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#### Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE, NSC:

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**RECORDS** 

LOJ 10/29/2007

File Folder

CHILE, 1985-1986 [03/26/1986-07/17/1986]

**FOIA** 

F95-028/6

**Box Number** 

91719 RAC Sub 2

KOMISAR

			3			
ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages		Restrictions		
44385 MEMO	DRAFT MEMO FROM TILLMAN AND BURGHARDT TO POINDEXTER AND FORTIER, RE CHILE	4	ND	B1		
44388 NOTES	HANDWRITTEN IN BLACK INK ON WHITE PAPER, RE CONGRESS ON CHILE	1	ND	B1		
44389 QUESTIONS	RE ASSESSMENT	2	ND	B1		
44391 NOTES	HANDWRITTEN IN GREEN PEN ON WHITE PAPER	1	ND	В1		
44395 NOTES	TYPED AND HANDWRITTEN, RE THE "CHILE PROBLEM"	5	ND	B1		
	R 8/22/2011 M304/1					
44396 NOTES	HANDWRITTEN IN BLACK PEN ON YELLOW LEGAL PAPER	1	ND	B1		
44411 CABLE	151834Z JUL 86	4	7/15/1986	B1		
44412 CABLE	162131Z JUL 86	3	7/16/1986	B1		
44413 CABLE	162136Z JUL 86	2	7/16/1986	B1		

## The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
44414 CABLE	162146Z JUL 86	1	7/16/1986	B1
44415 CABLE	171136Z JUL 86 <b>R 8/22/2011 M304/1</b>	3	7/17/1986	B1
44416 CABLE	171136Z JUL 86 (SAME TEXT AS 44415)	2	7/17/1986	B1
44417 CABLE	172012Z JUL 86	4	7/17/1986	B1
44418 CABLE	172052Z JUL 86	2	7/17/1986	B1
44419 NOTE	TO TILLMAN, RE ATTACHED MEMO	1	7/17/1986	B1 B3
44420 MEMO	SUBJECT: DEALING WITH CHILE  D 4/23/2018 M304/1	9	7/9/1986	B1 B3

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PAUL LAXALT NEVADA

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

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> RENO OFFICE: 300 BOOTH STREET (702) 784-5568

MEMO TO:

The President

FROM:

Senator Paul Laxalt

DATE:

March 26, 1986

I'm enclosing Sam Ballenger's memo on Chile. Sam has been handling foreign affairs for me. He's had substantial experience with the Chilean situation.

May I ask that you take a moment or two to digest his views.

I agree basically with Sam. What may have worked as policy in Haiti and the Philippines may not work at all for Chile. From several aspects, the situation there is drastically different.

Enclosure

Copies to:

Admiral John Poindexter

Honorable Donald Regan

#### MEMORANDUM

March 21, 1986

TO: Senator

FROM: Sam

SUBJECT: Chile

I would like to bring to your attention the attached article and express my deep misgivings about the directional turn the US appears to be taking concerning Chile.

It would seem that the State Department is using Haiti and the Philippines as a "model" and applying it to Chile. If this is in fact true, I believe such a policy will prove detrimental to US interests, disastrous to the Chilean process of democratization, and there will be a high price paid in terms of lives and other human rights in Chile.

In my view, the goal for US policy, consistent with our own values, is to encourage the process of democratization and respect of human rights in Chile, and this goal must be communicated clearly to all elements in Chile: the government and the opposition.

Thus the question--what is the best way for Chile to continue its evolution toward democracy and in the process have continued human rights improvement? At present it seems there are two scenarios:

- 1) Encourage the opposition to accept the present Chilean Constitution; and to organize themselves to participate within that framework for the 1988 plebiscite (many overlook the fact that there is such a plebiscite).
- 2) Encourage the opposition not to participate in the process established by the Chilean Constitution and to prevent the further development of this model. In other words, try to change from without the present system rather than from within.

In as much as the US prides itself as a constitutional government, I would think number 2 is to be rejected outright. However, the Chilean opposition has chosen not to participate within the model, and so far the US position has been rather ambivalent, which

has resulted in confusing interpretations. The US has stated its respect for the Chilean Constitution but expresses encouragement of a transition according to the will of the Chilean people. The result is that both sides feel they are being encouraged.

