

# COUNTERSpy

The Magazine For People Who Need To Know

"Should the practice of Spycraft become universal farewell to all domestic confidence and happiness."

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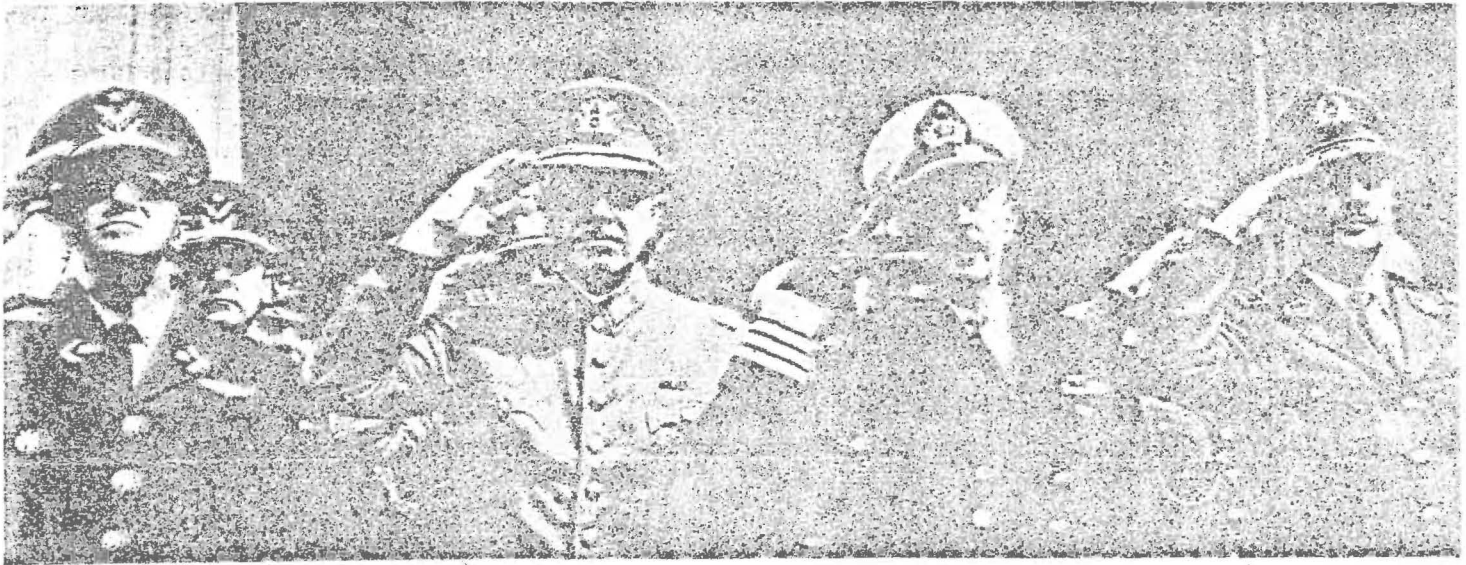
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# DEATH OF EMBASSY ROW



## *CIA Covers Up Murder Web of Chilean Gestapo With False Stories and Terrorist Operations*

*Leaders of the Junta from left: air force commander General Gustavo Leigh Guzman, Junta President Pinochet, Admiral Jose Toribio Merino Castro, and General Cesar Mendoza Duran, commander of the carabineros (armed police).*

*By Winslow Peck*

By the time CIA Director George Bush met with Justice Department officials to, as the *Washington Post* put it, "Aid the Federal investigation of the bombing death of former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier", the cover-up was in full gear. Bush knew he couldn't keep all the strands of the CIA's convoluted web of intrigue from being torn, but the official probe could be just a "narrow" investigation focused only on those who committed the murder. With persuasion and limited cooperation on his part, the Justice Department would probably not examine all the CIA's "sources and methods". The odds were favorable for the narrow investigation.

Confused local police, FBI investigators, and bomb experts examined the bits and pieces of twisted automobile glass and metal. Whatever remained of the bomb did not explain its composition or the method of detonation. The assassins were long gone before police could even reconstruct the event. Interrogation of bystanders and witnesses were equally fruitless; conflicting stories are common after crimes of high tension and quick execution. Ordinary police methods do not work. This was a political assassination not a common murder.

The professional assassin can kill anyone, at any time, at any place and does not hinge success on the method of murder but on protective invisibility. The objective is not the killing, but the not-getting-caught. The assassin concentrates on plausible denial, alibi, confusion, false leads, escape and finally, the frame-up. This is why political assassinations such as those of the Kennedy and Martin Luther King have produced more tangled and speculative theory than evidentiary fact, which is likely to be the fate of this assassination.

Reporters in the Washington political community heard Letelier may have died of a bomb of his own making, or perhaps that of a jealous lover or political rival in his own family. The whispers from Letelier's enemies were far-fetched and abundant. The trauma of death in the nation's capital was momentous enough for mass confusion. Bush could plausibly deny involvement of the CIA, allowing those at the bottom of the murderous hierarchy to be the scapegoat if the whispers and confusion failed. The capital's citizens might know in their hearts that henchmen of the CIA and its bloodthirsty Chilean client DINA (the *Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional*), committed the foul deed but the CIA could live with that. What the CIA must hide is the vast web of CIA and Chilean intelligence agents, foreign dictatorships and their secret police, right-wing terrorists, media agents, lobbyists and corrupt government officials that would be exposed by a "broad" investigation. The American public must never know that the bloody hands that murdered the Chilean democrat patriot and the young American woman with him, are connected body and soul, to the secret power of fascism permanently woven into the fabric of America's liberal democracy and foreign policy.

### Symbol of Unity

Orlando Letelier, 44-year-old former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense and Ambassador to the US for the

Chilean Popular Unity Government was an outspoken critic of the present Chilean military Junta which overthrew his government on September 11, 1973, almost three years to the day they assassinated him. The Junta had targeted him for a long time through its propaganda machine and through verbal threats made on his life. Letelier became a symbol of unity in the movement to resist the bloody dictatorship. Also killed when an explosive device went off in Letelier's car on September 21, as it rounded Sheridan Circle in Washington's Embassy Row, was Ronni Karpen Moffitt of the Institute for Policy Studies. Moffitt was an assistant to the Institute's director and active in Chile solidarity work. Letelier was an economist and Director of the international program of the Institute—the Transnational Institute (TNI),



since coming to the US after imprisonment by the Junta. Moffitt's husband of three months, Michael, was injured in the blast.

The leader of the Junta, General Augusto Pinochet, had personally greeted Letelier that day, three years ago when the tanks and planes murdered Chilean democracy. Allende was killed by the time Pinochet ordered soldiers to take Letelier from the Ministry of Defense building at gunpoint. The Junta imprisoned Letelier at a concentration camp for the next year of his life on the bitterly cold Dawson Island, off Tierra del Fuego. But through concerted efforts of his friends and supporters throughout the world, Letelier was released on September 10, 1974, a year after the coup.

Letelier joined other Chilean refugees in a life of determined resistance against the Junta. Last February, in the course of his TNI activities, he visited Holland and spoke with the Dockworkers Federation and the Dutch trade unions. After listening to Letelier, they agreed to a total boycott on the handling of Chilean commodities. After talks with Letelier, the Dutch government offered financial aid for Chilean refugees in Holland and cancelled a \$63 million development credit for the Junta. Letelier's prestige and leadership qualities made him a key figure among Chilean exiles from the Popular Unity parties, the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), some Christian Democrats, and the liberal Catholics. He was a symbol of Chilean unity.

More threats on Letelier's life began shortly after Congress passed the Kennedy/Fraser resolution to cut off military aid to Chile on June 16, 1976. Strange men would call Isabel Letelier to ask: "Are you the wife of Orlando Letelier?"

"Yes," Isabel would answer.

"No, you are his widow," the voice on the line would say. Some of Letelier's mail was mysteriously opened and through friends in the diplomatic community, he learned that there were high level discussions in the Junta over whether or not to assassinate him.

The Junta viewed him as such a threat that Pinochet personally signed a decree revoking his Chilean citizenship on September 10, 1976.

Letelier was killed by right-wing Cuban exiles called *gusanos* or worms—in the pay of both the CIA and recently DINA. The *gusanos* have been engaged in a war of terror against Cuba, the Caribbean countries and Latin America. ORLANDO BOSCH, leader of the *gusanos*' terrorist group, CORU, recently accused GUILLERMO and IGNACIO NOVO SAMBOL of killing Letelier.

