

5-12-80

~~SECRET~~  
**UNCLASSIFIED EXCISE**  
Case Number: S199900006

IB III

C-CIA

1WG  
-A

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 01      SANTIA 02975    01 OF 02    131336Z  
ACTION ARA-15

INFO    OCT-01    ADS-00    DCT-02    SY-05    PM-05    NSC-05    SP-02  
         SS-15    CIAE-00    INR-10    NSAE-00    DODE-00    HA-05    ACDA-12  
         /077 W

-----065518    131341Z /50

P R 122107Z MAY 80  
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7045  
INFO USINT HAVANA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY LIMA  
USCINCSO  
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

Chile Project (#S199900030)  
U.S. Department of State  
Release      Excise       Deny   
Declassify: In Part       In Full   
Exemption(s) B-1 B3 CCA

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2975  
E.O. 12065: 12065: XDS-2 5-12-10 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M

TAGS: PINS SHUM CI  
SUBJ: (U) THE MIR RESURFA ES, ALTHOUGH SOME STILL SKEPTICAL

1. (C) SUMMARY: IT SEEMS FAIRLY CERTAIN THE LEFT  
REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MIR) IS AGAIN ACTIVE IN CHILE.  
THE MIR IS PROBABLY RESPONSIBLE FOR A SERIES OF ROBBERIES  
AND ARMED PROPAGANDA INCIDENTS SINCE LAST NOVEMBER  
WHICH HAAVE COST THE LIVES OF TWO CARABINEROS. IT HOPES  
TO REVITALIZE OPPOSITION TO THE PINOCHET REGIME AND, BY  
PROVOLING RENEWED HARSH REPRESSION, TO FURTHR DAMAGE  
CHILE'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE AND CONTRIBUTE TO POLARI-  
ZATION OF CHILEAN SOCIETY. HOWEVER, SOME ELEMENTS OF  
THE OPPOSITION REMAIN SKEPTICAL, PREFERRING TO ASCRIBE  
TERRORIST INCIDENTS TO AN ULTRA-RIGHT GROUP OR EVEN AN  
ORGAN OF THE GOC ITSELF. THERE IS POLITICAL SELF-  
INTEREST IN SUCH EXPLANATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME THE  
TRACK RECORD OF THIS REGIME AND THE CONTINUING LACK  
OF AN ASERTIVELY INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY CAUTION AGAINST

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02      SANTIA 02975    01 OF 02    131336Z

HASTY AND FACILE ATTRIBUTION OF ALL PROVOCATIVE ACTS  
TO THE MIR AND ITS ILK. HOW THE GOC MEETS THE CURRENT  
CHALLENGE, ITS DEGREE OF SUCCESS AND THE AMOUNT OF  
HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE EMPLOYED, MAY TELL US A GOOD BIT  
ABOUT THE DURABILITY OF MILITARY RULE. END SUMMARY.

**UNCLASSIFIED**

304M

Case Number: s199900006

2. (2) THE LEFT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MIR) BEGAN IN 1965 AS A GUEVARIST OFFSHOOT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY. EVEN AFTE THE VICTORY OF ALLENDE IN 1970, MIRISTS DID NOTT ABANDON THEIR BELIEF IN THE EVENTUAL NECISSITY OF ARMED REVOLUTION TO ACHIEVE A SOCIALIST STATE. THEN AND STILL, CUBA HAS BEEN THE PRIMARY PATRON. THE INFLUENCE OF BETRIZ ALLENDE, MARRIED TO A CUBAN, ON HER FATHER PROVIDED A MEASURE OF PROTECTION DURING THE UNIDAD POPULAR (UP) PERIOD. A NEPHEW OF ALLENDE, ANDRES PASCAL ALLENDE, IS ONE OF THE CURRENT LEADERS, AND HIS PRESENCE IN CHILE HAS BEEN RUMORED FROM TIME TO TIME OVER THE PAST YEAR.

