrus Eaton

By Paul Clotti
 UC Student

Cyrus Eaton, industrialist and world traveler, told the Commonwealth Club yesterday that the United States spent large sums attempting to prevent the election of Socialist Salvador Allende as president of Chile.

"The CIA was there in disguise," he said, "Spaniards, Frenchmen, Hungarians and Poles."

"Every conceivable wire was pulled by the CIA and other American agencies, including our embassy," to defeat Allende, said Eaton.

Traveler

Eaton's travels in the last year have taken him to Hanoi, Moscow and Washington. He said that he doubted if President Nixon and his advisers really intend to stop the war in Vietnam.

"None of them," he said, "have any burning desire to end the Vietnam War short of a complete victory."

Eaton, 87, and sometimes called eccentric by critics, abandoned his prepared text, telling reporters who had advance copies to "consider the

speech delivered," and went on to criticize American foreign policy.

Eaton received warm applause from the audience, primarily composed of businessmen, at the conclusion of his speech. Afterward, he answered questions.

In reply to a question whether the Anaconda Company received adequate compensation from the Chilean government when the company's Chilean properties were nationalized, Eaton replied that he did not have any specific knowledge of the situation but that when the Canadian government nationalized some properties of his in Ontario and Manitoba several years ago he was unhappy with the settlement.

"We didn't get enough," he said, "but we got all they paid."

Gifts

Asked if the U.S. should sell war materials to China, Eaton replied, "I think it's unfortunate to sell war materials to anyone. But we've been doing worse than that; we've been giving it away."

The audience both applauded and laughed at his reply.

In the final question of the luncheon, Eaton was asked what would happen to his property if America went Communist.

He replied that he did not think that his wealth was of great importance and that he would rather have his health and an opportunity to live, work, and serve the country.

18 JUNE 1971

**WORLD CALL URGES
SOLIDARITY WITH CHILE**

HELSINKI, June 17 (TASS) —
The World Peace Council has urged the forces supporting national independence, social progress and world peace to express solidarity with Chile and to demand respect for the sovereign will of the Chilean people.

The Council declared that the assassination of Dr. Zujovic was part of the reactionary and imperialist conspiracy aimed "to sabotage the Chilean economy and its ability to exercise political, financial and military pressure. Behind this campaign, as has been proved, are the U.S. trusts, which were affected by nationalization in Chile, and other imperialist organs, like the CIA, as well as local reactionaries.

17 JUN 1971

A CHILEAN LEFTIST KILLS 2 POLICEMEN

Ends Own Life After Raid
on Headquarters—Linked
to Slaying of Ex-Official

By JUAN de ONIS

Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile June 16—A comrade of the two left-wing extremists who were killed by the police for the slaying of a Christian Democratic leader attacked police headquarters today and killed two detectives.

After spraying the detectives' room with machine-gun fire, the attacker pulled the pins on handgrenades strung to his belt and blew himself to pieces.

Jose Toha, the Minister of Interior, identified the man as Heriberto Salazar Bello. Mr. Toha said that he was the third member of a group that assassinated Edmundo PerezZukovic, a former Minister of Interior, June 9.

Mr. Salazar Bello belonged to the People's Organized Vanguard, a group dedicated to crime and terrorism in the name of Marxist revolution. The organization has criticized Chile's present left-wing Government as too moderate.

Mr. Salazar Bello was described as a well-dressed, educated man who had rented a garage where two other members of the organization, Ronald Rivera Calderon, and his brother, Arturo, were killed during an exchange of gunfire with the police Sunday.

In a sidewalk news conference, only yards from the scene of today's attack, Mr. Toha said Mr. Salazar Bello had been the third man with the two Rivera Calderon brothers in the killing of Mr. Perez Zukovic. The Christian Democratic leader had been attacked by the leftist parties now in power for his anti-Communist position under the former President, Eduardo Frei Montalva.

President Calls for Rally

President Salvador Allende Gossens, the Socialist leader of Chile's left-wing coalition Government, asked the police and

television that workers, students and other Government supporters assemble at a rally in front of the Presidential Palace this evening.

The Government, and the Communist and Socialist parties supporting it, have attributed the assassination of Mr. Perez Zukovic to a "seditious plot" against the Government, the Marxist parties have charged that the United States Central Intelligence Agency had a hand in the plot.

The charge has brought diplomatic representations by the United States Ambassador to Chile, Edward M. Korry, and by the State Department in Washington with the Chilean Ambassador, Orlando Letelier, asking for the Chilean Government to produce proof of C.I.A. involvement or to rebut the charges.

The killing of Mr. Perez Zukovic has strained relations between the Government and the opposition parties particularly the Christian Democrats.

Mr. Frei cut short a trip to Europe and is returning here Friday. He is scheduled to address a Christian Democratic Rally Sunday that will mark his return to active politics.

Leadership Overthrown

The Christian Democratic bloc in the Chamber of Deputies, joined by members of the conservative National party and the democratic Radical party, yesterday overthrew the three-man leadership of the chamber, presided over until then by Jorge Ibanez, a member of the Radical party.

Marciso Lureta, president of the Christian Democratic party, said that the object was to elect a Christian Democratic leadership of the lower house. This breaks a gentleman's agreement with the Government parties, which had conceded the Senate presidency to the Christian Democrats.

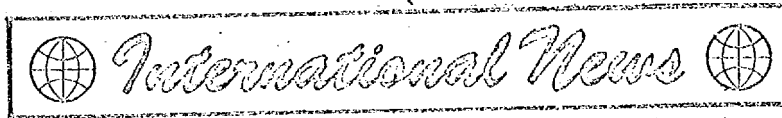
The opposition also rejected a proposal submitted by President Allende to increase the national police force by 1,000 men and the detective force by 350.

Christian Democratic sources said that the rejection had been based on the fear that the Government would appoint leftists to the two principal civil security and investigation forces. The Federal Director of Investigations, Edmundo Parcedes, a Socialist, had been accused of close connections with left-wing extremists before Dr. Allende was elected last year.

The attack on the police headquarters during the lunch-hour lull, Mr.

Salazar Bello entered the three-story cement building across from the criminal courts without being checked by guards for identification and he began firing when he entered the detectives' room.

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DAILY WORLD
15 JUNE 1971

Chile police say Zujovic assassination solved

SANTIAGO DE CHILE — Police officials in Chile said on Monday that they feel they have solved the Zujovic case, after Sunday's gun-battle in which one suspect was killed, another committed suicide and seven persons were captured when police raided their garage hide-out in Santiago. Former Interior Minister Edmundo Perez Zujovic was assassinated last Tuesday; the Chilean political situation became extremely tense because Zujovic was a leading member of the Christian-Democratic Party, opposed to the Popular Unity government of President Salvador Allende. Both Allende's own Socialist Party and the Communist Party charged that the assassination was the work of the U.S. CIA.

Police on Sunday shot and killed Ronald Rivera Calderon in the garage gun-battle; Rivera's brother, Arturo, committed suicide by firing a bullet into his head, the Chilean Interior Ministry said in a communique. Ronald Rivera was believed to be Zujovic's assassin. The two Riveras had been members of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) which was opposed to Allende's Popular Front coalition. In 1969 they broke with MIR and formed a group of their own, "People's Vanguard." MIR last Tuesday, after Zujovic's assassination, immediately denounced the act as a provocation. Chilean Interior Minister Jose Toha said on Monday that besides tracking down the suspected assassins police had also captured seven other suspects at the garage, including "two foreigners." The U.S. news media reporting the incident carried no mention of any foreigners being involved.

DECATUR, ILL.
 HERALD
 M - 35,332
 HERALD-REVIEW
 S - 55,924

JUN 14 1971

Editorials

Our Opinions

CIA Anchor Around Neck of Diplomacy

THE ROLE of the Central Intelligence Agency, whether real or imagined, has been enormous in many foreign countries. Evidence points to CIA functionaries plotting and executing major foreign policy decisions without the knowledge or approval of official Washington.

This role has been so widespread — and so disturbing — that it has become a serious anchor around the neck of American diplomacy. Foreign diplomats speak with open contempt for the CIA. Fears of the secret agency's presence lurk in the minds of friends and foes around the world to a point where all American activity is suspect.

Evidence of the difficulty the CIA can cause is found in Chile where various forces claim the assassination of former Vice President Edmundo Perez Zujovic was caused directly by the

American intelligence agency.

A simple look at the facts would indicate this judgment is totally wrong. Perez Zujovic was a member of the Christian Democrat party that was ousted by Marxist President Salvador Allende. Why would the CIA have any reason to murder a former political official whose party was friendly to the U.S.?

The difficulty persists because the CIA has a reputation of being behind all violent plots and intrigue in Latin America and elsewhere. The agency's role in Guatemala, Greece, Iraq and Cuba are some of the more famous attempts by the U.S. government to use subversion to achieve diplomatic goals.

Little can be done now to remove the fears created by past episodes. Yet flat assurances from President Nixon that the CIA will pull in its

fangs and refrain from any activity that involves undermining foreign governments would be welcome.

The President has repeatedly stressed the importance of self-determination as it applies to national interests in other countries. Self-determination cannot succeed if secret agents are doing all they can (which is considerable in terms of CIA resources) to set a different course.

With regard to Chile, Mr. Nixon could take the important step of establishing better relations with President Allende's government in an effort to allay anti-American sentiment in that country. If Mr. Nixon is sincere about supporting democratic countries, he should quit hiding behind the old Communist scare fears, regardless of the domestic political repercussions.

2 Assassination Suspects Slain in Chile

By JUAN de ONIS

Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, June 13

—Two left-wing extremists accused of killing a Christian Democratic leader Tuesday died today in a dawn gunfight with the police.

Roland Rivera Calderon, 26 years old, who allegedly machine-gunned Edmundo Perez Zukovic, fell dead, machine gun in hand, during a shootout with detectives here in the capital. Two of the detectives were seriously wounded.

A brother, Arturo Rivera Calderon, 20, had a bullet wound in his head when he was taken from a garage where the fugitives made their stand. He died a few hours later after surgery. The police said he had committed suicide.

Six other persons, three men and three women, were arrested in the garage, where the police found arms, ammunition, and plastic bags filled with currency that may have come from a supermarket payroll holdup two weeks ago in which a national policeman was killed.

The search for the Rivera Calderon brothers mobilized hundreds of detectives, policemen and military intelligence agents who have been operating with this city under a 1 A.M. to 6 A.M. curfew under emergency regulations. The Government restricts information by radio and television on the Perez Zukovic case to official bulletins only.

One radio station was put off the air by order of the regional military commander at 4:45 P.M. for violating the order against broadcasting news that could "alarm" the public.

Early this morning the search converged on a street in a lower middle class neighborhood near the Chile Hippodrome, where heavily armed plainclothes men closed in on the private garage. They drew fire from the darkness.

Advance at Dawn

At dawn the security forces moved in under heavy covering fire. The death of the elder Rivera Calderon silenced the resistance, although both brothers were armed with grenades on their belts and had ample ammunition for their machine guns.

The garage, a large cinder-block building, was apparently a center for the Rivera Calderon organization where stolen automobiles were altered to be used in robberies and other operations. Three automobiles were removed from the garage, as well as stocks of dynamite and some homemade bombs.

The death of the Rivera Calderon brothers before they would be interrogated left the motives behind the killing of Mr. Pérez Zukovic unclear and a subject of bitter political debate.

Editorials in El Siglo, the Communist party newspaper, continued to attribute the crime to a plot by the United States' Central Intelligence Agency and "ultra-right" Chilean groups.

Despite the long left-wing records of the Rivera Calderon brothers, whose father was a Communist workman, El Siglo said the brothers had been used as "mercenaries" to provoke a military overthrow of the left-wing Government of President Salvador Allende Gossens, Chile's Socialist leader. The Communist party is a major element in the Government.

The Christian Democrats, Chile's largest Opposition party, have attributed the killing to a "hate campaign" in the Communist and Socialist press against the anti-Marxist figures, such as Mr. Pérez Zukovic, and have demanded that the Government move to disband leftist "armed bands."

The older Rivera Calderon was a member of an extremist Marxist group called the Revolutionary Left Movement when he was a student. In 1969 he formed the Organized Peoples' Vanguard, a splinter group dedicated to robbery in the name of revolution.

His younger brother Arturo was in jail until January for an armed robbery attempt last year, but he was freed, along with 45 other leftist extremists, through an amnesty declared by President Allende.

Dr. Allende took over personal chairmanship last night of an investigatory commission set up to explore the assassination of Mr. Pérez Zukovic, a Minister of Interior during the preceding Christian Democratic administration.

CANTON, OHIO
REPOSITORY

JUN 13 1971

E - 73,514
S - 83,577

Call for the Truth

It is to be hoped that Chilean authorities will be able to apprehend those responsible for the assassination of Edmundo Perez Zujovic, a former vice president.

For if they are arrested and tried, the truth should come out as to whether they are extreme leftists as the police are charging, or agents of the United States' Central Intelligence Agency as the Communist and Socialist parties of Chile have claimed.

It is important that the truth be known for the leftist groups are attempting to blame the United States agency for causing a split between the Marxist government of President Salvador Allende and the powerful Christian Democratic party, the major opposition party which made it possible for Allende to win the presidency in a special congressional election.

If it can be shown clearly that the CIA was not involved, as its spokesmen contend, then the leftists in Chile should suffer a setback politically and their credibility should be shattered.

Seditious plots allegedly financed by the CIA are reported almost daily in Chile's leftist newspapers. Many of these should appear less believable to Chileans if the charge of CIA involvement and responsibility for the assassination of the former vice president can be proved false.

Foreign Notes

Gunfire

Political assassination has been alien to Chile, a country with long experience in democracy, but the sharp antagonisms created by the election of Salvador Allende Gossens as Latin America's first Marxist President have shown that even Chile is not

immune to the kind of extremism that has been growing elsewhere on the continent.

Not long after Dr. Allende's election last fall the commander in chief of the Chilean Army, Gen. René Schneider Chereau, was assassinated in a bungled right-wing kidnapping that was to have culminated in a military coup. Last week a former right-wing Minister of the Interior, Edumundo Perez Zukovic, was killed by machine gun fire from a passing car as he drove out of his home, with his daughter beside him. She was unhurt.

From fingerprints found in an abandoned automobile the police named a young leftist revolutionary, Roland Rivera Calderon, as the suspected killer. Both Dr. Allende's Socialist party and the Communist party, the main props of the Government coalition, denounced the assassination but alleged that the gunman was a tool of the "extreme right" and the United States Central Intelligence Agency. The charge against the C.I.A. was dropped from the Government press after the United States made diplomatic representations. The Christian Democratic party, the principal opposition group, attributed the assassination to a "hate campaign" by Government-controlled newspapers, radio and television in which Mr. Perez Zukovic and other anti-Marxists had been characterized as seditious "enemies of the people."

E - 244,776

S - 310,357

JUN 1 3 1971

STATINTL

Chile turmoil

Can Allende's government keep peace?

(The Times' assistant news editor, Richard K. Pryne, recently returned from Chile, where he spent two months in a Latin American communications exchange sponsored by the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.)

By RICHARD K. PRYNE

The assassination in Chile of a leading Christian Democratic politician has confronted the leftist government of President Salvador Allende with a major crisis in the maintenance of public order.

And it has confronted the peaceful Chilean public with the ugly specter of violence as a factor of political life.

Both issues have been edging into public consciousness in recent months, but the assassination Tuesday in Santiago of Edmundo Perez Zujovic, a former cabinet minister, has brought them sharply into focus.

The election last fall of Allende and the inauguration of a government dominated by Socialist and Communists loosed some political currents that have run both wide and deep.

Analysis

Traditionally depressed classes, landless people, marginal industrial laborers took heart: One of their own had achieved power. Political parties that were their organized voices trumpeted their success — and fanned their expectations.

There are five major political parties in Chile and four minor parties. But there also are loose, ideological political movements that have attracted students and young people who are impatient with formal political parties.

ALLENDE'S GOVERNMENT has moved swiftly, as it promised, to redistribute land, nationalize foreign businesses and take over private banks. But for some splinter groups, it has not moved fast enough. So they have goaded the government by seizing farms, occupying factories, blocking highways and even holding sitdowns in government offices.

The Allende government has dealt with these outbursts by negotiation, consultation and compromise; persuasion is tried instead of police power. The carabineros (the national police force) evidently have no orders to prevent such illegal actions, and they do not forcibly remove demonstrators.

Most of these political movements proclaim their support of the government. One, the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), advocates violence, reveres Che Guevara, affirms its solidarity with Fidel Castro, and denounces the familiar bugaboo of United States imperialism, the capitalist system and homegrown reactionaries. The well-disciplined, orderly minded Communist Party shares the rhetoric

The government has treated the MIR gently. One of its early actions was to grant amnesty for more than 40 MIRistas convicted of or awaiting trials for rioting, bank robbery, murder and other crimes. The reasoning seemed to be that these were overenthusiastic youths whose offenses were politically motivated.

The mounting number of incidents has led to a sense of unease nationally and acute anxiety in local situations. There have been several deaths in farm-occupation attempts. Since the carabineros will not prevent raids, some farmers arm themselves and form protective patrols.

THE CHILEAN PEOPLE are among the most politically minded in the world. They love politics; their elections are models of fairness, order and participation. They are proud of their democratic liberties. Dictators never have been tolerated, and the armed forces and police scrupulously avoid political involvement.

It was the army's avoidance of a political role that led to the spectacular assassination last fall of Gen. Rene Schneider, the army chief of staff. The common theory is that some right-wing politicians, seeking to prevent Allende's election by Congress (Allende had a plurality but not a majority of the popular vote), tried to persuade army units to intervene. Schneider presumably rejected such overtures and was shot to death on a street corner in what may have been a botched kindap attempt. A retired general, Roberto Vaux, and several other persons, are awaiting trial in Santiago.

The right-wing affiliation of those accused of the conspiracy gave the left plenty of excuse to talk about subversion; C. I. A. plots and international conspiracies. The incident undoubtedly strengthened Allende's government.

But the brutal killing of Perez Zujovic this week was the other side of the coin. The police promptly identified as suspects two brothers active in the MIR and a similar extremist group called VOP (Organized Vanguard of the People).

The particular embarrassment to Allende was that one of the suspects was among the MIRistas given amnesty last year.

Perez Zukjovic had been minister of the interior and thus head of the police in the cabinet of former President Eduardo Frei. When Frei was outside the country, Perez was acting president, since Chile has no elected vice president. He had also served Frei as public-works minister and minister of economy before becoming interior minister.

Perez was known in the cabinet as Mano Duro — hard hand. The political left considered him responsible for the massacre of Puerto Montt in 1969. He had ordered carabineros to evict a group of squatters in that southern city, and 10 squatters were killed in the ensuing battle with police. Perez was exonerated after a congressional inquiry, but he subsequently resigned.

In private life he was a well-to-do contractor and he owned a fishing fleet and fish-meal plants.

(Perez' son, Edmundo Perez Yoma, attended Seattle University in 1953 and 1959 and the University of Washington from 1952 to 1962, receiving a B. A. degree in economics.)

PREDICTABLY, the political commissions of the Communist and Socialist Parties have cried that the Perez assassins were hirelings of the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

It has been the repeated boast of the Allende government that its sweeping changes in Chilean national life have been taking place "completely within the law."

But the government has not been able to prevent assassinations in six months. And the government, facing an escalating lawlessness, confronts the question of its ability to maintain public order.

1 2 JUN 1971

**CIA blamed for Chile assassination**

SANTIAGO DE CHILE — Chile's Communist and Socialist Parties on Thursday charged that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was behind the assassination of former Interior Minister Edmundo Perez Zujovic, slain last Tuesday. In an official statement, the Chilean CP said: "The technique of the assassination is that of the operations of the action commandoes of the CIA." The Socialist Party said: "The CIA, in collusion with the extreme Right, is responsible." Zujovic was a leading Christian-Democrat; his death may have been calculated to produce political division in Chile.

CIA Blamed In Chile Murder

Santiago, Chile, June 10 (AP)—The Communist and Socialist parties, the two most powerful groups in Chile's left-wing government, charged today that the United States Central Intelligence Agency was behind the assassination of a former Chilean vice president.

Stories of "seditious plots" financed by the CIA appear almost daily in leftist newspapers that support President Salvador Allende's administration. But today's claims came in formal statements from the political commissions of both parties.

The charges indicated deep concern among the Communists and Socialists about a possible open split between the Allende government and the powerful Christian Democrat party, following the assassination of Edmundo Perez Zujovic.

Mr. Perez Zujovic, 59, was interior minister and vice president in the previous Christian Democratic government of President Eduardo Frei.

The Socialists also claimed that the assassination in October of Gen. Rene Schneider, Chile's army chief, and the slaying of

Mr. Perez Zujovic were carried out "by a group of habitual delinquents in the service of the right wing and the CIA."

Puro Chile, a Communist newspaper, said that the assassins were led "by two functionaries of the CIA and five Chilean ex-policemen." The newspaper gave no details.

Police confirmed that one of the suspects sought in the murder, Arturo Rivera Calderon, 20, was one of 43 left-wing radicals pardoned from prison by Dr. Allende when he took office last fall. His brother, Ronald, also is being sought in Mr. Perez Zujovic's assassination. The government maintained tight censorship on news of the investigation. Only official bulletins were allowed to be broadcast or published.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

11 JUN 1971

Leftists Tie Killing in Chile to CIA

SANTIAGO, Chile, June 10 (AP)—The Communist and Socialist Parties charged today that the United States Central Intelligence Agency was behind the assassination of a former Chilean vice president. The parties are the two most powerful groups in Chile's leftist government.

Stories of seditious plots financed by the CIA appear almost daily in leftist newspapers which support Marxist President Salvador Allende's administration. However, today's claims came in formal statements from the political commissions of both parties.

The charges indicated deep concern among the Communists and Socialists about a possible open split between the Allende government and the powerful Christian Democrat Party, following the assassination of Edmundo Perez Zujovic. The Christian Democrats are the largest opposition party in Chile.

Perez Zujovic, 59, was interior minister and vice president in the previous Christian Democratic government of President Eduardo Frei.

He was ambushed Tuesday in his car in a suburban part of the capital by three young men in another vehicle. One of them killed him with a burst of submachine gun fire.

Police said the assassination was carried out by an ultra-left group called the Organized Vanguard of the People.

The Communist Party's political commission said the "technique of the assassination is that of the operations of a group led by the CIA."

The Socialists claimed that the October assassination of Gen. Rene Schneider, Chile's army chief, and the slaying of Perez Zujovic were carried out "by a group of habitual delinquents in the service of the right wing and the CIA."

CIA 'Plot' Claimed In Chilean's Killing

SANTIAGO, Chile -- (AP) -- The Communist and Socialist parties charged Thursday that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency engineered the assassination of former Vice President Edmundo Perez Zujovic. Police have said the murder Tuesday was committed by extreme leftists.

In Washington, a CIA spokesman described the charge against the agency as "nonsense."

Three men, believed to be the assassins, evaded police Thursday, but one was wounded in a burst of submachine-gun fire. Authorities said the three were spotted in a car and police opened fire when they sped away.

The vehicle's tires were

punctured, and the suspects fled on foot, with one later receiving treatment at a clinic for a hand wound.

POLICE HAVE officially charged Ronald Rivera Calderon, 25, with the assassination of Perez Zujovic. They also are seeking Calderon's brother Arturo, 20. The brothers reportedly are members of the Organized Vanguard of the People -- an ultra-leftist group.

Arturo was one of 43 radicals pardoned from prison by Marxist President Salvador Allende when Allende took office last fall.

The Communists and Socialists, the two most powerful groups in Allende's left-wing government, accused the CIA of complicity in the assassination in formal statements issued by both parties' political commissions.

STORIES OF "seditious plots" financed by the CIA appear almost daily in Chile's leftist newspapers, but the formal statements by the Socialists and Communists indicate their concern about a possible split between the Allende government and the powerful Christian Democratic Party.

The Christian Democrats, the major opposition party, and the right-wing National Party have claimed that Allende's toleration of armed leftist groups led to Perez Zujovic's murder.

Perez Zujovic, 59, was interior minister and vice president in the previous Christian Democratic government of President Eduardo Frei.

He was ambushed in his car in a suburban part of the capital by three young men in another vehicle. One of them killed him with a burst of submachine-gun fire at point-blank range Tuesday.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
TIMES

M - 846,132
S - 1,407,549

JUN 11 1971

2 Governing Parties in Chile Accuse C.I.A. in Killing

By JUAN de ONIS

Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, June 10—

The Communist and Socialist parties, the mainstays of Chile's coalition Government, charged today that the United States Central Intelligence Agency was involved in the assassination of Eduardo Pérez Zukovic, a Christian Democratic party leader.

The charge was made in official statements by the political committees of both parties. The pro-Government press, radio and television gave wide publicity to the statements.

United States Embassy officials were understood to be studying the statements carefully for their implications for United States relations with the Government of President Salvador Allende Gossens, a Socialist, who has said he wants the "best possible" relations with the United States.

The Socialist party statement said that the "C.I.A. in collu-

sion with the extreme right is responsible for the death" of Mr. Pérez Zukovic, who was machine-gunned from a passing car as he drove with a daughter near his home Tuesday. Mr. Pérez Zukovic, 59 years old, was Minister of Interior under President Eduardo Frei Montalva, who was Allende's immediate predecessor.

