S
3

PREM 19/4588

PART 2.

MT

CONFIDENTIAL FILING.

Relations with Chile.

Exchange of Ambassadors.

Policy on Arms Sales.

INTERNAL SITUATION

CHILE

Part 1: September 19[illegible]

Part 2: March 1986.

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
~~18.3.86~~		CLOSED					
~~3.4.86~~							
~~7.4.86~~							
~~31.7.86~~							
~~9.9.86~~							
~~18.9.86~~							
~~27.11.86~~							
~~2.12.86~~							
~~8.7.87~~							
~~2.10.87~~							
~~6.11.87~~							
~~24.11.87~~							
~~8.1.88~~							
~~4.3.88~~							
~~14.7.88~~							
~~8.9.88~~							
~~21.9.88~~							
~~26.9.88~~							
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~~9.4.91~~							
~~4.6.91~~							
~~2.3.92~~							
~~14.12.93~~							
15.12.93							

PREM 19/4588

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
CC(86) 31st Item 1	18/09/1986

PART 2 ends:-

RL to Ramsay 25.5.94

PART 3 begins:-

FLO to RL 27.6.94

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

25 May 1994

Thank you for your letter of 24 May.

I am grateful to you for passing on the Chilean Ambassador's request. I am looking into it, and will reply directly to him.

RODERIC LYNE

David Ramsay, Esq.

fChilean. DOTS

bc PLJ

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

25 May 1994

CHILEAN AMBASSADOR

The British group of the IPU have recently passed on to me a request from the Chilean Ambassador for a short meeting with a Number 10 official to discuss the way we organise the Prime Minister's office. The explanation given was that the Chileans were thinking of reorganising their own Presidential office, and were mindful of their British connections over time.

The route for this enquiry is a trifle curious. I am sure that Philippa Leslie-Jones or I could find half an hour for the Chilean Ambassador over the next few weeks, if you felt that would be useful. I would be grateful for your advice. I see no reason why you should not seek a little more explanation from the Chilean Embassy if you so wished.

RODERIC LYNE

J. S. Smith, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Roderic
No - fine by me.
Alex

A not uncommon request.
If the FCO see no objection
(I the Chilean should have come
through them, not IPU), Philippa
or I might offer the Chilean
half an hour. See any problems?
Roderic.
23/-

INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION
BRITISH GROUP
PALACE OF WESTMINSTER
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Telephone:
071-219 3013-3011
Secretary:
David I. Ramsay
Telex:
8813033
Fax:
071-222 1213

24 May 1994

Mr Roderic Lyne
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London
SW1

Dear Roderic

Please forgive me for writing to you, but you are probably my only contact in the Prime Minister's immediate entourage who can help.

Last week we had a most unusual request when the Chilean Ambassador, H.E. Señor Hernan Errazuriz, called upon the Chairman of the British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, John Ward CBE MP to advance the cause of a senior Chilean politician for Presidency of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

We were expecting this, which is all part of the three yearly ritual of presidential elections and lobbying, but what we did not expect was an enquiry from the Ambassador as to how our Prime Minister's office, briefing, advice and diary were managed. It transpires that Chile wishes to reorganise - or should I say organise - the office of their President. As you will know, they have strong British connections dating back over many years and it is for that reason that Ambassador Errazuriz approached us for assistance. As we have little direct contact with No.10 we were not able to give the Ambassador any clear advice at the time.

I wondered whether one of your overworked staff might be prepared to talk to the Chilean Ambassador for half an hour or so to explain the mechanisms that permit the Prime Minister to appear in Parliament for his parliamentary duties; in his Constituency for his constituency duties; internationally for his international functions and so on. Levels of staffing would also be of interest, unless this matter comes under the Official Secrets Act.

I would be very grateful for any help you can give.

Yours aye

David Ramsay

(82)

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MDHOAN 2278

TOP COPY
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SUBJECT
MASTER

HIC 020/1

RECEIVED
1 [illegible] 93

Filed on:

FA

RESTRICTED
FM FCO
TO IMMEDIATE SANTIAGO
TELNO 260
OF 150951Z DECEMBER 93

MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

1. Please deliver the following message from the Prime Minister to President-elect Frei:

BEGINS

I was delighted to hear of your election victory on 11 December.

