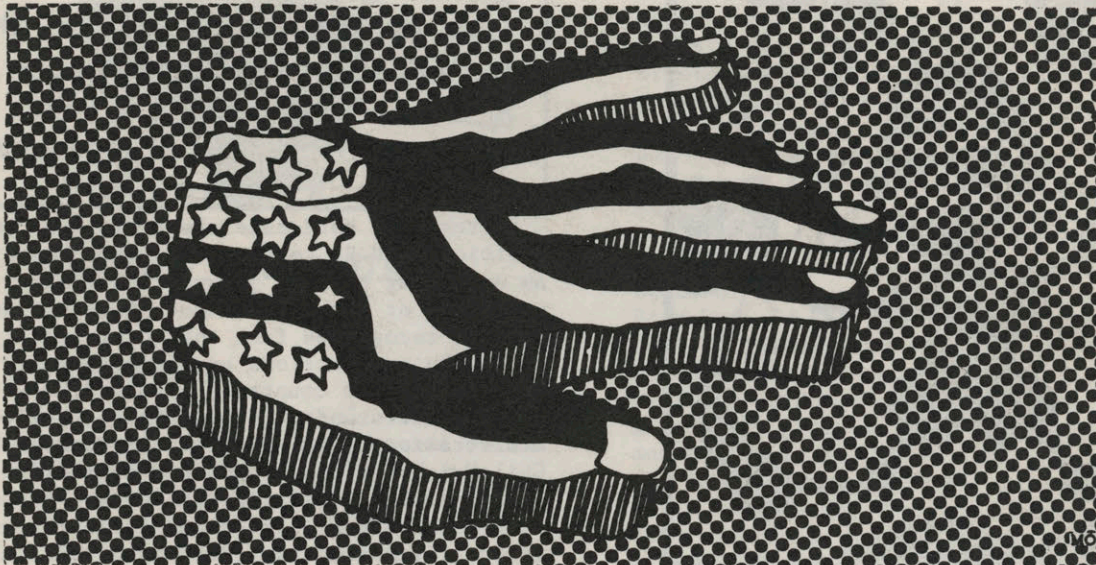


CHILE NEWSLETTER



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C.I.A. INTERVENTION IN CHILE: CONFIRMED

Recent revelations in the New York Times of congressional testimony by CIA Director William Colby completely confirm accusations of direct U.S. intervention in Chile before the coup. More than \$8 million were spent by the CIA between 1970 and 1973 in covert activities to undermine President Allende's Popular Unity (UP) government.

According to Colby, the CIA had already spent \$3 million in 1964 to insure the victory of pro-U.S. Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei over Allende. When similar efforts failed in 1970, and Allende won a plurality of the vote (36%), the CIA authorized \$350,000 to bribe the Chilean Congress (which by law had to choose among the candidates, none having received a majority) as "part of a much more complicated scheme intended to overturn the results of the election."

(Colby is probably referring to the proposal of runner-up Jorge Alessandri, candidate of the right-wing National Party, that he be confirmed President by Congress, then resign, paving the way for new elections in which Frei could again legally be the candidate of the Right. This plan was frustrated by the decision of the Christian Democrats to back Allende, in exchange for his agreement to certain extraordinary limitations on his presidential powers, after the assassination of Army Commander-in-Chief René Schneider was exposed as a right-wing plot.)

During the three years of the Popular Unity, the CIA spent another \$5 million to "destabilize" Allende's government, with a further \$1.5 million going to opposition candidates in the March 1973 parliamentary elections (when in fact the UP co-

alition increased its support to 43.6%). Another \$1 million was budgeted in August 1973, just weeks before the coup.

To appreciate the impact of \$8 million in Chile, one has to recall that Chile has only 1/20 the population of the U.S.; that average per capita income there is only 1/8 that in the U.S., and that through blackmarket exchange, the value of a dollar could be multiplied many times -- up to 800%, according to the Times. Thus the impact of \$8 million in Chile would be comparable to the impact of over a billion dollars in the U.S.!

The Coverup: Kissinger's Big Lie

According to Ford, Kissinger and the State Department apologists, the CIA money was used only to support the "democratic" opposition parties and media. Yet CIA sources admit that the bulk of the money went to support strikes by truck-drivers, shopkeepers and professionals which caused economic havoc in 1972, and to the infiltration of all the parties of the Popular Unity. (According to the Times, the CIA was unable to infiltrate the MIR.)

"I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist because of the irresponsibility of its own people."