The *gusanos* also blow up airplanes, embassies, fishing boats, airports and carry out kidnappings in an effort to overthrow and disrupt the Cuban government.

The CIA trained the *gusanos*. The *gusanos*' army, after training, was organized by the Chilean gestapo, called DINA. The CIA with DINA, organized the escalated war against Cuba. Today DINA is declaring its independence from the CIA by carrying out its own operations against Chilean resisters. The CIA-trained DINA-organized *gusanos* are connected to the secret police agencies of several Central and South American right-wing dictatorships and also to the secret police of Venezuela. Certain operations are carried out under CIA directions; others are unilateral efforts by DINA or other foreign secret police agencies. Together the network is desperately trying to cover up its connections by using its paramilitary operations and its psychological warfare methods.

What follows is a portrait of what a broad investigation of the CIA's paramilitary and propaganda operations that created, trained and supported DINA would uncover. A narrow investigation, such as the one the CIA is trying to control will cover up these facts. But the CIA will also have to cover up the fact that the US government can no longer control its brutal and vicious monsters; like Dr. Frankenstein when the monster he created from many dead bodies turned to attack him in his own laboratory.

## PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS

On October 15, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro announced cancellation of the 1973 anti-hijacking agreement with the US in retaliation for what he termed a CIA-backed "terrorist campaign" against Cuba. Castro spoke at the mass funeral rally in Havana for the 57 Cubans (including several national heroes) who were among 73 persons killed when a *Cubana Airlines* plane was blown out of the air October 6. Castro revealed the existence of a double agent, working for the CIA but loyal to Cuba, who had intercepted two messages from CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia to a CIA agent



Orlando Bosch

in Havana. One of the messages indicated that the CIA was planning another attempt on Castro's life. The message of October 9 read:

*Please report as soon as possible any information dealing with Fidel's attendance at the ceremony on the first anniversary of the independence of Angola on November 11. If affirmative, try to find out complete itinerary of Fidel's visits to other countries during the same trip.*

With applause from the crowd, Castro said, "We have the code, the ciphers and all the evidence of the veracity of these communications." Castro also mentioned that the CIA agent had bugged the office of Osmany Cienfuegos, secretary of the executive committee of the council of ministers, who participates in formulating Cuba's African policy.

The other message from CIA headquarters intercepted earlier asked a series of questions about terrorist acts against Cuban property. The message read:

*What is the official and private reaction to bomb attacks against Cuban offices abroad? What are they going to do to avoid and prevent them? Who is suspected as responsible? Will there be retaliations?*

In a barely plausible denial, Henry Kissinger said in response to Castro, "I can categorically state that no official of the US government, no one paid by the American government, no one in contact with the American government has had anything to do with the airplane sabotage."

Castro mentioned eight earlier incidents other than the Barbados plane bombing. On April 6, two fishing boats

were attacked by private launches from Florida. One fisherman was killed. Two persons were killed and there was heavy damage when a bomb exploded in the Cuban embassy in Lisbon on April 22. On July 5, another bomb damaged the Cuban mission to the United Nations. On July 9, a bomb exploded at Norman Manley airport in Jamaica in a luggage cart just before the luggage was to be loaded onto a Cuban airliner. A bomb exploded July 10 in the offices of British West Indies Airways in Barbados, which represents the Cuban airlines in Barbados. On July 23, a technician of the Cuban National Fishery Institute was killed in an attempt to kidnap the Cuban consul in Merida, Mexico. On August 9 two Cuban embassy officials were kidnapped in Buenos Aires and no one has heard from them since. And on August 18, a bomb exploded in the Cuban office in Panama.

### CORU, a DINA terrorist army

Identified by Castro, the *Washington Star* and numerous Caribbean newspapers as responsible for the terrorist acts is the *gusano* organization (pronounced *goh-zan-o*) organization, the Coordination of United Revolutionary Organizations (CORU). CORU is an umbrella organization of five anti-Castro groups with approximately 500 members (See Sidebar). It formed at a meeting in Costa Rica in June 1974. CORU is well known in Miami's Cuban exile community, Little Havana, and photos of its meetings have appeared in the local Spanish press. From investigations of its activities by Caribbean governments, we'll learn more about CORU, but it is taking the blame in the US government's narrow investigation. Training and support for the individuals and member groups of CORU is supplied by the CIA; that's what the cover up is all about. The organization is the result of fanatic passions of enterprising *gusanos* and the operational need of the Junta's *gestapo*, DINA. CORU is a DINA terrorist army.

It claimed responsibility for the September 1 bombings at the Embassy of Guyana in Port of Spain, Trinidad; the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City; as well as other bombings in Barbados on other occasions. CORU claims it bombed the Guyana embassy in retaliation for Guyana's policy of allowing Cuban airplanes to refuel there en route to Angola. The Guatemala bombing, according to CORU, was in retaliation for Mexico's failure to release two CORU members who tried to kidnap the Cuban consul in Merida, Mexico.

CORU is lead by the crazed former pediatrician named Orlando Bosch. Bosch was one of the founders of Cuban Power but he supposedly broke with the CIA after the Bay of Pigs because he thought the CIA was no longer dedicated to overthrowing Castro. Although his first commando actions were hardly dangerous, Bosch has a habit of killing those with whom he disagrees. (See *New Times*, October 29 for a profile of Bosch's career.)

Bosch and others began their anti-Castro actions in the early sixties against Cuban and other socialist commercial shipping in the harbor of Miami. But his first attacks were empty threats; he forgot to put fuses in the bombs. The "mad baby doctor" soon learned from his mistakes, how-

### The CIA's Henchmen

The following *gusano* groups are only some of the Cuban exile organizations under the umbrella group called CORU. The organizations that participate in terrorist activity use such sophisticated explosives that police in Dade County, Florida required special training in bomb techniques.

**Accion Cubano**—a small Miami-based group formed around July, 1974 which claimed credit for bombing several Cuban embassies in that year. Recently, this group sold bonds on the streets of Little Havana (in Miami) to finance its organizing, in denominations from \$10 to \$1,000, redeemable upon Fidel Castro's death.

**The National Liberation Front of Cuba (FNLC)**—also Miami-based and headed by FRANK CASTRO and HUMBERTO LOPEZ. It took credit for the April 6 fishing boat attack. FNLC appeared about the time that talks of renewed trade with Cuba began in Washington. It also had plans to assassinate Senators Javits and Pell before their trip to Havana in early 1974. FNLC has been largely responsible for an internecine war between *gusano* groups in Little Havana and elsewhere over the question of how to maintain discipline for the umbrella group CORU. The FNLC has formed several satellite terrorist cells in the US including the *Jovenes de Estrella* (Youth of the Star) in Miami, and F14 in the New York City area, with whom the Letelier assassins are associated; Zero, which marks its victims for death by sending the a "zero" mark; Secret Cuban Government; Cuban Action; GIN; Omega 7; and El Condor which took credit for the plane bombing that killed 73 people in October. One of El Condor's leaders, ROLANDO OTERO was arrested for bombing the Miami FBI office, the Florida State Attorney's office, the Dade County Police Department and another explosion at Miami International Airport. He was the youngest member of the Bay of Pigs invasion force.

**The Association of Veterans of the Bay of Pigs**—a Miami-based group headed by ROBERTO CARBALLO who won the presidency after a bitter fight at this year's election ceremonies on April 17. The keynote address at the congress was Nicaraguan dictator Somoza and US Representative CLAUDE PEPPER.

Some of these *gusanos* simply became mercenaries after the Bay of Pigs fiasco and joined bands such as the Intercontinental Penetration Force led by freelance anti-communist mercenary GERALD PATRICK HEMMING in the early sixties before the Congo operation.

**Movimiento 17 de April**—a splinter group of the CIA and Green-Beret-trained Cuban Invasion Brigade 2506, run by CIA case officers GRACETON LYNCH and RICHARD ROBERTSON, which was defeated at the Bay of Pigs on April 17, 1960. The splinter group was formed last April by JUAN PEREZ FRANCO.