3. (8) [REDACTED] WAS MANY AS [REDACTED] MIR ACTIVISTS, TRAINED ABROAD, HAVE RETURNED TO CHILE IN THE PAST YEAR WITH THE INTENTION OF INITIATING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES [REDACTED]

1.5 (c)  
63

[REDACTED] ABOUT [REDACTED] ARE IN THE SANTIAGO AREA AND THE REMAINDER SPREAD AROUND THE COUNTRY BUT PRIMARILY IN THE SOUTH. OFTEN USING THE NAME MILICIAS DE RESISTANCIA POPULAR, THE MIR CLAIMS CREDIT FOR THE NOVEMBER 24, 1979 AGAS BANK TRUCK ROBBERY ATTEMPT IN WHICH A CARABINERO WAS KILLED, THE FEBRUARY 29 ATTEMPTED ROBBERIES OF THE ELEVAP COMPANY AND A SOCIAL SECURITY OFFICE, A MARCH 24 BOMB WHICH KILLED A CHILD, THE MARCH 30 THEFT OF AN

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 03 SANTIA 02975 01 OF 02 131336Z

HISTORIC FLAG, THE THREE COORDINATED BANK ROBBEREIS OF APRIL 11 NETTING APPROXIMATELY US\$1 MILLION, AND THE APRIL 28 SHOOTING DEATH OF ANOTHER CARABINERO [REDACTED]

1.5 (c)  
63

THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER RECENT INCIDENTS-E.G., A MAY 3 ATTACK IN SANTIAGO ON A CNI PROPERTY, BOMBINTS IN TEMUCO AND VALDIVIA--WHICH MAY ALSO BE MIR HANDIWORK. IN EXPLAINING MIR RESURGENCE [REDACTED] SORUCES REPORT THAT THE PRIMARY INITIAL OBJECTIVE IS TO REVITALIZE THE DEMORALIZED CHILEAN POLITICAL OPPOSITION BY DEMONSTRATING THAT THE PINOCHET REGIME IS VULNERABLE TO ATTACK.

4. (8) THE GENERALLY CONSERVATIVE AND PRO-GOC MEDIA, CHILEAN MILITARY OFFICERS TO A MAN, AND GOC OFFICIALS WHITH WHOM WE RAISE SUCH MATTERS ARE CONVINCED THE MIR IS AGAIN ACTIVE. THEY SUGGEST A TWO-FOLD PURPOSE: TO FORCE THE GOVERNMENT INTO MORE REPRESSIVE POLICIES WHICH WILL HAVE AN IMMEDIATE NEGATIVE IMPACT ABROAD BUT, EVENTUALLY PERHAPS ALSO, INTERNALLY; TO MAKE CHILE

UNCLASSIFIED  
SECRET

Case Number: s199900006

LESS ATTRACTIVE TO FOREIGN INVESTORS AND BUSINESSMEN AND THUS UNDERMINE ONE OF THE STRENGTHS OF THE REGIME.  
5. (e) NEVERTHELESS MANY CHILEANS, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN THE DEMOCRATIC AND LEFTIST OPPOSITION TO MILITARY RULE, EXPRESS SERIOUS DOUBTS THAT THE MIR IS RESPONSIBLE FOR RECENT EXTREMIST ACTIONS. THEIR BASIC THEME IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT GAINS MOST FROM RENEWED TERRORIST ACTIVITIES.

~~SECRET~~

NNN

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 01 SANTIA 02975 02 OF 02 131327Z  
ACTION ARA-15

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 DCT-02 SY-05 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02  
SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 HA-05 ACDA-12  
/077 W

-----065462 131344Z /50

P R 122107Z MAY 80  
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7046  
INFO USINT HAVANA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY LIMA  
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
USCINCSO

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2975  
BOTH FOR DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL OPINION MIR ACTIONS PROVIDE A CREDIBLE EXCUSE FOR CRACKING DOWN ON OPPOSITION ELEMENTS MORE GENERALLY AND, AS ON MAY 1, FOR MAINTAINING A LARGER OVERT SECURITY PRESENCE. TURNIN THE GOC'S PROPAGANDA ON ITS HEAD, SKEPTICS WONDER HOW IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE MIR TO MOUNT SUCH ACTIVITIES AFTER REPEATED CLAIMS THAT IT HAD BEEN ALMOST TOTALLY SQUASHED, AND THEY OBSERVE THAT THE GOC HAS NOT HAD ANY CLEAR SUCCESS SINCE LAST NOVEMBER IN CAPTURING THOSE RESPONSIBLE.

