

# Nixon Saw Cuba and Chile Enclosing Latin America

By GRAHAM HOVEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 25—Former President Richard M. Nixon regarded the Cuba of Fidel Castro and the Marxist Government of Salvador Allende Gossens in Chile as the slices of a "Red sandwich" that could eventually have enclosed all of Latin America in Communism.

In their fourth television interview broadcast tonight, Mr. Nixon told David Frost that an Italian businessman who visited him in the White House before the Chilean election of 1970 had suggested the sandwich symbol. He quoted his visitor as having said:

"If Allende should win the election in Chile, and then you have Castro in Cuba, what you will in effect have in Latin America is a Red sandwich, and eventually it will all be Red."

"And that's what we confronted," said Mr. Nixon, who defended his Administration's actions against the Allende Government, including his order to the Central Intelligence Agency to try to prevent Dr. Allende's election by the Chilean Congress after he won a plurality, but not a majority, of the popular vote."

## A 'Hypocritical Double Standard'

"Allende was overthrown eventually," said Mr. Nixon, "not because of anything that was done from the outside, but because his system didn't work in Chile and Chile decided to throw it out." Obviously astonished at the "sandwich" analogy, Mr. Frost characterized the Italian businessman's analysis as "madness."

"It isn't madness at all," Mr. Nixon replied. "It shows somebody cutting through the hypocritical double standard of those who can see all the dangers on the right and don't look at the dangers of the left."

"You've got little Cuba and little Chile and all those enormous countries in between," Mr. Frost said. "I mean—you're really saying that Brazil should feel itself surrounded by Cuba and Chile?"

"All that I can say," said Mr. Nixon, "is that as far as Brazil is concerned, as far as Argentina is concerned, the other countries in that part of the hemisphere—and I have visited most of them in 1958—and I can testify to the fact that many of their governments are potentially unstable. I can testify to the fact also that they do have a problem of subversion."

"I don't mean that it was an immediate threat," Mr. Nixon said, "but I mean that if you let one go, you're going to have some problems with others."

## Nixon Opposition to Loans

Asked what he meant by saying, after Dr. Allende's election, that he wanted to make Chile's economy "scream," Mr. Nixon said he was indicating that the United States should oppose loans for



The New York Times

**President Salvador Allende of Chile watching military planes bomb the Presidential palace in Santiago, Sept. 11, 1973.**

*"Allende was overthrown eventually, not because of anything that was done from the outside, but because his system didn't work . . ."*

Chile from international agencies. A factor, he said, was Chile's expropriation of American properties.

"All you had to do was read his campaign speeches," Mr. Nixon said. "He said, 'with Cuba in the Caribbean and with Chile on the southern cone, we will make the revolution in Latin America.' Now we had one country in the Western Hemisphere, Cuba, that is, exporting revolution, and we didn't want another one, Chile, doing it."

"There wasn't any question," Mr. Nixon said at one point, "that Chile was being used by some of Castro's agents as a

base to export terrorism to Argentina, to Bolivia, to Brazil. We knew all of that."

Mr. Nixon challenged an assertion by Mr. Frost that Dr. Allende never introduced political repression. The former President said that Dr. Allende turned "all the screws he possibly could" to make Chile a Marxist state before he was overthrown and lost his life in September 1973.

## Repression 'In a Subtle Way'

Dr. Allende practiced repression "in a subtle way," Mr. Nixon said, using a Government television stations exclusively for Marxist propaganda, denying Government advertising to news organizations critical of the Government, shutting the Santiago office of United Press International and for a brief time closing his country's biggest newspaper, El Mercurio.

When Mr. Frost said the C.I.A. had reported shortly before the 1973 coup that Dr. Allende posed no threat to democracy and would probably lose the next election, Mr. Nixon replied: "Based on the C.I.A.'s record of accuracy in their reports, I would take all of that with a grain of salt."

The C.I.A., Mr. Nixon said, had failed to predict Dr. Allende's election victory, developments in Cambodia after the Communist takeover in 1975 or the Arab-Israeli war of 1973. "At that point, its intelligence estimates were not very good on Latin America," he said.

He said he would not defend the repression imposed by the military Government that took power in 1973, but he drew a distinction between right-wing and left-wing dictatorships:

"In terms of national security, in terms of our own self-interest, the right-wing dictatorship, if it is not exporting its revolution, if it is not interfering with its neighbors, if it is not taking action directed against the United States, it is of no security concern to us."

## Senate Approves Nominations Of 11 New U.S. Ambassadors

WASHINGTON, May 25 (Reuters)—The Senate today approved without dissent or objection President Carter's nominations of 11 ambassadors.

They included Patrick Lucey to Mexico; Ronald Spiers to Turkey; Frederick Irving to Jamaica; Marvin Weissman to Costa Rica; William Sullivan to Iran; Douglas Heck to Nepal.

Also Rozanne Ridgeway to Finland; James Lowenstein to Luxembourg; Robert Miller to Malaysia; Harry Shlaudeman to Peru and Donald Bergus to Sudan.

NYT  
5-26-77