**Movimiento Nacionalista Cubano**—another Miami-based group responsible for many bombings in the US and elsewhere.

CORU drew personnel from the JURE group of *gusanos*, for CORU operations in the Dominican Republic. JURE has operated since the US' invasion in 1967.

ever, and created such a problem for harbor authorities that the US Coast Guard was forced to escort the ships in and out of the harbor. By the mid-sixties, Bosch was a leader of the Movement for Revolutionary Recovery (MIRR) led by MANUEL F. ARTIME, who later would form the Comandos Mambises, the only *gusano*-terrorist group which the CIA directly originated in the early sixties.

All the *gusano* groups were infiltrated and manipulated by the CIA's OPERATION MONGOOSE, the campaign to overthrow or kill Castro. Mongoose developed the Miami CIA station JM/Wave on the University of Miami under the cover of Zenith-Technical Enterprises. JM/Wave had an annual budget of over \$50 million, branch offices in 54 dummy corporations, and a permanent staff of 300 Americans who employed and controlled approximately 6,000 *gusano* agents including Bernard Barker of Watergate fame, who was a member of MIRR under E. Howard Hunt as his controller. After the Bay of Pigs fiasco, led by GRACELYN LYNCH and RICHARD ROBERTSON, the CIA wound down operations at JM/Wave and sent Artime to Guatemala under direction from Robertson in a last effort to influence *gusanos* who were bitter over the defeat. Robertson later directed the *gusano* actions in the Congo crisis of 1967. The following explains what some of the 6,000 trained *gusanos* did after the Bay of Pigs plan fell apart.

With a cell of MIRR, Bosch escalated the disruption of shipping in the Miami harbor. On September 16, 1968, the FBI arrested Bosch and others while they fired a makeshift bazooka into the harbor from MacArthur Causeway, over the Coast Guard cutters escorting a Polish ship. Charged with this, and with using the telephone to make threats against the governments of Mexico, England and Spain, Bosch was sentenced to ten years in a federal prison. After three and a half years Bosch was freed after a series of hunger strikes; he soon disappeared. US authorities still want Bosch for parole violations and for questioning for attempting to murder RICARDO MORALES NAVARETTE, a former FBI informer and CIA agent, now a high-ranking member of the Venezuelan secret police.

Bosch was arrested in Caracas, Venezuela in November, 1974 after taking credit for two bombings, but the FBI did not ask that he be extradited to the US because the State Department intervened. Powerful Cuban exiles in Venezuela took their case to high levels of the government and Bosch was released. He flew immediately to Santiago, Chile and established contact with DINA. A Miami newsman who interviewed him there reported he had a Venezuelan chief of staff and 15 Chilean bodyguards.

DINA had already made contact with other *gusano* groups including the non-terrorist youth group ABDALA and Alpha 66, a broad coalition of exiles often opposed to the terrorism. According to a *gusano* defector who returned to Cuba named CARLOS RIVERO COLLADA\*, Colonel EDUARDO SEPULVEDA, the Chilean Consul in Miami, is an intimate friend of Pinochet and visited Miami shortly after the coup; at the same time, the Junta repaid several million dollars of its debt to the US in cash. There, according

\* CARLOS RIVERO COLLADOS, who returned to his homeland in Cuba, has recently published a book on the *gusanos* called Los Sobrinos Del Tio Sam or The Nephews of Uncle Sam.



to Rivero, he met with RAMIRO DE LA FE, a leader of a group called Young Cuba. Young Cuba took credit for attacks on the Cuba Mission in Ottawa in 1966 and 1967 and in 1972 blew up the Cuban trade mission in Montreal with assistance from members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. De la Fe had been sentenced in the US to three and a half years for illegal activity. Young Cuba, like CORU and the National Liberation Front of Cuba (FNLC) are believed to receive additional financial backing from the Little Havana godfather, CARLOS PRIO SOCARRAS, the president of Cuba before Battista. A splinter group of Young Cuba, the Cuban Neorevolutionary Action Group took credit for the 1973 attack on the Cuban ambassador in Mexico which CORU would later attempt to avenge in the Guatemala City bombing.

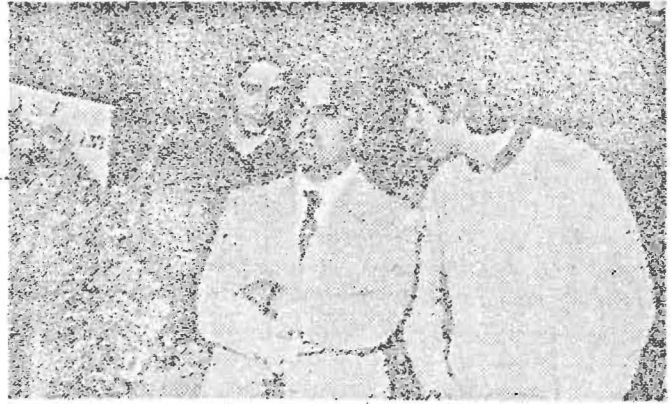
Sepulveda encouraged the *gusanos* to carry out a publicity campaign in Miami and New York City in return for munitions and funds. DINA assigned a newsman, PEDRO ERNESTO DIAZ of the fascist *Patria y Libertad* party to control Young Cuba. The information which was stolen from the Chilean Embassy in Washington before the coup by the same *gusanos* involved in the Watergate affair, ended up in the hands of this Chilean fascist party. Sepulveda attended a September meeting of *gusanos* in Miami Beach; others in attendance were JULIO DURAN, the Junta's representative at the U.N., Memphis mayor MARICE FERRAR, and the US Representative TOM E. GALLAGER.

By July 1975 Bosch began his reign of terror in Little Havana and the Caribbean to gain control of all the *gusanos* and to raise his CORU army. One of his principal deputies became HUMBERTO LOPEZ of FNLC who was a former announcer for the Voice of America and who had been trained in demolitions by the US Army and the CIA.

Some of Bosch's first actions after his release from prison were in Costa Rica. While Bosch was behind bars,

BENJAMIN MATTE, a member of *Patria y Libertad* had set up DINA's Costa Rican operations to counteract the work of anti-Junta groups according to the Costa Rican weekly *Pueblo* on November 2, 1974. Its July 6 issue stated that Chileans were working with various right-wing groups with their nexus in Guatemala, where the CIA organized a coup d'etat in 1954 and has influenced the government

City on charges of massive gunsmuggling from the US to Central America), Guatemala, Israel and the United States. That same year a Costa Rican radio station reported that Guatemala, El Salvador and Chile were facilitating a coup. Even the conservative opposition Costa Rican daily *La Nacion* on October 23, 1975 carried reports of the Guatemalan government financing MCRL.\*\*



*Left: A Rev Moon Unification Church spy (left) and DINA agent photograph Chile Solidarity rally one year after the coup, September 11, 1974, in front of the White House. Middle: At a large reception for Hortensia Allende November 13, 1974, sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies at the DuPont Plaza Hotel. Left to right; an unidentified man, a DINA informant who is a student at Montgomery Junior College and a former Santiago Military Academy student; DINA agent with mustache, and his superior. Right: As guests enter reception hall, DINA informer and DINA agent whisper names to superior.*

In 1975, DINA sent Bosch to Costa Rica with a Chilean diplomatic passport to make contact with the MCRL and to assassinate MIR leader ANDRES PASCAL ALLENDE, nephew of the murdered President of Chile. But Bosch was detained after Mexico's President Echeverria called Costa Rican President Oduber to warn him. Kissinger was coming to Costa Rica at the same time. The April 29, 1975 issue of *Pueblo* revealed that from there Bosch was reported in several Latin American and Caribbean countries especially the Dominican Republic and Venezuela, where the *gusano* groups are active in the police and intelligence agencies services. The *Pueblo* office was blown up on August 2, 1976 by *gusanos* connected to Bosch and DINA. The Costa Rican secret police, *Oficina de Seguridad Nacional* (OSN), directed by Gen. FERNANDO FIGUEROA also employs *gusanos* and continues to allow MCRL to operate in Costa Rica and to publish a column in *El Nacional*.

ever since. On October 29, 1974 the newspaper *La Hora* published photostats of intercepted correspondence dated September 12, 1974 between Chilean Embassy officials and their superiors in Santiago, in which the Embassy requested more funds to finance the activities of *Movimiento Costa Rica Libre* (MCRL). The MCRL was asking for more funds. The documents stated that "the contributions which we have given them have been small but they are asking for more aid." The letter mentioned activities "following our instructions from Santiago" to buy arms (presumably for MCRL) and to pay for propaganda work by *gusano* teams. The Junta's purpose was to strengthen MCRL at the time because it was, in their opinion, the only way to prevent communism in Costa Rica. Santiago (and presumably the US) believed the Oduber government was "weak, indecisive, and corrupt."