If the opposition continues down the rejectionist road, with perceived and/or tacit US encouragement, the following, I believe, can be anticipated:

- Pinochet will become more inflexible;
- Pinochet can cry "foreign intervention" and the Chilean armed forces will rally around him, and they in turn will become more inflexible;
- Chilean economic forces will also rally around Pinochet because of their uncertainty about what is next;
- The opposition will perceive itself as having US support, and as a consequence, it will be more difficult for them to rearrange themselves and isolate the Marxists and others of the violent left;
- The opposition will be encouraged to take "demonstrative actions", which will disrupt the normalcy of the country; and
- The "demonstrative actions" will again be turned violent by the Marxist elements, and the government will react violently in return. Violence will spread.

As an alternative, I would recommend the US use its influence to encourage all elements in Chile to continue to work within the present constitutional model and to encourage Pinochet to take the necessary steps to open the political process. If the opposition doesn't like the present constitution, which was ratified by plebiscite, they can undertake the effort to modify those objectionable provisions at a later date.

The government should be faulted for dragging its feet in terms of moving the process along. For example, when I was there last year, there were constant references made about the fact that a new political parties law and election law was about to be announced-neither has been adopted. However, it seems that US criticism needs to be less strident and public to prevent the "rallying around" phenomena and to avoid the further development of the "seige mentality" on the part of the government.

While the US has been more vocal with criticism of the government, there is a need to criticize the opposition as well. The opposition needs to develop a strategy to isolate the Marxists. Recognizing that the opposition, particularly the Christian Democrats, will split when a choice must be made to disassociate from the Marxists, the point is that it is not possible to have a moderate democratic opposition without this division. Moreover and according to Chilean history, any reference to participation by Marxists is bound to alienate the right and the military. I would have to compare the effect of the Allende experience on Chile to the effect of the Vietnam War on the US. In fact, Chile may have been more traumatized.

The opposition can maintain pressure on the government through responsible participation in the drafting of political laws. Moreover, they should be encouraged to unify themselves (excluding those committed to the violent overthrow of the Government) with the objective of winning the 1988 plebiscite.

My understanding is that according to the Chilean Constitution, the Junta will decide in 1988 who will replace Pinochet in 1989. The name will be announced and there will be a plebiscite — the question will be do you support or do you not support? If a majority rejects the announced candidate there is to be a free election for the Presidency in 6 months. If a majority says yes, that individual becomes president in 1989 and there are to be congressional elections. So, the opposition should be working for a no vote in 1988 if they do not support the nominee. A concern that should be recognized is that continued polarization could be used by Pinochet as an excuse not to hold the 1988 plebiscite.

The US, it appears to me, must continue to focus on maintaining credibility with the Pinochet Government, if we want to play a positive role in the democratization of Chile. The government should be assured that it will be supported at least up until the plebiscite, but the government must follow through with its commitments to liberalize the political process, and it must accept the result of the plebiscite.

At the same time, the US should work with the opposition to form a coalition similar to CODE, which was the coalition that formed in opposition to Allende.

More effort is needed to maintain close relations with the other three members of the Junta. They are key to preventing Pinochet from not going

forward with the plebiscite or not recognizing the results of the plebiscite.

On the human level, I think Pinochet has been corrupted by fear. His fear is what is going to happen to him and his family after 1989. Reassuring this fear, so that Pinochet feels personal survival is not on the line, is all the more reason to encourage the formation of a moderate opposition.

# Human rights criticism grows, but Pinochet appears in control

SANTIAGO, Chile — Chilean President Augusto Pinochet, angry over unprecedented U.S. pressure for human rights reform in Chile and facing a new round of opposition protests at home, has vowed not to alter his plan to stay in power until at least 1989.

Diplomats said Gen. Pinochet appeared confident that he could control any unrest, even though his opponents took heart from increasingly outspoken criticism from Washington of the rightist military government that took power in a 1973 coup.

