

U.S./CHILE

More skeletons in Pinochet's closet

By Saul Landau

WASHINGTON

GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET, Chile's president, not only ordered the murders of Allende government officials Orlando Letelier and Bernardo Leighton and Gen. Carlos Prats; he not only led the bloodiest repression ever witnessed in Latin America; and he not only forced into prison and exile Chile's best and brightest. He also presided for almost four years over a hemisphere-wide terrorist ring that claimed responsibility for bombings, kidnappings, and murders, from Buenos Aires to Canada. More terrorism and murder were planned, and indeed a "hit list" existed with names of future victims.

The above charges will all be sustained as a result of information gleaned by investigators of the Letelier-Moffitt murders. The terrorist ring's origins date back to the CIA's semi-secret war against Castro and the Cuban Revolution. Groups of Cuban exiles originally recruited and trained for death missions in Cuba by the CIA were either dropped by the Agency or became disenchanted with U.S. policy "vacillations." For these groups, all of whose members gained experience in the handling and use of firearms, explosives, and the use of false identities, the Chilean coup d'état on Sept. 11, 1973, came as a godsend.

Even before the coup, various Cuban exile groups had offered their services to Chilean extremists, especially the neo-Nazi party *Patria y Libertad*, in their effort to wage dirty war against Chilean President Salvador Allende. After the coup, before Allende's body had grown cold, Pinochet dispatched to Miami his personal representative, Air Force Col. Eduardo Sepulveda, to formalize relations with certain Cuban exile terrorist groups.

Chileans meet with Cuban exiles.

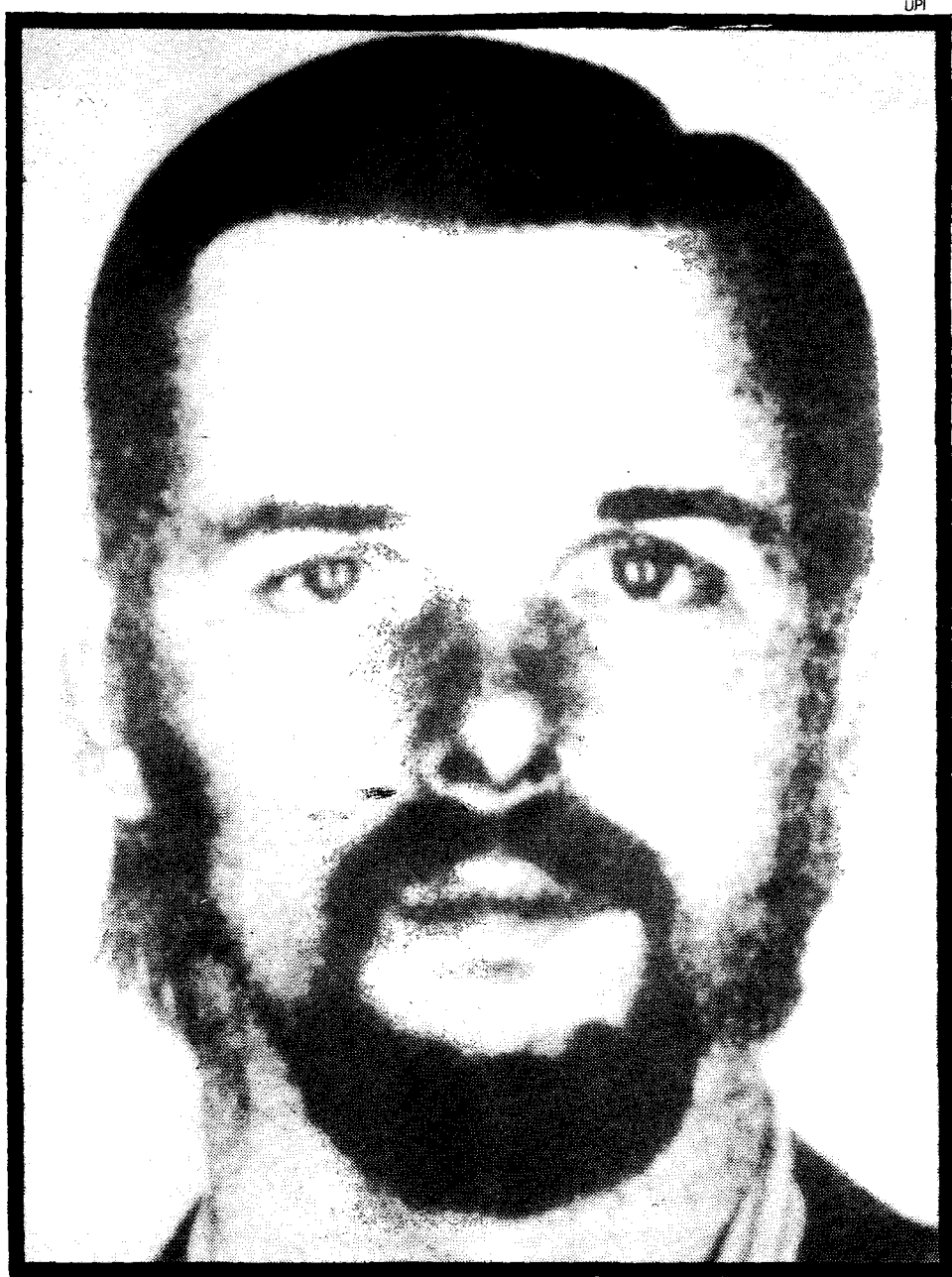
Exile sources confirm what Carlos Riquelme Collado wrote earlier in *Nephews of Uncle Sam* in September 1973 Sepulveda sat down with *Patria y Libertad* activist Pedro Ernesto Diaz and convinced Cuban exile terrorist Ramiro de la Fe in Miami to coordinate relations between the junta and the most militant anti-Castro activists.