#### Gusanos Admit Guilt

One day after the Cubana plane blew up, Trinidad authorities arrested HERNANDO RICARDO LUSANO, aka JOSE VELASQUEZ, aka JOSE GARCIA of the Caracas

*That month, the government began a formal investigation of MCRL sparked by rumors that the group, along with gusanos were planning to assassinate foreign minister GONZALO FACIO who was active in the campaign to lift sanctions against Cuba. The Miami Herald on September 20, 1974 reported that Facio received phone threats when he was in the U.S. for U.N. and OAS meetings. At the same time, a former gusano surfaced in Havana revealing that the gusano terrorists were planning attacks against Facio, Kissinger, and other U.S. diplomats. Facio, like Kissinger and other officials were hardly soft on communism; they were seeking a pragmatic policy towards Cuba at the time because of skyrocketing sugar prices. Facio professes close ties with Nelson Rockefeller and is a corporate lawyer in Costa Rica for United Brands, Allied Chemical, U.S. Steel, and ALCOA and has been a legal counsel to Robert Vesco.*

The *La Hora* photostats specifically implicate the Guatemalan military attache in Costa Rica and state that MCRL has "minimal aid" from the embassies of El Salvador (whose Chief of Staff was recently arrested in New York

newspaper *El Mundo*, which carried a column by CIA agent LLANO MONTES on October 12 about the bombing. Also arrested was FREDDY LUGO.

At this writing the Venezuelan judge has indicted four *gusanos*; Bosch, Lusano, Lugo and LUIS POSADA CARRILES, a Cuban-Venezuelan who was formerly chief of operations of the Venezuelan secret police called DISIP (Directorate of Intelligence and Prevention Services), from 1971 to 1973.

Ricardo and Lugo, who have now admitted planting the bomb, have implicated Bosch in the incident. They were arrested in Trinidad on October 7, 1976 after the crash when a taxi driver, taking them to their hotel, overheard them discussing and laughing about the incident. Trinidad police have proof that Ricardo contacted his boss Posada from the hotel, and Ricardo's girlfriend and his secretary both confirmed they had passed on a message for Posada: "The truck has left with a full load."

Ricardo was trained by the CIA in demolitions and formerly worked for Cuba's old dictator Battista in his secret police. A few days before the bombing, he was seen in Caracas in the company of CIA agent FELIX MARTINEZ SUAREZ. Ricardo and Lugo also worked for a private detective agency in Caracas called Commercial Industrial Investigations (ICICA), which uses equipment that's more sophisticated than any used by government agencies in Venezuela.

On October 15, Venezuelan authorities arrested other members of the private eye firm including Posada. The CIA also trained Posada, who is believed to be among those who intervened for Bosch's release in 1974.

The daily *Punto* announced that CORU members OLEG GUETON RODRIGUEZ, CELSA TOLEDO, FRANCISCO NENEZ and Bosch had all been arrested in Caracas as well; they are also connected to the mysterious private eye firm.

The governments of Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela, Guyana, Barbados and Cuba have formed a united effort to investigate these actions and more information will no doubt be available in the next few months.

Now that Bosch has some protection in Venezuela, he denies he accused the Novo brothers of the Letelier/Moffitt assassination. Cuba's Foreign Minister declared recently that the US is attempting to block the trial of the *gusanos* in Venezuela and has recently divided the Caribbean meetings on the airplanes sabotage. In those meetings, Fred Wills, Foreign Minister of Guyana, mentioned that Trinidad and Tobago officials had diaries of the arrested *gusanos* which implicate the CIA. He also mentioned that he had concrete proof the US was attempting to destabilize Guyana and Jamaica; it is part of an overall US strategy to divide the other nations of the Caribbean from Cuba. During negotiations on the fate of the arrested *gusanos*, Trinidad and Tobago officials refused to release evidence to the other nations including Venezuela.

Perez hired *gusanos* to fight Cuban influence in the past, as many Latin American chiefs of state have done. But in recent years, Perez has opened up to the possibility of better relations between Cuba and Venezuela. The Caracas trial for the terrorist saboteurs puts pressure on Perez. They will be tried in a military court, because officials thought it would facilitate a fair trial for the *gusanos*. But the Vene-

zuelan government has had intimate ties to those involved and has allowed DINA and the *gusanos* to operate in Venezuela; to prosecute those who have served the government will be difficult.

The problem for Perez is further complicated because *gusanos* hold important positions in the Venezuelan secret police, DISIP. RICARDO MORALES NAVARRETE, high ranking *gusano* in DISIP, worked for the CIA after the Bay of Pigs. He was a member of Rick Roberts' team in the Congo (Zaire) in the mid-sixties. He became outraged there at the degenerating operation. According to a reliable source in the CIA, the *gusanos* had nothing to do in the Congo and spent most of their time getting drunk, firing shots at the U.S. consulate for fun, and general terrorizing the consul's wife. Morales later returned to the U.S. and became an informer for the Bosch trial, an act against which Bosch retaliated by trying to kill Mora-

### DINA Foreign Operations

The murder of Letelier follows a pattern of Junta tactics to remind Chilean exiles of the blood that was let on the day of the coup. For the past three years prominent Chilean exiles have been attacked. In 1974 CARLOS FRATELLO, former Chief of Staff of the Armed forces under Allende was killed in Argentina, at DINA's request. Then, in 1975, *gusanos*, or Italian fascists, fired shots at BERNARDO LEIGHTON, vice-president of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party.

Prats, Chief of Staff until his resignation during the Allende regime, was replaced by Pinochet. He was living in Buenos Aires, working on a book about the coup. Pinochet, whom he had actually recommended as his replacement, a judgment he had come to regret and wish to expose. On September 30, 1974, just a year after the coup, he and his wife were blown up in a car; shortly thereafter, the manuscript was stolen from his home.

Colonel PEDRO EWING, director of DINA's foreign operations, established DINA relations with Argentine Ewing and his assistant, JUAN LUIS BULNES CERI who was former head of the youth group of the fascist National Party, ordered the Prats assassination. Bulnes was one of many Chilean Military Intelligence Service (SIM) agents who were responsible for the killing of Prats' predecessor, General Rene Schneider. Sources allege that members of the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) killed Prats. The AAA is composed of Argentine soldiers and was formed by LOPEZ REGA, the power behind the Peron government at the time. After the coup against the corrupt and failing Peron administration, General JORGE VIDELA reincorporated the AAA back into the army. Then he could declare that he "eliminated" the right-wing terrorists, in order to target the left. DINA agents Ewing, Bulnes, and a man named EDMUNDO JACKSON, a murderer who directed the AAA attack on Prats, began working in Argentina only a month before Prats was murdered.

A year later, the trio made contact with the Italian neo-fascist party, MSI, whose leaders have been connected to the Italian secret service, SID. On October 6, 1975,



attempt was made to kill Leighton, vice-president of the conservative CDP. Italian Communist newspapers accused MSI of machine-gunning Leighton and his wife in a street in Rome. Though both survived, Ana Leighton was paralyzed. Oddly, though significantly, CORU sent a communique taking credit for the attack in Italy, pointing the finger again at DINA and the *gusanos*.

Ewing institutionalized DINA's tactic of cooperating with local terror squads after DINA practiced it with the CIA's terror squad, *Patria y Libertad*, in Chile. DINA maneuvers with the *gusanos*' CORU, the Italian MSI, the Costa Rican MRCL, the Argentine AAA, and others, were organized from DINA headquarters, which Ewing established in fascist Madrid in early 1974.

*CounterSpy* has also learned that DINA is active not only in Spain, but in England, Paris, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland. A report from the London-based news service, *InterPress*, on May 16, 1976, reveals that Ewing may have repeated his operations in London. The former Chilean Embassy press attache and DINA informant, JORGE NAVARRETE, contacted a man known only as "John Cooper," but whose real name, according to *InterPress*, was Leslie Wooler. Wooler, a former corporal in the British Royal Air Force, infiltrated pro-Palestinian organizations in the sixties. Three years earlier, he had been active in a plot by the British neo-fascist, anti-semitic National Front to take over the Conservative Party's Monday Club.