The search for the killer produced a shooting incident today when detectives fired on a car believed to contain Roland Rivera Calderon, a left-wing extremist who federal investigators say led the assassination plot.

The bullet-riddled car was abandoned and the occupants escaped. Later, three men reportedly visited a health clinic and one man sought treatment for a hand wound. They left in a car before the police arrived.

Mr. Rivera Calderon, who is 24 years old, is a former member of the Revolutionary Left Movement, the most important

Marxist action group in Chile. Its leadership, although outside Dr. Allende's Government, met with the President yesterday and condemned the killing.

Miguel Enríquez, the leader of the Revolutionary Left Movement, said that the killing was the work of the "extreme right and the C.I.A.," a charge repeated by the two Government parties today.

The charge appeared to be a rejection by the leftist parties of demands by Christian Democratic leaders that Dr. Allende move against extremist armed groups.

The Revolutionary Left Movement, working with peasants, students and labor organizations, has led farm invasions, seizures of schools and occupations of industries, some of which have then been taken over by state agencies "to maintain production."

Dr. Allende has publicly rejected these tactics and has called for legal, orderly progress toward socialization of the

economy. But the Government, and particularly the Socialist party, maintain close relations with the movement's leaders.

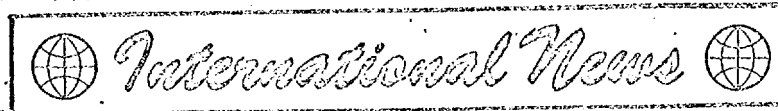
Meanwhile, the Communist party and Central Labor Union, which the party controls, moved to mobilize workers in factories and on farms for "worker vigilance committees."

These committees are meant to contribute to labor discipline and fulfillment of production goals both in state enterprises and in private factories and farms.

The Government's concern over production was reflected in a long meeting today of Dr. Allende with his economic advisers and presidents of political parties of the Popular Unity coalition on the situation in the large copper mines. These mines, in which the three United States copper companies have large interests, are due for nationalization under a constitutional reform that has been given preliminary approval by Congress.

Around the World**CIA Blamed**

SANTIAGO—The Communist and Socialist parties, which are the most powerful groups in Chile's left-wing government, charged that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was behind the assassination of a former Chilean vice president. In formal statement the two parties said the CIA was involved in the submachine-gun killing of Edmundo Perez Zujovic, 59, a conservative politician.

REF ID: A66716
8 JUNE 1971

Chile's intellectuals defend Cuba

SANTIAGO DE CHILE—Eighty prominent Chilean intellectuals issued a statement in Santiago on Saturday condemning those who lent their names and talents to an imperialist-inspired slander campaign against Cuba. The statement was in direct reference to the so-called "Padilla case" in Cuba, and pointed out that poet Heberto Padilla had admitted he slandered the Cuban revolution and had contacts with CIA agents. The Chilean intellectuals sharply attacked a statement issued under the name of French novelist Jean-Paul Sartre and several others protesting Cuba's handling of the "Padilla case."

The Chileans said: "We think the time is ripe for every worker in the cultural field to determine his place and his position in the construction of a new society. There is no room for hesitation on this question. We believe every progressive writer must be a revolutionary and support the people."

"We completely agree with Fidel Castro's remarks that it is necessary to intensify the struggle against imperialist ideology and colonialism in culture. We believe national cultural values must belong to the entire people and not to unrepresentative groups of individuals. We support the Cuban's efforts to build a new socialist society." The statement was signed by Chilean National Literary Award winners Juvencio Valle and Carlos Droguett, writers Guillermo Atlas, Antonio Scarmeta, Gonzalo Rojas, painters Jose Balmes, Guillermo Nunez and 73 other Chilean intellectuals.

New U.S. radio station in Greece

SALONIKA, Greece—The U.S. and the Greek fascist junta last weekend signed a new agreement extending the broadcast rights of the Voice of America radio station for another 14 months and providing for the establishment of a new VOA station at Kavalla, in northwestern Greece. The new station is very powerful (2,500 kilowatts) and will be backed up by a "Radio Free Europe" station which is to be set up nearby. Radio Free Europe is a branch of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Reasons for the moves closer to the Yugoslav border were not disclosed.

JUN 6 1970

CIA or Drugs, Latin Leftists Blame Peace Corps

By FRANK SOLER
Herald Latin America Staff

America's young "ambassadors of peace" are increasingly running into hostility abroad.

This is especially true of the Peace Corps in Latin America, where a rising leftist-nationalist wave is sweeping the continent.

Hailed by many Latin Americans as the most imaginative of President Kennedy's New Frontier programs when it was created a decade ago, the Peace Corps now is being damned by leftist-nationalists in that region as:

⊙ A cover for CIA espionage activities.

⊙ A supporter of oppressive governments and an outlet for "imperialistic" propaganda.

⊙ An organization bent on propagating the use of harmful drugs among Latin America's young.

⊙ A "fascist" enterprise whose aim is to destroy Latin America's vast Indian population through the use of family planning, contraceptives and even sterilization of Indian women.

Although none of the charges have been substantiated, they recently prompted the ouster of about 120 members of the Peace Corps mission from Bolivia.

Paradoxically, shepherds in Bolivia were using rusty tin cans to shear sheep until the Peace Corps introduced shears in 1962 and increased wool production by thousands of pounds a year.

Another country, Panama, requested the withdrawal of the more than 80 Peace Corps contingent from its territory in February, ostensibly because the Panamanian government would institute a Peace Corps of its own. The last of the volunteers returned to the United States in April.

"We can enlist Panamanian volunteers to do the same thing the Peace Corps is doing," Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Antonio Tack told the United States. He said the decision "does not necessarily mean relations between our two countries are cooler."

However, the request came after repeated skirmishes between Panamanian strongman Gen. Omar Torrijos and the United States over the granting of political asylum in the American-controlled Canal Zone to persons wanted by the Torrijos regime.

But it was in Bolivia, where the bizarre is often commonplace, that the Peace Corps came under the heaviest fire.

Hardly a week has gone by without a verbal attack against the Peace Corps since army Gen. Juan Jose Torres seized the presidency in a flurry of coups and counter-coups last October and declared his leftist-nationalist intentions.

One week the leftist press would accuse Peace Corpsmen of being CIA agents in mufti.

The next they would berate the Peace Corps for "imperialism" and its aid to governments whose political philosophies counter to their own.

When narcotics arrests were made by police, the leftist press would blame the Peace Corps for introducing the drugs into Bolivia.

Finally, leftists claimed the Peace Corps was sterilizing Indian women to exterminate the race.

One Peace Corps volunteer was accused of running a brothel.

The charges were ridiculous and few believed them. But the Peace Corps was still given notice in mid-May to

When word of the expulsion from Bolivia reached Washington, Peace Corps officials issued a cautious statement which said, in part:

"We are aware of no specific reasons given by the Bolivian government for this action. It is noted, however, that recently many articles have appeared in the Bolivian press accusing the Peace Corps of everything from being 'imperialistic spies' to sterilizing Bolivian Indian women."

"The charges in Bolivia are one of those things that don't really need an answer," says Warren Dunn, director of Public Relations for the Peace Corps.

"The accusation of being a CIA front is an old song. We have faced that everywhere we go. It is politically inspired. It is not true now, it never has been and never will be.

"As far as the sterilization charges go, we were involved in some family planning and physical hygiene programs, but we had nothing to do with any sterilization.

"The charge was trumped up by people who . . . let's say they didn't have the best interests of the Peace Corps at heart."

Dunn is noncommittal about other possible trouble spots for the Peace Corps in that region -- namely Chile, now run by a Marxist government, and Peru, where a leftist-nationalist military junta is in power.

(In the fall of 1969 before Marxist Salvador Allende was elected president, the Chilean legislature unanimously voted to investigate leftist charges that the Peace Corps was riddled with CIA spies. The charges triggered a controversy, but no evidence of CIA involvement

"There are no major problems in those countries," Dunn says. "The problems are minor, of the kind you have whenever you are running an operation like ours."

The "operation," as Dunn calls it, is a far cry from 1961, when 12 volunteers were sent to Colombia to trailblaze Peace Corps activities in Latin America.

Excluding Bolivia and Panama, the Peace Corps now is represented in 18 Latin American and Caribbean countries.

With more than 1,000 men and nearly 1,000 women, The Peace Corps' Latin American program covers the largest area in the world. Africa is second.

There now are 347 Peace Corpsmen in Brazil; 37 in British Honduras; 83 in Chile; 191 in Colombia; 90 in Costa Rica (with the possibility that those expelled from Bolivia may be transferred there); 65 in the Dominican Republic; 170 in the eastern Caribbean; 22 in Ecuador; 70 in El Salvador; 75 in Guatemala; 20 in Guyana; 150 in Honduras; 180 in Jamaica; 65 in Nicaragua; 63 in Paraguay, 219 in Peru; nine in Uruguay and 200 in Venezuela.

THE HAND OF THE CIA

IN THE morning of June 8, the car in which former Chilean Interior Minister Edmundo Perez Zujovic was driving with his daughter was sprayed with bullets. Senor Zujovic was hit and died a few minutes later.

This was not the first time that the terrorists' shots rang out in Santiago after the advent to power of Salvador Allende's Administration. The Chilean ultras do not confine themselves to slander and economic sabotage to achieve their aims.

From the very first, there was no doubt that Zujovic was killed by the ultra-Right. One had only to ask who stood to gain by it for this to become abundantly clear. The former Interior Minister in Eduardo Frei's government was chosen as the victim for good reason: he was a prominent member of the Christian Democratic Party, the main Opposition force, and the killers knew that the crime would have widespread repercussions. It did. The assassination of Zujovic shocked the country. It should be pointed out that the Left wing of the Christian Democratic Party had formerly displayed an inclination to co-operate with the Popular Unity Bloc. The killers hoped to put a halt to this tendency by making it appear that Zujovic had been killed by Left elements.

Investigations revealed that the assassin was one Ronaldo Rivera Calderon, who was assisted by his brother Arturo. Both died in an exchange of shots with the police on June 13. They had criminal records and had belonged at one time to a number of "Leftist" organizations. One of them was associated with the extremist Popular Organized Vanguard in which, Chilean reports say, the Central Intelligence Agency had been very active.

The CIA has long been employing criminals for provocations of this kind, and not only in Chile. It will be recalled that the American ultras, wishing to whip up anti-communist hysteria in the United States, claimed that Lee Oswald,

the man accused of killing President Kennedy, had been a member of a pro-Cuban organization.

Zujovic's murder was immediately condemned by the Popular Unity Bloc government and all Left parties and organizations in Chile. President Allende personally ordered the police to spare no efforts in the search for the killers, and sent a bill to Congress calling for capital punishment for political assassinations.

The investigations into the murder are still going on. The newspaper Puro Chile reports that terrorist activity in the country is directed by a group consisting of two CIA agents and five former Chilean police officers. Jose Toha, the present Minister of the Interior, is reported to have said that the killing of Zujovic was part of a plan drawn up by the reactionary forces, the general outlines of which had been known to the authorities for a month and a half. The very name of the plan, Calvo Sotelo, was calculated to create tension in the country: Calvo Sotelo, it may be recalled, was an eminent Spanish monarchist whose murder in July 1936 was used as a pretext for the fascist rebellion against the Spanish Republic.

The reactionaries, President Allende said the other day, had hoped to plunge Chile into a fratricidal war. That was their maximum programme. The minimum programme was to raise new barriers on the path of progressive reforms, sow discord among the Chileans and create the impression that government by the Popular Unity Bloc meant "anarchy" and "chaos."

Judging by everything, however, they have failed to make any political capital on the murder of the former Interior Minister. The bloody provocation, in which the hand of the CIA is clearly discernible, has shown the millions of Chileans that the treacherous enemy will stop at nothing to subvert the country's progress.

Juan Cobo

Are We Interfering Unduly?

A critical review of this country's foreign intelligence organizations is said to be under consideration by President Nixon. They cost too much (several billion dollars a year), and their performance has too often been seriously at fault. At important turns, they have provided inadequate or misleading information.

The latest example of this was seen in the invasion of Laos. The preparatory intelligence indicated that there would not be massive resistance. But that is precisely what Saigon's forces ran into—35,000 of Hanoi's troops as against 17,000 of Saigon's. The result was a rout.

That intelligence failure had been preceded by others. One concerned the supposed presence of American prisoners of war at Sontay. An elaborate and dangerous raid was undertaken; it was fruitless. Then, there was the supposed presence of a major Hanoi headquarters just over the Cambodian border. It was never found. Also, the massive Tet offensive some time back was altogether unexpected.

Indeed, the Vietnam war as a whole may fairly be characterized as a failure in intelligence. Thus, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker gave an interview in Saigon this week, in which he said, "We really didn't understand the kind of war we were engaged in. So it was difficult, it took time." And this after the notorious experience of the French in Vietnam, the British in Malaysia, and others elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Despite our costly intelligence, we just didn't know what we were getting into.

But perhaps more momentous for the future is what the Central Intelligence Agency is commonly believed to be doing in other countries, particularly those in Latin America.

All kinds of chicanery and violence are arbitrarily attributed to the C.I.A. That agency is represented as practically omnipresent and omnipotent, as well as totally unscrupulous and malicious. It would appear that in Latin America, for example, there is a prevalent obsession with the C.I.A., and everything adverse — with the possible exception of hail storms and hangnails — is blamed on the

C.I.A., much as, in our own country, a Communist plot is seen by some as accounting for anything from an early voting age to a late spring.

However, it is not only the feverishly imaginative and the bitterly anti-North American in Latin America who charge that the C.I.A. is interfering in the internal affairs of the countries to the south of us. This is also alleged by persons well informed, well balanced, and well disposed to us.

They are troubled by what they see as the intensification of Yankee economic imperialism in the Latin American world. This, they say, is what is effected in the last analysis by all our aid and development programs. Such undertakings are professedly designed to help the economic, social, and political progress of the indigent Latin American masses. But in fact they do nothing of the sort. Rather, they serve the immediate advantage of the already highly privileged oligarchies in the various countries, and enable North Americans to exert still more control over Latin America and wring still more wealth from it.

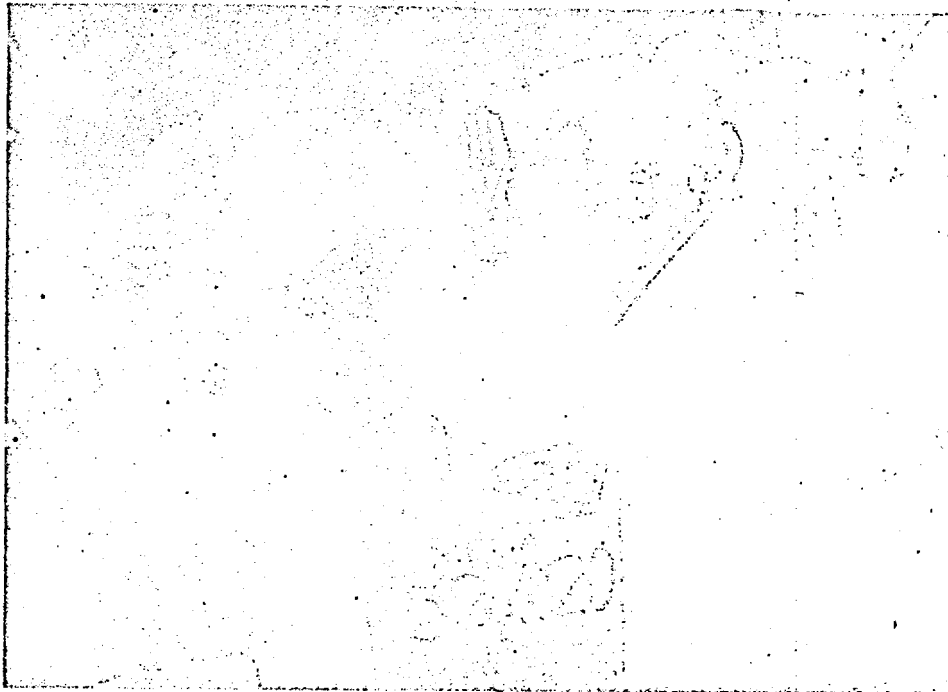
But where does the C.I.A. come into it? More and more people in Latin America are convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the C.I.A. is safeguarding the inordinate North American economic interest in the Latin American countries by secretly acting to keep complaisant regimes in power and to destroy native reformist or revolutionary movements. The alleged means run the gamut from the arrangement of political murder to the infiltration of the universities. It has been said that a turn to the left in Chile, Peru, and Bolivia has been facilitated by resentment of C.I.A. interference in the domestic affairs of those countries.

Sorting fact from fantasy in such matters is not easy. But at the very least it must be recognized that a popular impression of C.I.A. intervention in the internal business of friendly nearby countries is damaging to American prestige. If, while we are fighting a bootless battle on the other side of the world, we are alienating our neighbors by meddling in their domestic affairs, that is an incalculably expensive mistake.

10 April 71

THE WORLD

Chile with Allende



Allende adds his own; when you're leading by a nose, every vote counts

The Socialist triumph no doubt reflects Dr Allende's personal popularity, but the Communists are unlikely to relish the fact that they are no longer the largest party in *Unidad Popular* and must be looking forward with some misgivings to the cabinet reshuffle that is expected in the wake of the elections. And on the right of the ruling coalition the Radicals—tainted of late by a pungent breath of scandal—lost ground and scored only 9 per cent of the votes. This, together with the fact that the fall of a Radical minister seems imminent, will mean a diminished role for the Radicals in the alliance, and thus a further shift to the left inside the cabinet.

Few eyebrows were raised in Santiago at the news of the results, although there was bound to be gnashing of teeth—especially among the Nationalists, who slipped back to third place with 18.1 per cent of the votes. Dr Allende's government is still in the honeymoon phase, and has profited from the first flush of enthusiasm for its reform programme. A public opinion poll conducted in Santiago a fortnight before the elections showed that Dr Allende's strongest supporters are in the ranks of working-class women; some 89 per cent of this group thought that the situation in the country was "satisfactory" or "good," and the government measures that tickled their fancy most were the free distribution of milk to children, the price freeze, and the "readjustment" of incomes.

It must be added that *Unidad Popular* tried hard. The huge painted slogans that shriek at the visitor from almost every public wall in Santiago are visual testimony to that. And then there was the kind of psychological warfare that one writer in the Christian Democratic newspaper *La Prensa*, called "the Reichstag fire technique." In the weeks before April 4th the air was thick with rumours of plots and dire conspiracies. Dr Allende claimed there had been repeated attempts on his life. He announced that "reactionary elements" had been preparing to butcher 10,000 Socialists;

The new Machiavelli

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

President Allende was right when he prophesied that the results of Chile's municipal elections would have "more than symbolic significance." What happened on Sunday was less a matter of electing 1,600-odd local officials than of passing judgment on the first five months of Dr Allende's government. That judgment was sufficiently unequivocal for the secretary-general of the Socialist party, Sr Carlos Altamirano, to claim that it was a clear popular mandate for the government to push ahead with its plans to make Chile, after Cuba, "the second free territory of America." But Sr Altamirano is not noted for his talents as an election commentator—he was opposed to the idea of contesting last September's presidential election on the ground that a Socialist leader

would never be allowed to take office—and Dr Allende may see things differently.

Candidates of the *Unidad Popular* alliance pulled in 49.7 per cent of the votes, compared with Dr Allende's 36.3 per cent in September. This was a very tangible gain, but not quite an absolute majority, and still less the landslide victory that Dr Allende may have privately hoped for. And on top of that the results may give rise to bickering within the *Unidad Popular* family. The Communists enlarged their vote and won 16.6 per cent, but the Socialists leapfrogged over them to win 22.3 per cent (almost twice as many votes as they scored in the last municipal elections). They were not enough to make them the second largest party in Chile).

Peace Plan Peace Corps There

U.S. Reported Shifting Guatemala Envoy to Chile

STATINTL

By WILLIAM MONTALBANO
Herald Latin America Correspondent

Career diplomat Nathaniel P. Davis, the U.S. ambassador to Guatemala, will be named to the hot-seat ambassadorship in Chile, informed sources in Washington said Tuesday.

Davis, who was once acting director of the Peace Corps in Chile, would replace Edward M. Korry, whose sensitive post has made him a controversial figure in Chilean politics.

The sources envisioned no announcement of the ambassadorial change until after the echoes of last Sunday's municipal elections in Chile subside.

THE MARXIST-DOMINATED government of President Salvador Allende, which strengthened its position in Sunday's voting, will soon complete plans to nationalize major U.S. investments in the Chilean copper industry.

How much compensation is paid to the U.S. companies, and in what form, will have major impact on U.S.-Chilean relations, and will undoubtedly involve the U.S. ambassador.

U.S. relations with Chile have been correct, if not enthusiastic, in the first months of the Allende government.

DAVIS, who was previous-

ly ambassador to Costa Rica and minister to Hungary and Bulgaria, is a veteran of 24 years in the Foreign Service.

He was named to the post in Guatemala in 1968 to replace Ambassador John Gordon Mein, who was killed by terrorists as he sought to thwart a kidnaping attempt.

Heavily guarded throughout his ambassadorship, Davis made a point of maintaining routine public contacts, and once noted "life is more normal than the existence of police protection would indicate."

There is speculation in Washington Davis would be replaced in Guatemala by William G. Bowdler, the ambassador to El Salvador since 1968.

THE CHILEAN PRESS has long speculated that Korry would be replaced in Santiago. A former correspondent, he was named ambassador to Ethiopia by John Kennedy, and to Chile by Lyndon Johnson.

As the most visible American in Chile, Korry has long been a prime target for the Marxist press. Even before Allende's election last year he was accused -- and stoutly defended by the State Department -- of meddling in Chilean internal affairs.

The attacks reached a crescendo following Allende's election, when the Marxist press accused Korry of everything from flooding Chile with CIA agents to subverting Chilean youth with smuggled marijuana.

Despite the uneasy climate, Korry has met on several occasions with Allende and high ranking members of his government.

Chilean Revolution: The Bullet or the Ballot

For the past several decades, Chile has been the only country in Latin America (Cuba excepted) in which the organized working class has been both politically and socially significant and also led by Marxian socialists.

WHEN ASKED BY A REPORTER what he thought the recent election of Marxist Salvador Allende meant, a Chilean peasant replied: "Now it's our turn."

That puts the issue nicely. Does the fact that Chile now has a freely elected President who won "without soft-peddalling the Marxist revolutionary program he hopes to carry out" (New York Times) really mean that at last it's the "turn" of the peasants and workers? The answer is not so simple as one might first expect.

Allende ran as the coalition candidate of the mass-based Communist and left-Socialist parties, the old Radical Party (whose only ideology is opportunism) and the independent Catholic revolutionaries (MAPU). He pledged to put Chile "on the road to socialism" by taking over the major domestic and U.S. corporations, the banks and insurance companies and large agrarian estates, and by instituting democratic planning in the interests of the nation as a whole. Thus, the question: Can the Chileans put through a socialist revolution via the historically unprecedented route of constitutional amendment, presidential leadership and parliamentary legislation, while the parties, the mass media and the unified organizations of the propertied classes still vie freely in the political arena, and the old Army (46,000 strong)

and crack police force, the *carabineros* (24,000), remain intact and untouched?

On the face of it the question seems extraordinarily silly, if not absurd, especially in a period in which the U.S. government has repeatedly intervened in the internal affairs of other countries to resist movements for national independence and social reform. Whether radical or reform governments were elected democratically or not has never mattered in the past, either to the local ruling class or the U.S. government. Time after time—in the Dominican Republic, in Brazil, in British Guyana and elsewhere—Washington and its ruling-class allies have opposed, undermined and subverted popularly based constitutional governments. In 1954 the CIA overthrew the constitutional reform government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala and sponsored a dictatorship that returned expropriated properties to the United Fruit Company, repealed social reforms, gave oil concessions to American companies, smashed trade unions and killed hundreds—perhaps thousands—of workers and peasants.

In 1967 the reform government of the freely elected Greek Premier Andreas Papandreu, an anti-communist and Social Democrat, was overthrown by a combination of Greek and foreign investors in league with the Army. They destroyed parliamentary democracy as soon as it looked like

by Maurice Zeitlin

Photographs by Alejandro Stuart

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Chilean economy frail under Allende

By JAMES M. WHELAN
 Scripps-Hornell Staff Writer

SANTIAGO — In the nearly five months that Marxist President Salvador Allende Gossens has headed Chile's government widening cracks have appeared in the economy—and U.S. mining interests increasingly are getting blamed.

Caught in the squeeze between economic pressures and crucial nationwide elections April 4, the Allende government has uncoiled a propaganda campaign, including a far-fetched charge that American copper interests, allegedly master-minded by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), have plotted to drive copper prices down.

Chile, the world's largest exporter of copper, gets 80 per cent of its export earnings from copper.

Production lately has slipped by 30 to 35 per cent, and the government last week admitted Chile was unable to meet some delivery obligations. Chile's difficulties actually have pushed prices up on the London copper market, from a low of 45 cents a pound in January to a high last week of 55.75 cents per pound.

Labor difficulties

Copper company officials attribute falling production to labor difficulties, disruptions caused by politically active unions identified with the government, an accelerating "brain drain" and sagging morale.

The latter two they connect to impending government takeovers and public attacks on "exorbitant" salaries paid management and top engineers, culminating in a ruling requiring all to be shifted from dollar to much lower local currency payrolls as of May 1.