Following this and other contacts junta leaders appeared regularly in public and in private with exile terrorists. Chilean officials Julio Duran and Jose Arrelo and Admiral Huerta toasted the Cuban groups in Miami and in Union City, New Jersey. Brigade 2506, the veterans of the Bay of Pigs, awarded Pinochet its "Freedom Medal" in 1975.

Behind the scenes, DINA agents and Cuban exiles planned and executed terrorist activities. DINA had invited such noted exile terrorists as Orlando Bosch and Guillermo Novo to spend long periods of time in Chile. Bosch stayed as a guest of the Chilean government for more than a year in 1974-75 planning with Gen. Manuel Contreras, head of DINA, the overall hemispheric campaign, coordinating activities between the secret police agencies of various countries, including Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic.

When Bosch and other Cuban exile terrorists travelled, they often did so on official Chilean passports, and their contacts in other countries included DINA agents using embassy and consular cover and secret police agents in the host country. For example, in Venezuela Bosch was seen at dinner with Orlando Garcia, the number two security man of DISIP, the Venezuelan security police, and the two stayed in the same hotel. Luis Posada, now jailed as a plotter in the Cuban airline sabotage of October 1976, along with Bosch, serves as a DISIP official for several years.

Convicted Cuban exile bomber Rolando Otero has told investigators about the many links between DINA and Cuban ex-



Michael Townley, who has been named a co-conspirator in the Orlando Letelier killing, was a key link between the Chilean DINA and the Cuban exile terrorists.

iles for the purposes of attacking Cuban installations throughout the hemisphere. Otero himself spent six months in Chile in 1976, and admitted that DINA entertained him and then trained him for certain operations.

In return for doing DINA assassinations, the Cubans received all necessary facilities, contacts, supplies and money to attack Cuban installations and personnel. Investigators in the Letelier-Moffitt case now believe that the Cuban Nation-

alist Movement (CNM) was the key organ for DINA murders abroad, and that they participated not only in the Letelier-Moffitt killings, but in the attacks on Leighton and Prats as well.

U.S. presses case.

Thus far, the U.S. has arrested exiles Guillermo Novo, Ignacio Novo, and Alvin Ross and charged them with conspiracy to murder. Virgilio Paz Romero and Jose Dionisio Suarez are wanted for the

same crime. All are members of the CNM. A group called ZERO, thought by authorities to be an acronym for the CNM, claimed credit for the Leighton shooting and for participation in the Prats killing. Two CNM members were in Rome at the time Leighton was shot. Others were in Buenos Aires when Prats was bombed.

One of the key links or liaisons between the Cuban terrorists and DINA was Michael Townley, who is charged with the Letelier killing. Living in Miami after fleeing Chile on a murder charge, Townley developed deep ties with some of the Cuban killers. He maintained these ties when he returned to Chile after the coup and switched his employment from being a *Patria y Libertad* goon to a well paid DINA official. Townley has been seen with Cuban terrorists in Chile, in Miami and in New Jersey from 1973-76.