— Henry Kissinger



The administration has reacted to these disclosures with a mixture of denials and justifications. High officials, caught in their own lies, may face charges of perjury. For example, Charles Meyers, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, testified to Congress in April of last year that "We bought no votes; we funded no candidates; we promoted no coups." Former Ambassador to Chile Edward Korry and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Harry Schaudeman (formerly with the U.S. Embassy in Chile) have told Congress similar lies while under oath. Former CIA Director Richard Helms flatly denied any money was sent to Allende's opponents during his confirmation hearings as Ambassador to Iran. More importantly, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and President Ford defend the CIA intervention as necessary for the "preservation of democracy" in Chile, and the national security of the U.S. Kissinger, in particular, has supported a hard line toward Chile from the beginning. On June 27, 1970, months before Allende's election, he [is reported to have] said, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people." During the years of CIA activity in Chile Kissinger, as National Security Advisor and chief of the 40 Committee was certainly aware of, and approved CIA activities in Chile; in fact, the Chicago Sun-Times reports that a "key intelligence source", concerned that the CIA shouldn't take all the blame for the Chile operation, indicated that the CIA had recommended limiting support to center and right-wing political parties, but was overruled by Kissinger, who ordered "direct action to undermine Allende." This contrasts sharply with Kissinger's public statement that "our efforts in Chile were to strengthen the demo-

cratic political parties." Kissinger's hypocritical denial of any U.S. role in the coup is like a man who aims a gun, pulls the trigger, and then pleads that he "didn't know it was loaded."

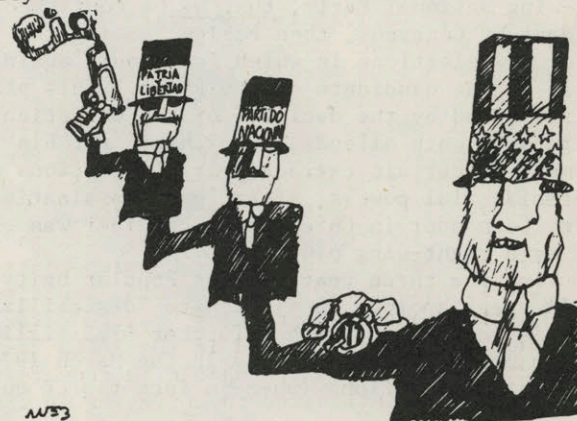
"I am not going to pass judgement on whether it is permitted or authorized under international law. It is a recognized fact that historically and presently, such actions are taken in the best interest of the countries involved."
— President Ford

President Ford made clear his own cynical position on U.S. intervention when he said, "I am not going to pass judgment on whether it is permitted or authorized under international law. It is a recognized fact that historically and presently such actions are undertaken in the best interest of the countries involved."

To understand just how much of a lie the administration claim of "defending democracy in Chile" is, one has to go into some of the specifics of CIA activities in Chile. Support for the truck-owners' strike and infiltration of left parties are only the "tip of the iceberg" of clandestine activities carried out by the CIA and other U.S. agencies in Chile.

Where the Money Went

Much of what is known of CIA and related subversion in Chile is documented in the July-August NACLA Report, "U.S. Counter-revolutionary Apparatus: The Chilean Offensive." For example, it quotes a memo from Robert Berrellez, ITT "PR" man in Santiago, to ITT executive John McCone (former CIA Director) in September 1970 stating that the military would only intervene if the country's stability were sufficiently threatened, and that "the threat must be provided one way or another through provocation." One month later Juan Luis Bulnes, one of the right-wing aristocratic youths implicated in the killing of Army Commander René Schneider, flew to Buenos Aires on a ticket provided by Robert Berrellez, who later joined him there before Bulnes flew on to the U.S. Also implicated in the plot were two sons of the Vice-President of Anaconda Copper in Chile, Guillermo Carey.



MIGUEL ENRIQUEZ

MIR Declaration

Yesterday, Saturday, October 5, 1974, Compañero Miguel Enriquez, Secretary General of the MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT, MIR, was killed in battle by intelligence forces of the Chilean gorilla dictatorship, trained, funded and supplied by the government of the United States.

Our party, the MIR, founded in the mid 60's, has been in the forefront of the struggle for socialism in Chile and since the military coup of September 11, 1973, has remained within Chile fighting with and organizing the resistance of the Chilean people for the overthrow of the bloodiest and most brutal dictatorship in the history of Latin America. Because of our combativeness and strength, we have been one of the main targets of the repressive apparatus of the ultra reactionary dictatorship. Compañero Miguel Enriquez, loved and respected by all peoples inside and outside Chile who opposed the dictatorship, became a symbol of the ever-growing Resistance. Undoubtedly, his assassins will try to make it appear as though his death represents the defeat of the Resistance. The continuation of the stepped-up actions of the Resistance on all fronts in the last few weeks, marking a new offensive phase in our struggle, will soon disprove and expose any such claims.