Noting January-February smelter production was off 30 per cent, one executive said the drop was due entirely to loss of key personnel since Allende's election.

Other highlights of the economic situation: At mid-March, unemployment hit an all-time high—250,000 in a total work force of three million—and showed signs of worsening.

Unemployment was about 180,000 when Allende took office last Nov. 3.

Latest International Monetary Fund figures available pegged Chile's international reserves at \$345 million as of Jan. 31, down from the record \$135 million Allende inherited. Private bank sources, however, said they have since fallen to

Chile's currency, the escudo, has held firm at about 14.35 to the U.S. dollar, protected by severe penalties against blackmarketeering. But foreign traders in Buenos Aires, Miami and elsewhere offer 25 to 30 escudos to the dollar.

While the 1971 harvest just completed was good in almost all categories, a crash program of farm expropriations, aggravated by illegal armed seizures, seriously threatens future farm output. Chile already spends nearly \$200 million yearly on food imports.

On the plus side, retail sales hit record levels in January and February and the country's major resort, Vina del Mar, hosted record crowds in the summer season just ended. Chile's tourist season this year benefited from an unprecedented influx of visitors from neighboring Argentina.

Inflation was slowed to a crawl in January and February, for perhaps the first time in a century. But this was accomplished mostly through an absolute freeze on prices decreed in December. And the freeze had the effect of slowing even more industrial and agricultural output, already only marginally profitable.

In large measure, these problems reflect the refusal of industrialists and big farmers to sink more money into properties they stand to lose in the switch from capitalism to socialism. They fear if the economy crumbles too quickly, Allende may be forced to resort to illegal measures, ending in strong-arm rule, to avert disaster.

Forced to sell holdings

The main targets of government attack are the three American copper companies, Anaconda, Kennecott and Cerro. They have \$125 million of the total U.S. investment in Chile of \$345 million, and together produced 540,000 metric tons of Chile's total copper output of 635,000 tons last year.

Under the previous Christian Democrat government, the American firms had been forced to sell 51 per cent of their holdings to Chilean interests, mainly the government. An Allende-drafted constitutional amendment expected to clear congress next month would compel them to liquidate completely.

The key issues are the form and amount of payment, since the legislation would permit Allende to deduct from the total "excess profits" made by the companies in the past decade. The government has gone to great lengths to prove the profits have been excessive.

The Allende government is anxious, however, to avoid a confrontation with the United States, which outright expropriation almost certainly would provoke. American taxpayers have insured all American investments here to that extent.

The biggest single policy covers the Chilean Telephone Co., subsidiary of New York-based International Telephone and Telegraph Co. (ITT), an expropriation target not immediately threatened.

Other major American investments include Bethlehem Steel (around \$30 million), and two ITT-owned Sheraton hotels here, (\$7 million). The government is expected to announce shortly a cash purchase agreement with Bethlehem.

An RCA subsidiary in Chile recently sold its majority interest to a government corporation, and two smaller American companies were expropriated earlier in the Allende administration.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
20 MAR 1971

CHILE

The Chilean government last week uncovered an international plot to drive down the price of copper abroad. The scheme was to offer nonexistent copper for sale in Europe, where the price has gone up from 45.6¢ to 50¢ a pound due to a falling-behind in the production schedule in Chile. The Chilean government arrested six people including an American, Howard C.J.O. Edwards, who was identified as a member of the CIA. Copper production has fallen behind somewhat since U.S., Canadian and other foreign managers, engineers and other technical workers have left the country. Others have been charged with sabotage. . . . The vice-president of the Chilean state copper corporation last week charged some U.S. companies with deliberately holding back production. He said production in the big mines controlled by the U.S. dropped by 18% last year compared with the previous year. . . . Beginning in April, Chile will sell its copper directly on the foreign market, cancelling its contract with the Anaconda Sales Company, a subsidiary of the U.S.-owned Anaconda Copper Company. . . . Some 100 people occupied seven unfinished blocks of apartments in central Santiago last week. Police sent to the area took no action against the squatters.

29 MAR 1971

Latin using them to ease rough situations

'Plots' on the rise in Americas

By VIRGINIA PREWITT



THAT hoary chestnut, the "international plot," is popping up all over in Latin America these days. From "Papa Doc" Duvalier in Haiti to President Salvador Allende in Chile, Latin Americans are falling back on this device to help them over rough places.

Dr. Allende has an "imperialist plot" with CIA trimmings going strong in Chile. He may be whipping up emotion that he hopes will carry his already troubled administration to victory in important April 5 municipal elections.

But leftists in both Peru and Bolivia in recent times exploited international plot charges just before they seized U.S. oil properties. So there is speculation that Dr. Allende wants to announce Chile will pay little or nothing for U.S. copper properties he is about to take over — and wants nationalistic feeling running high when he does.

"Papa Doc," Dr. Allende, former President Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic, factions in Costa Rica, sectors of the Panama press and Ecuadorian officials have rung the changes recently on the plot theme.

No matter how much you may doubt the curative value of Dr. Allende's Marxist-Leninist prescriptions for Chile's ills, it must be recognized that he came into the presidency with much personal respect. His manipulations of the old plot ploy may very well shrink this international image.

FATAL PROCESS

"Papa Doc" traditionally punishes "plot-ers," a process often fatal for those accused, after he has had a reverse of a spell of increased physical weakness. He is now attempt-

ing to strengthen his regime of terror by charging 37 people, some of them army officers, with complicity in a May, 1968, invasion attempt. Some of the accused have been in jail nearly a year in connection with a later incident and their prospects are not bright, judging from the record.

In the Dominican Republic, Juan Bosch recently tried to inflate a localized political conflict into a runaway national crisis with charges the CIA is responsible for mysterious murders of Dominican leftists — with President Joaquin Balaguer in effect winking at it all. A more firmly-based national quarrel with Haiti stole his thunder, however.

ASKED WITHDRAWAL

In February, Panama's military rulers, frankly piqued because U.S. narcotics investigators gathered evidence in Panama without official permission, asked our Peace Corps to withdraw after the U.S. also arrested a Panamanian in the Canal Zone on drug charges. Press sharpies and the rumor mill said our Peace Corps was in a plot with the CIA, and connected the events.

Ecuadorians, including officials, have freely speculated that the recent concentration of an extra-large fleet of U.S. tuna boats off Ecuador — a circumstance that led to numerous arrests and a U.S.-Ecuadorian controversy over sea limits — was "plotted" as a provocation by the U.S. tuna industry.

In a sub-plot, former President Alfredo Ovando of Bolivia is being accused of having his long-time partner, the late President Rene Barrientos, and four others mysteriously murdered. The charge is that Mosers, Ovando and Barrientos were in a deal to smuggle arms to Israel and Mr. Ovando arranged all the deaths because he feared the dead four would reveal this. Mr. Barrientos died in a flaming helicopter crash in April, 1969.

17 MAR 1977

Chile Increasingly Blames 'International Conspiracy' for

By JUAN de ONIS

Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, March 16

As Chile's economic and political difficulties sharpen, the Government and the Marxist parties that support it are increasingly blaming "an international conspiracy" for their problems.

After statements in the pro-Government press charged a "seditious plot," President Salvador Allende Gossens said Sunday in a speech that he would tell the country in a few days about "the conspiracy not only against the Government, but against Chile."

El Siglo, the newspaper of the Chilean Communist party, which forms part of the Government, charges almost daily that the "plot" against the Government is organized by "North American imperialism" through agents of the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

Copper a Sensitive Sector

The emphasis on an "external enemy" in the official statements and Marxist press is of growing concern to Americans here, who fear that Dr. Allende's stated policy of maintaining good relations with the United States is under pressure from circumstances and radical elements.

Criticism by Government spokesmen has focused on the sensitive area of copper, the economic sector in which United States private investment is heaviest, totaling more than \$700-million.

Since Dr. Allende sent to Congress a constitutional change under which the copper industry will be nationalized, production at the major mines

has been falling short of scheduled levels.

The Minister of Mines, Orlando Cantuarias, has said that official investigators sent to mines under American management found that "badly conceived technical plans" and poor mining practices, designed to remove high-grade ore without regard for long-term output, were causing the decline in production.

Industry sources attribute the declines to technical breakdowns with new equipment, labor problems and the loss of nearly 300 managers and engineers, both foreigners and Chileans, in the four months since Dr. Allende took office.

Government is Rebuffed

This drain has taken place despite Government efforts to persuade mining officials to remain. But constant political attacks on the mine management by the radical press and some fear among families living at the isolated mines have contributed to departures.

An example is the production decline at El Teniente mine, which is under a management contract with the Kennecott Copper Corporation. Production in January was 12,900 metric tons, compared with a scheduled production of 20,000 tons.

Jalme Falvoich, general counsel of the Chilean State Copper Corporation, which holds a 51 per cent interest in El Teniente and other major mines, denounced on television last night the "incompetent management" of Robert W. Haldeman, the American executive who has developed the Teniente operation over the last 20 years.

Under existing contracts

Chile must retain Kennecott's management services until El Teniente pays an \$8-million debt to Kennecott and a similar obligation to the Export-Import Bank, a United States Government institution.

Production problems have also developed at the Chuquibambata and El Salvador mines, which are joint ventures with the Anaconda Mining Company. With the exodus of foreign personnel, these mines are now entirely under Chilean management.

With the copper situation becoming an issue in the campaign for municipal elections next month, the Government has given much publicity to an attempt by an obscure international commercial group, Internordia Finance of Zurich, Switzerland, to buy almost a million tons of copper over 4 to 10 years from the Chilean Copper Corporation, which is responsible for foreign sales.

Seven members of the Inter-

ernordia group, including one United States citizen, are in jail here on charges of having violated Chile's "economic security" by offering to sell in Europe and the United States copper to which they had not yet obtained legal possession.

Letter Is Cited

El Siglo has identified the United States citizen, Howard C. Edwards of Hollywood, Fla., as an "agent of the C.I.A." The charge is based on a credit reference letter, carried by Mr. Edwards in his wallet, that identified him as a former Air Force major in the intelligence field and as a veteran of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, which had United States support.

Mr. Edwards is under indictment in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., for conspiracy to commit fraud, according to the United States Embassy here.

It added that the Florida state attorney's office has on file a deposition by a former employe of a retail credit company who says he agreed to falsify Mr. Edwards's credit rating file and that the letter Mr. Edwards was carrying here was dictated by him as part of a ruse to obtain a favorable credit standing.

The members of the Internordia group under arrest are being held incommunicado under court orders. [United Press International reported Tuesday that Mr. Edwards was said to be suffering from "a cardiac infection" and was receiving medical treatment in the Santiago prison.]

Meanwhile, the opposition Christian Democratic party has charged through its president, Senator Narciso Irureta, that the copper deal here included an offer by the group to pay kickbacks from \$2 to \$7 a ton to unidentified Government copper officials.

Woods

13 Mar 1971

LATIN AMERICA

CHILE

The head of Chile's Investigation Police recently told La Prensa, a Christian-Democratic newspaper, that "an attempt on the life of President Salvador Allende continues to be a plan which is kept on file with local reactionary sectors and the CIA." It is for this reason, he said, that Allende has a bodyguard. He was answering a campaign by segments of the population who opposed Allende's having a bodyguard. . . . Allende withdrew a bill that would have established citizens' neighborhood courts last week when it appeared certain Congress would reject the plan. The courts of neighborhood peers would have tried cases involving drunkenness and other petty offenses as part of a planned overhaul of Chile's courts. In another defeat for Allende's progressive government, the Congress rejected his ambassadorial appointments to Yugoslavia and Cuba.



Howard Edwards
... 'conspiracy'

Chile Sets Trial for Edwards

By Herald Wire Services

SANTIAGO, Chile — Howard Edwards, once the key figure in bribery accusations against Dade County State Attorney Richard Gerstein, was ordered Friday to stand trial in connection with an alleged "international plot" to drive down the price of Chilean copper.

Edwards and six associates — two Chileans, two Argentinians, one Uruguayan and one Swiss — also were charged under Chile's Internal Security Act.

Orlando Cantuarias, minister of mines, told the Chilean Senate that there was a conspiracy to drive down the price of copper abroad by offering nonexistent copper for sale in Europe.

Edwards and his associates reportedly offered to purchase 60,000 tons of electrolytic copper over a 10-year period as part of the conspiracy.

Full details have not yet emerged and the government has been circumspect in releasing details about the case.

Chile's Communist press has labeled the "copper scandal" a U.S. plot against Chile, and has accused Edwards of being an agent of the CIA.

Edwards, who is well known in South Florida for his repeated, grandiose business schemes, is under indictment in Fort Lauderdale on a perjury count in a civil suit.

His association with Gerstein in the heat of the 1963 election campaign was thrown out by the Dade

Chile Reported Unable to Fill Contracts for Export of Copper

By JUAN DE ONIS

Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, March 11 — Copper production at Chile's major mines, which face the prospect of nationalization, has fallen short of goals and is insufficient to meet export-sales contracts, industry sources report.

The problem in the major mines, where there are large American investments, is caused in part by the resignation or retirement of more than 300 top executives and technicians, both foreign and Chilean, since President Salvador Allende Gossens took office last November.

The reported inability of Chile's copper companies to meet in full scheduled deliveries to some European purchasers had lifted the price of copper on the London Metals Exchange from about 45.6 cents a pound in January to close to 50 cents today.

80% of Export Income

Copper makes up more than 80 per cent of Chile's export income, and the lag in production has contributed to a drop in exchange reserves. Banking sources said that the loss of reserves had been more than \$100-million since Dr. Allende's leftist Government took office. At that time, reserves were close to \$500-million.

Dr. Allende proposed a constitutional amendment to nationalize the large copper properties that are operated by mixed Chilean-United States companies, in which Anaconda, Kennecott and the Cerro Corporation have investments of more than \$700-million.

The Senate completed approval of the plan last month, and the legislation is now before the Chamber of Deputies. The schedule for committee and floor debate in the chamber will put off final approval until at least mid-April.

Meanwhile, the management problems in the mines appear to be increasing.

At the Chiquitcamata, Salvador and Exótica mines, at which Anaconda provides the basic management, 80 United States, Canadian and other foreign managers and engineers have exercised their option to be given new jobs by Anaconda outside Chile, starting this month.

Efforts to persuade the foreign personnel to remain for at least a transitional period beyond the nationalization have been unsuccessful. For one thing, the foreigners feel har-

assed because left-wing politicians and publications have publicly charged them with sabotage.

At El Teniente mine, where production expansion was supposed to raise output from 190,000 metric tons to 280,000 tons this year, many top-level management and technical officials have either taken new mining jobs outside Chile or have retired.

Production at the large mines accounted for 540,000 metric tons in last year's total output of 685,000 tons in all Chilean copper mines. On the basis of expectations of production expansion this year as a result of completion of new mines and expansion investment, sales contracts for this year committed Chile to supply about 800,000 metric tons.

Production now is estimated to be running 20 per cent below the level necessary to meet current deliveries.

'Scandal' Is Uncovered

With Chile's main export industry in difficulties that are contributing to general economic sluggishness and unemployment, affecting 300,000 workers, the Government has uncovered a "copper scandal" involving what is officially called a "copper scandal" in-against Chile.

The case involves a Swiss-based brokerage concern that offered in a message to the Chilean State Bank to purchase 950,000 tons of copper. Six persons, including an American, are under arrest for questioning.

Orlando Cantuarias, Minister of Mines, said before the Senate yesterday that there was a conspiracy to drive down the price of copper abroad by offering nonexistent copper for sale in Europe.

The Communist party press has led the Government's campaign and has identified the American under arrest, Howard C. J. O. Edwards, as an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency. Mr. Edwards, who flew here from Switzerland Feb. 24, denied the charge in an interview last Saturday before he was arrested.

The United States Embassy said that it had received a Federal Bureau of Investigation report that Mr. Edwards, who is 47 years old and who gave Allen Mich as his residence, Lauderdale, Fla. for conspiracy to commit fraud.

Chile Jails Miami Probe Figure as Plotter

STATINTL

By WILLIAM MONTALBANO
And JAMES SAVAGE
Herald Staff Writers

South Florida's own Howard Edwards, erstwhile minister, physician, financier and man of the world, is in hot water again — this time in Chile as part of a supposed international conspiracy against the Marxist-led government of President Salvador Allende.

The man who once envisioned a local political campaign by accusing State Attorney Richard Gerstein of accepting a bribe is now making headlines throughout Latin America from a Santiago jail cell.

Edwards stands accused by Chile's Communist press of being one of seven speculators from Zurich, who sought to drive down the international price of copper.

According to the Communist newspaper El Siglo the conspiracy was part of a U.S. plot against Chile.

EDWARDS is portrayed by El Siglo as a CIA provocateur, a former Air Force physician whose previous exploits include clandestine participation at the Bay of Pigs and a role as agent-agitator in Czechoslovakia during the 1968 Russian invasion.

Gerstein, Edwards' arch foe, dissolved in laughter when told Tuesday of the Chilean press report:

"Howards Edwards couldn't effectively spy for a Boy Scout troop," he said. "He is a total and complete fraud."

Although the Communist Party forms the most powerful single element in Allende's coalition, the government itself has been more restrained in its accusations so far.

Edwards and his pals — two Chileans, two Argentines, a Uruguayan and a Swiss — purportedly represented a Swiss investment firm seeking 100 million tons of Chilean copper over the next 10 years.

According to the government, the purchase offer, made at low prices, "tended to depress the market and give the impression of great disorder."

Some of Allende's more extreme allies would like to find a provocation that could be manipulated to worsen relations between Chile and the United States. These same leftist extremists, with gentle direction from Cuban friends, are prepared to find CIA agents under every manhole cover in Chile.

In his first months as president, Allende has gone out of his way to avoid damaging relations with the United States. The Nixon Administration has followed suit, adopting a "correct" policy toward the Allende government.

The Chileans have obtained information they believe links Edwards with the U.S. intelligence establishment.

There is a fine irony here. For at one point in his checkered career, Edwards sat in the living room of his Broward County home and coolly invented a life history of himself as part of a bogus credit company report he engineered.

IN THE LIFE history, Edwards modestly claimed to be worth \$9 million. He also claimed to be a retired U.S. Air Force intelligence officer-physician who was shot down at the Bay of Pigs.

Edwards is known to have used the report in business dealings in the past, and perhaps he carried a copy of it to Chile with him.

In any event the Chileans have a copy of the report and have apparently accepted Edwards' fabrication of an intelligence career as truth.

On Tuesday, El Siglo published a copy of the report,

under a story headlined: "Here is the proof. Yanqui document reveals Edwards is an agent of the CIA."

If the government lends the same credence to the report, Howard Edwards may become a victim of his own fertile imagination.

IT WAS DURING the Gerstein furor that investigators uncovered Edwards' invented career as an Air Force officer. The documentation has lain in Edwards' bulky file in the state attorney's office until now and has never been fully brought to light.

According to this material, Edwards cultivated the friendship of John Hollihan, then an employe of the Retail Credit Company, in early 1968.

In a formal statement to Martin Dardis, one of Gerstein's investigators, Hollihan said he removed reports on Edwards from the company's files in the Spring of 1968.

Asked if the credit report was detrimental to Edwards, Hollihan replied: "They were detrimental and I would say they were pretty bad."

Hollihan said he replaced the missing reports with three others that Edwards dictated to him, inventing as he went along.

"I TOOK blank forms from our offices. He sat down in one chair and I sat in the other, and he told me exactly what to type," Hollihan told Dardis.

The character-financial report, which is also in the state attorney's files, is an audacious masterpiece of invention.

In it, the Howard C. Edwards the credit company found a surpassing bad risk disappears.

In his stead there appears a distinguished multi-millionaire, one Dr. Howard C. Edwards, "a retired medical doctor from the United

States Intelligence Corps," principal stockholder in a Bahamas-based insurance company worth \$36 million.

There is also this breathless revelation:

"Through confidential sources it was verified that the subject was most recently involved in the Bay of Pigs invasion in which the present regime took control of the government in Cuba (sic)."

"The applicant was in fact shot down by Cuban military forces and walked some 22 miles to the beach so as to avoid capture and as a result suffered a Coronary Heart Attack."

ACCORDING to Hollihan, who was close to Edwards at the time and was promised stock in a Bahamas high-rise in exchange for his cooperation on the phony report, Edwards has never served in the armed forces. And in July 1961, three months after the Bay of Pigs, Edwards appeared in a Broward County court to face the grand larceny charge, displaying no aftereffects of the Cuban adventure he later created for himself.

In this same credit report, Edwards listed his net worth as \$9 million in "cash, investments, real estate and personal property."

Hollihan said Edwards took the false report with him to Europe in the summer of 1968 in an attempt to borrow money for the Bahamian high-rise.

According to Hollihan, Edwards was accompanied by his wife Josephine and a fellow speculator named Frank Williamson on the trip to Europe. One of the places they went was Zurich. Hollihan said Williamson, also a bad credit risk, paid him \$500 to remove his file from the company's records.

Williamson returned alone, according to Hollihan, while Edwards and his wife stopped briefly in Czechoslovakia, where Mrs. Edwards has

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MILTON VIORST

U.S. Doesn't Need Chile as Enemy

President Nixon, after a commendable beginning with the Allende government of Chile, seems suddenly to have reversed himself, as if determined now to travel the road that led to the absurd and bitter deadlock with the Castro regime in Cuba.

The President's decision to forbid the American carrier Enterprise to pay a courtesy call at the Chilean port of Valparaiso was, put simply, a gratuitously hostile act.

President Allende, though an avowed Marxist, has been working hard in the four months he has been in office to maintain the friendship of the United States. His message has been that a Marxist regime need not be unfriendly.

Aware that the Enterprise would pass near Chile's coast after rounding Cape Horn, he issued a personal invitation for the ship to stop and allow its crew of 4,500 to enjoy shore leave as guests of the Chilean people.

The Defense Department favored such a call, and so did Edward Korry, the American ambassador, who saw it as a way to put talks with the Chilean government on a friendlier basis.

But the State Department apparently objected, as did Henry Kissinger, the Presi-

dent's chief foreign policy adviser.

After much intra-governmental bickering, Nixon made the decision—and it constituted an insulting rebuff to Chile's overture, as well as a direct affront to Chile's president.

Obviously, Nixon's intention was to avoid conveying any hint of American approval of the Marxist orientation of the Chilean government. Indeed, no one ever made the mistake of believing that he liked Allende's politics.

But it is ironic that the previous courtesy call of the Enterprise was in Brazil, where a viciously oppressive military dictatorship currently reigns. Did the visit of the Enterprise mean that we approve of it?

Whatever one may think of Allende's politics, he at least was democratically elected; the government of Brazil is the product of a coup d'etat. To be sure, Allende received a minority of the total vote in being elected — but, then, so did Nixon.

What is so unfortunate about the Enterprise incident is that it represents a shift in what had been an exemplary policy on the part of the Nixon administration.

After his inauguration, Nixon ordered a stop to the games the CIA was playing in the

Chilean election campaign and, thereafter, desisted meticulously from any interference in Chilean politics.

The victory of Allende — the world's first freely elected Marxist president — surely was a disappointment to Nixon. But his response, if far from warm, certainly was correct.

At first, the President seemed to be waiting to ascertain whether Allende would embark on a campaign of anti-Americanism, normally useful to any Latin American politician.

But Allende did not. Nor did he suppress civil liberties. He did keep his campaign promise to nationalize foreign industry, much of it American, but he indicated a willingness to provide fair compensation. It is that compensation which Ambassador Korry was in the process of negotiating.

In his state of the world message last month, Nixon again promised reciprocal friendship with Chile — but at the same time, the administration pointedly snubbed a Chilean economic mission in the United States and blocked its overtures to New York bankers.

Now the Enterprise incident seems to confirm that the era of good conduct has come to an end.

What one can foresee, unless there is an abrupt change, is some sort of petty retaliation by Chile, which will become the excuse for a further alienating act by Nixon. The spiral will continue until, ultimately, there is a complete rupture.

But it need not happen that way — any more, I suspect, than it need have happened with Castro.

Certainly both sides, a decade ago, were too quick to take offense. Both were too suspicious, both too provocative. Neither was well served by Cuba's being forced, after the rupture with Washington, into the rough embrace of the Kremlin.

Nixon can avoid a replay of that disaster. The United States already is too much distrusted in Latin America. It doesn't need another enemy in

Chile

Around the World**For the Record**

• Chile's socialist daily Ultima Hora said the government is investigating the alleged role of the CIA in a suspected plot to drive down the price of Chilean copper.

1 FEBRUARY 1971

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"On the 'Today' program, which is presented by NBC News, Barbara Walters revealed last week that they were getting heavy flak from viewers for being too liberal. She and co-host Hugh Downs agreed that this couldn't really be, because they had had Bill Buckley and Senator Goldwater on, and anyway Senator Buckley would be on the next day. The point is that two or three Buckley or Goldwater appearances a year does not discharge the news media's obligation to present important points of view, nor is it any substitute for having a more-balanced staff. Making news programs exclusively the domain of the liberal means questions are unasked, thus stories missed, simply because liberal newsmen have entirely different backgrounds than conservative ones (given that both would struggle to be 'objective'). (Incidentally, notice that Goldwater, who hardly ever gets any of his statements over to the public, was put on by CBS for three minutes last week, as he testified against the Congressional seniority system, the Lib's pet hate *du jour*.) The lack of conservative counter-balance to Walters-Downs (and Garagiola) team was never so evident as Jan. 26, when Cyrus Eaton was the guest. Downs allowed as how "the late Senator McCarthy, Senator Goldwater and J. Edgar Hoover have called you a Soviet apologist" but then danced away without landing a glove. Eaton unloaded against the CIA, praised Salvador Allende's regime in Chile, and Downs marvelled that this was Eaton the capitalist saying all this. Eaton is no salesman of capitalism (although it made him rich), but he's a pretty good salesman of Communist regimes to the American public, courtesy NBC News.