Another source that has linked Pinochet and DINA to Cuban exile terrorist attacks against Cuban government installations, Ricardo "Monkey" Morales Navarrete, has told U.S. authorities, according to one federal source, of how DINA helped Cuban exiles coordinate their bombings of Cuban embassies throughout the Western hemisphere.

Morales, a double or triple agent, according to an FBI source, was arrested in Miami in April 1978 on drug charges. He had worked as a DISIP official in Caracas up to this year.

Some government officials are asking privately whether the information gathered in the Letelier-Moffitt murders about other crimes will be made available to concerned parties. U.S.-Cuban relations have deteriorated, and some sources suspect that information on anti-Castro crimes might be withheld.

But the Department of Justice seems determined to press on in the Letelier-Moffitt case. Asst. U.S. Atty. Eugene Propper and FBI Special Agent Carter Cornick are now in Chile in preparation to indict three more Chilean officials. U.S. government sources confirm that ex-DINA chief General Manuel Contreras is one of the three. If he is named, said a State department official, Pinochet will be devastated. Whether or not the three can be extradited remains a sticky question for the future.

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SPAIN

Two largest socialist parties merge, may soon become governing party

"The unity of the working classes in their historic task of transforming society is a constant problem, both theoretical and practical, of the workers' movement."

A "Declaration of Socialist Unity" was signed in Madrid on April 30, sealing the merger of Spain's two largest socialist parties, the People's Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Popular*) of Dr. Enrique Tierno Galvan, and the Spanish Socialist Workers' party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol*) led by Felipe Gonzalez.

The PSOE is the Spanish section of the Socialist International, and is Spain's historic socialist party. When it emerged last year from 40 years of clandestinity, it swept the elections to become the largest single party in Spain. The PSOE, which officially defines itself as a "class" and "Marxist" party, is the Socialist International's most radical European affiliate. That fact, combined with what one author has termed "the Spanish Communists' policy of relentless moderation," has led to a situation where the Socialists frequently stand to the left of the Communists in Spain today. Although the com-

bined forces of the Center-Right (and a voting system designed to lessen the influence of the left) currently prevent the PSOE from exercising governmental power, public opinion polls indicate that the PSOE may well govern Spain in the near future.

The People's Socialist party was formed in the late '60s when part of the PSOE's

The smaller People's Socialists joined the Socialist Workers.

underground apparatus in Franco's Spain split to form the Socialist party of the Interior (*Partido Socialista del Interior*). In 1971, the PSI became the People's Socialist party. Led by Professor Enrique Tierno Galvan, the PSP followed a policy somewhat less anti-Communist than that of the PSOE. (For example, in the final years of the Franco regime, the PSP chose to affiliate with the Communist-organized opposition front, *Junta Democratica*, instead of joining the PSOE in the rival Co-

ordinacion Democratica.)

Nonetheless, the PSP was never able to extend its influence much beyond Spain's college campuses, and was thus unable to compete effectively with the PSOE, which has very deep roots in the Spanish working class.

The merged party will keep the PSOE name, since that designation has been used by Spain's Socialists since the movement was founded 99 years ago by Pablo Iglesias. PSP leader Tierno Galvan will become president of the united party, with Felipe Gonzalez remaining as general secretary.

The last two years have seen the proliferation of socialist parties in Spain, most of which represented only one of Spain's many regions ("the Socialist party of the Valencian Country," etc.). The PSP-PSOE merger spurred many of these smaller parties in recent weeks to enter into merger negotiations with their respective regional sections of the PSOE. Evidently, they don't want to be left out next year when Gonzalez and Galvan form King Carlos' first republican government.

—Kenrick G. Kissell



Cook and his men (above) went ashore to kidnap a chief as hostage for return of the stolen boat. A sailor shot and killed a leading chief. In the ensuing battle, many sailors and Hawaiians were slain. Cook was stabbed and killed as he and his men were fleeing to their ships off shore.

Calligraphy/Tom Greensfelder

Another Frontier Another Tyranny

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS

ONE OF MY GREAT UNCLES first shipped aboard, and later navigated, four-masted clipper ships around Cape Horn to China. It was an exhausting and dangerous way to earn a living; and in the end he fell victim to the terrors of the cold, the constant immersion in salt water, the lack of sleep, and the miserable food. He survived the last years of his life encased in a specially designed contraption that somehow maintained the circulation in his legs. He passed most of his time building an incredibly detailed model of his favorite clipper, and with great patience taught me how to handcraft such dreams.