In contrast to our own strength and determination, the current situation in Chile has isolated the dictatorship, making the continuing of our struggle and our final victory inevitable. In an interview held inside Chile on August 16, 1974, Miguel Enriquez characterized this situation as follows:

"A group of high military officers overthrew the Popular Government, assassinated, jailed and tortured tens of thousands, savagely repressing the working class and the people. Once installed in government they developed a policy of permanent repression and put into practice an ultra-reactionary and anti-popular economic policy, characterized by a sharp fall in the income of

the working class and the people, a massive increase in unemployment and in the cost of living. The objectives of these economic policies, based on the super exploitation of labor and the repression of all protest, is to assure enormous profits for the largest Chilean capitalists and possible foreign investments which the military hoped to attract. This policy brought with it a rapid decrease in the gorilla dictatorship's social base of support. By striking at the interests not only of the working class, but also of other sectors of the people -- merchants, transport industry, small businessmen, professionals, etc. -- that is to say sectors which in the past had supported the overthrow of the Popular Unity Government, the gorilla dictatorship has had to rely almost exclusively on repression."

The responsibility for the death of Compañero Miguel Enriquez, and for the deaths of other thousands of Chileans, does not fall solely on General Pinochet and his fellow executioners inside Chile. Just as guilty as those who pulled the trigger are Mr. Rockefeller, the Attica assassin, the multinational corporations who are the ultimate instigators and profiteers of the bloodshed in Chile, and Mr. Henry Kissinger, who coordinates and leads the imperialist offensive against the peoples of Latin America who fight for liberation and socialism. We trust that the progressive and revolutionary people of the United States will express their repudiation of those criminals and their backers and that, in solidarity with our struggle will make their impact felt.

The time shall come when, the military junta, all military and civilian authorities of the present government implicated in the massacres, assassinations, tortures and mutilations of workers and revolutionaries, and all the Chilean and foreign capitalists who today profit from the super exploitation of the Chilean people will be imprisoned and submitted to the popular justice.



The gorillas have begun a war against the working class and the people of Chile; they shall have war. Let it be known that, rather sooner than later, this war will become open war, and as they well know, MIR is inside Chile preparing it. Let the gorillas, the corporate capitalists, foreign investors, and the junta's official and unofficial agents outside Chile, face the consequences of their actions. The struggle will be long and difficult, it has just begun. We have received some blows and we have overcome them; more blows will come, we know that in this struggle we can lose our lives but we shall continue to struggle until final victory.

THE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE SHALL WIN!
LET US TURN HATRED AND INDIGNATION INTO
SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE!
COMPAÑERO MIGUEL ENRIQUEZ: PRESENTE!

MOVIMIENTO DE LA IZQUIERDA REVOLUCIONARIA
MIR
OCTOBER 6, 1974

ITT, Anaconda Bombed'

On September 11, the Anaconda American Brass Company in Oakland, California, was bombed. No one was injured. The Weather Underground has taken credit for the attack and has issued a statement explaining the action. The communiqué states that Anaconda was attacked in international solidarity with the Chilean revolutionary struggle. Anaconda is controlled by the Rockefeller family, and along with ITT and Kennecott played a decisive role in the "U.S. sponsored fascist coup in Chile." (Weather communiqué: S.F. Chronicle)

Two Sheraton hotels were also bombed, in San Francisco and Los Angeles, by a group calling itself the New World Liberation Front. They announced that the bombings were an attack on ITT, which owns the hotels, in solidarity with Chile. (CBS)

September Activities

September was the month of International Solidarity with the Chilean People, and marked the first anniversary of the military coup d'état. There were major demonstrations and rallies throughout the U.S., as well as in most European and Latin American countries. Demonstrations were held in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington D.C., Philadelphia, Seattle, and many other cities. More details on September solidarity activities will be contained in the next issue of the Newsletter.

US Jets to Chile?

According to CBS News, the Chilean government has been secretly negotiating a multi-million dollar purchase of super-sonic fighter jets from the U.S., ostensibly to prepare for the possibility of war with Peru. (CBS)



GENERAL CARLOS PRATS AND GENERAL RENE SCHNEIDER

Carlos Prats Assassinated

General Carlos Prats, former commander of the Chilean army, was killed in a bomb blast Sept. 30 along with his wife, as they were driving to their Buenos Aires home. Prats, a strong supporter of Salvador Allende, went into voluntary exile after the coup. Prats had been Minister of the Interior in 1972, and negotiated an end to the October truck owners' strike. He was a target of repeated attacks by the Right until his resignation a few weeks before the coup.