FEB 1971

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Medium Chile

Cinéma Vérité inside the Third World

THEY'RE NOT OUT there every day, but most of us have seen them. They drive up and sit in their new American station wagons, keeping watch. In Chile, the new station wagons mark them as government people, in this case cops, the secret police. They park opposite our rambling, tree-shaded Spanish-style villa on the quiet, upper-class Avenida Ricardo Lyon, while we go about our business, arguing the rationale for a team of leftists making a movie about revolution and living in such a bourgeois house. Actually, the movie company is half Chilean, but that half lives in its own houses and refers to Lyon as the "Boarding House"; it is a commune-of-necessity. We are crammed together and eat our communal meals at a big mess-table. Gabriel (the Fixer) tells us when new developments threaten us: our phone is definitely being tapped; don't mention revolutionary subjects or the black market rates on U.S. dollars. If the secret police really wanted to bust the movie wide open before we'd even half made it, they surely could. A large house full of long-haired, left-wing, dope-smoking Americans—who needs a warrant for that in Chile? But they are biding their time. This is before the September 4th Chilean presidential elections: they want to see what the new line is to be toward radicals—and Americans. The whole country is in a state of feverish political suspense. Later, after the election, even after the inauguration of Allende in office, the suspense would remain. Once the outcome of the election was known, people still had to ask: what could such a victory ultimately mean? That is also one of the questions the film was made to pose.

The film opens with a dramatic shot of a Braniff Airlines jet whistling to a halt at Santiago Airport. In fact, this happens twice, and each time we follow a different guy as he gets out and through the heavy green-coated Cus-

toims cops. One is Martin Scott Bradford, whose travel papers say he's here on business; the other is Simón, a Chilean who's been in Cuba since the revolution and is returning ostensibly to help the Communist-backed Unidad Popular win the election. Both of them are men with a mission—they walk that way. Dick Stahl, who plays Martin, knows how to frown like an earnest liberal, and Anibal Reyna, who plays Simón, knows his dialectics, having once founded Chile's *El Teatro Libre* (Free Theatre). As they descend the stairs on deplaning, a familiar voice ballads out their respective life stories in a sardonic languid tone: Country Joe McDonald is in Chile to help Saul Landau and Raul Ruiz produce a revolutionary film—or is it several films being spun onto a single reel?

It all began when Jim Becket, 33, expatriate American and international lawyer living in Geneva, tried to get a novel he'd written made into a film. The book followed two Peace Corps workers from disillusionment to politicization; it was set in Chile. That's about where the similarity ends. Becket went to Chile with Greek-French director Nikos Papatakis to check out the possibilities, but Papatakis opted out because he felt he would have had to live 18 months in Chile to do it honestly, and because the story would carry more political impact if made by an American. Becket did meet Raul Ruiz, the whiz kid of South American directors, and got to hear of New Left film-maker Saul Landau, who at that time was in New York. After protracted three-way correspondence, and a three-day writing session at Bolinas in the Californian woods, the trio had a plot and eventually even a film. The script, which had a habit of changing daily while I was in Chile, consisted of Saul's idea of following a Chilean Communist as he returns from an extended stint in Cuba, combined with Jim's Peace Corps story

and Raul's wish to examine the various left archetypes of Chile: the Communists who still believe in the elections, the reformists, the revolutionaries, the guerrillas and the drop-outs.

HAVING ARRIVED to the strains of Country Joe, Martín (the CIA agent *cum* businessman) and Simón (the Fidelista) make their respective ways to their hotel (one and the same), and start making contacts. Martín is after Suzanne (a Peace Corps volunteer) to get at her body as much as to check out her disillusionment. Simón is to meet Osvaldo, the old-line Communist, and his revolutionary son Hugo. When they get it all together, several thousand feet of filmed debate ensues and one can only pity the editor and mourn for Marx that he is destined to become so much dialectical celluloid on the cutting-room floor.

From the lounge-room discussions at the Boarding House, it sure looked as though Saul was setting out to present the audience with a series of left-wing alternatives (old, new, reformist, revolutionary) and inviting them/us to line up and choose. In fact, says Saul, that's pretty true, except that all the leftists in South America must agree that some version of revolution is on—whether through the guns of Che and Fidel, or the electoral process that gave Guatemala a leftist president till the U.S. blew his regime apart. Without quibbling over definitions, Saul's image of a battle amongst archetypes was exactly where Chile was at in this winter of 1970. Here was a Third World nation with all the textbook problems of an economy dominated by outside companies (the U.S. investment in Chile totals over \$1 billion), a social class structure that gets more and more polarized as the peasants flood the cities and clamor for work, and a political

by Phillip Frazer

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Continued

CLEVELAND, OHIO
 PLAIN DEALER
 JAN 29 1971
 M - 409,414
 S - 545,032

GEORGE E. CONDON

How Not to Win Friends and . . .

Whatever people may think about Cyrus Eaton's political and social philosophy, nobody is likely to accuse him of being a man who cannot see the forest for the trees; not since the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.'s hired hatchmen went on a raid in the industrialist's Acadia woods and toppled more than 400 of his ancient timbers.



CONDON

The domestic crisis brought on by this action has not diverted Eaton's eyes from the foreign scene, however. The 87-year-old Cleveland financier took time off just a week or so ago to pay a friendly visit to the new Marxist president of Chile, Salvador Allende. His reaction to that visit was given to the nation on the NBC-TV program, "Today," and it included several observations which likely will find favor among an awfully large number of Americans who usually find themselves at variance with the Eaton philosophy.

EATON SUGGESTED, for instance, that the United States likely would get along better with the new Chilean government if it removed the CIA agents who, he alleged, are "spread" across the South American country.

Most Americans are, by nature, by instinct, and by tradition, opposed to the cloak-and-dagger type of governmental spying and surveillance, whether at home or abroad.

Not many citizens will subscribe to the idea that the United States needs a network of CIA agents in Chile, Transylvania, Iceland or anyplace else. Our diplomats abroad used to keep Washington apprised of foreign affairs in a satisfactory manner, at

a lot less cost, and without anywhere near the degree of friction caused by professional spies.

EATON SAID something else that deserves careful consideration.

"The true test of capitalism will be in the United States," said this capitalist, "but for the system to work we cannot spend money like drunken sailors to impose our ideas over the globe."

American taxpayers who live in a home society which is beset by financial problems, and who see vividly how much good could be done at home with the billions of dollars which are being disbursed abroad by the United States in a game of international bribery which we cannot hope to win, probably will agree with Eaton's view—even if not for the same reasons.

But it seems to me that his idea is worth trying out, and, as a matter of fact, I should like to suggest a starting point. If we should begin hacking back foreign aid, I can't think of a better place to begin than in South America—Chile, for example, would be a splendid country to lop off the relief role, if it is on it.

ECUADOR IS THE nation which is scheduled to receive \$29 million from big-hearted Uncle Sam this year. Ecuador also is the nation which, claiming dominion over Atlantic coastal waters up to 200 miles from its shore, recently has seized (at the last count) 14 American fishing vessels—for whose release the United States has paid ransom thus far totaling between \$500,000 and \$700,000.

If we needed any evidence that money will not buy friendship, it is plain to see in the overt Ecuadorian hostility. But if our statesmen play our cards right, perhaps they can persuade the Ecuadorians to accept our millions, even if they don't really like us.

CLEVELAND, OHIO
PLAIN DEALER

M - 409,414
S - 545,032

JAN 27 1971

'Today' Interview

Eaton Says Chile Seeks Friendship

Cyrus S. Eaton, millionaire Cleveland industrialist and peace advocate, yesterday insisted that the Marxist president of Chile, Salvador Allende, wants friendly relations with the United States.

"Allende's critics in the United States say he is just nationalizing American business but this is not true," Eaton said. "His government is taking over any business it feels will help the Chilean economy."

"If the United States acquiesces to the Chilean government . . . and removes the CIA gents spread across the country we will get along very well. However, we will be in trouble if we try to put the new Chilean government out of business through force or bribery."

EATON'S COMMENTS WERE made in an interview with Hugh Downs on the NBC show, "Today," yesterday.

He said Allende is a socialist but definitely not a communist and "about as far left as the Labor party leaders of England."

Eaton described himself as a fervent capitalist but added: "I am called a Soviet and Communist apologist because I want to be tolerable of people. Better than half the world is now Communist and we cannot ignore this fact . . ."

The 87-year-old chairman of the board of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway last year visited Allende in Santiago.

HE SAID ALLENDE AND Fidel Castro, premier of Cuba, are friendly.

"Castro is a heroic symbol to the masses in South America because he has stood up to the powerful United States and succeeded," Eaton said.

Eaton criticized the United States for attempting to spread its power throughout the world.

"The true test of capitalism will be in the United States," added Eaton, "but for the system to work we cannot spend money like drunken sailors to impose our ideas over the globe."

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN

21 NOV 1970

CHILE

Clarín, the Santiago daily newspaper, ran the headline, "The CIA wants us to fight our neighbors on the other side," meaning Argentina. The article called attention to a reactionary campaign by the Society for the Defense of the Argentine Family and Traditions. The organization says Fidel Castro is the cause of social unrest in Argentina. Clarín stated, "Ever since the victory of [President] Salvador Allende hundreds of agents recruited from among the Cuban gusanos living in Miami have been arriving in Santiago. . . . They have come to our country to repeat the bloody actions they have carried out in other parts of the world. . . ." Business Week said 80% of the people emigrating since the election are trained in professional work.

MIAMI, FLA.
NEWS

E - 93,538

NOV 10 1970

Peace Corps wants to stay in Chile if Marxist says OK

By MERWIN K. SIGALE
Miami News Latin American Writer

SANTIAGO, Chile — Whether Uncle Sam has a future in Chile or not, the Peace Corps would like to stay.

"We propose to proceed," said the Peace Corps director for Chile, John G. Fall, who gave up a San Francisco law practice in 1963 to take his present job — just for "a change."

"As long as the inviting government honors our non-political role and as long as the volunteer fulfills a needed role," said Fall, "we will respond — whether the government is left, center or right."

The catch is that phrase, "inviting government." The Peace Corps does not go where it isn't invited. And it is unclear whether the invitation of previous Chilean governments will be renewed or withdrawn.

Chile's new Marxist president, Salvador Allende, has said nothing specific about the corps' future here. A high figure in the Allende coalition confided that he was not sure what would be done, but he said the corps had been identified with some "unsaintly" activities.

He did not specify what those activities were. But a familiar cry of governments that the hostile to Uncle Sam has been that the Peace Corps is a cover for CIA agents.

Peace Corps volunteers in

Chile number 110. Fifteen are scheduled to leave by mid-December, but 17 others are due in about the same time. The 17 were recruited before the change of government.

A year ago there were 230 volunteers here, but a large number working in reforestation programs were no longer needed and went home.

Those still here, a majority of them outside Santiago, include marine biologists, city planners, forestry technicians and "construction instructors" aiding in self-help housing.

Most of the new arrivals in December — if they are still welcome — will work in forestry, entomology, wood technology and wildlife management. Three will help in research on fish protein concentrate, a developing source of nutrition with great potential for helping to feed a hungry world.

Largely gone are the days of the Peace Corps "generalists" in Chile — the young, eager youths who could do a little of everything. The demand today is for specialists.

Fall says he has heard "no complaints of any anti-gringo, anti-North American behavior" by Chileans toward his volunteers.

Has he been successful in his two and a half years in Chile? "I haven't but the volunteers have," says Fall. "Hell, yes, I take no credit for what the volunteers have done. I've given them administrative support. I'm quite proud of them."

E - 40,908

S - 44;235

NOV 8 1970

IN OUR OPINION:

New Chilean regime tests U.S. maturity

The political maturity of the United States is about to be tested.

That test will involve our attitude, as a nation and as a people, toward the new Marxist government in Chile.

Salvador Allende Gossens, who became president of Chile last week, is the first man to be democratically elected on a Marxist platform in a non-Communist country.

His election brings two themes of American foreign policy, and private sentiment, into conflict. On the one hand, we generally are very upset by the prospect of any nation, democratic or otherwise, turning to communism or Marxism.

On the other hand, we always have supported the concept of self-determination; that any nation had a right to choose any sort of government it wants, as long as the choice was made in a reasonably democratic way.

But we now are confronted with a Marxist takeover that is the result of a democratic vote.

What do we do? Should we withdraw our aid and diplomatic recognition and send in CIA operatives in an attempt to force the Chileans back toward the political center? After all, a legitimately elected Communist government could be considered as unwelcome as one that gained office by force.

Or should we recognize that the Chilean people evidently have what they want and adopt a policy of live and let live?

The argument is not an abstraction. The new government has vowed, among other things, to nationalize the extensive American mining interests in Chile.

Though President Nixon apparently has not made up his mind, he undoubtedly is under pressure from American businesses with investments in Chile and from anti-Communist hardliners in his own party to take a tough stance.

We hope that he doesn't. And we believe it would be a mark of political maturity if the nation were to resist the temptation to make life difficult for Chile.

Nationalization of American holdings is, after all, nothing new in Latin America. Neither are radical-leftists governments. And the new Chilean government has given no indication that it has any designs on neighboring nations nor that it has any present intention of doing away with political democracy.

We don't need to pretend we're happy with the Marxist regime. But neither should we let our abhorrence of communism lead us to intervene, directly or indirectly, in the internal affairs of a sovereign, peaceful nation.

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Any U.S. Intervention Against Chile Would Only Make Matters Worse

BY ERNEST CONINE

On the evening following the inauguration of Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens as the new president of Chile, the streets of that country's capital were crowded with hundreds of thousands of celebrants.

Twelve open-air stages offered folk music, symphony orchestras and ballet. And in front of the headquarters of the Communist-led Federation of Students, in an atmosphere of great merriment, passers-by were invited to try their luck pitching darts at a board bearing the unmistakable outline of Uncle Sam.

Unhappily, the occasion is probably symbolic of what the United States can look forward to in its future relations with the first Latin American country ever to choose a Marxist-Leninist as president in free elections.

Allende has aroused expectations from Chile's poor and downtrodden that cannot possibly be fulfilled. He and the Communists will need a fall guy, and old Uncle Samuel is elected. Furthermore, it is not at all clear that there is much we can do about it.

It is a bit misleading, one might observe, to say that the Chilean people consciously chose socialism or communism or Castroism or whatever Allende really represents.

★

Yes, he got more votes than anybody else in an election that was free and relatively honest. But, no, most Chileans did not vote for him. In fact, he got only 36% of the vote.

Allende won because Eduardo Frei, the incumbent president, was constitutionally ineligible to run—and because the anti-Communist vote was split between Frei's Christian Democrats and the conservative National Party.

Be that as it may, Allende won fair and square, and the United States is left facing a new and potentially dangerous Marxist presence in the Western hemisphere.

Allende ran as the candidate of the so-called People's Union—a coalition of the Communist, his own far-left Socialist Party and four smaller pro-Marxist groups.

The intentions of the new president have been fairly well spelled out.

The Allende government plans to nationalize large mining, manufacturing and banking enterprises—especially those which are foreign owned. It also wants to break up big estates in Chile's fertile central valley and give the land to poor farmers.

So far so good.

The American companies which collectively account for upwards of a billion dollars worth of investments in Chile naturally don't relish being put out of business. But if they are paid reasonable compensation for their assets, they have no real kick

Neither is any particular sympathy owed to the landowning class which helped bring on Allende's election victory by obstructing the efforts of the previous Christian Democratic government to carry out meaningful land reform.

If Chileans, approximately three-fourths of whom are poor, want to try Marxist solutions, it would seem to be their business—as long as Allende sticks to his pledge not to make Chile a base for the exportation of revolutionary subversion to other states in the hemisphere.

Unfortunately, there can be no great confidence that he will.

Allende is on record as favoring the establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba, East Germany, North Korea, North Vietnam and China. Two members of the Chinese Communist Party's central committee attended his inauguration.

It is probably only a matter of time until trade and "cultural" missions from Communist countries are swarming all over Chile. The Communist tentacles are likely to spread soon enough to other countries on the continent—through radio propaganda and training of young radicals from elsewhere in the hemisphere, if not by more direct means.

Although the Soviet Union will probably move cautiously for fear of triggering a military coup by anti-Communist officers, it is also predictable that Russian influence over the Chilean army will grow, and that Soviet warships will ultimately become familiar sights along the long Chilean coastline.

Washington obviously cannot be expected to be happy over all this, and it isn't. But the Nixon Administration so far has managed to keep its cool remarkably well. There is no talk of military intervention or a CIA-inspired coup. Nor is there even any talk of cutting off diplomatic relations or imposing economic sanctions.

★

The hands-off posture makes sense—because intervention of any kind would only play into the Communists' hands.

If Allende is to persuade Chileans to trade their democratic liberties for a Marxist yoke, to accept hard work and an even lower standard of living as the "temporary" price for building a socialist society, he needs scapegoats.

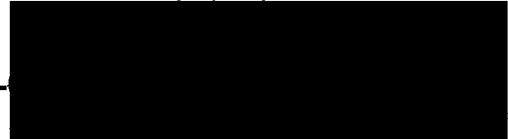
He must conjure up an outside enemy which makes sacrifices seem necessary and worthwhile. In short, he must play on the people's nationalistic resentment of alleged

Granted, Allende will probably play this game no matter what we do. But why make

After all, the new president has a long way to go before turning Chile into a Marxist dictatorship. Parliament is still in business. The Marxists must fasten control onto the country within six years or face the chance of being ousted in the next free election. And the army has a tradition of supporting free elections.

Finally, the Allende coalition itself is split into quarrelsome factions which, now that they have power, may find it difficult to agree on how to exercise it.

Everything considered, this looks like a time for sitting tight.



Can Chile's Allende move far to the left?

By Peter Roman

Salvador Allende, newly elected socialist president of Chile, has yet to clearly define the political and economic course of his administration. Yet it is clear that the most exploited sectors of the Chilean population enthusiastically regard this as their victory. When a New York Times reporter asked a poor peasant what he expected of Allende's government, he stated, "It is our turn now, I think."

Sectors of the middle classes, bourgeoisie, landowners and other right wing elements, have attempted to sabotage the economic and political climate, as was the case in the early period of the Cuban revolution. This has included panic emigration, flight of the dollar, induced inflation, jitters on the stock exchange, deliberate stoppage and sabotage of industrial and farm production and a series of rightist bombings culminating in the assassination of Gen. Rene Schneider Chereau, commander in chief of the Chilean army (who favored allowing Allende to take power).

If Allende, candidate of the Popular Unity Front (UP), is to accomplish anything of substance during his reign, he must (1) stay alive (there are serious assassination threats) and (2) stay in power by weakening and neutralizing—but not yet alienating—the military, political and economic forces. Also, he must strengthen the power and support of the workers and peasants and some middle sectors while not alienating them through precipitous actions which might seem to counter Chile's history of bourgeois democratic institutions—in which the people take pride and which allowed for Allende's election. That he is in power today, given the limitations of an electoral victory with a multi-party coalition (including non-Marxist parties) and the absence of a revolutionary army, shows that at the very least Allende is a shrewd politician. The question now is whether he has compromised the possibility of socialist development in the process.

Signs toward radicalization

Besides popular pressure which will be exerted by those who voted for Allende (36%) and also a good percentage who voted for the more moderate Christian Democratic party (PDC), there have been some positive signs towards radicalization. Take Allende's cabinet, for example.

The Minister of Interior, Jose Toha Gonzalez, has been the publisher of the Marxist newspaper Ultima Hora, linked closely with Allende's Socialist party (PS) and the most radical daily in Chile. Clodomiro Almeyda Medina, the Foreign Minister, represents the radical wing of the PS and is a strong defender of both the Chinese and Cuban revolutions. Jacques Chonchol Chait, Minister of Agriculture, supported President Eduardo Frei Montalva, the PDC candidate in 1964, but soon broke with Frei due to the lack of progress in agrarian reform and helped form the Popular Action Unity Movement (MAPU) with other dissident PDC leaders and youth. MAPU is part of the UP. Chonchol helped formulate the agrarian reform program in Cuba.

Pedro Vuskovic Bravo, Minister of Economy, currently is director of the Economic Institute of the University of Chile and defines himself as an independent Marxist. Vuskovic has also headed the group formulating the economic policy for the UP. Politically he is more of a question mark since while

emphasizing the need to nationalize important sectors of the economy, to reorient production and distribution priorities, his analysis lacks socialist political content. In a recent interview he stated "[Nationalization] is not a question of political principles. The nationalizations correspond to the exigencies of the [economic] scheme ... and ... are directed at solving fundamental problems." He also stated, "This is not going to be a Marxist government."

Allende, at least in his rhetoric in between presidential campaigns, has emphasized the need to be prepared for extra-electoral contingencies. After the massacre of miners in 1965 he told a mass rally, "In the face of counter-revolutionary violence we must answer with revolutionary violence." A few days after the election, Allende told a mass rally that if the right wing attempted to block his victory he would call on peasants and workers to take over land and factories.

The maintaining of the local UP election committees and the proposed new constitution, potentially could lead to new forms of popular control. The committees were originally set up for the campaign but will now function as a means of local contact for the government in factories, offices, and universities, etc. along with unions and cooperatives. The UP program states: "The Committees of People's Unity ... will be interpreters and fighters for the immediate demands of the masses and above all, they will prepare themselves to exercise people's power."

Under the proposed new constitution, the supreme power would pass from the President to the "People's Assembly," a single legislative house, for which all Chileans over 18 could vote. The electorate could recall its representatives at any time. How and when both these and other changes could be accomplished under the present system is unclear.

There are indications Allende's regime may not go beyond reformism or do more than modernize capitalism. In the campaign, Allende stated his would not be a socialist government. Recently he told the New York Times: "The program of the UP is not a Communist program, nor is it a socialist program nor a radical program nor the program of the MAPU or the API. It is the convergence of our opinions." This, of course, is one of the limitations of united front campaigns, often leading to a failure to develop mass consciousness.

Radicalization is not part of the program, Allende has said. "Perhaps if obstacles are artificially created, if there is a conspiracy by ultrareactionary sectors, if the current attempt to provoke economic chaos is accentuated, well, we'll be forced to take our steps more quickly and decisively—that is, the process could be radicalized, not because we want it to be but because we have no other choice." On Oct. 18, according to the Wall Street Journal, he emphatically stated that he will not lead the country to communism. An Allendista intellectual put it this way: "Nothing is going to happen here. We don't have a mandate for much more than reform."

The economic program is reformist, failing to tackle the fundamental problems of dependency and transition to socialism. It calls for nationalization of foreign banks—in other words, the expropriation with compen-

Temptation In Chile

Stiff and stand-offish — that seems to be the chosen attitude of the Nixon Administration toward the new government in Chile, which is headed by a socialist, includes actual live Communists in its cabinet, and was elected on a pledge to nationalize the copper and other basic industries. Since those industries just happen to be very largely American-owned, it will be a miracle if the Nixon Administration manages to restrain the powerful impulse to intervene against President Salvador Allende in some way.

Yet the impulse must be restrained if the United States is to retain any respect in Latin America. Whether socialization of the Chilean economy is wise or not, the dominant fact to be taken into account is that the decision is one for Chileans, and not the United States, to make. To put it bluntly, how Chile manages its internal affairs is none of this country's business, and our government should not act as if it were.

The history of U.S.-hemispheric relations is not, admittedly, over-full shining examples of this principle. It may even be said that the norm has often seemed quite the opposite. Woodrow Wilson sent troops to Mexico and Honduras with the self-righteous pronouncement that he meant to teach the Latin Americans how to govern themselves. Ever since, our State Department has seldom been able to resist the temptation to do their governing for them; and if they do not take kindly to this form of education, the response is usually to sponsor a military takeover, as in Brazil, or to attempt overthrow of the local government, as in Cuba, or to subvert the government by money and CIA intrigue, as in Guatemala.

Just this once, can't the old pattern be altered? If Washington would sympathetically let Chile work out its own problems, refraining from either intervention or a policy of diplomatic and economic isolation, we would undoubtedly find our standing throughout the hemisphere much improved. The neighbors might even begin to regard us as a good neighbor.

CHILE

Salvador Allende won the Congressional election to the presidency of Chile last week, becoming the first member of a socialist party to attain such a position in Latin America. He was chosen by the Congress (153-35) when he failed to win a majority of the votes in a three-way popular election Sept. 4. The day after the Congressional election, Oct. 25, Gen. Rene Schneider Chereau, commander in chief of the Chilean army, died from a shooting attempt on his life Oct. 22. A Marxist newspaper in Chile, El Siglo, asserted the CIA was behind the murder. The general was active in keeping the army neutral in the political contest.

ROCKY MOUNT, N.C.

TELEGRAM

OCT 30 1970

E - 15,917

S - 16,271

THE TRAGEDY IN CHILE

Headlines in U. S. newspapers pretty well tell the story of what happened in Chile recently:

"The Terrifying Portent in Chile" and "Ominous Peril in Latin America" and "U. S. Firms Held Resigned to Allende" and "A Cuba-Chile Communist Axis." Obviously, then, something is very wrong in Chile.

