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*A small group of Chilean propagand  
ran a sophisticated press campaign.*

*Now they are running the*

## How 20 Chileans Overt for the CIA

**By FRED LANDIS**

**A**CCORDING TO SECRET portions of a Senate report, several members of the current Chilean government worked directly for the CIA in the campaign to overthrow Salvador Allende. One of them, Chile's current foreign minister, Hernán Cubillos, was for several years a "principal" agent of the CIA. That revelation came in a closed hearing on October 23, 1978, in the trial of former IIT official Robert Berrellez. Berrellez was charged with having committed perjury during hearings in 1973 of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee into attempts by IIT and the CIA to block the election of Salvador Allende as president of Chile. The leak was part of a defense effort to convince the Department of Justice to drop the case rather than risk further disclosures of "national security" information in court.

Berrellez was threatening to make public the fact—suppressed at the CIA's request from the Senate Intelligence Committee's report *Covert Action in Chile 1964-1974*—that 20 leading Chileans, many now in the government, had been members of a CIA-financed think tank, the Institute of General Studies. CIA funding for ICS began in 1971 and continued after the coup—at least until 1974. Members of the ICS were not simply CIA contacts: They were CIA agents, a counterelite that the CIA backed to replace the Allende government. After the coup, with the military primarily concerned with internal security, ICS members largely took over the administration of the country.

The ICS has been described by one of

its U.S. contacts, IIT official Harold Henrix, as "some propagandists working again on radio and television"; and by its British contact, Robert Moss, as "the nerve center of political opposition to Marxism." The classified version of the Senate Intelligence Committee's report on the CIA in Chile echoes Moss's assessment: "The Institute of General Studies became the brain center of all groups opposed to Allende Government [*sic*]."

The ICS organization grew out of a coordinated 1970 media campaign against Allende's election. At the center of this effort were the top executives of Chile's leading newspaper, *El Mercurio*, and of the magazines *Portada* and *Que Pasa*. This media campaign soon meshed with a CIA coup attempt code-named Track II, whose objective, according to a CIA cable, was to "[c]reate a coup climate by propaganda, disinformation, and terrorist activities intended to provoke the left to give a pretext for a coup." Luis Maira, a Christian Democratic party deputy, wrote of the ICS propaganda campaign to unseat Allende: "Their effort was based on a cynical belief that huge sums of money spent in a giant publicity apparatus could accomplish anything." Three years later Maira was on the junta's "10 most wanted" list, and the ICS was running Chile.

But the coup did not succeed in 1970, because the opposition groups did not have the will, the organization, or the technical know-how to pull one off. Allende won the election and many ICS members left Chile, apparently taken in by their own scare campaign against the leader of the Popular Unity

faction. The director of ICS, Pablo Baraona Urzua, fled to Paraguay; Cristian Zegers, who headed the CIA-funded Andalien ad agency, left for Venezuela; Enrique Campos Menéndez settled in Madrid; Marcos Chamudes, editor of PEC, ran across the border to Mendoza, Argentina; and

Carlos Urenda Zegers, an attorney for *El Mercurio*, went all the way to Australia. As the Senate Intelligence Committee report observes, "When Allende took office, little was left of the CIA-funded propaganda apparatus."

**B**UT THERE WERE A FEW intransigents, including CIA agent David Phillips, who refused to give up. Phillips took the matter of Allende's victory personally. He had been recruited into the agency back in 1952 while working as a journalist in Chile. Phillips's children were Chilean citizens. He had helped defeat Allende three times already and was not about to throw in the towel, especially now that he was the CIA's director of covert operations for the Western hemisphere.

Phillips had long been close to *El Mercurio* publisher Agustin Edwards, a reliable friend of the CIA. Phillips's *South Pacific Mail* had been printed on the presses of *El Mercurio* in Valparaiso, before Phillips was able to buy his own press and move the operation to Santiago. Phillips later sold the paper to David Hellyer, a career CIA officer working under journalistic cover in Chile for the Copley News Service. In