In a letter to the widow of former Defense Minister Jose Toha, written shortly before his death, Prats complained that the Chilean military had been trying to destroy his "professional image" among the ranks of the armed forces.

"I have only one hope," he declared, "that the day will soon come when my former comrades-in-arms will realize that they have been deceived and have participated in the most tremendous historical mistake by becoming the executioners of their country." (Reuters, N.Y. Times)

Political Prisoners

Chile's military government has hinted at possible relaxation of sentences for some of those prisoners still being held a year after the coup. General Pinochet said he may pardon or lower sentences for a number of persons estimated at 2,000-6,000. However, he made no declarations in response to a letter from religious leaders asking for an end to political imprisonments, saying a response would be made "at an appropriate time."

Any such action would not be a general amnesty, but rather an attempt to improve the Junta's public image. Orlando Letelier, former Ambassador to the U.S., and Osvaldo Puccio were released and expelled from Chile on the eve of the anniversary of the coup, but many other U.P. leaders are still awaiting trial, and in some cases their places of detention have been changed without warning. Pinochet has made it clear that prisoners facing "serious" charges will not be released. (AP)

FASCISM



In March of 1971 a North American carrying papers identifying him as a U.S. "intelligence officer," Howard Edwards, was arrested (at the ITT-owned Sheraton-Carreira Hotel) in Santiago in connection with the falsification of a huge sale order for copper to a Swiss bank, which would have suggested the existence of secret Chilean copper reserves and brought the world copper price down suddenly. (A one-cent decline in copper prices would mean \$10 million loss to Chile over a year -- one of the ways a few thousand dollars in CIA money could cause millions of dollars in harm to the Chilean economy. In fact, copper prices did fall drastically after Allende's election.)

The C.I.A. also cooperated with right-wing landowners (SNA), industrialists (SOFOFA), and retired military officers in backing Patria y Libertad, the fascist para-military organization which acted as shock troops for the Right. The leaders of all these groups were frequent visitors at the U.S. Embassy in Santiago, and made periodic visits to the U.S. Pablo Rodriguez, leader of Patria y Libertad, was in Washington D.C. on a visit in May of 1972 on the same day the Chilean Embassy there was broken into by the same 'team' of Cubans who conducted the Watergate break-in.

In early 1973, C.I.A. agent Michael Townley, formerly with the Peace Corps in Chile, became an advisor to Patria y Libertad. He participated in an operation to sabotage government electronic equipment in Concepcion, along with five militants of Patria y Libertad, in the course of which the night-watchman was killed. Townley fled back to the U.S. after this operation was exposed.

All of these stories and others, as well as the complex network of connections between right-wing Chileans, the C.I.A. and other U.S. agencies, and the multinational corporations, to the extent that we know them, are detailed in the NACLA Report referred to above, which should be required reading for anyone interested in Chile, or in the activities of the C.I.A.

The Tip of the Iceberg

We should remember that the majority of covert operations--the successful ones--remain hidden from us. What we are able to trace is only the tip of the iceberg; in the same way, the whole C.I.A. operation was only a part of the overall U.S. campaign against Allende. This included the infamous credit blockade: efforts by ITT and the copper companies to sabotage Chile's economy; subversion of the Chilean labor movement through the agency of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD); heavy increases in U.S. aid to the Chilean military at a time when all other aid was being cut; and the constant flow of intelligence between the U.S. Embassy and military intelligence on one hand, and the reactionary sectors of the Chilean military and their civilian supporters, on the other. The full extent of U.S. intervention in Chile must be kept in mind in evaluating --and challenging--cleverly phrased disclaimers of U.S. involvement in the military coup, by Kissinger and others.

Neither should it be assumed that C.I.A. interest in Chile ended with the coup. The recent assassination of Gen. Carlos Prats in Argentina is highly suspicious, as is the increasing activity of identified members of Patria y Libertad among the Chilean refugee communities in Latin America, Europe and the United States. These activities must be taken very seriously, as it is precisely among the political refugees that the C.I.A. and Chilean agents can do double service, weakening the resistance while infiltrating the Left in the host countries.

We cannot let the C.I.A. intervention in Chile go unchallenged. We cannot let Ford and Kissinger hide their atrocities behind the screen of "national security." We must demand full and open investigations into all aspects of U.S. intervention in Chile! We must demand an end to U.S. intervention in the affairs of other countries! We must see that the architects and engineers of military dictatorship in Chile and around the world do not escape judgement! THE PEOPLE WILL WIN!