When the nation of Chile went into mourning for Gen. Rene Schneider, the Chilean army commander, the people should have been mourning the death of their country, for Communism now has a firm, legal toehold in the government and the result will be the same as in Cuba.

Salvador Allende, the presidential candidate of a Socialist-Communist coalition, hoodwinked the people and the Chilean Congress into voting for him. He is now the president. He is an avowed Marxist — a Communist, if you please.

He has been in office only a few days and already the impact of the Communist victory is being felt: The Chilean Army commander is assassinated and the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency is blamed, and the Inter-American Press Association reports that Communist pressures already are beginning to strangle the news media in Chile. The association reported threats of violence and intimidation are causing sales of newspapers and radio stations,

resignations of news officials and dismissal of anti-Marxist newsmen, along with upheavals within press-related trade unions. Those practicing intimidation have already gained control over all of Chile's non-government television channels. Cuba all over again.

If all of this tragedy could be somehow confined to Chile the free world might be able to digest one more police-state regime of the Castro ilk. But what effect will the collapse of the Chilean Christian Democrats have on their fellow Christian Democratic party in Venezuela?

The Communist victory will have an impact in other ways. A renewal of relations between Chile and Cuba will encourage other Latin American nations to ignore the six-year-old Western Hemisphere trade and diplomatic boycott of Cuba. This in turn will add further to the noticeable decline in U. S. influence within the hemispheric community.

Another item that must be remembered is that Chile has received some \$1.6 billion in U. S. foreign aid, among the highest such assistance per capita of any nation in the world. Question: Will such aid be maintained by the U. S. for a government that is already displaying strong anti-American feelings?

Communism now has two significant footholds in the Western Hemisphere, in Cuba and Chile. Who's next?

Die endlose Blutspur des CIA



Das jüngste Opfer des CIA

Gestern wurde in Santiago General René Schneider heigesetzt. Der Oberkommandierende der Streitkräfte Chiles ist das jüngste Opfer der Mordbanden des CIA. Die Terrorakte des CIA indes sind Legion, die Blutspur ist unendlich.

1954: US-Außenminister John Foster Dulles und sein Bruder Allan (damals CIA-Chef) zeichnen verantwortlich für den bewaffneten Ueberfall auf Guatemala. Der linksliberale Präsident Arbenz wird gestürzt.

1961: CIA-Chef Allan Dulles leitet im Sonderauftrag Washingtons die Operation „Schweinebucht“ gegen Kuba. Der imperialistische Ueberfall wird vereitelt.

1963: In Honduras stürzt ein von CIA und Pentagon inszenierter Militärputsch die Regierung Villeda Morales. Die Operation fordert 800 Tote.

1965: Vom CIA vorbereitete USA-Intervention gegen die Dominikanische Republik, um, wie offiziell erklärt wird, „ein zweites Kuba zu verhindern“.

1967: Sturz der Athener Regierung. CIA hob die Obristenjunta in den Sattel.

1969: In Chile wird ein Putsch gegen die Regierung Eduardo Frei inszeniert. CIA soll den Vorwand für eine militärische Intervention der USA schaffen.

1970: In der Nacht zum 21. Januar inszeniert CIA in Kollaboration mit iranischen und westdeutschen Geheimdiensten einen Putschversuch gegen die Regierung Iraks.

1970: Am 8. März mißglückt der CIA

ein Attentat auf Zyperns Präsident Makarios.

1970: Das seit Mitte der fünfziger Jahre geschmiedete Komplott gegen die neutrale Politik der kambodschanischen Regierung mündet im März in die CIA-„Operation Prometheus“. Staatsoberhaupt Prinz Sihanouk wird gestürzt. Dem Putsch folgt die militärische Aggression.

1970 – September: Die USA bereiten die offene Intervention in Jordanien vor, wo jordanische Truppen und palästinensische Widerstandskämpfer in blutige Kämpfe verwickelt wurden. Der CIA fädelt die Aktion ein.

Wenn Sie mich
fragen...

...ich finde, der CIA-Mord an General Schneider beweist einmal mehr, daß das Gangstersyndikat Imperialismus vor keiner Scheußlichkeit zurückschreckt, um das Ende seiner Tage hinauszuschieben.

Er beweist aber auch, daß der Arm des Imperialismus um vieles kürzer geworden ist. Denn dieser Mord sollte ja ein Signal sein, um in letzter Minute noch die Wahl Allendes zum Präsidenten zu verhindern.

Indes - Allende ist Präsident. Und seine ersten Worte waren, daß die Unidad Popular nun verwirklicht werde, was sie versprochen hat: nämlich das Monopolkapital zu enteignen. Jetzt geht's den Dollar-Hyänen an den Kragen!

Es ist noch gar nicht so lange her, da wäre das für die USA Anlaß gewesen, den großen Knüppel hervorzuholen. Ich meine, in den 50er Jahren sind Ledernacken für weniger

Der Arm ist kürzer

noch mordend und brennend in lateinamerikanische Länder eingefallen. Wie kommt es, daß dieses ausgeklügelte System von Staatsstreichen und Interventionen jetzt so oft vorsagt?

In Zeitungen des Springer-Konzerns liest man manchmal, daß der Imperialismus halt „einsichtiger“ und „vernünftiger“ geworden sei.

Solchen Quatsch kann man wirklich nur im „Bild“-Ländle verbreiten. Denn wie „vernünftig“ der Imperialismus ist, beweist er allein schon in Indochina.

Nein, der Grund liegt woanders: Die Länder, die den antiimperialistischen Kurs einschlagen, sind heute nicht mehr schutzlos den USA-Intrigen und Interventionen ausgeliefert. Das Mittelmeer ist eben nicht mehr nur eine Damäne der USA-Flugzeugträger. Sowjetische Schiffe verteidigen dort die unabhängigen arabischen Staaten. Aber bleiben wir in Lateinamerika: Es ist heute auch nicht möglich, ein Land wie Chile einfach durch einen totalen Boykott zu erdrosseln. Das ging seinerzeit schon bei Kuba nicht mehr. Und als das peruanische Volk kürzlich von der schlimmen Erdbeben-Katastrophe betroffen war, da bewies die Sowjetunion mit einer mächtigen Luftbrücke über 15 000 Kilometer hinweg, wie nahe ihre Solidarität den Völkern dieses Kontinents ist.

Annäherung an die sozialistischen Staaten - das ist ein wichtiges Merkmal des Befreiungskampfes in Lateinamerika! Es ist deshalb durchaus kein Zufall, daß dieser Gedanke sowohl im Regierungsprogramm von Dr. Allende als auch in den ersten Erklärungen des bolivianischen Präsidenten Torres enthalten ist.

Hier bewahrheitet sich Lenins Feststellung, daß der Kampf für anti-imperialistische Demokratie und der Kampf für den Sozialismus miteinander verbunden sind.

Horst Neuber

SCHENECTADY, N.Y.
GAZETTE

OCT 26 1970
M. - 55,934

Caution Needed

Most people in this country no doubt read with an air of detachment about the shooting in Santiago, Chile, of the army commander in chief, Maj. Gen. Rene Schneider. Such shootings are common in Latin America, and we have our own violence to worry about. But the time is fast approaching when all our citizens and taxpayers may have to take notice of what goes on in Latin American politics as we did after we worked ourselves into war in Indochina. Trouble in South America means more money out of the pocket-books of U.S. taxpayers, and it could mean substantial loss of American lives if we are not careful.

The attack on the Chilean army chief came two days before Congress was scheduled to vote for the election of the Marxist, Dr. Salvador Allende, as president. A lot of influential people in South America were upset because a victory was in the offing for a Marxist. It was expected to intensify the conflict — probably violent — between extreme Left and extreme Right elements, making it less likely than ever that any moderate Center could bring about any desirable reforms.

The United States as usual is considered one of the villains in the Chilean conflict. In this case the Left had charged that our CIA along with some anti-Communist Cubans were secretly trying to prevent Dr. Allende from becoming president. It is of course an easy kind of charge to make, for it is not easy to prove that you are not doing something of that sort, but our ambassador there was trying to

convince everyone of Washington's good intentions.

The United States will continue to be in the middle, diplomatically, trying to show that we are not in cahoots with right-wing extremists who are hated by the populace and at the same time trying not to help communists gain a strong foothold on the continent. It's an extremely complicated problem which requires that Washington be very cautious at every step.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH
TRIBUNE

OCT 23 1970

M - 108,270

S - 188,699

Chile Gunmen Gravely Wound Army Leader in Alleged Plot

By Lewis H. Dinguid
Washington Post Writer

SANTIAGO — Gunmen gravely wounded Chilean Army Chief Rene Schneider Thursday morning, one day after arrests in an alleged rightwing terrorist plot and two days before the congress is to elect socialist senator Salvador Allende to the presidency.

The bullets shattered a calm that had slowly returned to Chile

after the uproar of the popular vote Sept. 4 that gave Allende a narrow plurality over a conservative former president.

Gen. Schneider, 57, was shot three times in what is becoming the classic Latin terrorist assault pattern: at least three cars cut off the military vehicle carrying the general to his office.

Witnesses said two men leaped from the cars, broke the car window behind Schneider, fired several times and drove off.

The unharmed chauffeur drove the general to the military hospital nearby, where his condition Thursday night was declared critical. He was operated on for two wounds.

Repudiation of the act came from all sections of the wide Chilean political spectrum.

Allende typified the reaction of the leftist politicians when he said that the attack "confirms the denunciation made time and again" by the Popular Unity Front (the group backing him), "that the

oligarchic forces defeated in the Sept. 4 election do not accept the result and are trying by desperate means . . . to impede the people from taking power."

Wednesday the Revolutionary Leftist Movement (MIR for its Spanish initials) detailed an alleged plot to assassinate Allende. The semi-clandestine group, associated with leftist insurrectional acts in the past, charged that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the Argentine military were part of the plot. Six arrests were made.

A repeated charge of the newspapers owned by the Communist party has been that since Allende's popular vote victory some 300 CIA agents have filtered into Chile. The U.S. embassy says it has asked the Chilean government for details and has received none.

Among the people named in the Marxist press as under arrest in the alleged plot against Allende is retired Gen. Roberto Viaux Marambio, who led the only military mutiny known to modern Chile — a limited affair that resulted in pay increases. The military denied Viaux was arrested.



Gen. Schneider

General Is Shot In Chile

Attack Follows Report of Plot By Rightists

By Lewis H. Diuguid
Washington Post Foreign Service

SANTIAGO, Chile Oct. 22—Gunmen wounded army chief Rene Schneider this morning, one day after the arrests of six men as alleged rightwing plotters and two days before the congress is to elect Socialist Sen. Salvador Allende president.

The bullets shattered a calm that had slowly returned to Chile after the uproar over the Sept. 4 national balloting that gave Allende a narrow plurality over a conservative former president.

Gen. Schneider, 57, was wounded in three places after three cars cut off the military vehicle carrying him to his office. Witnesses said two men leaped from the cars, broke the window behind Schneider, fired several times and drove off.

The unharmed chauffeur drove the general to the military hospital nearby, where tonight his condition was said to be satisfactory. He was operated on for two wounds in the abdomen and one in the throat.

[Late last night, an AP dispatch reported that an army communique said Gen. Schneider had taken a turn for the worse and was undergoing new surgery. The dispatch added that an emergency open-chest heart massage immediately after the shooting had revived the general, whose heart had stopped.]

President Eduardo Frei, addressing the nation of 9.3 million by television, declared a state of emergency. The military thus took control of public order, and the chief of the Santiago area called a curfew for early-morning hours.

During the campaign, Schneider, apparently on his own initiative, asserted that the army would respect the decision of the voters. Since the voting, the extreme right has called for military intervention to block Allende.

Denunciation of today's attack came from all sections of the Chilean political spectrum.

Allende's reaction typified that of the leftist politicians. He said the assault "confirms the denunciation made time and again by the Popular Unity [the front backing him], that the oligarchic forces defeated in the September election do not accept the result and are trying by desperate means . . . to impede the people from taking power."

Yesterday the Revolutionary Leftist Movement described what it called a rightist plot to assassinate Allende.

The movement, a semiclandestine group associated with leftist insurrectional acts in the past, charged that the CIA and the Argentine military were part of the plot. Six arrests were made.

It appeared possible that the movement had infiltrated an extreme rightist terror group.

A frequent charge by newspapers owned by the Communist Party has been that since Allende won a plurality in September some 300 CIA agents have entered Chile. The U.S. embassy said it had asked the government for details of the charge and had received none.

Among the people named in the Marxist press as under arrest in the roundup of rightists is retired Gen. Roberto Viaux Marambio, who led the only military mutiny known to modern Chile—a limited affair that resulted in pay increases. The military has denied Viaux was arrested.

Terrorism was a major issue in the election. Former President Jorge Alessandri campaigned for law and order. Allende repudiated leftist terrorism and said he had no compact with the Revolutionary Leftist Movement.

Recently there have been several bombings—amateurish and generally laid to marginal rightist groups.

But in contrast to Argentina, Brazil and Columbia, Chile has experienced little political violence. Thus the shooting of Schneider has had sharp impact.

Several politicians commented that assassinations such as those which killed the Kennedy brothers were peculiar to the United States and had no place in Chile.

There was no logical political purpose apparent in the selection of Gen. Schneider as a target. Many observers doubted that the military was behind the attempt because of its professionalism and its tradition of avoiding politics.

Not Widely Known

Schneider was not widely known, but indications are that he was interested in more than military affairs. He was a frequent participant in a seminar at the University of Chile's Institute of International Studies—where subjects ranged from the new military government in Peru to attempts at regional economic integration in Latin America. The seminar usually has socialists and communists participating, and, a couple of years ago, Allende himself attended.

The calm of recent days was attributed in part to the statement by Alessandri asking that his supporters not vote for him in the Congress. This was followed by a meeting between Allende and Alessandri.

Thus, despite sharp divisions in the electorate, Congress—sitting as an electoral college Saturday—is expected to give Allende a wide majority of its 200 votes.

Congress sessions today were devoted to passage of a bill of rights which the outgoing Christian Democrats of President Eduardo Frei demanded as a condition for supporting Allende, and which Allende agreed to accept. The Senate was interrupted by news of the shooting but returned to pass the measure.

REPORTS ON CIA DENIED IN CHILE

Embassy Says U.S. Tourists Are Really Tourists

[By a Sun Staff Correspondent]

Santiago, Chile, Oct. 21—The American Embassy officially denied today domestic and foreign press reports that “an unusually large number of North American nationals and purported ‘agents of the CIA’” have been in Chile recently.

The Embassy statement said “such suspicions were voiced in several quarters as long as two months ago” and were officially discussed with the Chilean government by Ambassador Edward M. Korry.

The ambassador asked for any information that might support the allegations and “to this date the Embassy has received no such information,” it said.

The reports appear frequently in left-wing newspapers allied with Marxist Senator Salvador Allende, 62, the apparent president-elect.

The number of American visitors, the statement continued, was in accord with those expected on the basis of a better than average skiing season and the Chilean National Airlines tourist campaign in the U.S.

Ambassador Korry was prepared to halt all official U.S. government travel to Chile and limit tourist travel, but the Chilean government “categorically” rejected the suggestion, the embassy said.

DENVER, COLO.
 NAT'L CATH. REGISTER
 OCT 8 1970
 WEEKLY - 611,413

This Week in Chile

This week in Chile a momentous decision will be made. If the Congress acts on the precedents of the past, it will give the presidency to the man who had the plurality in the three-man race. In this case, for the first time a Marxist will come to power by democratic procedures.

It is not relevant to argue, as William Buckley does, that Salvador Allende was chosen by only a minority of the people who voted. It is true, only about 35 percent chose him, but then many nations who have free elections choose minority Presidents — neither John F. Kennedy nor Richard Nixon received a majority vote.

WHAT IS of pertinence is that in a free country, utilizing the polls, a Marxist seems to be almost certain to become President. When the Conservatives and the Christian Democrats decided to run separate candidates, they set up the situation.

Make no mistake of thinking that Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens is some kind of a mild socialist. He will fully intend to establish a Marxist state like that in Cuba today. He may not move immediately to all of his plans but his eventual aim will be a Communist state.

But a Communist state can not really exist with freedom. If he establishes the fully Communist state then there can be no other political parties, there can be no freedom of press or of radio and television, there can be no future elections.

The people of Chile are freedom-loving

people. The question is whether they will finally allow an elected Communist to use the power a free democratic system gave him to destroy that free democratic system.

Catholic columnist Monsignor Charles O. Rice, who has viewed Castro with some favor, has now written to say that if Allende does not get the presidency or if he loses it later then it will be because of the intervention of the CIA.

Monsignor Rice under-estimates the people of Chile. These are people who will not allow their freedom to be destroyed. They do not need the CIA or any other force from outside to tell them they cannot afford to allow their freedom to be destroyed.

NOTHING IN the Chilean law forces the Congress to give the presidency to Allende. Only precedent suggests this, and this time precedent means nothing for surely a majority of Chileans do not want a Communist rule. Therefore, if the presidency is denied Allende no laws will have been broken.

But if Allende is chosen, as he probably will be, then he will be the one who will determine whether he can remain in office. If he acts in a way consistent with Marxist principles — eliminating opposition parties, ending free elections, controlling the press, radio and television — then you may be sure the people of Chile will not endure his totalitarian rule.

E 8634

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks September 24, 1970

gentleman under stress and in delicate situations.

I came to the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges as a new judge, starry-eyed and awed by the association with elder, established, and highly regarded jurists. It took me little time to seek the wise counsel of Bud Noyes. It took me little time to observe the high regard that all judges and persons who occupy high positions have for this outstanding man. Bud is universally regarded as an outstanding astute and learned jurist.

Though a few years separated Bud from myself and though a few years of experience separated Bud from me, I immediately felt and continue to feel a close affinity to him. I felt that we are contemporaries and the most outstanding tribute that I can pay to Bud, and his are many, is that all persons, no matter what age group they find themselves, no matter what station in life fate has befallen them, Bud is their contemporary. Bud is their friend. Bud is their leader. This is true of the new judges of our organization. This is true of the older judges. All come to him to seek counsel and advice. None are turned away.

I have been the beneficiary of his wise judgment on several occasions, more than I can probably remember. I often wonder whether sometimes I should feel that I too often look to him for solutions to problems rather than solve them myself. This gentleman's ability, depth, and sound judgment comes to the forefront when the situation becomes most delicate. Just a few short weeks ago we were in Geneva, Switzerland, together at an international meeting of judges. Gathered there were representatives from just about every nation in the world. We were cognizant of our responsibility to our judges at the international meeting of judges and to our nation.

As you might expect, different concepts, different methods of doing things, as well as language barriers, led to misunderstandings and serious disagreements which, if not judiciously handled, could cause severe repercussions. Impressions of an unfavorable nature for the American jurists, for the American public official, and of America itself might have and could have resulted. The politics of the international groups was somewhat difficult for us to understand at a time when relationships between the American delegates and some of the other delegates were possibly becoming strained because we just did not understand each other's point of view. Bud, in a caucus of our judges, as usual, calmed the waters, offered solutions and courses of action, which, when adopted by us, appeared to be simple, yet were well thought out. This is his capacity to take the most complicated problem of a delicate nature and untangle it into a simplified solution. Needless to say, we, the American delegation, received more consideration from the foreign judicial delegates because of Bud's suggestion than we had ever hoped.

I could cite many examples of this gentleman's deep analytical ability and profound mind. Bud never ceases to amaze me. He never ceases to amaze others, and I am certain that he never ceases to amaze you.

I have had the opportunity and the honor to attend many testimonial dinners. None has given me more pleasure than the invitation extended to me to this one. Though Bud is highly regarded because of his forthright honesty and integrity possessed by few men and is considered a giant among judges, nevertheless he has a sense of humor and soundness and that reduces mountains of problems to avenues of progress.

More important than all of these is his sincere desire to help persons less fortunate. His consideration for the children and people he serves is paramount. In every deliberation, Bud's primary concern is the effect that these children will have on the children who appear in his court or in any other court in our land. I have yet to feel

that Bud has ever lost sight of his and our responsibility to the children who need our help and the help of all who serve the cause of juvenile justice.

In closing, may I say to you, Bud, and to your lovely wife that I hope and trust that you will enjoy your retirement and that you get to do all the things you thought and hoped you wanted to do but had little time to do. I hope and trust that we may enjoy the benefit of your continued counsel and advice.

All who know you love you, Bud, and I say with deepest affection, sincerity, and conviction that this world is a little better place because you walked by. God bless you and good night.

CIA IN CHILE

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 24, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, an interesting letter appeared in the New York Times today counseling against CIA plotting in Chile. For my colleagues who are not familiar with the background of the author of this letter, I include at this point a short sketch drawn from a staff study prepared for the Senate Internal Security Committee entitled "the Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-In Movement," 89th Congress, first session, Document No. 72, printed in 1965. Letter and sketch follow:

CHOICE IN CHILE

To the Editor:

A proposed Marxist, Dr. Salvador Allende, has received the plurality of votes in the recent presidential election in Chile.

It would be fitting for all adherents of free democratic elections to see to it that the C.I.A. does not repeat its past performances in Guatemala, Santo Domingo and Bolivia by endeavoring through underground intrigue—or *coup d'etat*—to nullify the democratically expressed wishes of the people of Chile.

ANTON REFREGIER.

WOODSTOCK, N.Y.

ANTON REFREGIER

Under date of May 9, 1965, the pamphlet "National Teach-In on the Vietnam War," May 15, 1965, lists Anton Refregier, artist, as a supporter. His record follows:

Anton Refregier is listed as a sponsor of the American Peace Mobilization (official program of the American People's Meeting of the American Peace Mobilization, Apr. 5, 1941). The American Peace Mobilization has been cited as Communist by the Attorney General.

Anton Refregier is listed as a sponsor of the Artists' Front To Win the War and as a supporter of the American Artists' Congress (folder, Artists Front To Win the War, mass meeting Oct. 16, 1942, Carnegie Hall). The Artists' Front To Win the War has been cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The name of Anton Refregier appears on a list of persons affiliated with the John Reed Club who signed a protest against alleged anti-Communist propaganda. (New York Times, May 19, 1930). The John Reed Club has been cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. John Reed was a founder of the American Communist Party.

The name of Anton Refregier appears in a list of artists calling for an American Artists' Congress (Art Front, November 1935, p. 6). The American Artists' Congress has been cited as subversive by the California Commission on Un-American Activities.

The name of Anton Refregier is listed as a sponsor of the National Council of American-

Soviet Friendship, Inc. (undated leaflet). The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The name of Anton Refregier appears on a letter to the President protesting what was described as "the badgering of Communist leaders" (New Masses, Apr. 2, 1940, p. 21). New Masses has been cited as a Communist periodical by the Attorney General.

Anton Refregier is listed as a contributor to a book of drawings under the title of "Winter Soldiers" in defense of certain Communist teachers then under charges of Communist activity ("Winter Soldiers," June 17, 1941).

Anton Refregier returned in May 1965 from a visit to the Soviet Union and Communist East Europe. The Worker of May 18, 1965, page 6, announced that he was to speak about his journey at the Philadelphia Social Science Forum, which is an adjunct of the Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art, which has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

The signature of Anton Refregier, member of the United American Artists, appears on a letter to FDR urging help to U.S.S.R. (Daily Worker, Sept. 16, 1941, p. 7.)

The name of Anton Refregier, mural painter, appears on a list of persons requesting the President to exert his influence to end an attack on the freedom of the press with specific reference to the New Masses. (New Masses, Apr. 2, 1940, p. 21.) New Masses has been cited as a Communist periodical by the Attorney General.

MARYLAND SOLDIER DIES IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 24, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. James M. Kozlowski, a courageous young man from Maryland, died recently in Vietnam. I should like to honor his memory by including the following article in the Record:

J. M. KOZLOWSKI, 21, DIES IN VIETNAM

An Army radioman from Overlea has died in Vietnam from wounds he received in the explosion of an enemy booby trap, the Department of Defense announced yesterday.

Spec. 4 James M. Kozlowski, 21, of 4100 Overlea avenue, died in a Saigon hospital on August 25 as the result of infection of a shrapnel wound in his stomach.

Specialist Kozlowski was on patrol in the Mekong Delta August 12 when he was struck by the booby trap explosion. Doctors amputated both legs and his left arm at the elbow in an attempt to save his life.

COMPLETED TRAINING

A member of Company B, 9th Infantry Division, he had been in Vietnam since April 27. He was drafted into the Army April 11, 1969.

He completed his basic training at Fort Bragg, N.C., and his advanced training at Fort Dix, N.J.

Specialist Kozlowski was born in Rosedale. After his graduation from City College in 1967, he worked as an electrician with the Baltimore Gas and Electric Company. He had planned to return to his job after completing his service in the Army.

Specialist Kozlowski is survived by his wife, the former Mary Ellingsworth; his parents, Joseph and Agnes Kozlowski, of Baltimore; three sisters, Mrs. Frances Beaver, Mrs. Connie Luzadder, and Mary Kozlowski, all of Baltimore; four brothers, Raymond, Joseph, Richard, and Edward Kozlowski, all of Baltimore; and Richard Kozlowski, of Virginia Beach, Va.

