

1970 Nixon Order to C.I.A. To Balk Allende Reported

President's Authorization Termed Cause of Agency's Role in Military Plots to Thwart Marxist's Election

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK
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WASHINGTON, July 23 — President Richard M. Nixon authorized the Central Intelligence Agency to make a last-ditch, all-out effort in September, 1970, to keep Salvador Allende from becoming President of Chile, authoritative Government sources said.

As a result of the assignment, the sources said, the C.I.A. became involved in the planning of two military coups d'état—planning that included proposals to kidnap Gen. René Schneider, Chief of Staff of the Chilean Army.

Theoretically, the kidnaping of General Schneider would have given the Chilean military a justification for declaring martial law and assuming the powers of government.

The sources said that the C.I.A. tried later to stop the carrying out of one plan, but that it went forward nevertheless and General Schneider was killed by Chilean military plotters in the kidnap attempt.

In the other plot, the agency was said to have supplied insurgents with three machine guns and with tear-gas grenades. When it was discerned that the plot could not get broad political support, it was halted and the guns were later returned to the C.I.A. unused, the sources said.

Henry A. Kissinger, then President Nixon's assistant for national security affairs, was briefed about the first plot on Oct. 13, 1970, by Thomas J.

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Karamessinos, then chief of covert operations for the intelligence agency, the sources said. Mr. Karamessinos reportedly told Mr. Kissinger the plot had little chance of success and it was at that point the two agreed it should be halted.

Mr. Kissinger has told President Ford of this plot, Administration sources said, but has said he did not know that the C.I.A. was negotiating with other groups.

sources said, however, that agency officials felt Mr. Nixon's orders to block Mr. Allende, which were strongly worded, constituted a blanket authorization for their activities.

Contradictions Investigated

Reports in The New York Times last fall indicated that the C.I.A. was involved in efforts to stop Mr. Allende from assuming the Presidency. But in these accounts and in subsequent Congressional hearings the efforts appeared to be limited to the secret financing of opposition parties and labor unions. The latest disclosures are the first confirmation that President Nixon and the C.I.A. contemplated military coups or the violent take-over of the Chilean Government.

The new information, with copies of Congressional testimony in 1973 by Richard M. Helms, then Director of Central Intelligence, have been forwarded to the Department of Justice for study on whether the contradictions may constitute perjury, the sources confirmed.

Mr. Helms testified on Chile before a Senate committee as early as May, 1973, and later in connection with his confirmation as United States Ambassador to Iran. He also testified before a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on Chile earlier this year. There are contradictions in his testimony over the depth and extent of C.I.A. activities against Dr. Allende.

Kissinger's Testimony Sought

Meanwhile, Senator Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, announced today that the committee would call Mr. Kissinger to testify on the "line of authority implementing the Nixon policy toward Chile." The Idaho Democrat said that Mr. Kissinger could offer insight into the extent of the "knowledge and control" exercised by the policy-makers.

The announcement brought a sharp reaction from Roderick Hills, a counsel to President Ford. He said the request for Mr. Kissinger's testimony was "abrupt" and was not handled with the same courtesy he knew the committee had extended to other witnesses.

The committee, Mr. Hills said, had made no attempt to

could have said...
Government sources and sources within the intelligence community gave this report...



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Gen. René Schneider, Chilean Chief of Staff, was killed Oct. 25, 1970, from bullet wounds suffered in an ambush.

the fast-paced events of the fall of 1970:

On Sept. 15, 1970, 11 days after Mr. Allende, a Marxist, had won the presidential elections by a plurality, President Nixon called a secret meeting at the White House. It was attended by Mr. Kissinger, Mr. Helms and John Mitchell, then Attorney General.

The meeting was unusual because it was out of the normal channels of transmitting instructions to the C.I.A. Under the law and in practice C.I.A. covert operations are passed on by the 40 Committee, a top level White House security group, and transmitted through the national Security Council. It is unclear whether the matter ever reached the agenda of the committee.

Mr. Nixon was, one source said, "extremely anxious" about Mr. Allende's rise to power in Chile. Another source said the former President was "frantic." He told Mr. Helms in "strong language" that the C.I.A. was not doing enough in the situation and it had better "come up with some ideas." He said that money was no object and authorized an initial expenditure of \$10-million to unseat the Chilean Marxist.