Navarrete recruited "Cooper" at the *Monday Club* and asked him to photograph people entering the Chile Solidarity offices. After a few contacts, he asked Wooler to remove documents, including finance and address lists, and to gather information on the private lives of the supporters. In particular, Wooler was asked to gather information on Judith Hart, the former Minister of Overseas Development, and her son Stephen, secretary of the British Chile Solidarity Campaign. Then Navarrete encouraged Wooler to make harassing late-night phone calls to the Harts.

Wooler was motivated by his anti-communism and by the lucrative paychecks (several hundred pounds) signed by the Chilean Ambassador to England, KAARA OLSEN. But he soon realized that he was associating with people who were capable of killing his allies, the Christian Democrats. Navarrete took Wooler to a meeting with a DINA agent, presumed to be Ewing, who told him they were



Ewing was the secretary of the Junta immediately after the coup and it was he who presented the notorious "White Book," written by the CIA, in which the Junta repeated the propaganda lines against Allende to justify the coup. At that time, Ewing controlled many resources of the Chilean intelligence network.

This policy is continuing. In July, ANDRES PASCAL ALLENDE, who Bosch planned to kill in Costa Rica but never attempted, announced from Havana that EDGARDO ENRIQUEZ, a leader of the MIR, had been captured by Argentine authorities and turned over to DINA last April.

Schneider opposed a plan for a coup before the elections. The Church Committee report on Covert Actions in Chile reports that the CIA gave machine guns to a group of military conspirators on the day of Schneider's death. This was part of Kissinger and the 40 Committee's Track II plan to prevent Allende's election. But according to CIA records, the guns were given to a different group, not the one headed by Bulnes. Despite this plan or that of various conspirators in Santiago, Allende was elected.

\*In June of this year, at least 27 Chilean refugees disappeared in Argentina and there are reports that some 15,000 refugees there are terrorized by the DINA with assistance from the Argentine SIDE. There are more reports that IBM installed a sophisticated computer system in Santiago for DINA; it contains an index of these 15,000 Chileans and others from Latin American countries. Shortly before the coup, 12 members of *Patria y Libertad* were trained by International Cash Register in computer operations in Ohio. *TIME* magazine revealed in September, 1974, that the U.S. Embassy added 12 code clerks to the staff in Santiago shortly before the coup. Reliable sources at the State Department have indicated to *CounterSpy* that the clerks helped computerize names of Latin American leftists in Chile at the time for arrest during and after the coup. Thousands of Bolivians, Argentines, Brazilians and at least two Americans were arrested by the Junta forces. Many died, including the two Americans, and the others were turned over to their own countries' secret police.

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Juan Luis Bulnes Cerda

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responsible for the attack on Leighton in Rome. After DINA asked him to harass British trade union members who refused to work on frigates being built for the Chilean Navy, Wooler spilled his story on British national television.

Ewing then switched DINA headquarters to Geneva and assigned agents GONZALES HERRERA and PAZ SUBERCASEAUX to Berne, Switzerland. According to a dossier compiled by the Paris daily, *Liberation*, Subercaseaux was a cultural attache who spied on refugees. She was also a member of *Patria y Libertad*. In February 1976, ANDRES and PATRICIO MELGOZA arrived in Geneva. Swiss police watched them and grew concerned that they were there to kill RADOMIRO TOMIC, 1970 presidential candidate of the Christian Democrats. Swiss government officials warned the Chilean representative to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, SERGIO DIEZ, that he would be held responsible for any actions against Tomic.

The Melgoza brothers left Switzerland.

#### Brussels

Recently in Brussels, several Chilean refugees were suddenly confronted, face-to-face, with their former torturers—once at a political rally and on another occasion

while waiting for a bus. *Agence France Press* reported on October 22 that DINA had just moved its headquarters to Brussels. MARIO JUAN BARRERA, a member of SIM since 1968, was sent to direct operations there. Brussels was chosen, according to the Rotterdam socialist paper *Het Vrije Volk*, because of the large number of Chilean military refugees who have settled in Holland and Belgium.

DINA Director MANUEL CONTRERAS and an assistant, PROVOST, were recently seen in Brussels. Former Chilean Air Force General SERGION POBLETE, exiled by Pinochet, also confirmed for the *Belga* news agency that DINA agents in Brussels, travelling under false identification, are boldly confronting Chileans they have tortured.

#### Other American Visits From DINA

The Letelier murder was not the first attempt by DINA to kill someone in the United States. Ewing's agents, Andres and Patricio Melgoza, who, with another brother Jorge, were involved in the Schneider assassination, arrived in New York City from Madrid in the summer of 1975. From sources at the U.N., *CounterSpy* has learned that FBI officials believed they were there to kill GABRIEL VALDES, the Chilean Undersecretary General of the U.N., who also resisted the Junta. The FBI alerted Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, who, in turn, summoned the Junta's ambassador to the U.N., Admiral ISMAEL HUERTA, and warned him against any actions threatening Valdes. The Melgoza brothers left New York.

In August 1975, according to Jack Anderson, Contreras travelled to New York for a meeting with his agents at the U.N. and to inspect DINA's operations in the U.S. with students and with corporations doing business in Chile. He also was there to give directions for DINA work against a proposed U.N. Resolution condemning torture and violations of human rights in Chile. As Contreras often inspects Ewing's overseas operations, according to Anderson, he visited Washington to meet with Lt. Gen. VERNAN WALTERS, Deputy Director of the CIA, and several other key individuals.

On the same trip, Contreras wandered into the offices of Senator Frank Church, of the Senate committee investigating the CIA, but could find no one to talk with. He then visited the House International Organizations Subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Donald Fraser, who has been critical of DINA, and was sharply interrogated by a staff member about human rights violations in Chile. Contreras responded with the standard Junta line that such charges were Marxist propaganda.

Shortly before the Contreras visit, another DINA executive was in Washington. The Junta's press officer, FREDERICO WILLOUGHBY (also a known CIA agent), came to the United States primarily for medical tests at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. During his ten-day stay, he also visited the CIA, the State Department, and several members of Congress. Curiously enough, GIORGIO ALMIRANTE, a leader of the Italian MSI was in Washington at the same time, visiting Walters and another member of the National Security Council.

Other DINA agents have recently traveled to the U.S. Rep. Fraser recently charged that four DINA agents were seen by a member of the National Council of Churches disembarking from a plane in New York City shortly before the Letelier killing. He had no names. Who were they? The Melgoza brothers? Jackson? Bulnes? Ewing?

## PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE OPERATIONS

Incorporated in the cover-up and the CIA's efforts for a "narrow investigation" is the large network of CIA-controlled media that provides much of the disinformation to American journalists, who faithfully print it. The CIA's history with news agencies, newspapers, magazines and journalists in South America, Latin America, and the United States is long and tedious. The network went into full gear after the Letelier assassination to confuse and divert analysts and reporters.

In a speech delivered to a memorial rally in Georgetown, Guyana, in memory of the eleven Guyanans among the 73 persons killed aboard the *Cubana Airlines* plane, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham said that the U.S. was ultimately responsible for the crash. He revealed that JOSEPH LEO, an FBI agent who is the legal attache in the United States Embassy in Caracas, was involved with the plane bombing. Leo is also an official of the international police communications network, INTERPOL, which the September 1, 1975, issue of *World Jewry* accused of harboring Nazi war criminals in the past. The State Department admitted that Leo had helped FREDDY LUGO, one of the *gusanos* indicted in Venezuela, obtain a visa, to enter Puerto Rico in 1973, to cover a news event for *Vision* magazine.