Even the communist-led Popular Democratic Movement hailed the U.S. decision last week to sponsor a resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission deploring Gen. Pinochet's human rights record, the first vote it cast against Chile since the coup.

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Schifter said the vote, based on a U.N. report that said human rights violations were fundamentally due to the lack of democracy, reflected the Reagan administration's "deep interest in peaceful change in Chile to democratic rule."

The point was reinforced by White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan, who said in a television interview last Sunday that the United States was not trying to overthrow Gen. Pinochet "at this moment," but that it opposes all forms of dictatorship.

Such comments came only weeks after Washington played a major role in the final stages of the crises that led to the end of years of dictato-

ial rule by Jean-Claude Duvalier in Iaiti and Ferdinand Marcos in the hilippines.

Chilean opposition leaders said he events in Haiti and the Philippines gave them a big psychological poost. Former Foreign Minister Gapriel Valdes urged Chileans to follow the example of the social mobilization in those two nations.

"After Haiti, after the Philippines, the conscience of the world turns towards Chile," Mr. Valdes said in a speech last week to members of his Christian Democratic Party.

Diplomats said, however, that splits in the opposition and popular

disenchantment with the forms of protest tried thus far could make it hard to spark mass demonstrations like those of 1983.

"The government seems to think it is very comfortably seated as far as internal pressures are concerned" one diplomat said.

Police and soldiers arrested 10 women in downtown Santiago yesterday for handing out mock ballots that called for a return to democracy.

[Police yesterday used tear gas and water cannons to disperse hundreds of women who demonstrated in downtown Santiago in support of free elections; UPI reported. At least

40 people were arrested, police sources said.

[Opposition leaders and students joined the women and marched through the streets of Santiago's business center shouting, "The people want freedom.]"

The authorities Wednesday renewed decrees banning unauthorized public meetings and enforcing a curfew from 2 a.m. to 5 a.m. in the Chilean capital.

But government sources insisted that Gen. Pinochet was essentially unperturbed by the criticism.

"If he were really worried by Haiti and the Philippines or by the U.S. attitude, he would have done something different," one government source said. "But he has done his sums. He knows that Washington knows that the situation here is very different and that he can count on the armed forces."

Gen. Pinochet was clearly angry, however, when he broke a long public silence on a provincial tour this

week

"Chile has a course, which we ourselves fixed, and there can be no compromise on that course. No foreigner, however powerful he may be, can come and impose his will on us," he said. banging a lectern with his fist during an improvised speech.

The "course" referred to by Gen. Pinochet is the constitution, which keeps him in power until 1989 when some form of democratic rule is due to return. Should Gen. Pinochet be elected in the 1989 plebiscite, he could serve until 1997.

In a speech to mark Constitution Day last week, Interior Minister Ricardo Garcia repeated that the government would stick to the timetable

called for by the constitution.

The government, meanwhile, prepared a response to the unanimous U.N. human rights resolution and the report of the special rapporteur, Fernando Volio of Costa Rica. Foreign Minister Jaime del Valle said Chile would continue to cooperate with the U.N. Human Rights Commission but complained that Mr. Volio overstepped his brief in reaching the principal conclusion of his report, which read:

"The fundamental cause of such violations of human rights is the existence of a government which is not based on the principle of self-determination. The Chilean people desire intensely to return to the state of representative democracy."

That conclusion was repeated in the U.N. resolution, and the Foreign Ministry replied in a statement that no foreign organization had a right to interfere in such matters.

It also complained that opposition leaders helped draft the resolution and were now using it for political

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44385 MEMO 4 ND B1

DRAFT MEMO FROM TILLMAN AND BURGHARDT TO POINDEXTER AND FORTIER, RE CHILE

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44388 NOTES 1 ND B1

HANDWRITTEN IN BLACK INK ON WHITE PAPER, RE CONGRESS ON CHILE

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44389 QUESTIONS

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Chile 12/13/84

State of surge not justified 213 acrs

Because of events in South Africa and the Phillipines, Chile is now very vulnerable and our ability to manage the "Chile problem" increasingly more difficult.