C.I.A.'s Efforts Redoubled

Notes on the meeting, however, do not indicate that Mr. Nixon ever specifically ordered the C.I.A. to arrange a coup d'état in Chile. But the "tone" of the meeting, one source said, was "do everything you can."

The agency redoubled its efforts. Mr. Karamessinos, deputy director of plans at C.I.A., said thus the chief covert operations went to Chile himself, and

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Mr. Karamessinos said, however, that it was the opinion of the C.I.A. that General Vial's project could not succeed. Mr. Kissinger told the C.I.A. to "keep the pressure on" and keep the C.I.A.'s "assets" in Chile up to par, but agreed that this plan should not go forward.

He told the agency to try to halt General Vial's plot. These sources said that C.I.A. cable traffic, copies of which are in the hands of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, indicate that the C.I.A. did make an effort to halt the plan.

Plot Goes Forward

Nevertheless, General Vial's plot went forward. On October 22, 48 hours before the Chilean Congress was scheduled to vote on Mr. Allende's election—the fact that he had not won a majority threw the decision into Congress—an attempt was made to kidnap General Schneider. When it appeared the general was going to resist, these sources said, he was killed by three .45 caliber bullets, according to Chilean press accounts.

However, between the Oct. 13 meeting and the killing of General Schneider on Oct. 22, these sources said, the C.I.A. was negotiating with a completely separate group of plotters. A group of military officers under Gen. Camilo Valenzuela, then commander of the Santiago army garrison, was also planning to kidnap General Schneider to pave the way for a military take-over.

The C.I.A. these sources said, at first had greater confidence in General Valenzuela's plot. Accordingly, officials at the agency headquarters at Langley, Va., authorized the C.I.A. station in Santiago to give the insurgents three machine guns and tear gas grenades for use in a kidnaping attempt. The authorization was issued on Sunday, Oct. 24.

But within hours the C.I.A. had ascertained that the Valenzuela coup not get sufficient political support to succeed and that Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez of the right-wing National party, the runner-up in the election, would not accept the presidency. Nevertheless, apparently on the order of C.I.A. officials in Santiago, the guns and tear gas were reportedly given to the conspirators. They were later returned to the agency unused.

After Mr. Allende had been confirmed and had assumed office, the agency secretly sent money to the families of men arrested in General Vial's

abortive plot, the sources said. The money, one source said, was paid to "keep the families quiet about the contacts with C.I.A."

Nixon Reported Told

According to the sources, Mr. Kissinger told President Ford after Mr. Nixon had resigned, of the stepped-up effort to unseat Mr. Allende and about the Viaux plot. But Mr. Kissinger has maintained, in private conversations, that he never knew about the second plot, the sources said.

Mr. Kissinger has said, in these private conversations, that had the C.I.A. proposed a military coup in Chile the agency would presumably have come back to him and outlined the plot, and the President and the 40 Committee would either have authorized or prohibited

it. The 40 Committee is a special group under the National Security Council that passes on all covert operations.

One source said that the 40 Committee had approved all covert activities in Chile except the involvement in the Viaux and Valenzuela affairs. But another source said that "from the beginning it appeared the matter was being handled on its own special track."

Another source said that C.I.A. officials had felt that the President's strongly worded assignment on Sept. 15, 1970, was a "blanket authorization" to become involved in planning for a military take-over.

Mistake Is Conceded

Since the military coup in September, 1973, in which President Allende was killed, there has been a growing national inquiry into the role of Mr. Kissinger and the C.I.A. in efforts to undermine the Chilean

Government. When Mr. Helms testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during hearings in 1973 on his nomination as ambassador, he gave very scanty testimony on the Chilean matter.

Earlier this year, in private testimony later made public, Mr. Helms told the Senators he had "made a mistake in his earlier testimony" in that he had not revealed that President Nixon wanted President Allende's Government overthrown.

In other testimony this year, Mr. Helms said there had been a "probe" to see if there were any forces in Chile to oppose Dr. Allende's advent as President.

"It was very quickly established there were not," he added, "and therefore no further effort was made along those lines to the best of my knowledge, at least I know of none."

Mr. Helms returned to Te-



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Brig. Gen. Roberto Viaux Marambio. It is said his original plan was to kidnap General Schneider.

heran, where he is Ambassador. He could not be reached by The New York Times today.