*Vision* was published in Mexico until 1974, supposedly with CIA funding. After it was exposed, a *gusano* named GARCIA NAVARO purchased it and moved the operation to London. Navaro died last July of unknown causes. He had quite a criminal background, including a conviction for smuggling machine-guns into Morocco. *Vision* then sold most of its stock to Ultramar corporation, a front for the financial interests of Nicaraguan strongman General ANASTASIO SOMOZA DEBAYLE. Ultramar is involved primarily in shrimp fishing and boat building; like most of Somoza's financial interests, it is run by RODRIGUEZ FELICE. Felice, a *gusano*, was at a large rally of Cuban exiles in Miami in September 1976, shortly before the Letelier murder, where he demanded an invasion of Cuba. General SAMUEL GENIE, a confirmed fascist and director of Somoza's secret police, the *Oficina Nacional de Seguridad* (ONS), is a close friend of the Junta's General LEIGH. They trained together in Panama, at the U.S. Army School for the Americas. Ultramar also has large land holdings in Costa Rica, a center of DINA operations, where Somoza has joint ventures with Robert Vesco. The *Vision* stock sale was arranged by the current U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua, JAMES THEBERGE.\*\*\*

Theberge has written many articles for the CIA and contributed fabrications to the CIA's White Book, the major post-coup propaganda tool attacking Allende. Theberge works closely with another CIA agent-journalist named EUDOCIO RAVINES, who in turn worked closely with E. HOWARD HUNT, while he was Station Chief in Mexico City in 1952. Ravines began writing a column for another Chilean magazine, *Servicias Periodisticos Asociados* (SEPA), which was the CIA's psychological warfare organ, carrying coded messages to rightist groups like *Patria y Libertad*. A man named RAPHAEL OTERO ECHEVERRIA edited it

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Before the coup in Santiago, Theberge worked for the Center for International and Strategic Studies at Georgetown University, directed by former CIA executive RAY CLINE. While there, he invented many of the recurring themes of propaganda used by the international right wing against the Popular Unity government of Allende, including the false stories of a 14,000-man army of Latin American revolutionaries being trained in Chile. Many of his fabrications were reprinted in the CIA's White Book and also were reprinted verbatim in Chilean and Argentine military journals.

In several of Theberge's articles he quotes as a source, "the brilliant Marxist EUDOCIO RAVINES." In fact, Ravines is a CIA agent. E. Howard Hunt, in his book *Undercover Memoirs* of an American Secret Agent, reports that Ravines, living under an alias in Mexico City where Hunt was Station Chief in 1952, worked with him and his friend WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, editor of *National Review*, and then with the CIA. Ravines and Buckley wrote *The Yenan Way* for Scribner's publishing house.

Shortly after Allende was elected in 1970, Ravines began writing for SEPA, the CIA magazine edited by DINA agent Otero. SEPA was devoted to cartoons denigrating Allende government officials. It also carried propaganda oriented towards military officers and Catholic women, the two primary psychological warfare targets of the CIA. SEPA also carried articles by other CIA propagandists involved in the anti-Allende campaign such as ROBERT MOSS, who also edited *Vision* while it was in London. (Moss is currently writing for the Institute for the Study of Conflict, a CIA-funded think-tank in London. In a new book, Philip Agee will publish an entire chapter devoted to the CIA's master propagandist, Robert Moss.)

SEPA devoted at least two pages of each issue to CIA propaganda placed in such newspapers as *El Mercurio* and *La Segunda* owned by AUGUSTIN EDWARDS, one of the richest men in Chile. He is involved in the Junta government and is a vice president of PEPSICO, living in Miami. He met with Nixon and Helms on the morning of the 40 Committee's meeting to discuss CIA actions against Allende in the 1970 elections. Helms left the 40 Committee meeting that afternoon with orders including "make the economy scream."

Both the Church Committee report, *Covert Action in Chile* and Robert Moss's *The Collapse of Democracy* identify these newspapers as the principal recipients of CIA funds prior to Allende's murder.

Psychological Warfare and Media Operations in Chile: 1970-1973, a Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Illinois, by Fred Landis, a definitive study of the subject, reveals in enormous detail that the CIA hinged its operations against Allende on media operations.

In his book, Robert Moss states that he and other journalists "were the nerve center of opposition to Allende." In another book by Ravines, *The Rescue of Chile*, a whole chapter is devoted to "The Vanguard of the Opposition" as he terms such media operations.

*El Mercurio*, a Santiago newspaper which received CIA funds before the coup, was completely reorganized in 1970 by JAMES COPLEY, of the COPLEY NEWS SERVICE, who described this in his book *With a Mission to Chile*. Copley produced the world's first fully automated newspaper to suit the CIA's propaganda needs. His news service has many connections to the CIA, not the least of which is its chief news executive, "BRUTE" KRULAK, who directed the CIA's coordination of the Green Berets before joining Copley.

GREGORY, son of James, recently wrote that "high Soviet sources" revealed to him that the KGB killed Letelier. This is similar to the theme of the American Chilean Counsel newsletter and an article in the Rev. Moon's *Rising Tide* by conservative Sen. JESSE HELMS, that the left killed Letelier. Copley currently edits *Foreign and International Affairs Newsletter*, a privately circulated paper often quoted in *El Mercurio*. The recent disinformation article on the Letelier assassination also appeared in other right-wing and fascist newspapers including the *Italiano*, *il Borghese*, organ of the extreme fascist wing of the Italian MSI.

## THE FASCIST CANCER IN CHILE

The Junta faces problems today which torture and death by DINA cannot solve. Hunger stalks Chile. The average family in Chile buys less than half of the food needed to satisfy minimum food requirements. The inflation rate, according to the Junta is 400 percent, while World Bank figures put it at 600 percent. Sixty percent of Chilean households are in extreme poverty and suffering from severe malnutrition. Most objective economists place the unemployment figure between 20 to 25 percent—over 600,000 people—more than eight times the rate under Allende.

The deterioration of the Chilean economy is caused by concentration of economic power in the corporate sector, while the state concentrates on repression. The Junta maintains the so-called free market economy promoted by recent Nobel Prize winner Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago. This system encourages private investment, protects private property, encourages competition while weakening all but the most monopolized sectors. The Junta encourages foreign capital; seeks foreign markets; lowers tariff barriers; reduces the cost of labor; and frequently devalues its currency.

The system is clearly failing. The fascists, organizing among the middle classes, are criticizing the Junta center for allowing the corporations and particularly American corporations to freely invest and export capital, thus preventing the middle class entrepreneurs from surviving. PABLO RODRIGUEZ of the indigenous Nazi party *Patria Libertad*, which has become a CIA paramilitary group and now a "recessed" political party, is arguing for "national

rectification." He stresses that the state should emphasize programs to solve hunger, unemployment and social disintegration even if these policies increase inflation reducing the profits of the interests backing the Junta. Rodriguez proposes a pure fascist political economy promoting a right-wing Chilean nationalism less dependent on the domination of the U.S. He wants the Chilean state to dominate the economy and not just the repressive apparatus, and at the core of the state will be his fascist party.

The Junta and the fascists to their right are equally concerned about the anti-Junta trend in the U.S. since Congress cut off military aid in June 1976. The Junta recently declared they no longer want U.S. assistance; but behind the scenes the Junta has arranged for certain U.S. companies to buy record amounts of copper for strategic stockpiling in the U.S. The amount is expected to more than compensate for the loss of U.S. tax dollars if aid was cut off.

But even this measure may not satisfy those to the right of the military dictatorship. With dissent rising among the small businessmen, the fascists are also organizing among the middle level officer corps, which commands troops, in the military. It is possible that some of these officers could break with Pinochet and move to placate the growing public clamor against recent cutbacks and lay-offs of public employees. The possibility of a coup occurring to replace the military dictatorship model with a pure fascist political economy is very real. The Letelier assassination may be one of several acts by Latin American fascism to break with American capital.

during the years between Allende's election and the coup.

### Otero, Embassy Propaganda Man

To Chilean refugees, Otero is widely known as an agent of DINA. He is currently the public affairs counsel at the Chilean Embassy in Washington. Within a few hours of the Letelier assassination, Otero instigated false rumors and leads on the bombing. He invented the story that Letelier and Moffitt died from a bomb of their own making. His rumors came so fast and so heavy that it is likely he knew of the assassination before it happened. Although he denies he is a CIA agent, he is widely known to be one of the Agency's chief contacts from Chile. The FBI has already questioned him.

In a similar circumstance, on the day that General Schneider was killed, Otero was the person spreading the story that the *Revolutionary Movement of the Left* (MIR) had killed Schneider. Later, when Jorge Melgoza was on trial for the killing, a synchronized media campaign blaming a non-existent left group called BOC was engineered by CIA agent MARIO CORNEYRO, editor of *La Segunda*, another newspaper that received CIA funding before the coup. Besides *La Segunda*, most of the publicity given to the

phantom BOC came from Otero over *Radio Balmaceda*.