The shift in our policy has not been lost on the communists. In late 1984 and 1985, a rash of arteiles about Chile stating that the US was "re-evaluating our interests in Chile", a series of public statements criticizing the lack of progress in a democratic followed and tradition—— transition and human rights improvements pled to the replacement of our Ambassador as the penultimate signal that the US was abandonning the quiet diplomacy policy for a public carrot and stick policy, that has, in my opinion, gotten us into the pickle in Chile

After a year or so of the public carrott and stick policy, it is possible to evaluate how for this has taken as.

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- Strained relations with the GOC,

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- Opposition still fragmented, readisciplined,

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- Ancreased effort his the communists to

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forced us to more sway from this pling in South africa, the others have been to lecome increasingly valueable. These is farticularly the case intown Chile.

In late 1984 and Early 1885, a ruch of leaks about Chile stated that the US was "re evaluating our interest por Chiliques followed py a series of public statements criticizing the lack of progress in human rights improvements and in a transition to democracy followed, leading to the replacement of the US ambassador as the penultimente signal that the US had shifted from Jublic carrot and strik policy, which prom my openin, increasingly susceptibile to The rationale for the policy shipe aren: -. it helps us with our Central america soling; -- Vir helps us "stay in control" of the Chile policy - private diplomacy had not produced sufficient prograss and our ability to constrain negative actions by the Conques We were not perceived as being

"for "dernaracy in Chile

-- Private diplomacy had not produced sufficient progress and endangering our ability to stay in control of the plicy and enlargering prevents our ability to prevent negative Congressional actions

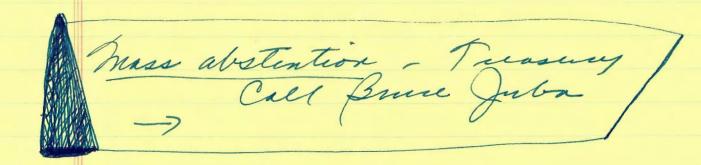
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while encouraging the opposition that US genuinely desired a transition to democracy, it has only encouraged them to six back.

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44396 NOTES 1 ND B1

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44414 CABLE

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SANTIAGO 4636

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 SANTIAGO 04636

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PGOV, PINS, SCUL, CI

SUBJ: STANGE AND MERINO DIVERGE FROM PINOCHET BY SAYING PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION ISSUE STILL UNDECIDED; MATTHEI SAYS OPEN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS POSSIBLE

REF: SANTIAGO 4477

1. (C) SUMMARY: JUNTA MEMBERS GENERAL RODOLFO STANGE (CARABINEROS) AND ADMIRAL JOSE MERINO DENIED THAT A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION HAS BEEN DECIDED UPON, ADDING THAT THERE ARE MANY POSSIBLE CANDIDATES. MERINO QUIPPED THAT IT COULD BE ANYONE AND THAT THE ONE TO BE ELECTED HAS NO IDEA NOW THAT IT MIGHT BE HIM. STANGE ADDED THAT THE CONSTITUTION COULD BE REFORMED TO ALLOW FOR A COMPETITIVE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. BOTH EMPHASIZED, NEVERTHELESS, THAT THE BROAD LINES OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE BEYOND 1989. TURNING TO RECENT STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENTS, MERINO SAID THAT CHILE AND THE U.S. HAVE DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF EVENTS. STANGE COMMENTED ON THE VISIT OF DAS GELBARD. JUNTA MEMBER MATTHEI HAS ALSO NOTED THAT THE CONSTITUTION CAN BE MODIFIED TO HAVE OPEN

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. THE STATEMENTS OF STANGE, MERINO AND MATTHEI HIGHLIGHT THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH PINOCHET ON THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION QUESTION. END SUMMARY