He also enjoyed having a captive audience for his generally mordant aphorisms. One of his jaunty blasphemies seems appropriate to our contemporary predicament: "Americans have never learned how to distinguish between the two meanings of *good*." He meant, of course, the difference between *good* as the morally or aesthetically admirable, and *good* as no more than the pragmatically effective. I thought it was at least possible for those meanings to converge, and hence asked him what he meant. "Well, Billy, sometimes they do, but more often they don't and you have to make a choice. We had a few good voyages, but most of my beating around the Horn was bad: bad for the ship, bad for the crew, and bad for me—and probably bad for the Chinks. But the owners considered all of them good. They banked the profits of our deaths."

In that respect, at any rate, the world has not changed very much from the age of the clippers unto the present era of the supertankers. After many years of struggling to become as good a historian as he was a seaman, it seems clear to me that we Americans have a very strong propensity for mislaying the meaning and purpose of life even as we stuff our computer banks with every incidental fact about our existence.

Our favorite remark about ourselves, uttered constantly and with great pride, is that we are healthily pragmatic rather than sickly philosophical. I would suggest instead that we have pursued our basic philosophy with an almost fanatic

determination. We are very probably the most conservative people of recent history. We have concentrated our great intelligence and energy on the pragmatic task of implementing our original outlook—hence on denying and resisting change—no matter how far the world has turned. Our philosophy, view of the world, *Weltanschauung*—call it what you will—can be encapsulated in two words: *individualism* and the *frontier*. We have perpetually sought to honor and realize our individualism by penetrating ever more frontiers. As a result, we now entrust ever more of our lives to corporations and bureaucracies.

I have labored as a historian to reconstruct and understand that process, and to explore its consequences. But I have discovered, during the past three years, that I largely missed an important part of the story. I neglected the way in which we Americans, even as we were penetrating and conquering a continent, viewed the sea as a frontier in reserve—as a fall-forward position after we had gobbled up the land. A kind of holding tank for change. Thomas Jefferson, for example, concluded that the far edge of the Gulf

Stream was our "natural" boundary to the east. And he, along with many others, viewed our westward territorial expansion as much as a means to moving into Asia as the realization of the democratic dream.

I became fascinated by those and similar star sights during my nights in the archives, and my subsequent research ultimately carried me to the contemporary American conception of the sea as a frontier. One key figure in the recent phase of the process said it all in this remark about the ocean: "this vast, rich frontier stretching out on all sides." Reading that, one can only smile at the limited vision of Horace Greely saying no more than "Go West young man—go West." I want to review that progression and raise some questions about its implications.

II

I was educated at the University of Wisconsin, as well as at the U.S. Naval Academy, in the traditional view that The Discovery of the Sea was a daring and majestic enterprise initiated by the Portuguese, rationalized by the British, and carried through to its magnificent climax by Cap-

tain Alfred Thayer Mahan and other Americans. But I changed my mind in the process of doing some history of the ocean cultures. (One *does* history, not at all incidentally, in the same way that one does biology or mathematics or oceanography—or even a corporation.) I became aware that the traditional Western European view of the discovery of the sea has about as much relationship to the truth as many of our other fantasies about space and technology.

The Arabs (whom even now we think of as dirty, raunchy desert rats) had better ships and sails than either the Phoenicians, Greeks or Romans. The Chinese (whom even now we view as slant-eyed creatures of night soil) had more sophisticated ships, sails, compasses, and center rudders than the Arabs. We still call their ships junks; but those junks made seven voyages (carrying as many as 37,000 people) to eastern Africa before the Portuguese managed to inch their way into the Indian Ocean. And it seems almost certain that the Chinese reached Australia and the western shores of Central and South America.

Off to the southeast-by-east of the Chinese live the Pacific peoples. They roamed that vast sea as if it was an interconnected network of lakes (much like Wisconsin or Minnesota) long centuries before James Cook sailed his way into every stamp collection in the world. That is a friendly joke, not a put-down. Cook is a central figure in the story precisely because he stood in *awe* of their ships and navigators, and of *their* sense of awe of the sea, and because he knew what was going to happen to all of those sea cultures. He did not entertain any romantic fantasies about them, but he did respect their wisdom about life and the ocean.

We will return to Cook, but first we must tip our computers to the Arabs, the Chinese, and the Pacific peoples for their prior discovery of the ocean space. It is even more revealing to examine the ways in which these cultures dealt with their technological successes. The Arabs held the sea in awe; accepted, honored, and worked with its power; and became neither colonial nor imperial traders. They hustled sharp bargains, to be sure, but they