When the Chilean Congress appointed a commission to investigate the CIA's \$425,000 "campaign of Terror" plot to prevent Allende's election, its final report devoted an entire section to Otero. In the early sixties he was Santiago editor of Cuba's *Prensa Latina*, but ended up stealing all its equipment and records, for which he spent some time in jail. Shortly after his exposure in the Congressional report, the Chilean Journalism Association expelled Otero for spreading false information.

In early 1973, MICHAEL TOWNLEY, a CIA advisor to *Patria y Libertad*, and five members of a terror squad, attacked the Electrical Service Center in Concepcion, killing one guard. In the next issue of *SEPA*, Otero blamed the attack on "Marxist groups."

Two days after the March 1 Congressional elections, Otero declared in a nationwide radio broadcast that voting the left out of office was an illusion; then he publicly urged a bloody massacre. Otero's radio address of March 2 is reprinted in the # 112 *SEPA* titled, "In the face of Communist destructions, the example of Indonesia." He wrote, "The Indonesians freed themselves violently from communism. We will do the same as the Indonesians did, beginning with Jakarta." Operation Jakarta was the Junta's bloody operation against the left, executed by *Patria y*

## THE CHILEAN LOBBY

*Libertad* after the coup.

On July 26, 1973, Allende's friend, bodyguard, and Naval attache, Commander ARAYA, was assassinated. The civil police arrested and obtained confessions from eight members of *Patria y Libertad*. Otero blamed the assassination on Allende and *MIR*.

The last two issues of *SEPA* before the September 11, 1973 coup are illuminating. Issue # 133 refers to Plan Alba, which was revealed a year later by Gen. Pinochet in an interview with *Ercilla* magazine as the actual plans for the coup. The September 10, 1973, and last, issue of *SEPA* carries the story that the CIA thanked the director of *SEPA* for his cooperation over the past three years, and for having faithfully spread all the CIA's rumors. It promised to pay for these services in dollars or Chilean currency.

Otero was arrested approximately 138 times for various crimes in Chile, and to gain immunity from prosecution, he ran for office. He was elected after a campaign featuring posters with one graphic—an armored fist and the slogan, "Vote Otero."

The Church Committee report, called *Cover Action in Chile*, deleted, at the CIA's request, the names of the CIA's operatives in Chile, but a reliable source close to the Committee has identified Otero as a principal recipient of CIA money between 1970 and 1973, including a large portion of the \$425,000 spent in the attempt to block Allende's election.

Otero's mistress is LUCIA PIEDRABUENO, who, under the pseudonym PAZ ALLEGRIA produced most of the anti-Letelier propaganda over the past few years. She was Washington correspondent for *SEPA*.

On June 26, 1973, military intelligence in Santiago reported to General Prats, then Chief of Staff, that *Patria y Libertad* was instigating a rebellion at the 2nd Tank Regiment. Parts of the plan required a tank assault on the Presidential Palace. On the 27th, arrests were made and confessions obtained from military officers and civilians in *Patria y Libertad*. CIA media outlets, including *SEPA*, immediately launched a campaign to ridicule General Prats and the allegation of a planned coup. The next morning, the 2nd Tank Regiment launched the assault, killing 22 people. The July 4, 1973 issue of *SEPA* claimed that the tank assault was a "grotesque show" arranged by Allende to gain public sympathy.

From Washington, Paz Allegria wrote, "but what has most enraged the Chilean colony in Washington was *Orlando Letelier!* Making stupid declarations that make us look like a country of Nazis." After that report, Allegria began focusing her attacks on Letelier. She currently works for *La Segunda*, and also writes for the conservative magazine *National Review*. She was the first wife of the current Chilean Ambassador, MANUEL TRUCCO GAETE. Trucco once became a security risk when he lost a lot of money to a Soviet consul in Washington, and Allegria left him because of this vice.

Paz Allegria sits at the crossroads of two other propaganda communities active with DINA support for the Junta—the American Chilean Council and the private lobbying effort of the Embassy.

The American Chilean Council newsletter blamed "ultra-leftists" for Letelier's death. The ACC was organized in March, 1975, in cooperation with its Chilean counterpart, the *Consijo Chileno Norteamericano* (CCNA). The CCNA is headed by NENA OSSA, another writer for *National Review*, who has also concentrated over the years on articles against Orlando Letelier. The founding members include many from the families of the Junta government ministers.

The ACC is headed by SPRUILLE BRADEN and MARVIN LIEBMAN. Braden has large financial interests in Latin America going back before World War II. He received awards over the years from Latin American governments and right-wing associations including the *Order of Lafayette* and the *Gold Medal of the Cubans in Exile*. He is a member of Gen. Somaza's country club in Nicaragua, and is the author of *Diplomats and Demagogues: The Momoires of Spruille Braden*. In 1971, he negotiated the peace treaty settling the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Marvin Liebman does most of the work at ACC. He has promoted right-wing causes for years; he once placed an ad in the *Washington Star* urging President Johnson to attack North Vietnam. Liebman is associated with the *Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations*; the *American Committee to Aid Katanga Freedom Fighters*; *Young Americans for Freedom*; *American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, Inc.*; *American Jewish League Against Communism Inc.*; *Emergency Committee for Chinese Refugees*; *Committee for the Monroe Doctrine*; *Christian Anti-Communism Crusade*; *National Committee of Correspondence of the Council Against Communist Agression*; the *Alex de Tocqueville Society*; and others. For years, Liebman has been associated with William F. Buckley's *National Review*, which published Paz Allegria and Nena Ossa.

He was a member of the U.S. Communist Party from 1938 to 1945. Then in 1951, he went to work for the *International Rescue Committee*, which has had CIA connections, and soon his extremist support of right-wing and fascist causes began.

The founding members of the ACC are prominent right-wing journalists, authors, intellectuals and educators, including Prof. James D. Atkinson, Mr. Murray Baron, Prof. A.T. Bouscaren, Rev. Raymond J. deJaegher, Ralph de Toledano, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Ronald F. Docksai, Amb. Everett F. Drumright, Prof. Joseph Dunbar, Walter H. Judd, David A. Keene, Dr. Anthony Kubeck, Eugene Lyons, Myron Mintz, Norbert Muhlen, Stefan T. Possony, William F. Rickenbacker, Prof. David N. Rowe, Seymour Siegel, and others. Between them they have connections to practically every international rightist organization or government: In May 1976, they launched a lobbying effort on Capitol Hill against the Kennedy and Fraser amendments to cut off all military and economic aid to the Junta. Among the lobbyists chosen were MANUEL SANTANA, foreign affairs secretary of the Cuban exile youth movement ABDALA, and another *gusano*, Dr. Nchemi Labrada and members of the *Freedom Leadership Foundation*. ABDALA has received money from DINA; members of the

# The Organization of Torture and Murder

Police quickly herded the blindfolded prisoners out of the refrigerated trucks and into the garage at 42 Londres Street. The trucks had been used to transport fish, but the prisoners did not seem to mind the smell. Another scent overwhelmed all others; this was the odor of fear and death.

Most prisoners would stay only a few days in this house before officials would transfer them to another detention center, but a few days would seem an eternity and, for some prisoners, it would indeed be a lifetime. The Santiago center has different names. Some call it the "Laughing Palace" in morbid irony. To most Chileans it carried its name from the evening cries, which can be heard from the third floor—the House of Terror.

After searching the prisoners, authorities tie them to their chairs, and in the long hours that follow, deny them food and only occasionally allow them fluids. Periodically they are carried to the third floor, where obviously disturbed and uneducated men question them. The interrogators are aggressive, especially against intellectuals or people who show they have an education. Their leader is a tall man, about 35 years old, who speaks with an Argentine accent. The other men call him "Che."

Most of the prisoners are beaten; a few are stripped naked and doused with water. "Che" asks whether the wet prisoners are cold. Just recovering from electric shock applied to their genitals, some of them nod "yes." "Che" grinds his burning cigarette out on their arms.

The house at 42 Londres Street belongs to DINA, the Chilean gestapo. This house is only one of many torture centers maintained by the Chilean Junta.

Chilean police and intelligence services existed before the coup, but the Junta has since built up the overall structure to better serve its particular interests. Six agencies work for the Junta today: National Intelligence Direction (DINA); Military Intelligence Service (SIM); Navy Intelligence Service (SIN); Air Force Intelligence Service (SIFA); Carabineros Intelligence Service (SICA); and finally the Bureau of Investigations, which is the Chilean FBI.