6. (e) FOR THE SKEPTICS THERE ARE TWO ALTERNATIVE PREFERRED EXPLANATIONS: THAT THE SUPPOSED MIR ACTIVITIES

ARE REALLY THE WOK OF THE CNI OR ANOTHER GOVERNMENT DEPENDENCY; OR

THAT THERE ARE ONE OR MORE ULTRA-RIGHT WING GROUPS AT WORK, PERHAPS MAKINGUSE OF E-DINA OPERATIVES. THE FIRST OF THESE THEORIES HASS A HARD TIME GETTING AROUND THE FACT THAT TWO CARABINEROS HAVE BEEN KILLED SINCE NOVEMBER --AND AN ARMY OFFICER IN APRIL 1979 (OF WHICH MORE BELOW). IF THER WERE GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

UNCLASSIFIED  
SECRET

UNCLASSIFIED  
SECRET

Case Number: s199900006

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02           SANTIA 02975   02 OF 02   131327Z

IN THOSE DEATHS, THERE IS A HIGH PROBABILITY THE FACT WOULD EVENTUALLY BECOME KNOWN. ARMED FORCES UNIFIED BEHIND PINOCHET WOULD BE THREATENED AS NEVER BEFORE. NEVERTHELESS, SUSPICIOUS FEED ON INCIDENTS SUCH AS THAT REPORTED IN THIS WEEK'S "HOY" IN WHICH CNI AGENTS BROKE UP A MEETING OF LAWYERS AND LEFTIST FARM WORKERS CONFEDERATION, TIED UP THOSE PRESENT, CONDUCTED A LENGTHY INTERROGATION ABOUT PLANS FOR MAY 1 AND BEFORE DEPARTING, ACCORDING TO THE STORY, PAINTED AND PHOTOGRAPHED AN ENCIRCLED "R" AND "MAPU" ON ONE OF THE WALLS. (THE CIRCLED "R"---FOR "RESISTENCIA"--- HAS APPEARED AT THE SCENE OF SOME OF THE EVENTS ASCRIBED TO THE MIR; THE MAPU IS ANOTHER VIOLENCE-PRONE UP FACTION.) ON MAY 6 AN ATTEMPT TO SEIZE A TAXI (A RECURRING FEATURE OF RECENT INCIDENTS ATTRIBUTED TO THE MIR) FAILED WHEN THE DRIVER RESISTED. A CAR WITHOUT A LICENSE PLATE THEN ARRIVED AT THE SCENE AND RESCUED THE WOULD-BE ASSAILANTS. SKEPTICS ASK WHETHER TERRORISTS WOULD CONCEIVABLY TRAVEL AROUND SANTIAGO IN A CAR WITHOUT A LICENSE PLATE. THEN, TOO, THERE HAVE BEEN A SERIES OF BOMB INCIDENTS OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS WHICH HAVE GENERALLY BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO LEFT EXTREMISTS. BUT, WHEN CARABINERO GENERAL GERMAN CAMPOS WAS FORCED INTO EARLY RETIREMENT IN LATE 1978, HE IS ALLEGED TO HAVE EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT THE TRUE ORIGINS.