- 2. (U) REACTING TO RECENT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS REGARDING THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION (SEPTEL), ON JULY 15 GENERAL STANGE AND ADMIRAL MERINO STATED THAT THE BROAD LINES OF THE CURRENT REGIME WILL CONTINUE, BUT THEY DENIED THAT A CANDIDATE HAS BEEN SELECTED.
- 3. (U) IN RESPONSE TO NATIONAL PARTY LEADER FEDERICO WILLOUGHBY'S REQUEST FOR A REFORM OF THE TRANSITORY ARTICLE DEALING WITH THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR 1989, STANGE SAID THAT A CHANGE WOULD BE CONSTITUTIONALLY POSSIBLE. WILLOUGHBY HAS ALSO REQUESTED THAT HIS NAME BE CONSIDERED AS A POSSIBLE CANDIDATE.
- 4. (C) WILLOUGHBY TOLD EMBOFF ON JULY 7 THAT HE INTENDED TO ANNOUNCE HIS CANDIDACY IN ORDER TO PROVOKE OTHERS TO DO THE SAME. HE IS INCENSED BY PINOCHET'S PLANS TO SUCCEED HIMSELF AND FEELS THAT HAVING OTHERS ANNOUNCE THEIR "CANDIDACIES", EVEN IF ONLY BLUFFS LIKE HIS OWN, IS USEFUL TO GALVANIZE OPPOSITION AND STIR CHILEANS OUT OF APATHY AND RESIGNATION.
- 5. (U) STANGE ALSO RESPONDED TO QUERIES ABOUT THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE'S DECLARATION EXAMINING THE CAUSES OF VIOLENCE IN CHILE, STATING THAT IT WAS "INTERESTING AND RESPECTABLE." HE ADDED THAT IT WAS "A SERIOUS STUDY AND OF GREAT HELP TO ALL OF US."
- 6. (U) SOFTENING HIS TONE REGARDING DECLARATIONS BY U.S. OFFICIALS, MERINO SAID THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT MISINTERPRETS CHILEAN REALITY. HE COMMENTED THAT ALTHOUGH THE U.S. MAY HAVE GOOD INFORMATION ON CHILE, THE CRITERIA FOR ANALYSIS ARE DIFFERENT, ATTRIBUTING THIS TO THE FACT THAT "SAXONS SEE ONE SIDE OF THINGS AND WE (LATINS) SEE THE OTHER."
- 7. (U) STANGE WAS VAGUE IN RESPONDING TO QUESTIONS CONCERNING HIS MEETING WITH DAS GELBARD, SAYING

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ONLY THAT GELBARD WAS IN CHILE TO FAMILIARIZE HIMSELF WITH THE COUNTRY AND THAT THEIR CONVERSATION HAD BEEN A "NATURAL EXCHANGE OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS." QUESTIONED ON MERINO'S PRIOR SUGGESTION THAT AMB BARNES BE RECALLED, STANGE STATED ONLY THAT HE TOO OPPOSED FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN CHILEAN AFFAIRS.

8. (U) ON THE MORNING OF JULY 16, GENERAL MATTHEI TOLD SANTIAGO DAILY "LA SEGUNDA" THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE IN OFFICE UNTIL HIS CURRENT TERM EXPIRES IN 1989 (SIC. IN FACT, THE JUNTA MEMBERS REMAIN IN OFFICE UNTIL THE CONGRESS IS INSTALLED IN 1990.) NOTING THAT MUCH STILL HAS TO BE DONE, HE SAID HE WOULD COMPLY WITH HIS OBLIGATION TO PROPOSE A \*\* END OF CABLE \*\*

\*\*\*\* SECTION BREAK \*\*\*\*
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 SANTIAGO 04636

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV,PINS,SCUL,CI

SUBJ: STANGE AND MERINO DIVERGE FROM PINOCHET

CANDIDATE FOR THE PEOPLE TO APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE IN A PLEBISCITE OR TO MODIFY THE CONSITUTITION IN ORDER TO HAVE DIRECT ELECTIONS. MATTHEI REFUSED TO COMMENT DIRECTLY ON THE STATEMENTS OF PINOCHET IN THE SOUTH.