20 SEP 1970

Trying To Read Meaning Of Allende Victory

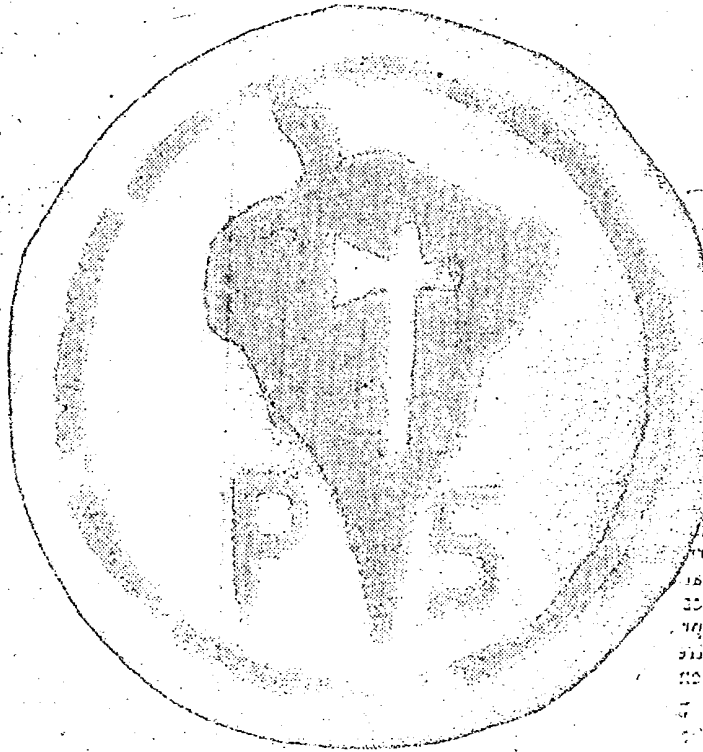
WASHINGTON—A new chapter in Latin-American politics and United States-Latin American relations will open on Nov. 4, when Salvador Allende Gossens is expected to assume the Presidency of Chile. Washington's studied silence on Dr. Allende's feat—he is the first Marxist to be voted into power in the Western Hemisphere in a free democratic election—reflects the profound uncertainty that is felt in this capital as to what the new chapter will contain.

Fidel Castro and his brand of Cuban communism represented an isolated and rather artificial episode in the hemispheric turmoil of the early 1960's. To minimize Castro's revolutionary impact on the rest of Latin America (after the misadventure at the Bay of Pigs), President Kennedy launched his imaginative Alliance for Progress, but the Alliance programs wilted under the neglect of the Johnson Administration and the sullen opposition of the Latin-American ruling élites. Still, a decade passed without new Cubas.

But Dr. Allende, who won a plurality in the Chilean elections of two weeks ago, has arisen in a different political context.

The 36 per cent of the popular vote won by him in a field of three candidates represented a significant new shift in voter opinion. After choosing a left-of-center Christian Democratic regime in 1964, the Chilean voter has now opted for a brand of Marxism that claims it can revamp Chilean society along socialist lines and complete the nationalization of the great United States-owned mining and public utility interests, while still retaining the country's deeply rooted democratic institutions.

All this, of course, provided the Chilean Congress confirms Dr. Allende's program. He meets on Oct. 24. Since none of



The symbol of Dr. Salvador Allende's Socialist party, a tomahawk superimposed on a map of South America, is a symbol of hope to some and fear to others in Chile—and the hemisphere.

the candidates won a majority of the vote, Congress must choose between Dr. Allende and the runner-up, Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez, the Conservative candidate who was edged out by a mere 1.4 per cent.

Congress is fully expected to do the traditional thing and choose the front-runner, but with some Conservatives still brooding over schemes to keep Dr. Allende from gaining power, a political or military move to wipe the slate clean remains a remote possibility. However, if Dr. Allende does become President, which is considered almost certain, the impact on the rest of the hemisphere is likely to be strong.

Dr. Allende, 62-year-old leader of a Socialist party whose program is more radical than that of the Moscow-oriented Chilean Communist party, put together a five-party coalition of "Popular Unity" in which the Communists form the single most important group. He thus proved for the first time that the Latin-American left is capable of coherent and orderly leadership—as distinct from Castro's armed uprising—with considerable appeal to the masses. This lesson will be learned by other groups elsewhere in Latin America that have oscillated over

zation move. In fact, Mr. Tomie's over-all program was not much less radical than Dr. Allende's.

Does all this mean that Chile must follow Cuba into active enmity against the United States? Not necessarily, say diplomatic officials in Washington, as the initial shock of the Allende victory begins to wear off.

The Administration is searching for a *modus vivendi*. Although the history of United States military interventions in Latin America, including President Johnson's Dominican Republic intervention in 1965, has raised the inevitable question of whether the Marines and the Central Intelligence Agency play any part in current "contingency planning" in regard to Chile, another such intervention appears to be completely excluded. The United States would be in a peculiar moral position if caught plotting against Dr. Allende, especially after decades of trying to make Latin America accept free elections.

On a more practical plane, Chile is not in Washington's Caribbean lake. The distance between the two countries is enormous. Politically, the Administration seems to be convinced that any interference in Chilean affairs, even quiet maneuvering by the C.I.A., could make matters much worse.

Bogged down in Indochina, increasingly engaged in the Middle East and facing serious troubles at home, President Nixon, it is felt here, is unlikely to add Chile to his list of insoluble problems. As another senior official remarked last week, "the problem becomes a problem when you make it into a problem."

Finally, Washington has no real leverage against Chile. With her copper selling at high prices, her financial reserves and her developing economy—strengths that exist side by side with the economic and social ills that give reformers like Dr. Allende their political opportunity—Chile is in no great need of United States assistance. In fiscal 1969, she was given only \$107.8-million in loans and grants, and the only loan approved this year was for \$2.5-million.

For all the fears here that Chile under Dr. Allende could become a Communist dictatorship—if not at once, then in the official Washington line on Chile today is: "Don't rock the boat."

the years between political failure and inconclusive guerrilla violence and urban terrorism.

Under an Allende Government, Chile is likely to slide into the so-called Third World. Even if the new President keeps his promise to preserve Chile's constitutional framework, such a shift would place her in an international position analogous to that of Yugoslavia or Algeria. It would make Chile a source of sympathy for such causes as the Cuban revolution, the Communist-led "liberation war" in Indochina, the black nationalist movements in Africa and even the Arab struggle against Israel.

To start with, Dr. Allende is certain to grant diplomatic recognition to Cuba and Communist China, and possibly to North Vietnam. Because the world, including the Communist world, tends to take Chile more seriously than Cuba, chances are that the focus of Latin-American radicalism will gradually shift from Havana to Santiago.

Internally, Dr. Allende is certain to nationalize foreign investments, in fulfillment of his campaign program. It must be remembered, however, that the Christian Democratic candidate, who won 28 per cent of the vote, was pledged to the same nationali-

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Left wins elections in Chile

By Peter Roman

In the Chilean presidential election of Sept. 4, the center and right parties made a miscalculation. They had failed to unite on a single anti-communist candidate—with the result that Salvador Allende, candidate of the Popular Unity, a left coalition, won a plurality in the field of three candidates.

The Chilean Congress must decide in October between Allende, a leader of the moderate wing of the Socialist Party whose electoral support included the Communist party and Jorge Alessandri, the candidate of the right who came in second in the recent election.

Normally the Congress would name the candidate receiving a plurality as president, but this is an "exceptional" situation. Allende's forces lack a majority in Congress and the right wants to block a "Marxist" victory.

In part, the center and right did not unite to check Allende during the election because they were victims of their own propaganda. The Christian Democrats whose candidate was Rodomirio Tomic and Alessandri's National party had both sponsored public opinion polls which put their man comfortably in the lead. There was such a scandal around the polls that it was investigated by Congress.

Now Alessandri's chief campaign aide is calling for Congress to defeat Allende. Alessandri himself has stated that if Congress elects him he will immediately resign. Then there would have to be a new election in which President Eduardo Frei, who constitutionally could not succeed himself, might run again as the candidate of an "anti-Marxist front," as in 1964 when he was originally elected. However, events may have already out-distanced this strategy.

Decline for Christian Democrats

One important development since 1964 is the great decline in popularity of the Christian Democrats. When Frei won a majority in 1964 and again in the 1965 Congressional elections, the Christian Democrats were Chile's dominant political force and Frei had aroused great expectations that he had the "sane" answer to Latin America's economic problems. Now this limelight has been stolen by the program of the Peruvian generals.

Because of Frei's economic failures, directly related to the decline of the Christian Democrats and Allende's victory and the obviously cynical nature of efforts to block Allende from the presidency, the bourgeoisie cannot be confident of victory with a coalition candidate, especially one acceptable to the right.

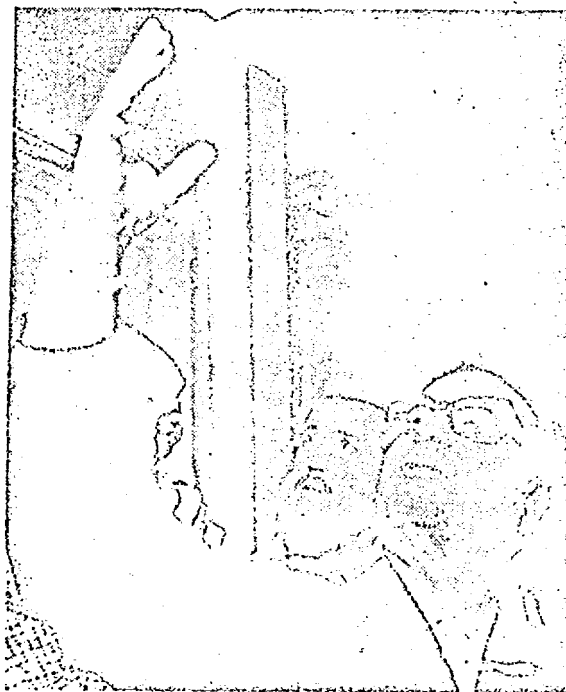
This raises the possibility that the ruling class may abandon democratic forms which threaten their rule and the right may openly resort to force to check Allende.

Several rightist vigilante groups are already active in Chile. One is the Society for the Protection of the Family, Religion and Property, allied to reactionary groups in Brazil and Argentina which contributed to the right-wing military coups in those countries. A few months ago there was another portent. At that time, when Frei belatedly and timidly attempted to push agrarian reform, his field representative was murdered by the rightists.

The use of force by the right would probably be supported by elements of the army and police, the North American copper companies which helped finance Alessandri's campaign, the U.S. military mission and the CIA. On election day, the U.S. mission was augmented by 68 Navy personnel, allegedly a Navy band on a goodwill tour. But none of them carried musical instruments.

Conditions for Allende

At present, the right is not inclined to vote for Alessandri, mainly for the sake of not risking further loss of popular support. However, they are offering their votes to Allende on the condition that he pledges to "maintain



Socialist Allende, as victory is announced.

Chile's democracy," that is, to maintain the "independence" of the army, judiciary, press and universities.

Allende would probably agree to these demands since they differ little from his electoral statements. For example, during the campaign, he denied that he would establish "people's tribunals."

The real question is what the different parties interested in Chilean developments mean by "independent." As for an "independent" army, the U.S. trains Chilean officers and it has provided the army with counter-guerrilla training. The U.S. military mission also occupies the seventh floor of the headquarters of the Chilean army.

Another important question is Allende's future role, whether he would call on the people to defend their victory by popular force. The left coalition that supported him is oriented toward electoral, trade union and other legal activities and does not appear to be prepared to mobilize the people for armed action.

Right fears popular action

Although Allende's program is basically social democratic and he is appealing for calm and attempting to placate the opposition, conceivably he could help arouse the people to action. Furthermore, the Popular Unity electoral victory could unleash popular unrest and push the moderate leadership to the left. Mass militancy and combativeness have been traditional in the country, as was evident in mass demonstrations during the campaign. This potential for mass action is what the right most fears.

Allende's future position toward the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), which he now considers to be comprised of mistaken idealists and who are denounced as counterrevolutionary terrorists by the Communist party, may be an indicator of his orientation. Were Allende to become president, would he, for example, allow the police and judiciary to continue to hound and persecute the Miristas?

MIR does not believe in the electoral path to power in a country where the right is so powerful. It would help defend Allende's victory. If the right's attempt to block Allende pushes the country toward civil war, MIR could take a leading role among the popular forces.

MONROE, LA.
NEWS-STAR

E - 15,121
SEP 14 1970

Marxism In Chile

The Monroe Doctrine denies the right of any foreign ideology abhorrent to American democracy to colonize in Latin America. But what of the Chilean election in which a Marxist was front-runner and stands to be named by Congress to the presidency? It was a popular choice, not imposed by the Soviet, Red China, or Fidel's Cuba. So, it would appear the United States must make the best of it, unless of course it wishes to turn CIA agents loose to foment a rightist takeover at some future time.

Any way one looks at the results, popular choice or not, they represent bad news for the United States, for Latin American democracy, and for the Alliance for Progress.

The alliance, it will be recalled, was undertaken to improve and strengthen democratic institutions. The election or nomination of Sen. Salvador Allende to run Chile on a Marxist revolutionary ticket is a major blow against the already faltering organization.

Under Chile's Constitution, Allende could still be denied the presidency when the Con-

gress meets October 24 to choose between him and runner up, former President Jorge Alessandria. It is unlikely, however, since Congress has set a precedent for electing the top man. Besides, Alessandria said he would not accept the presidency unless he got the largest number of popular votes.

Fortunately for the United States, Chilean leaders can only serve six years. By 1976 perhaps the Chilean people will have realized their mistake, just as millions of Cubans now realize their error in following blindly behind the Soviet puppet, Castro.

Complete socialization of Chile is Allende's goal. He did not soft-pedal his aims. Nationalization of much of the nation's industry, banking, and commercial activity was advocated fervently throughout the campaign. He also pledged to seek a major constitutional revision which opponents fear will eliminate elections.

Events in Chile will be watched carefully over the next six years to see what happens in the first sizable Western nation to turn over its reins to a Communist-backed Marxist government.

ST. PAUL, MINN.
PIONEER PRESS

M - 104,387

S - 223,806

SEP 4 1970

Chilean Candidate Vows To Delay Loan Payments

By LEWIS H. DRUGUID
The Washington Post

SANTIAGO — Chilean Marxist candidate Salvador Allende said Thursday that if elected in today's presidential election he will seek amicable renegotiation of Chile's debt to the United States, but in any case he will put off repayment.

"First the Chilean people must eat," he said in an interview. The 62-year-old doctor, loser in three previous elections, has promised to lift up the country's poor and to end what he calls dependency on foreign and domestic capitalists.

Allende cited U.S. policies in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Peru as examples of "intervention against self-determination. The North American government has defended the interests of the big companies, and these are not the interests of the North American people," he said.

"Nevertheless, we think the North American govern-

ment will respect our electoral triumph. Times have changed. The war in Vietnam has taught Washington that there is morality in the world."

Allende faces conservative Jorge Alessandri, 74, and Radomiro Tomic, 56, of

Exclusive

the ruling Christian-Democratic Party. Each candidate promises fundamental changes in the democracy, and probably none will receive the absolute majority needed for instant election.

Chile thus faces prolonged political uncertainty, perhaps even violent conflict, that will test its reputation as the most firmly entrenched democracy on a continent prone to military intervention.

Allende rejected the recurrent rumor that in case of his victory the military would prevent him from taking office. Among the more leftist merchants of

this rumor, it is alleged that the U.S. CIA would support the military.

The Marxist intellectual said that over the years he has been interviewed countless times by CIA agents who represented themselves otherwise. But despite much bitterness toward the U.S. government he seemed confident that it would accept his policy of "dignified diplomatic and commercial relations with all countries," from Cuba and North Vietnam to Argentina or the United States.

Denouncing U.S. aid programs that have brought millions of dollars in loans to Chile, Allende said the terms were onerous in that the money had to be spent on U.S. goods, whatever the price.

"We will recognize the debts, but we will renegotiate the terms," he said. "The North American government is disposed to understand the needs of the Chilean people".

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BALTIMORE, MD.
NEWS AMERICANE - 219,140
S - 316,275

SEP 2 1970

U. S. Firms, CIA Sure Scapegoats In Chile Election

By PERCY FORSTER
Special to The News American

SANTIAGO, Chile — As often is the case, big American corporations and the CIA will be blamed if either of the two left-wing candidates for the Chilean presidency is defeated in Friday's election.

Castro-communist candidate Salvador Allende already is publicly accusing the Anaconda Copper Co. of pouring money into middle-of-the-roader Jorge Alessandri's campaign.

Other foreign interests are also financing Alessandri, he says.

Radomiro Tomic is less emphatic in his charges. The Christian-Democrat standard-bearer merely "suspects" the presence of the dollar, sterling and German mark influence in the presidential race.

The 74-year-old, Dour visaged Alessandri's retort to the assertion that he is a foreigners' stooge "decorated" half the walls of the city as the campaign reached its closing stage — the picture of a tank, with the communist sickle and hammer emblem, parked in front of Santiago's presidential palace, and the two-word legen "if Allende wins."

ALESSANDRI ALSO showed himself a match for his rivals when they stressed his age in speeches and newspaper ads. He came back with another poster showing portraits of Winston Churchill, Charles DeGualle, Konrad Adenauer, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh and Pope John.

The text beneath the portraits said: "In crucial moments in their history the peoples of the world rely on their great old men."

The noisiest election campaign ever experienced by Chile has brought work in offices virtually to a standstill. Executives and employees find it impossible to concentrate with hundreds of trucks circulating in the

Nor can they recover lost time in the evenings at home. Every radio station and the country's single TV station, owned and operated by the National University, has dropped its regular programs, and is blaring forth the battle hymns of the three candidates on a paid basis evidently Alessandri is the man with the most cash at his disposal. He has prime time on most communications outlets.

WHILE CHILE'S wealthy and powerful "el Mercurio" newspaper chain, which includes the largest newspapers in the country, is backing Alessandri, his left-wing opponents have the support of only one or more of four communist publications.

If Allende wins, he says, he will close down the "El Mercurio" group, which is owned, together with a national beer brewing monopoly, Chile's largest private bank, a near-monopoly in the soap manufacturing business, and more than a score of other industrial enterprises, by Augustin and Robert Edwards (Chileans of British descent on their late father's side), their mother, and a sister.

Allende threatens likewise to confiscate several powerful enterprises, including Anaconda and other American-owned Copper and Nitrate producing companies.

Final samplings of public opinion indicate that the outcome of the campaign would be decided by voters with no party affiliation. These are said to number at least 25 per cent of the electorate.

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19 JUL 1970

Approved For Release 2000/08/16 : CIA-RDP80-016

Campaign In Chile Drifts Left

By Lewis H. Diuguid

Washington Post Foreign Service

SANTIAGO—Chile is ap-

proaching another election which could vote a Marxist government into power, a novelty that six years ago focused international attention on this country and its persistent democracy.

Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei won the election six years ago. If he could run in the contest Sept. 4, he probably would win again. But whoever wins of the one conservative and two leftist candidates, one point is clear: Chile's leaders are moving steadily left to the point that probably a majority of them seek socialism in some variation.

The election will show whether the 3.5 million voters in the 10 million population are following the leadership. In all likelihood the two leftists will together command a majority.

This is the lineup:

- Salvador Allende, 61, Marxist Socialist running for the fourth time after three defeats. Six uncongenial parties form a Popular Unity Front behind him, but by far dominant is the Communist, generally conceded to be the best-organized party here. In 1964, with a less ample coalition, Allende received 39 per cent of the vote.

- Radomiro Tomic, 56, former ambassador to Washington, chosen from the left wing of Frei's ever-splintering Christian Democratic Party. Tomic has pitched his campaign consistently to the left of Frei's "revolution in liberty" program. It more resembles the Allende approach. Frei won last time with an overwhelming 56 per cent.

- Jorge Alessandri, 74, independent conservative who preceded Frei in the presidency. The economic standstill under him was a major factor in the leftward turn of 1964, when the conservatives reluctantly voted for Frei to avoid Allende. There was no measurable conservative vote.

National party revived as Frei reforms took hold and left-wing political violence

If No Majority

If none of the candidates wins a majority, the congress must choose between the two leaders when it meets Oct. 24. The result should be clear before then. The congress is not up for election. Presently it includes 45 backers of Alessandri, 75 Christian Democrats, and 80 members of Allende's front.

The combinations in a congressional vote could be limitless, and this is just the sort of political speculation that brings otherwise shabby Santiago alive as is not the case in other Latin American cities.

Campaigning actually started two years ago when Tomic resigned his ambassadorship to seek the party nomination. It is climaxing in a flood of paint that has slapped slogans on every adobe wall, scandals, outrageous charges in the press that is simultaneously free and bought, and a genuine concern about political violence.

For all its verbal violence, Chile has been as free of organized political intimidation as it has been of military takeovers. Now it has the former and is worried about the latter.

Three years ago some of the extreme leftist youth who barraged university classrooms with polemics, from Maoist to Castroist but never really Chilean, began to act out their calls for violent revolution.

They formed under the Revolutionary Leftist Movement (MIR from its Spanish initials). They said violent revolution was necessary to defeat entrenched oligarchic and U.S. interests here, and they have robbed some banks and been caught in some rather elementary guerrilla schools.

Unlike Argentina and Brazil, where similar movements act underground against dictatorships, Chile is so easygoing that at first nobody paid much attention. The government seemed intent on avoiding the embarrassment of having to prosecute students.

The incidents have been few, and so probably are the MIR activists. People with friends on the fringe between the most leftist socialists and the MIR give esti-

Some MIR activists clearly seek to disrupt the election, but many must be inclined to help the Marxist parties in their strongest-yet bid for the presidency, because the incidents have been few.

They have been enough to provoke a sharp reaction from the camp of Alessandri, who is running hard on the law-and-tranquility issue. The national police, widely respected on a continent becoming infamous for brutal law enforcement, have conflicted with demonstrating students and three deaths resulted recently.

Left Predicts Repression

This has provoked denunciation from the left, which predicts repression and a police-military coup should Allende win. Ricardo Lagos, a U.S.-trained economist and general secretary of the University of Chile, cites recent entries into the campus by police as illegal and contributory to a growing disrespect for the country's once-sacred juridical system.

Lagos is socialist, elected to his post, and typical of a class of young Chileans dedicated to expansion and redistribution of the country's limited wealth.

He leads a university group leaving Monday for Cuba, underwritten by the University of Havana.

Another in the group of young and leftist leaders is Jacques Chonchol, who once ran Frei's agrarian reform. He quit the government when he felt the program was not allowed to move fast enough, and he took a left faction out of the Christian Democratic Party and into Allende's front.

Chonchol said he believes that should Allende win. Chile's multiparty electoral system will endure. It is not clear how many of Allende's backers desire, and his detractors are convinced that his election would be the last here.

Allende's constant references to Cuba as a model encourage this belief, although Cuba has become a rallying issue rather than a divisive one in the campaign. Alessandri, too, said he was in favor of the Chilean exports to the Communist country that constitute U.S.-backed economic boycott.

Even the arch-conservative big landowners are forming a mission to Havana, where they hope to sell their products at good prices.

Redressing Balance

Chile, as one diplomat put it, has tried under Frei to redress the balance between equality and liberty, and many of the results, while beneficial for most Chileans, have inevitably been disturbing to the old order.

While the agrarian reform has put only one-fifth of the 100,000 promised families on lands that will be their own, at least 100,000 peasants now belong to unions—and to the money economy. Before Frei, virtually none did.

Education reform has resulted in so many new classrooms and teachers that the country probably now fulfills the old glib claims of literacy among over 80 per cent of the people.

Housing construction has been astonishing, closing a gap that is widening in every other South American country.

Bigger changes may have occurred in the minds of the citizenry. When Foreign Minister Gabriel Valdes toured the province down at Chile's tip, on the Straits of Magellan, he spoke to some peasants on an agrarian reform farm about the possibility of industry coming to the zone.

A big peasant, one of the small minority in Chile clearly descendant in part from the original Indians, stood up to declare that the people wanted no industry unless they owned it.

"That would never have happened in the past," said Valdes with pride.

On the other hand, the Christian Democrats alienated many potential followers by their arrogance and tendency to take every advantage offered to cement themselves in power. As always in administration changes here, when they came in they took over several press organs. Papers here are many and varied, and all beholden to a party or ideological tendency—or if they switch sides, it is because they are up for sale weekly.

Financing of the campaign is a puzzle. Outlays for radio, TV and paint-bucket advertising run into

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continued

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MUHAMMAD SPEAKS

22 May 1970

U.S. hires death

MOSCOW — "The latest exposure of CIA activities in Chile, Bolivia, Peru and other Latin American countries show one of the aspects of the U.S. policy of 'partnership' with Latin America," said a recent news article in the Soviet newspaper Izvestia.

"**IF THERE** is anything new in Latin American policy of the U.S.," writes political columnist Busland Tuchnin, "it is only that the American monopolies have to act in that area of the world much more carefully and cautiously than they did during the days of 'gunboat diplomacy'. Anti-imperialist feelings have now reached such a level that armed intervention can lead to real revolutionary explosion."

26 MAR 1970

Chile smashes attempted military coup

SANTIAGO — The Chilean government announced on Wednesday it had crushed an attempted military coup d'etat with the arrest of 11 out of 16 military officers it charged with "trying to organize change in the constitutional order."