7. (S) THAT SOME OR ALL OF THE RECENT EVENTS ATTRIBUTED TO THE MIR ARE THE WORK OF AN ULTRA-RIGHT GROUP, NOT LIKED TO THE GOVERNMENT, IS SOMEWHAT MORE PLAUSIBLE. IN APRIL 1979 AN ARMY LIEUTENANT, LUIS FRANCISCO CAREVIC, HEAD OF CNI'S ANTI-EXPLOSIVES UNIT, WAS KILLED WHEN A BOMB EXPLODED IN HIS HANDS. SHORTLY THEREAFTER LEFTISTS BEGAN RECEIVING DEATH THREATS FROM THE "COMANDO CARAVIC. THE EMBASSY HAS SEEN ONE DATED AS RECENTLY AS APRIL 30,

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 03           SANTIA 02975   02 OF 02   131327Z

1980. CHILEANS INCLINED TOWARD THE ULTRA-RIGHT EXPLANATION THINK QUICKLY OF EX-DINA HEAD MANUEL CONTRERAS. HE IS GENERALLY ASSUMED TO RETAIN THE LOYALTY OF PERSONS STILL WITHIN CNI AND OTHER PARTS OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND HE HAS RECENTLY SET UP AN "INDUSTRIAL SECURITY FIRM" WITH MANY OF THE 20 OR SO EMPLOYEES DRAWN FROM THE RANKS OF EX-DINA AGENTS. BUT THE RIGHT-WING THEORY TOO IS DIFFICULT TO

UNCLASSIFIED  
SECRET

Case Number: SI99900006

SUSTAIN. IT ASSUMES EITHER THAT THE EXTREMISTS ARE SO SKILLFUL THAT NO ONE IN THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ABLE TO TRACE RECENT EVENTS TO THEM, OR THAT THE GOVERNMENT, FOR ITS OWN REASONS, PREFERS TO PLACE BLAME ON THE MIR. IF THE LATTER, FOR THE REASONS SET FORTH PREVIOUSLY, EVEN SUCH "QUASI-COLLUSION" IN ACTIONS KIBLING ARMY AND CARABINERO OFFICIALS IS A VERY DANGEROUS GAME.

8. (S) PERPAHS THE MOST ENCOURAGING INFORMATION OF THE PAST WEEK IS [REDACTED] THAT THE CNI IS NOTT OVERLY ALARMED BY THE MIR THREAT. THE [REDACTED] OR SO MIRISTA LEADERS TRAINED ABORAD HAVE FEWER THAN [REDACTED] "SOLDIERS", MOST OF

1510  
b3

WHOM HAVE NOTT ENGAGED IN VIOLENT ACTS AND COULD NOTT BE INDUCED TO TAKE UP ARMS AT THIS TIME. [REDACTED] IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, THE MIR IS STILL IN AN INCIPIENT STAGE OF ORGANIZATION, THERE IS AT LEAST A POSSIBILITY THAT RELATIVE REASON AND RESTRAINT WILL GOVERN GOC ACTIONS. BOTH OPPOSITION NEWSWEEKLY "HOY" AND MODERATELY PRO-GOC "QUE PASA" HAD THIS IN MIND IN RECENT EDITORIALS. EMILIO FILIPPI IN "HOY" ENTITLED HIS PIECE "TOWARD PEACE WITHOUT TERROR" AND CAUTIONED VIOLENCE CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED EITHER "TO FREE THE PEOPLE" OR ON BEHALF OF NATIONAL SECURITY. "QUE PASA" SAYS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TERRORISM IS LIKELY TO BE LONG AND DIFFICULT, PARTICULARLY IF "IT IS CARRIED OUT, AS IT MUST BE, WITHIN A CONTEXT OF RESPECT FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS." IT WOULD BE EXCESSIVELY OPTIMISTIC TO THINK THE SECURITY FORCES WILL NOTT USE TORTURE ON THOSE THEY BELIEVE INVOLVED IN TERROSIST ACTIVITIES OR TO HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF PERSONS WHO ARE

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 04 SANTIA 02975 02 OF 02 131327Z

INVOLVED. BUT, BOTH THE DEGREE OF SUCCESS IN TERMINATING CURRENT MIR ACTIVITIES AND HOW MUCH OFFICIAL VIOLENCE SECURITY FORCES EMPLOY TO THAT END MAY BE IMPORTANT FOR THE LONGER TERM STABILITY OF CHILEAN POLITICAL LIFE.

9. THIS REPORT COORDINATED  
LANDAU

~~SECRET~~

NNN