About this issue

This issue of the Chile Newsletter is shorter than usual for two reasons. First, so that it can be distributed rapidly and widely to help organize the campaign for investigations of C.I.A. and other U.S. intervention in Chile, and for a cut-off of all aid to the military dictatorship, before Congress reconvenes in November. Second, because the Chile Newsletter is very short of funds. Please pay your bills! Renew your subscriptions! Support the Chile Newsletter!

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CUT U.S. AID TO CHILE!

On October 11, Congress will recess until after the November elections, with the Foreign Aid Bill yet to be approved. There is a good chance military and economic aid to Chile may be cut if we keep up the pressure on Congress during the next few weeks.

Since the Junta took power, U.S. aid to Chile has skyrocketed. The Ford administration has requested \$85 million in aid for fiscal year 1975, with \$21.5 million to go to the military. This would make Chile the highest recipient of aid in Latin America, on a per capita basis. This figure was already cut by \$20 million before the aid bill reached the floor of Congress. There, the administration attempted to avoid the restrictive aid bill by relying on a resolution to continue aid on the basis of last year's budget. Congress reacted to this strategy by adding several strong amendments to the resolution, including one by Sen. Kennedy cutting all military aid to Chile, which passed by a vote of 47 to 41. These restrictions were removed, however, by the joint House-Senate conference committee, over the objections of Sen. Eagleton, who promised to renew the fight on the Senate floor when the foreign aid bill comes up for a final vote in November.

At present, foreign aid is continuing on a temporary basis. It is urgent that pressure be put on Senators and Congresspeople immediately to support a cut-off of all aid to Chile when the bill is brought up again for a vote. Special support should be given to Senators Kennedy and Eagleton, and to Representatives Fraser and Harrington in the House, in their fight against U.S. aid to dictatorial governments such as Chile's. Addresses of members of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees are listed below; readers and their friends should also pressure their own Senators and Representatives on the issue of aid to Chile, as well as calling for full, open hearings on the extent of U.S. (CIA and other) intervention in Chile before the coup.

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE: write Senate Office Building, Washington D.C., 20510. J.W. Fulbright, Chairman (Ark.); John Sparkman (Ala.); Mike Mansfield (Mont.); Frank Church (Idaho); Stuart Symington (Mo.); Claiborn Pell (R.I.); Gale McGee (Wyo.); Edmund Muskie (Me.); George McGovern (S.D.); Hubert Humphrey (Minn.); George Aikin (Vt.); Clifford Case (N.J.); Jacob Javits (N.Y.); Hugh Scott (Penn.); James Pearson (Kans.); Charles Percy (Ill.); Robert Griffin (Mich.)

HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE: write House Office Building, Washington D.C., 20515. Thomas Morgan, Chairman (Penn.); Clement Zablocki (Wisc.); Wayne Hays (Ohio); L.H. Fountain (N.C.); Dante Fascell (Fla.); Charles Diggs, Jr. (Mich.); Robert Nix (Penn.); Donald Fraser (Minn.); Benjamin Rosenthal (N.Y.); John Culver (Iowa); Lee Hamilton (Ind.); Abraham Kazen, Jr. (Tex.); Lester Wolff (N.Y.); Jonathan Bingham (N.Y.); Gus Yatron (Penn.); Ray Taylor (N.C.); John Davis (Ga.); Ogden Reid (N.Y.); Michael Harrington (Mass.); Leo Ryan (Cal.); Charles Wilson (Tex.); Peter Frelinghuysen (N.J.); William Broomfield (Mich.); H.R. Gross (Iowa); Edward Derwinski (Ill.); Vernon Thomson (Wisc.); Paul Findley (Ill.); John Buchanan (Ala.); J. Herbert Burke (Fla.); Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.); Robert Steele (Conn.); Pierre du Pont (Del.); Charles Whalen, Jr. (Ohio); Robert Mathias (Cal.); Edward Biester, Jr. (Penn.); Larry Winn, Jr. (Kan.); Benjamin Gilman (N.Y.); Tennyson Guyer (Ohio); Donald Riegle, Jr. (Mich.).

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Department of State, Washington D.C., 20520

President Gerald Ford, The White House, Washington D.C., 20500

STOP PRESS

Last minute reports indicate that Miguel Enriquez, Secretary General of the MIR, was killed by the military in a shootout in Santiago on Oct. 5. Enriquez, a doctor, was one of the founders of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), and since the coup one of the principal leaders of the Resistance inside Chile. (see page 3)

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