General Oracio Gamboa, a retired officer, was said to be the leader of the conspiracy, which involved among others Captain Julio Sarría, who participated in a brief army mutiny last October in Chile. Chilean military intelligence said the officers had planned to seize the country April 10, by imprisoning President Eduardo Frei along with the minister of defense and army chief of staff.

New presidential elections are to be held in Chile this September, and the growing strength of the left has made the U.S. and Chilean rightists very nervous. The U.S. CIA has been very active in Chile in recent times. Chile, on the west coast of South America, contains important U.S.-owned copper mines. ✓

U.S. Agencies In Latin America

Having Trouble Distinguishing Between 'Good' And 'Bad' Military Regimes

By Marcel Niedergang In
Le Monde

U.S. Latin American experts have switched their attention from the Caribbean to the Andes. The increasing stability of Fidel Castro's revolutionary Government in Cuba and the relative security of the pro-American regimes in Mexico and Brazil go far to explain this change.

At the same time the challenge from the Peruvian junta determined to reduce that country's economic dependence on the United States, the leftist

The Mirror

of

Public Opinion

orientation of Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia's five-month-old Bolivian Government, the fluid political situation in Chile and the emergence of a military pressure group there, together with moves toward closer economic integration of the five Andean states (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile) are of growing concern to the men in Washington responsible for working out and carrying out Latin American policy.

An analysis of the changed situation in Latin America makes it possible to understand the policy developed by the Nixon Administration following Nelson Rockefeller's Latin American trips.

Mr. Rockefeller returned home convinced that Latin America was ripe for revolution. Anti-American revolutionary forces are "on our doorstep," he confirmed. Washington's primary concern, he insisted, should be to maintain order on the continent. Past distinctions between "representative democracies" and military dictatorships were out of date. Addressing Congress on Nov. 12, he warned that a "chaotic revolution" could break out if the United States did not step up its military aid to Latin American governments, including the military regimes.

Washington's decision to stop discriminating between democracies and dictatorships in Latin America was a serious blow to Latin American liberal leaders like Romulo Betancourt. The former Venezuelan President was the author of a doctrine calling for the non-recognition of governments that come to power by force. This distinction is considered "too rigid" by the current Venezuelan

Government, headed by President Rafael Caldera, which has abandoned it.

Nevertheless, the continent's anti-Communist, anti-Castro, anti-militarist and pro-American leaders who long for the "good old days" of the Kennedy Administration and the Alliance for Progress would like to see it revived.

Yet while Latin American liberals protest at being placed on an equal footing with the military leaders who were their enemies a decade ago, it seems that the State Department, the Pentagon and the CIA are having trouble distinguishing the "good" military regimes from the "bad."

But how can the Latin American military regimes maintain law and order, respect American interests and carry out basic reforms all at the same time? This feat would be tantamount to turning a circle into a square. A series of studies has been initiated by official and unofficial U.S. intelligence services to try to answer the question.

The code name varies, but the technique remains the same. In Chile the U.S. Embassy was forced to apologize to the Government two years ago after the details of Project Camelot were revealed. The project which was undertaken by an American university for the Pentagon was aimed at determining the political sympathies of various sectors of the Peruvian population. Recently the Chilean Senate held a closed-door session to discuss a Christian Democratic Senator's indictment of CIA activities and pressures in the country.

The policies of the agency and the Pentagon do not necessarily coincide. Sometimes they compete with one another in the field. For instance, a study similar to Project Camelot was conducted by the Defense Department of the Chilean Army. Officers were queried about their satisfaction with living conditions and asked in what circumstances they might consider intervening in public affairs.

To stave off a Peruvian-type coup in Chile, U.S. intelligence circles naturally encouraged the military rightists. Naval and air force officers as well as the colonel commanding the Black Berets are key figures in this group.

Peruvian Army leaders are upset by the disclosure of the American Protection Plan, although the affair has not yet broken into the open. A Rand Corporation study carried out for the Pentagon prior to October 1968 predicted any move by the Peruvian military would be motivated by social rather than personal considerations.

Since that date the plan set up to protect American installations in Peru in the case of disorders has served as a framework for espionage, government leaders charge. Peruvian intelligence seized a card file containing several hundred names, and some members of the U.S. Embassy staff were asked to leave the country. Only the conciliating attitude of the American ambassador has prevented a public fuss.

There is no question that some Bolivian leaders want to free their country from dependence on the United States. The La Paz branches of several American organizations—mainly operating out of the U.S. Embassy—have been placed under Bolivian Government control.

Bolivia is undoubtedly viewed as a "marginal country" in terms of U.S. interests, although Che Guevara's guerrilla activities in 1967 make it into a test case. Certain U.S. circles will no doubt be displeased to see the men who defeated Guevara's band with the aid of the Green Berets adopt an "anti-imperialist" attitude.

"What's happening in Bolivia has little in common with our revolution," Gen. Velasco said recently. Nevertheless Bolivia has supplanted Peru at the top of Washington's list of Andean countries where the situation bears close watching.

U.S. turns attention to Andes

The following article was written from Lima, Peru, by Marcel Neidergang, Le Monde's correspondent in Latin America.

U.S. Latin American experts have switched their attention from the Caribbean to the Andes. The increasing stability of Fidel Castro's revolutionary government in Cuba and the relative security of the pro-American regimes in Mexico and Brazil go far to explain this change.

At the same time the challenge from the Peruvian junta determined to reduce that country's economic dependence on the United States, the leftist orientation of Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia's five-month-old Bolivian government, the fluid political situation in Chile and the emergence of a military pressure group there, together with moves towards closer economic integration of the five Andean states (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile) are of growing concern to the men in Washington responsible for working out and carrying out Latin American policy.

John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress... promised spectacular reforms and huge amounts of aid... But Richard Nixon recently admitted that the plan had been a failure. An analysis of the changed situation in Latin America makes it possible to understand the policy developed by the Nixon administration following Nelson Rockefeller's Latin American trips...

Rocky worried

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State Department, the Pentagon and the CIA are having trouble distinguishing the "good" military regimes from the "bad."

Peruvian President Juan Velasco Alvarado thinks Rockefeller, who was asked to bypass Lima last May, may have "learned some things" during his trip. Peru was subjected to a wide range of direct and indirect pressures from Washington following the expropriation last February of the International Petroleum Company and the seizure of several West-Coast tuna fishing boats, accused of violating the 200-mile limit Peru has set for its territorial waters.

But the Peruvian approach does not run wholly counter to Washington's interests. At the same time the Nixon administration is somewhat less than enthusiastic about the path followed by Brazil, where encouragement of U.S. investments is accompanied by harsh repression of the opposition.

But how can the Latin American military regimes maintain law and order, respect American interests and carry out basic reforms all at the same time? This feat would be tantamount to turning a circle into a square. A series of studies has been initiated by official and unofficial U.S. intelligence services to try to answer this question.

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The last coup d'etat in Chile took place in 1932, and Santiago political circles were extremely sceptical about the possibility of putsch in October 1969. Pentagon experts who had been following contradictory developments in the Chilean Army were not so sure. For six months they had been aware in particular that Gen. Roberto Viaux, an influential and senior army officer, was interested in what was happening in Peru.

In October Viaux was forced into premature retirement. This brought a reaction in the army. The Oct. 21 revolt at the Tacna

barracks was undoubtedly motivated, as the general claimed, by questions of pay, but there is no denying the political implications. One of Gen. Viaux's closest collaborators is Captain Mora of the Chilean Black Berets (equivalent of the U.S. Green Berets). Despite his counter-insurgency training, the latter was apparently in contact with certain well-known Chilean leftists.

U.S. encouraged rightists

To stave off a Peruvian-type coup in Chile, U.S. intelligence circles naturally encouraged the military rightists. Naval and air force officers as well as the colonel commanding the Black Berets are key figures in this group. As a result of the Tacna barracks revolt, dubbed the "tacnazo," the Defense Minister was ousted and Gen. Viaux's demands for changes in the military high command were met. Parliament was also asked to vote an army pay raise. Although most senior officers remained loyal to the government and tension has abated somewhat, Santiago governing circles regard the affair as serious.

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Ernest V. Siracusa, 50, is an American Foreign Service officer who has served in Mexico, Guatemala and Argentina besides working on the State Department's Brazilian desk. At the U.S. Embassy in Lima in 1969, he recommended the suspension of arms shipments and the application of the Hickenlooper Amendment as a means of pressuring the junta. His hard-line stand as U.S. delegate to the Buenos Aires fishing rights conference last October is blamed by the Peruvians for the conference's collapse.

More than coincidence

Siracusa's appointment in September 1969 as U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia is therefore worthy of note. His arrival in La Paz coincided with an upsurge in U.S. intelligence activities in Bolivia, local officials claim. In December Gen. Ovando announced the exposure of a "plot engineered from outside." This may be

Report From Chile:

The Left Prepares for an Election

SANTIAGO, Chile.

THE Argentinian sociologist who met me at the airport in Santiago knew I was arriving from Brazil, where people were loath to talk politics because of the dictatorship. "No problems like that in Chile," he said. "The whole country is engaged in a kind of political striptease." It was October—spring below the equator—and the presidential candidates for next September's elections had already sprouted, as varied as the wild flowers blooming everywhere. To many, it was all politics as usual—the Right and the Left engaging in fancy footwork before taking their traditional stances behind one candidate—but to others different developments seemed in the

By JOSE YGLESIAS

run again. "He Shall Return," say the stickers everywhere. All this pleases the Left (beside the left-wing Christian Democrats, they have also won over the Radical party) because they feel certain that more than one candidate for centrists and conservatives means the Left candidate can win. The five left-wing parties had already announced their candidates by the week prior to my arrival—the most surprising being the Communist party's selection of the poet, Pablo Neruda—and were immediately holding meetings at which the leaders would come to an agreement, perhaps as late as this spring, on which of the five would become the candidate of the united Left.

JOSE YGLESIAS wrote the recently published "In the Fist of the Revolution," about Cuba. This is the last of a series of articles on Latin America.

offing. It was altogether possible that with new adherents the Left might win this year's elections and begin the peaceful implementation of Socialism in Chile.

In 1964, President Eduardo Frei was the candidate of the Christian Democratic party, and centrists and rightists put forward no candidate and swallowed their dislike of the social reform program of the Christian Democrats in order to make certain that Socialist Salvador Allende, who was backed by other parties of the Left, did not win. The Christian Democrats won by an absolute majority, the first time any party had done so in many years in Chile, but conservatives have, in the last five years, been alienated by some liberal measures, such as the agrarian reform, that Frei has implemented. On the other hand, left-wing Christian Democrats consider the reforms inadequate to get Chile out of its underdevelopment, and have broken away from the party, promising to back any candidate of the Left if it unites, as it did in 1964, behind one candidate.

There seems little possibility—given this polarization—that the elections this year will duplicate the last one. The Christian Democrats will surely put forward their own candidate, Radomiro Tomic; not Frei, because Chilean law does not allow any candidate to succeed himself; and the Partido Nacional is writing ex-President Jorge Alessandri, a popular and independent conservative, to

There was an almost palpable buoyancy among them, and it seemed, consequently, proper to spend my 10 days in Santiago talking to the Left to see close-up what kind of people the first Socialists with the possibility of being voted into power in the Western Hemisphere were like. There were those on the Left, however, who did not share this confidence—the students. They were disgusted with elections as a means of establishing Socialism and breaking away from the influence of the United States. Now that it was spring, small groups of young people went weekends to the mountains, within view of the city, to study the terrain and prepare for the days when they would establish the first guerrilla foco.

THE leader of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (M.I.R.) told me at a secretly kept rendezvous—he has been hunted by the police for several months now—that Chile's more than 100 years of bourgeois democracy have left the country in no better situation than that of Latin-American nations with less respectable forms of government. Armed struggle was what the young people were talking about.

Everyone said that these were difficult times economically for Chile, but its problems seemed the continuing ones of underdevelopment: consumer goods are out of reach for much of the population; schools and medical services are inadequate; housing for the poor is miserable; industry cannot give jobs to those newly arrived on the labor market.

Yet Frei's Agrarian Reform Law, which has given 20,000 peasants land, aroused the ire of the Right.

During the international agricultural fair held while I was there, the Minister of Agriculture's speech at the opening ceremonies was interrupted by denunciations from the audience shouted by members of what the newspapers described as the "farm employers' association." Fist fights broke out and the Government issued a counterdenunciation. Two days later a fire spread during the night at the fair that destroyed many of the exhibits, and it was rumored that it might have been the work of the M.I.R.

At a dinner party, a university professor tried to explain Chile's special character. "There are few countries as politicized as ours," he said, his way of saying that all the other nations of the Americas were primitive compared with Chile. There were exiles from Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay around the table, but he looked at me and added, "You could say that our bourgeois democracy has developed more profoundly than yours."

A woman who was a guidance counselor at the university had little respect for that. "Do you know of a country where even the prostitutes are organized?" she said. "When the Christian Democrats tried to close down the brothels, they sent delegations to see President Frei. They held demonstrations, paraded up and down the city. They argued that they protected the virginity of our daughters from the natural impulses of our young men. And they asked the Government, 'Where are the trade schools that are to rehabilitate us?'"

"One of the reasons we have developed so differently," said the professor, "is that we are a poor country. We have copper, that is all. There are wealthy families but no great fortunes or a large aristocracy. Chileans are *petits bourgeois* and the Left makes a mistake to think that it will ever persuade a majority to vote for Socialism. They are drawn to reactionaries like Alessandri because when he was President he worked them

continued

his apartment to the Presidential Palace every morning and back every afternoon."

"Hasn't someone already pointed out to you the virtues of our flora and fauna?" said the Guidance Counselor, with an ironic smile. Someone had, but I let her continue. "Our climate is moderate and dry, and there are no insects or animals or plants that are poisonous or harmful. Even in our coastal waters, for the cold currents keep sharks away. You can sleep out in the fields without a care. The same with our political life—our radicals do not bite, they conduct election campaigns."

THEIR most famous radical—without question—is Pablo Neruda, and every newspaper and news broadcast in South America carried the announcement that the Chilean Communist party, of which he has been a member for many years, had selected him as its candidate. He is, everyone agrees, the greatest poet writing in Spanish, perhaps the finest this century has produced; a literary man in the grand style, an adornment to the nation, Chile's best-known citizen.

An invitation to his home at Isla Negra, a lovely beach some two hours from Santiago, is something of a command performance. His home there is a retreat: there are no phones and to reach him you make a "messenger long-distance call" to Public Telephone No. 1 at Isla Negra. A messenger does, in fact, run to his home and return with a message or a member of his household.

No one expects that Neruda, now in his middle-60's, will dash to the public phone himself. For one thing, he has gout now and moves slowly, but it is also not his style. The opposition newspapers made fun—surprisingly gentle fun—of the idea of his conducting a vigorous campaign. The whole country knows that between 3 and 5 he sleeps the siesta, and one columnist wanted to know, should Neruda be elected President, what would happen to the business of the nation during those hours.

Others did not take his candidacy seriously, seeing in it a new attempt by the Communist party—in the past it supported from the first the candidate proposed by the other left-wing parties to

have a greater say in the selection of a popular Front candidate. For three presidential campaigns this has always been Senator Salvador Allende of the Socialist party, and one newspaper carried a parody of a poem of Neruda's with the new title, "Please Don't Die, Allende," to make the point that Neruda would be loath not only to campaign for a full year but also to fill the office of President.

Five days after the Communist party announced his nomination at a press conference where Neruda handled reporters in his magisterial style, I rang the large brass bell at the gate of his home at Isla Negra. Thirty-three years ago, for the equivalent of \$75, he bought a tiny house there on some four acres along the shore. There was no electricity or running water then on that uninhabited stretch, but, as with Robinson Jeffers at Carmel, civilization has crowded Neruda in. To be private, he has fenced the entire grounds, and huge boulders at the water's edge form a natural private cove. A houseboy comes to the gate, and lets you wait on the road while he takes your name to Don Pablo, the gate firmly closed again; but when he returns with his master's approval, his welcoming smile is an augury of the warm hospitality that awaits you inside.

The tiny house is no more; there is instead a series of buildings, mostly of stone, overlooking from high ground the fabulous shore. An antique railroad engine is stalled on the lawn, a triangle of brass bells stands 10 feet high between two buildings, and the presidential candidate waits on the slate walk to greet you with an ironic, self-deprecating smile. Neruda comes of a poor, working-class family from the south of Chile, and there still lurks in his famous, heavy-lidded, aristocratic gaze an enjoyment of his changed status; it is not constant but it does appear at moments like this, when someone who has known him in another setting first walks into Isla Negra.

FORMER friends of his had told me I would not find politicians at his home on a Sunday afternoon. Sundays are his own, just as the siesta hours every afternoon of the week. True, besides his wife

Matilde (famous for the innumerable sonnets and lyrics he has written to her), his sister and a niece who take care of him, the only Chileans there were a couple who were old friends and their grown children. Yet the other guests made it a public occasion: Abraham Shlonsky, an important Israeli poet who has translated Neruda into Hebrew, Shlonsky's wife, and a young couple from the Israeli Embassy to act as interpreters.

The guests did not talk politics; the appointment had been made long ago, and the homage to the poet by an Israeli poet on a goodwill tour must not become a visit to the Communist politician whose fidelity to the Soviet Union presumably placed him in opposition to the Israeli Government that waged the Six Day War. Try as Neruda did—sitting behind the bar dispensing drinks, reminiscing about old friends like Lorca, Eluard, Picasso, whose names are scrawled on the ceiling's beams—to make it an afternoon *en famille*, there were sufficient formal statements via the interpreters to which Neruda felt obliged to reply in kind to make the luncheon a diplomatic encounter.

We sat first in the barroom—like every room of the place it had a glass wall fronting the sea—outfitted like a ship's saloon: tables and chairs riveted to the floor, a hand organ in one corner, a wall of glass shelves holding antique bottles, every conceivable brand of liquor behind the bar, funny signs stolen from public bars—a very campy room.

FROM there we walked out into the garden to enter the building with the round dining room. Another glass wall allowed a view of the sea. A ship's figurehead hovered over the dining table—there are several magnificent ones throughout the house but this was the only American one—and everywhere there were *objets d'art* collected in his travels. The food was typically Chilean—a fish done in a delicate tomato sauce with baby shrimps and meat pastries, dishes that appear in Neruda's poems. For coffee we walked to a formal living room through a passage in whose floor sea shells were imbedded. There were logs burning in the fireplace. Again a glass wall. The *objets d'art*

took out his key ring, opened a door in a stone wall, and asked what liqueur we preferred.

One could not help but be struck by the ease of this life, and I asked, "Are you really going to campaign in this election?"

"I have always done it for others," he said, holding with both hands a brilliant cut-crystal decanter of gallon size. "This time I shall do it for myself." From the key ring he selected a tiny silver one and inserted it in the lock that opened the silver top of the decanter. "But no more politics because our friend here is a diplomat and cannot comment."

The young man from the Israeli Embassy demurred, and Shlonsky said, "I shall return in six years and see what you have done as President."

"You need not wait so long," Neruda said. "In six months I will have made many changes. Every day Anaconda takes more than \$1-million from our copper mines. Do you know how many schools and hospitals that could build? Between here and Valparaiso—a distance of one hundred kilometers—there is no hospital."

His wife nodded. "One-million dollars will build a fine school."

Neruda poured from the enormous, glittering decanter into a tiny glass. "This cognac is only for grand occasions. See how little remains—it is Armenian and of ancient vintage. I forget how many years old it is."

The Hebrew poet by now was a little dazed. When we got up to leave, mindful of Neruda's siesta, Neruda's sister brought us inscribed copies of two books of poems he had just published, one in Santiago, the other in Buenos Aires. I asked his wife how many editions there were of his books in all languages. She did not know. They kept those books in their bedroom or—she smiled—they would disappear.

"Does all this political activity leave him time to write?" I asked her.

"He has to, he cannot live without it," she said. "If a day goes by that he does not have time to sit at his desk, he becomes very sad, very depressed. He gets ill, so he has to write."

At lunch Neruda had said, "There is a relationship between a writer and his materials. Writing is also a matter of paper and ink—one has a responsibility to them."

THE Argentinian sociologist listened impatiently to my description of my afternoon at Isla Negra, and moaned when I told him Neruda was going to take me along on his speaking tour of Santiago in two days. "Very well, I do not deny he is a great poet, but I loathe people like him. Do you know that when he comes to Santiago he stays at the Crillon, our most expensive hotel?"

The sociologist's sympathies were reserved for the young people of the M.I.R. Not that he was convinced that they could carry through their plans for armed revolt. For one thing, the preconditions for winning over the Chilean people to so desperate a program were not evident: aside from clashes with workers on strike and with peasants who had seized lands, the most arbitrary political act of the Government, recently consisted of a presidential decree threatening the closing of any publication reporting the activities of the M.I.R. with approval. The editors of *Punto Final*, a political magazine sympathetic to the groups in Latin America waging guerrilla warfare, had been called in and questioned. The photographs of two young men caught in one of the assaults appeared in the newspapers that day, and the sociologist was worried because it was apparent to everyone that they had talked when tortured during their questioning.

"They say this one was so badly treated that his testicles have been destroyed," he said, pointing to one of the photos. "I hid him in my apartment for two weeks once and I am now wondering how much he talked." He sighed. "This whole question of the use of torture has got to be considered by the revolutionaries. Even in Chile it can happen and one cannot expect people not to talk when tortured."

Weak and newly arrived as they were, the M.I.R. was forcing Chileans to redefine their political positions. The Government and the Right considered them delinquents and outlaws, but there was

no popular indignation against them. Certainly the majority of university students in Santiago gave them their approval. My first evening in Santiago I went to a recital of Neruda's poetry at the theater of the College of Music and Arts, hoping to run into him there. A famous Chilean actress did the readings and the hour—7 P.M.—was perfect for the late dining habits of Chileans. Fewer than 100 people showed up.

Three hours later, the same theater's seats, aisles and standing room down to the edge of the stage were jammed for the performance of a play about the armed struggle of peasants earlier this century. It was sponsored by the Chilean-Cuban Club in commemoration of the second anniversary of Che Guevara's death, and there was no mistaking the sympathies of the audience who bought every copy of *Granma*, the Cuban newspaper, being sold in the theater.

No mistaking either the effect of the M.I.R. on the university student body. I went out to the College of Education and Philosophy away from the center of the city, its 7,000 undergraduates making it the largest of the state university, and attended a meeting in the auditorium to hear trade-union leaders talk about the jailing of factory workers in a recent strike. The officers of the student government holding the meeting were orthodox Young Communists; so were the trade-union leaders, and they spoke of lending support to the workers, letting the Government know they must be freed.

The audience was restive, and one young man jumped to his feet several times to interrupt the bumbling rhetoric of the trade-union leader. He was the first to be recognized during the question-and-answer period, and he exclaimed, "The same old talk, talk, talk. When are you going to propose some action? Why don't you call a general strike?" He walked out on a wave of applause.

THAT walkout by a student known to be a *Mirista* was symbolic of the M.I.R.'s position: the campus is no longer their scene. If they are to make the revolution, they must move away from it, and

that is what has already begun. Some sympathetic students complain that they left them without an organization on campus, and yet the day I was there the department of sociology was conducting elections for its student officers (the student representatives have a voice in the selection of professors and curriculum) and the M.I.R. group won. The Socialists came in second, the Communists third. The M.I.R. slate had not conducted an active campaign, and the fact that they won gave a lift to the students I was with.

Until then they had been sadly describing what they called the "atomization" of the movement on campus. All in low voices, because they said the campus was now full of police spies. The M.I.R. leaders were not participating in campus politics, but preparing themselves for guerrilla warfare. One of the best-known ones had entered a hospital gravely ill two days earlier using an alias, but had had to escape from his bed when recognized. Another wanted by the police was dying in a hospital and the authorities did not know his identity. "They are wearing themselves out physically," one girl said. "The ones we know here who have gone clandestine all look ill."

THE college is as politicized as the nation. Always called *La Pedagogica*, its new nickname is *La Piedragogica* (*piedra* meaning "stone") because of the many clashes with the police during which the students flung stones from the windows and roofs of the different buildings. Most of its professors are Marxists and since they and the students elect the administrative officers, the current dean is a Communist. I laughed when the students explained all this, and said, "American students would be happy to have so large a say in their colleges."

"Ah, but their problems are different!" said a young sociologist. "They are trying to destroy the universities as an arm of your Government. We are fighting to keep ours independent."

They also want to make it possible for others than the middle class to attend. There is no tuition and there are no books, and they pay only for carfare

—"and maybe a few books," one added—and they must be accepted, at a figure adjusted to inflationary trends and with interest. (There are stiff competitive examinations to enter the university because there are many more applicants than facilities for them, and this, plus the fact that working-class families can seldom afford to support their children while going to college, restricts the student body to the lower- and upper-middle class in the main.)

The girl who brought me to the campus knew the United States. "But your universities have such wonderful plants," she said. "Look at our library, totally inadequate. And books here are so expensive, not like your paperbacks."

One young man who had been ruminating spoke up. "But do not let all this politicization fool you—our universities too are an arm of the ruling class."

A collective sigh seemed to emanate from them.

"You are all really for the M.I.R., aren't you?" I said.

"What else is there?" the young man said.

I said that the left-wing parties were confident they could win the elections this time. They laughed. "If they do," said the young man, "they had better be prepared for armed struggle."