9. (C) COMMENT: STANGE'S COMMENTS WERE CAREFULLY CALCULATED TO DEMONSTRATE THE CARABINEROS' OPPOSITION TO PINOCHET'S SUCCESSION PLANS WITHOUT DIRECTLY CONFRONTING THE PRESIDENT. AS IS SO COMMON WITH MERINO, HIS STATEMENTS LOOK TOTALLY IMPROVISED, BUT WE ARE AWARE FROM OTHER SOURCES OF THE NAVY'S DISAPPROVAL OF ANOTHER PINOCHET TERM OF OFFICE. MATTHEI'S COMMENTS ALSO COME AS NO SURPRISE. AS WE PREDICTED IN OUR REPORT ON PINOCHET'S SPEECHES, THEY HAVE PRECIPITATED OPEN FALL-OUT FROM HIS POSITION WITHIN THE MILITARY, ALTHOUGH IT CAME SOONER THAN WE EXPECTED. BARNES \*\* END OF CABLE \*\*

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44416 CABLE 2 7/17/1986 B1

171136Z JUL 86 (SAME TEXT AS 44415)

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SANTIAGO 4637 AN ØB4426

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UNCLAS SANTIAGO 84637

E.O. 12356: DECL: N/A TAGS: PGOV, PREL, CI SUBJECT: CIVIC ASSEMBLY MEMBERS INDICTED

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 4524; (B) SANTIAGO 4595

- 1. SUMMARY: THIRTEEN OF THE EIGHTEEN MEMBERS OF THE CIVIC ASSEMBLY HELD FOR QUESTIONING HAVE BEEN INDICTED FOR VIOLATION OF STATE SECURITY LAWS. END SUMMARY
- 2. SPECIAL INVESTIGATOR GERMAN VALENZUELA ERAZO ON JULY 15 INDICTED 13 MEMBERS OF THE CIVIC ASSEMBLY ON THREE COUNTS OF VIOLATING ARTICLE 4 OF THE STATE SECURITY LAW. THEY ARE CHARGED WITH THE SAME OFFENSES AS A GROUP OF LABOR AND POBLACION LEADERS ACCUSED FOLLOWING PROTESTS IN SEPTEMBER OF LAST YEAR. NAMELY: INCITING THE SUBVERSION OF PUBLIC ORDER AND THE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT; INCITING ACTS THAT DISRUPT THE PEACE AND HOLDING UNAUTHORIZED MEETINGS; AND INCITING THE PARALYSIS OF NATIONAL ACTIVITY. IF FOUND GUILTY, THESE INDIVIDUALS COULD FACE SENTENCES RANGING FROM 61 DAYS TO 5 YEARS.
- 3. THOSE CHARGED ARE: JUAN LUIS GONZALEZ, PATRICIO BASSO FRANCISCO RIVAS, MARIA ANTONIETA SAA, JUAN CARLOS LATORRE, EUGENIO-LEON, JORGE PAVEZ, JOSE SANTOS MILLAO, LAUTARO OJEDA, IGNACIO BALBONTIN, ANDRES RENGIFO, HECTOR MOYA AND OSVALDO VERDUGO.
- 4. THREE LEADERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED FOR LACK OF EVIDENCE AGAINST THEM, THEY ARE: SOLEDAD LARRAIN, LAUTARO LABBE AND ANGEL MAULEN.
- 5. COMMUNIST LEADER EDUARDO VALENCIA, WHO WAS WANTED FOR QUESTIONING TURNED HIMSELF IN ON JULY 15, IS BEING HELD FOR QUESTIONING. VALENCIA'S LAWYER, ALFONSO INSUNZA, HAS REQUESTED THAT THE CHARGES AGAINST VALENCIA (IF THERE ARE ANY, AND THERE ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL BE) BE "ACCUMULATED" WITH HIS SENTENCE HANDED DOWN THIS WEEK FOR HIS ACTIVITIES IN THE SEPTEMBER 4 PROTESTS OF LAST YEAR (REFTEL B).

6. MARIA LUCY TRAIPE, THE EIGHTEENTH DEFENDENT, WAS QUESTIONED BY THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATOR ON JULY 14 AND RELEASED. NO CHARGES WERE BROUGHT AGAINST HER. BARNES

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44418 CABLE

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44420	MEMO SUBJECT: DEALING WITH CHILE	9	7/9/1986	B1 B3	

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