## DINA

On June 14, 1974, Pinochet created one of the most brutal secret police services in the world. Its influence and power would soon surpass the Chilean military and police units. It is the Direction de Inteligencia Nacional, the National Intelligence Direction or DINA.

Without DINA, there would be no Junta. It is the monster which represents the Chilean government around the world by brutally crushing the left in Chile and those who resist the Junta from afar; terrorizing Chilean refugees in Europe, Central American and North America. It supports the Junta in extreme right-wing circles throughout the world.

DINA was created by Decree No. 521, published on June 14, 1974. But DINA had actually been in existence since December, 1973, as a arm of Pinochet, to whom it

reports directly.

According to the decree, DINA has three functions: to coordinate Air Force Intelligence (SIFA); to carry out Pinochet's directions according to the State of Siege laws and to gather all information necessary for the security of the state. Another article in the decree states that DINA was created so that "the Supreme Government may have the immediate and permanent cooperation of a specialized organization which provides it, in a systematic way, with the properly processed information required to adequate its resolutions in the field of national security and development." Another article states that, "it may request reports or any information which it deems necessary, from enterprises and services, requests which will not be limited by norms establishing secrecy or discretion about certain matters."

Since DINA's formation, it has used several private houses such as 42 Londres Street, as communication and torture centers.

Although DINA is subordinate to the SENDET (*Secretaria Ejecutiva Nacional De Detenidos*) which is responsible for all detention centers, it maintains its own detention centers among the 60 to 100 torture chambers in Chile.

DINA is divided into three functional departments: information, intelligence and counterintelligence, and operations.

The Department of Information has trusted informants and information sources in almost all areas of civilian life including political, economic, social, legislative, and educational—and including universities, professions, and sciences.

The Department of Intelligence and Counterintelligence has the primary function of gathering and processing information on international espionage directed against the Junta; it also carries out the interrogation of prisoners from the leftist Popular Unity parties and MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

The Office of Operations is responsible for covert actions, interrogations, assassinations, espionage, etc.

DINA also employs at least three major statistical groups. They are connected to the Information Processing Center at 11 Belgrade Street. The Center is equipped with computer terminals and specialized personnel drawn from the *Empresa Nacional de Computation* (ECOM). Shortly after DINA was formed, a private phone system was established between DINA centers and the Diego Portales where the Junta is housed.

At DINA's top is the Chief Board, directed by Colonel MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA, formerly Commander of the Military Engineers Regiment at Tejas Verdas, and his deputy, Colonel GALLEGUILLOS. The Chief Board of DINA holds a position of high privilege in the decisions of the Junta. It is especially influential in the decision to continue the present economic policies; to expel the Catholic investigators from the country; to prevent the U.N. from investigating human rights in the country; to relieve important generals and colonels; and to give Chilean territory to Bolivia for a passage to the sea. But in at least one decision DINA was overridden. This was the decision to recess rather than outlaw the Christian Democratic Party. All parties of the left have been outlawed, while the parties

of the right including the Christian Democrats have just been recessed.

The operations department mounted autonomous brigades in almost all Santiago districts, which eventually led to territorial jealousy. To overcome this problem, DINA consolidated the brigades into the Interrogation and Arrests Brigade (BIA) directed by Colonel MARCELLO MOREN, known as "The Bear." Its operations center is the Villa Grimaldi, well-known as one of DINA's torture centers. It performs functions for DINA in Santiago and possibly other cities. The information obtained is first checked by the BIA and then processed by the Information Processing Center. The BIA deploys several teams specifically against each outlawed party in Santiago. The BIA also directs the activities of the *Carabineros* which are divided between those who guard and transport prisoners, and those who only guard the Villa. The teams are divided into several operation squads that work out of private homes, which were once the residences of prominent leftists who are now dead or in exile.

DINA mainly recruits soldiers and members of *Patria y Libertad*, the surviving fascist party now recessed. Its personnel, however, are mostly civilian. WALTER ROUCH, the ex-Nazi who invented the technique for the SS of killing prisoners with exhaust fumes pumped into the trucks which were taking them to be burned, is a top advisor to DINA.

Suspected CIA journalist, ROBERT MOSS, reported in *El Mercurio* the major Santiago newspaper that received CIA funding before the coup, that DINA has approximately 200,000 agents and paid informers. One out of every 500 Chileans is connected to DINA in some way. In the military, the proportion is reported to be one in 15. DINA informants infiltrate all official services, cinemas, taxis, collective transport vehicles, bars and hotels.

The Brazilian Department of Social and Public Order (DOPS) and Argentina's SIDE (Army Department of Internal Security) advise DINA. Both agencies are believed to have been active in the coup. After the coup, many foreign nationals in Chile were turned over to their respective country's secret police.

DINA agents travel in Chevrolet pick-ups, Mini-Austins, Fiat 125s, Peugeot sedans, MGs and other cars and trucks. They have every modern technological convenience, long distance microphones, micro-cameras, radio detectors, and other devices. Its agents' favorite weapons are Soviet-made AK-47s, Israeli UZI sub-machine guns, SIG rifles, Steyr and Colt pistols, (taken from guns sold from Americans to the *Carabineros*) and hand-grenades.

Since DINA began, it has engaged in five waves of arrests and assassinations; each wave was directed against a particular political group or groups, and resulted in the deaths or capture of its top leaders. The arrest waves rise abruptly in the first 60 days of each operation, culminating with the capture of the leaders. Activity drops off for several months before the next wave begins. The first wave struck the Communist Party and MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), the most organized post-coup resistance group. For five months DINA arrested over 2,000 persons accused of associating with MIR—at least 370 disappeared without a trace after interrogation and torture. This wave culminated

in October, 1974 with the shootout death of MIR leader Miguel Enrique.

The latest wave of arrests and assassinations, disappearances and torture began in April, 1976 and culminated in May, several days after the May 7 visit of Treasury Secretary William Simon. Forty-seven persons, out of the 130 arrested, disappeared. During this period the Junta tried to improve its image by releasing 305 prisoners in conjunction with the Simon visit and the June visit of Secretary of State Kissinger, but an equal number of people were arrested and exiled immediately after these visits. Some of those who were arrested later were among those released before the visit.

Recent DINA operations appear to be against left-leaning Catholic clergy, in operations similar to Plan Banzer in Ecuador. (See *Plan Mercurio* in this issue). In August, DINA organized a demonstration against three progressive Chilean bishops who had been expelled from a church meeting in Ecuador. But unfortunately for DINA the bishops recognized several DINA agents; they were excommunicated. The revelation led to public outrage and even the ultraconservative and CIA-linked *El Mercurio* had to request an investigation. The Catholic Church, through its Vicariate of Solidarity, recently protested the "public alarm" caused by the situation of missing persons. The protest took the form of a legal brief to the Chilean courts; the Supreme Court took no action and DINA picked up three lawyers who helped the group prepare the brief. One is still in jail. Two were expelled from Chile.

The only other time anyone inside Chile has denounced DINA was this year when Isolina Ramirez filed papers in the court of appeals, charging DINA with illegal arrest, torture, breaking and entering, causing serious injury and other crimes. This was after DINA arrested her husband Mario, everyone in their home at the time, everyone who appeared at the door, and the occupants of a relative's home. Even Enrique Alvear, auxiliary Bishop of Santiago was held for three hours when he took medicine to a prisoner. So far, the accusation has been ignored. But Isolina Ramirez's dignified resolve has made a stir in Pinochet's reign of terror.

## SIM

The Military Intelligence Service (SIM) which was the most developed agency before the coup, actively prepared plans for the Junta. SIM participated in the attempted coup of June 29, 1973. It is believed to have been aborted because of communication difficulties between the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency agents working out of the Embassy as defense attaches with the Chilean military intelligence, and the CIA who work with the fascist paramilitary *Patria y Libertad* party, which participated in the coup exercise.

In the days following the successful CIA assisted coup of September, 1973, SIM concentrated on arresting high government officials, left party members and supporters. In mid-1974, SIM switched its focus to work inside the Army to prevent internal protests. Because of the current economic situation which affects many junior officers, SIM is again playing an internal role. Early in the Junta's reign, SIM agents wore uniforms and drove military cars, but later