I LEFT them for a meeting with Senator Allende, the man most likely to head the slate of the united Left—the Communist party, the Socialist party, the Radical party, the Social Democratic party, and the M.A.P.U., the last being a left offshoot of the Christian Democratic party. Allende's office in the Senate building is tiny; more than one visitor crowds it, and there were not enough seats in the anteroom to accommodate the people who wanted to see him. No one was being turned back, but he gave me as much time as I wanted, though he warned me this was not a formal interview. His experience with American journalists, he said, had not been good, and if I wanted to quote him directly I'd have to give him written questions to which he'd give me written replies.

We had met December, 1968, in Havana where an elevator operator at our hotel had introduced us to one another between the 10th floor and the

continued

lobby, and the chat we had now was as if he'd told me what he thought of American newspapers—as that introduction. In Havana, following the fashion, he'd been in shirtsleeves but here he was handsomely dressed, in keeping with his reputation as a man with innumerable suits. He is, however, friendly, talkative, full of eagerness to run for the presidency for a fourth time, and optimistic about his chances.

CHILEANS tired of the traditional parties of the Left made as much fun of him as did the conservative newspapers who pictured him as the perennial suitor, but they respected him more than, say, the Communists. Whereas the Chilean Communists had only begun to talk well of Cuba after Castro supported the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, Allende had always defended the Cubans, even when doing so helped defeat him. I had been told that he had acted courageously with the five survivors of Che Guevara's Bolivian group. "He personally went to the border and escorted them back to Cuba," said the Guidance Counselor who had broken with the Communist party six years ago. "He did not leave them for a moment because if he did the C.I.A. would have pounced on them. Those were tense days and as president of the Senate he was liable to much criticism, but he did not falter."

I asked him about this, and he told me that he owns a copy of Guevara's book on guerrilla warfare that he feels is unique. Che had inscribed it to him, writing that Allende was a man who shared the same goal as he but was going to reach it by another path. When the five guerrillas (three Cubans, two Bolivians) came through Chile, they also signed the same copy of the book. Allende spoke with as much pride about the young men in the M.I.R. Everyone knows that one of its leaders is a nephew of his, a young man married to the daughter of the rector of the Catholic University in Santiago, and he pointed out to me, with a smile, that it was several months now that the police had been searching for his nephew and had yet to find him.

He admitted that he did not agree with their tactics, but he did not volunteer this. He

repeated for me what he'd always said: if he were President, these young men would not be fighting clandestinely but working hard to build Socialism in Chile.

This reminded me to ask him about his program, and he laughed and said it was the same as his friend Neruda's, with whom he knew I had spent Sunday. The leading conservative newspaper of Santiago, *El Mercurio*, had carried an interview with Neruda in which the poet had given his platform and Allende referred me to it. It called for the expropriation (without remuneration, except possibly "in some cases") of all foreign and native monopolies, banks, insurance companies and large industries, and the "deepening" of the agrarian reform begun by the present Government. Small farmers and "small and medium capitalists" would be respected, as would freedom of expression and representation for all political parties.

El Mercurio's reporter had gone on to ask Neruda what he would do about the urban guerrillas and Neruda had said that he saw no reason to suppose they would continue under his government. Neruda did not stop at this but added that Communists were opposed to adventurism and that he did not see who benefited by the actions of the guerrillas. The Communist newspaper, *El Siglo*, had on several occasions criticized them more harshly, and when I asked Neruda and Volodia Teitelbom, his campaign manager and a leading Communist Senator, about the M.I.R., they called its members "the spoiled darlings of the upper middle class." Both assured me that they were "totally without contact with the working class," an assertion they made with assurance not only because Miguel Enriquez, the M.I.R.'s leader, was the son of the rector of the University of Chile at Concepción, but also because at that moment we were driving to one of the workers' *poblaciones* surrounding Santiago to begin his campaign.

THE *poblaciones* to an American look like dreadful shanty towns, but to homeless Chilean workers they are themselves conquered and built.

Sometimes on their own, sometimes on the direction of the Communist party, they got together, descended on some large, unoccupied field and overnight built shacks on it and claimed it as their own. Often they fought the police sent to dispossess them, more often the Government was forced to negotiate peacefully, and lately the lands are obtained through pressure on the authorities—petitions, demonstrations, delegations—and the towns built later. The new *poblaciones* are swarms from the older ones, but we were headed for one of the first, called "July 22."

It was a weekday morning, and from its dusty streets came mainly women and old men and many, many children. They had decorated the open area where a worn platform served as stage for their gatherings, and the people waiting moved in a mass from our car to the platform that Neruda climbed with difficulty. The women leaders of the *población* greeted him with embraces and he smiled without a trace of the irony that had always heretofore lingered about his aristocratic eyes. As he was always to do, he spoke extemporaneously, his rhetoric never failing him, and he was never less than himself.

He told them his father was a railroad worker. "I come, then, from the working people and if I have done something with the poet's life I have done it with the knowledge of where I come from, of the class to which I belong. I know that you are eight years old as a *población*. I am much older—65—and I have written some 40 books, but I would exchange all my life as a poet for that great morning when you took these lands with no other protection than the flag of our country, and built this *población*."

They yelled their approval, and he must have noticed during the pause that much of his audience were children not yet of school age, for he added: "If some other candidate saw this scene, he might well ask, 'What votes does this poet hope to gain when there are only children here?' But I would answer, 'I have not come to collect votes but to unite hearts!'"

when he descended the platform to the *población's* school.

Addressing the children massed in the schoolyard, Neruda kept his sentences simpler but he did not condescend. He told them about the south of Chile and his boyhood there, and spoke of Gabriela Mistral, Chile's Nobel Prize poet, whom he met in those days. "I have taken to the streets now," he said, "not for personal honors but to defend the future of Chile. You will someday see a happy homeland because we are all fighting for it. And perhaps it will be your task to construct that happy homeland." When he finished he walked toward them and they surrounded him, jumping and calling to him, "Pan de Diós!"—"God's bread," the Chilean's phrase for the Great Good Thing—and the photographer from *El Siglo* went into action.

THE photographs blossomed in the pages of the Communist newspaper the next day. Good newspaper copy. At dinner in the home of the Guidance Counselor I told the intellectuals there—all of them disillusioned with the traditional parties—about my experiences in the different *poblaciones* with Neruda.

"I suppose he had them sing our national anthem?" the Guidance Counselor said. I nodded. "How disgusting!" she exclaimed. "How the party panders to our ferocious nationalism."

Someone joked that in time the United States would find that it was only the Chilean Communists with whom they could work.

I said there was no denying that the Communist party was solidly entrenched in the working class.

"Yes, yes, you are right," said the Guidance Counselor. "That is why it is such a wrench to break with it. I still have not gotten over it. . . . You'll see, they will settle on Allende as their candidate and you will find me working for them again, no matter how little I believe in the whole business."

"Mother, how can you!" said her son, a literature student.

"You must not be so aloof, so skeptical at your age," she

continued

"At my age you had certain experiences," he said. "Mine have been different."

It was an old quarrel, so she only shook her head and changed the subject. "But Pablo and I were once very close. He is not this political campaigner nor lord of the manor at Isla Negra—he is Bohemian to his very bones."

I argued that this view of him overlooked an enormous number of deeply felt political poems, and that seeing him ignore his painful gout to climb up and down rickety ladders to platforms, walking through public markets chatting and shaking hands, smiling with genuine delight when a crowd of workers pushed toward him—all this convinced me otherwise.

The Argentine sociologist settled the matter for the whole company. "The fact of the matter is that the Communists here strike me as quite sincere in their reformism," he said, enjoying the irony of it. "They will keep to their promises and the parties who form a pact with them have nothing to fear."

THE candidates of the Radical and Social Democratic parties were out of town during my stay in Santiago, but I did get to see Jacques Chonchol, the candidate of the M.A.P.U., the movement which had broken away from the Christian Democrats and which constituted the one new element in the coalition. Even those most skeptical of the respectable electoral tactics of the Left spoke of Chonchol with respect. If the old parties were smart, they argued, they would nominate Chonchol who is bright, unsmirched, Catholic and quite radical. This was so widespread an opinion that I was surprised to hear him say, when we met at his office in the Catholic University, that he hadn't the slightest hope that the coalition would settle on him.

So unpolitic a reply destroyed the line of questioning I'd prepared, but I managed to ask him why. "Well, they are very traditional parties," he said. "I may be too radical for them."

Chonchol heads a research institute which is part of the Catholic University, devoted to the study of social problems, and, before he became disillusioned with Frei and

the Christian Democrats worked in the agrarian reform program of the Government. He is 43, looks younger, and has an unusual background. His degree from the University of Chile was in agronomy, but he also did postgraduate work at the London School of Economics and holds a doctorate in political science from the Sorbonne. He worked for F.A.O., an agency of the United Nations, and as part of this job spent 1961-62 in Cuba with I.N.R.A., the Agrarian Reform Institute. He is enthusiastic about the unorthodox way the Cubans have gone about establishing Socialism, and enjoyed telling me that American Marxists like Paul Sweezy and the late Leo Huberman were always puzzled and dismayed by what they found on their trips to Cuba.

I told him I had certainly been surprised by the Catholic University of Chile—just a quick walk through it showed that many of its students must favor the M.I.R.; there were also posters announcing meetings to honor Che Guevara—and I asked him if he and the research institute had any problems with the university or the church. "None," he said. "We are sponsored by the university." Knowing the United States, he could imagine the standard I was using for comparison, so he added, "The church here is very different. Long before the second council meeting, it had undergone profound changes."

In his tweed jacket and slacks he looked very much like a young American university professor, except that he spoke with neither the jargon of the academician or the politician. Nor did he avoid problems or contradictions. Unlike other left-wingers he gave Frei credit for trying to institute reforms. "The agrarian reform did give 20,000 peasants land," he said, and agreed with the statement I reported from a Chilean who had been away the last four years—that whereas there was still poverty in Chile there was no longer hunger.

Why, then, did he break with the Christian Democrats and leave his job with the agrarian reform program?

"Because there turned out to be forces much stronger than I had realized of Frei and because I saw that the center, which Frei

receives no more credit for not being willing to develop the economy in a Socialist context."

Wouldn't the accomplishments of the Government work against the Left coalition in the coming elections?

"No, there is a rhythm of needed change that Frei is not meeting," he explained. "True, 20,000 peasants received land but the reform was to have benefited 200,000. You can imagine how dissatisfied those 180,000 are."

He had spoken so often about the need to develop the Chilean economy that I said it seemed to me that the difference between him and the other candidates of the Left was that they saw Chile's needs as met by Socialism whereas his emphasis was on developing the economy. "No, I mean economic development in a Socialist context." He, too, then spoke of expropriating foreign holdings, with remuneration only if it did not mean sacrificing other plans. "Remuneration or foreign investment in Chile can only be approved on the basis of whether it benefits Chile or not."

I TOLD him that I had heard, even from disinterested foreign observers, that in the election five years ago the propaganda against Allende's sympathy for the Cuban revolution had been conducted on the lowest level. Juana Castro, Fidel's sister, had been invited to tour the country to talk of the evils of the Cuban revolution, and posters everywhere showed Castro sending children off to the Soviet Union or pointing a rifle at helpless old women. How had he, Chonchol, been able to back Frei when such a campaign was conducted?

"We had no control over that," he said. "There was an independent right-wing party which sponsored all that. Frei himself was embarrassed by it. It was disgraceful."

Everyone agrees that such a campaign would scare no one now. The situation has changed in Latin America in the last few years. Both Peru and Chile are talking of re-establishing relations with Cuba. In fact, talk of such a move, as well as negotiations with the Chilean Government

the Christian Democrats are thinking of this year's elections in a new way.

I told Chonchol what young people sympathetic to the M.I.R. thought of the attempt to introduce Socialism anywhere through elections and asked him what he thought of the M.I.R.'s program. "I do not think that in Chile we have reached such a pass," he said. He thought it over and added, "Not yet."

Whereas Chonchol did not discount the possibility that violent struggle might some day be necessary, many others would have agreed with Neruda's statement to me that "the first to use violence will lose the Chilean people." Chilean exceptionalism is a popular theme. "In politics," the cliché goes, "we Chileans are closer to Europe than to Latin America."

What other country, someone jokingly asked me, has an airline that reacted to the hijacking as ours did? That week of the anniversary of Che Guevara's death one plane originating in Argentina was hijacked and stopped at Santiago's airport for refueling. Chile's airline issued an announcement a couple of days later that its pilots were instructed to obey any hijacker's request to fly to Cuba and that the song, "We're Going to Havana," was to be played immediately on the plane, followed by other Cuban popular songs; free liquor, candy and an extra meal were to be distributed, and the passengers promised a sightseeing tour of Havana, also free.

Despite such displays of accommodation to the new temper by the Government, there is tension in the air. The alarmed response to the activities of the urban guerrillas is one indicator. Inflation and unemployment continue. "We consume like the most sophisticated country," a newspaperman said to me, "and produce like a primitive one." The scarcity of meat makes it unavailable, even in restaurants, for 12 days each month. "Only the poor suffer from this rationing," the newspaperman continued. "They cannot buy in quantity and refrigerate it."

While I was there, the Government announced that potatoes would not be sold for a two-week period. There

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were signs that army men were desperate, dissatisfied with their low pay, and the Communist newspaper published a sympathetic article about it; some 10 days after I left, there was an abortive revolt led by a retired general.

IF folk singers are a weathervane of how people feel, the M.I.R. has a large potential following in Chile. I went to La Peña de Los Parras one evening and all the songs with any political content or overtones were of this order. A *peña* means a place where folk songs are played, and Los Parras are the son and daughter of Violeta Parra, a great singer and composer—now dead—who is considered one of Chile's great artists. In a ground-floor apartment near the center of the city, her children carry on the tradition four nights a week. You pay a dollar, get a free glass of wine, and sit on low footstools surrounding the singers. It's dark inside and the couples lean against one another, but they listen reverently to the songs. Not only Chilean ones, but of every Latin American country, so that one comes away with the impression that the whole continent is in close touch and getting ready for the Revolution.

Out in the street, where the lights are brighter, I recognized the literature student whose mother decried his skepticism about political involvement. "I told some friends that you were interested in meeting someone in the M.I.R.," he said, after taking me aside, "and it may be possible. I shall call you at your hotel."

"Are you sure?" I said.

"Well, it would not be someone being hunted by the police."

"I understand," I said, but I was disappointed. Yet, when he phoned the next day and spoke in English for the first time—would I be free to meet him in the lobby in a few minutes?—my hopes rose. But he led me to his Volkswagen parked in front of the hotel on the busiest street in Santiago, and introduced me to a young man in the front seat—not a good sign. He drove away from the center of the city, and when he turned off on a side street, the young man handed me a scarf and

blindfold myself. "You are going to meet someone hiding," he added.

We drove for quite a while, and when the car stopped, they told me not to remove the blindfold. They took me by the elbows and told me we were going to cross a street but did not warn me about the first curb. I surmised, to test the blindfold. We climbed stairs, stumbled often, and finally walked into a modern apartment, full of Indian and modern art, and the first chair I sat in was of inflated plastic.

We looked at one another and I was told to wait. Within five minutes, four men came into the apartment—all young—and the oldest told me they could only spend 15 minutes and if I had any questions in writing, they would take them and answer me by mail. One man went out again to watch for anyone coming up the stairs, and one stayed at the door inside the apartment; the others sat facing me.

WHEN I asked, the oldest told me he was Miguel Enriquez, the other his brother. They took for granted I knew who they were—the Fidel and Raúl Castro of Chile's urban guerrillas, as some characterized them. Although they finally stayed an hour and a quarter, I could not get them to talk about themselves as individuals. "Why," I asked, "did you make this decision? What led you to take this step?"

"Oh, that is perfectly obvious," Miguel Enriquez replied. "It is a decision that peasants and workers make every day—there is nothing unusual about it."

He spoke with extraordinary rapidity, but clearly and at length, interrupting himself frequently to ask, "Do I make myself clear?"—a question I attributed to his having been a psychiatrist; also, to his dead seriousness about being understood. Because I had asked a personal question, he seemed obliged to explain the social origins of all the M.I.R.'s actions. Once, after having underscored that the decision of the M.I.R. to launch an armed struggle was not *voluntarismo* on their part, he asked again if he made himself clear. I answered, that I understood they were Marxists, and he relaxed somewhat and indicated to the young man at

the door, who for the second time had pointed out that other 15 minutes had gone by, that he was not ready to leave.

He knew that in Brazil I had spoken to the clandestine movement, and he said that the M.I.R., which had gone clandestine in the last year, was some six months behind the Brazilians. That, plus the fact that in any question about the organization of the M.I.R. the words "in transition" showed up in his reply, meant to me that they had yet to overcome weaknesses as to security, structure of the organization and its political line. "We did not mean to be connected to our actions so soon," he said. "We did not want the publicity we have received so soon." And it is true that they have made no claims publicly for any of their actions.

I had heard that the botched-up robbery of a supermarket, where several were caught, had been carried out by a group that had broken off from the M.I.R., and he confirmed this. "What about the Bank of London holdup?" He smiled and said, "You could say some of us were to be found in that neighborhood that day." (A branch of the Bank of London in Santiago had been held up two months earlier.)

BOTH he and his brother were often subtle in their replies, and they gave an interesting explanation for the movement's secrecy about their acts of robbery and sabotage. They were not certain that the masses would understand an act like the holdup of a bank because in so organized a country—organized, that is, for pragmatic gains—such an action might seem abstract, difficult to understand as one done on the masses' behalf. Yet they felt that people responded better than they had expected: no indignation on the part of the lower middle class, favorable treatment generally by the press, and the obvious sympathy of ordinary people. "The fact that the 15 to 20 of us that the Government wants have not yet been caught is evidence that we have found support."

Since they are so opposed to the Government, I asked them if they were going to do something, spoiled darlings of the upper

about the elections. "Do you mean sabotage?" Miguel answered. "No. We do not think the mass of Chileans would understand that—not now—and the *petite bourgeoisie* might be pushed to the extreme Right."

As with the Brazilians, when I questioned them about their tactics and strategy in the light of the Cuban experience and the writings and example of Che Guevara, their almost impatient response could be summed up as, "All right, we have learned the basic lesson well—armed struggle—but from now on the rest is of our making." They spoke of the four stages their movement would follow, the last being a revolutionary war in the cities and countryside, but along the way they would not confine themselves to military actions alone but work also in the many workers' organizations.

Enriquez promised me, a copy of their program, and a mimeographed document of some 150 legal-size pages was delivered to my hotel the next morning. It gave in detail not only the principles and program of the M.I.R. but contained an analysis of Chile's problems that constituted an economic and political history of the country. Their position vis-à-vis other left-wing movements was explained, also toward the Soviet Union and the invasion of Czechoslovakia; but the greatest coverage was given to the potential of a guerrilla movement in Chile. Some of the sections contained a bibliography, citing such sources as Lenin, Trotsky, Althusser, and economic studies sponsored by the United Nations. In that period of preparation which is the first stage of their movement, there seemed to exist no question they had not considered.

I asked how their organization had been affected in the last months since the Government actively began to suppress them. "We have grown," Enriquez replied. I started to ask how many members they have but began to laugh before I finished the question. "Thousands and thousands," he said, and

laughed, too.

middle class, and asked if there were any in the M.I.R. A bitter smile on his face, he replied, "As to spoiled darlings, the action we have taken affected our status." His implication was that the reformism of the Communist party characterized the Communists. "But it is true that few are workers in our organization. There are a few but not enough yet."

After we had talked about an hour, I commented that they had not, in person or in the articles I had read, inveighed against the United States as much as I had expected.

"That is due to the special nature of the domination of our economy. Campesinos [peasants] and workers do not experience, as Cubans did, the presence of the American exploiters—banks, for example, employ few people, etc. On a theoretical level, imperialism is the primary cause of our problems, but on the level of political agitation its character changes."

What would you say to Americans if you were addressing them? "It would depend on which Americans I was talking to," he said, and everyone laughed. He got up and extended a hand, as did his brother. I thanked them—they had run a risk in coming to see me—and both warmed toward me, as if we were all comrades now for having taken part in a dialogue without betraying one another. "Would you please wait here five minutes after we leave?" he said. He headed for the door, but returned with one more request. "I ask you not to give any physical description."

WHEN they left, the host poured us a drink. We looked at one another and I wondered if my eyes shone as theirs did. I left with the literature student. On the stairs he said, "Isn't he brilliant! He holds all the diverse elements of the M.I.R. together."

"Why does your mother say you are skeptical?" I asked.

"Well," he said, and paused, loath to say it now. "Perhaps I am because they are too sure of themselves, perhaps I know what they must think of me for not being of them." He paused again,

and added, "Though they

That reminded me. "Aren't you going to blindfold me?"

"It is not necessary now," he said. "You did not betray them when you were on the way to meet them, so you will not betray them now."

We walked out of a middle-class apartment building, four blocks from my hotel. ■

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Anti-Yankee Epithets Losing Their Sting

By WILLIAM GIANDONI
 Copley News Service

Latin American politicians are finding that they have to do more than wave the anti-imperialist, the anti-U.S., flag to get and keep popular support.

True, it may help, for a time. They may gain a respite by charging that the Central Intelligence Agency is behind a conspiracy against them, or that Washington is plotting their country's economic ruin, or that American companies are ruthlessly exploiting their natural resources.

Talk like that does quickly rally the extremists behind them. And it does fuel the fires of the students and their Marxist-Leninist mentors. But it also creates future problems by whetting appetites of activists who refuse to be placated by anything less than continued, rabid, revolutionary governmental action.

The extremists, however, are the minority, though vociferous, in Latin America, as elsewhere.

Sooner or later, the increasingly sophisticated majorities demand some sort of proof of the wild accusations. When no substantiation is forthcoming, the self-appointed leaders begin to lose credibility and,

when they become aware their support is declining, in most cases they panic.

That is what seems to be happening at the moment in Peru, Bolivia and, to a lesser extent, Chile.

The Peruvian military managed to get along pretty well for about 14 months, buoyed up by the wave of nationalistic fervor they stirred when they expropriated the U.S.-owned International Petroleum Co.

But a nation like Peru, whose wealth is in its subsoil resources, its agriculture and its ocean depths, needs a continuing flow of foreign investment for further development.

The biggest pending foreign investment was a \$355 million project involving copper deposits in Cuajone, in southern Peru, near the Chilean border. And only U.S. mining interests were ready to tackle it.

The Peruvian military had to tread carefully in negotiating with the foreigners, both to preserve its zealously cultivated revolutionary image and to avoid being so obnoxious to the investors as to scare them — and their \$355 million — away.

At several stages in the negotiations, the Peruvian armed forces lashed out at their critics. They informed the Peruvian newsmagazine Oiga, which opposed any agreement with foreign mining interests, that they did not need lessons in patriotism. And they banned the circulation of the hemispherically circulated Spanish language newsmagazine, Vision, which favored the project, for daring to report what everybody knew: that there was a division within upper levels of the government on the Cuajone matter.

But, apparently to stifle criticism that they expected from anti-capitalist sectors, the Peruvian junta decreed a press law that, in the words of the Confederation of Workers of Peru, "substantially modifies the right of freedom of expression and subordinates it to a series of procedures that will signify open coercion in its exercise."

With that, the Peruvian military managed to enrage virtually the entire press corps.

In Bolivia, junta boss Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia discovered that the support he drew from the extremists by

nationalizing the Bolivian Gulf Oil Co., the biggest U.S. investment in the country, lasted only as long as he castigated the company for exploiting Bolivia. But when Ovando refused to go along with the demands that the remnants of the late guerrilla leader Ernesto (Che) Guevara's band be released from prison, the extremists turned against him.

Anti-junta feeling within Bolivia has reached the point that in one speech Ovando suggested that he might send the Bolivian revolution's enemies before the firing squad. The reaction to that threat, in Bolivia and from abroad, was so stiff that Ovando subsequently backed off, saying that it was just a figure of speech.

From Chile, reports are that political observers say that Radomiro Tomic, the presidential candidate of the ruling Christian Democratic party, has done his cause considerable harm by repeatedly criticizing the United States and by his insistence on the "non-capitalist road to development."

It was in Chile, too, that Sen. Rene Fuentetaja spoke lengthily in the upper house of congress on reports of a Central Intelligence Agency plot against the government. Eventually, though, the senator admitted that he had no evidence to back up his charges.

A Spanish version of this dispatch appears elsewhere on this page.

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The Game's The Same

Some of the late Ho Chi Minh's greatest detractors were compelled, grudgingly, to admire his skill in playing Red China against the Soviet Union and extricating from both the maximum in benefits for North Vietnam.

In another quarter of the globe, in Chile, South America, the same sort of game is being played according to Chilean politicians.

A part of the game is for one political figure or party to imply an association between a political opponent and the United States government, especially the Central Intelligence Agency. This tactic now is employed by practically every political party in Chile.

At first it was only the Communist party in Chile which resorted to this type of underhanded plotting but recently all the political parties

have taken up the pastime of "seeing" a CIA agent linked somehow to opposing political parties or candidates.

The nature of the game, as it is played in Chile, was revealed recently by one of the politicians who claimed that a charge of collusion with the CIA leveled by one senator was merely a smoke screen. The senator's party, the politician explained, merely wanted to make it seem as if it were tough on the CIA while, in fact, it intended to "go on feeding quietly at the CIA trough."

The politician summed up his analysis in these words: "They want it both ways — they need leftist support and imperialist money."

The form of the game is a little bit different but the name is the same — shades of Ho Chi Minh.