Great credit is due to the Concertacion for the way it has worked to consolidate democracy and economic success in Chile, and I am sure that you will continue to build on President Aylwin's achievements.

I am also confident that, during your Presidency, British-Chilean relations will remain excellent. I greatly look forward to working with you.

2. There will be no signed original.
HURD

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION 24

MAIN 24

LAD
SAAD
NEWS D
RAD

PS
PS/MR HEATHCOAT-AMORY
MR BEAMISH

NNNN

Reg
Re copy to
Sir John Coles.
15/12
Hum PA
HIC 020/1

DC Done 15/92

Re tel FCO to Santiago.

Foreign & Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 December 1993

Dear Roderic,

President-Elect of Chile

President Eduardo Frei of the Christian Democratic party won the Chilean Presidential election on 11 December. He was the Presidential candidate of the governing centre-left coalition (the "Concertacion").

Senator Frei will not be inaugurated as President until 11 March 1994, when we hope the Chief Secretary to the Treasury will represent the United Kingdom. However, other governments are likely to send congratulatory messages this week.

We recommend that the Prime Minister send a congratulatory message to Senator Frei. I enclose a draft.

Yours ever,

(J S Smith)
Private Secretary

Roderic Lyne Esq CMG
10 Downing Street

Santiago 14/12

RESTRICTED IMMEDIATE

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RESTRICTED

FM FCO
TO IMMEDIATE SANTIAGO
TELNO
OF 141623Z DECEMBER 93

MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

1. Please deliver the following message from the Prime Minister to President-elect Frei:

BEGINS

I was glad to hear of your election victory on 11 December. Many congratulations.

Great credit is due to the Concertacion for its work to consolidate democracy and economic success in Chile. I am sure that you will continue to build on President Aylwin's achievements. I look forward to working with you to continue the close friendship between our two countries.

~~Please accept my warmest congratulations.~~

2. There will be no signed original.

HURD

TEL72S LAD C P SKILTON 270 3822

A

RESTRICTED IMMEDIATE

HURD

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MAIN

NNNN

D/C,
Better check this is sorted out / thing to go ahead (to PM to sign?

RESTRICTED

CC PS/No. 10.

145236
MDHIAN 6503

RESTRICTED
FM SANTIAGO
TO IMMEDIATE FCOLN
TELNO 337
OF 091630Z DECEMBER 93

AMENDED DISTRIBUTION - 10/12

10
12

TELECON LYNE/SKILTON OF 9 DECEMBER

OUR TELNO 333 AND FCO TELNO 48: CHILEAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

1. Draft text of congratulations from the Prime Minister is as follows:

BEGINS

I was delighted to hear of your election victory on 11 December.

Great credit is due to the Concertacion for the way it has worked to consolidate democracy and economic success in Chile, and I am sure that you will continue to build on President Aylwin's achievements.

I am also confident that, during your Presidency, British-Chilean relations will remain excellent. I greatly look forward to working with you.

Please accept my warmest congratulations.

ENDS

WHEELER

YYYY

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PS/MR HEATHCOAT-AMORY
PS/PUS
SIR J COLES
MR BEAMISH

NNNN

10.12. P193

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL NO. PM 3/92

MASTER
OPS

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 March 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Alan Clark brings with him my best wishes to you and your wife. I am glad that Britain will be well represented at FIDAE 92.

It is almost a year since your visit to London; I recall our meeting with great pleasure. Your visit marked an important development in the traditionally close relations between our two countries. I was glad to see that it has been followed by further high-level contact, in particular the visit to London of Defence Minister Rojas last October and the Princess Royal's visit to Chile the month before.

If you are able to attend the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio in June, I shall look forward to meeting you again then.

Yours sincerely,

John Major

His Excellency Sr. Patricio Aylwin Azocar

NB Original letter to MOD. ✓

free ✓ clk CC MOD,

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 March 1992

CHILE: VISIT BY MR. CLARK

Thank you for your letter of 27 February. I enclose the Prime Minister's signed letter to President Aylwin, for Mr. Clark to take with him on his visit to Chile.

J. S. WALL

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 February 1992

Dear Stephen,

Chile : Visit by Mr Alan Clarke

Mr Clark, Minister of State for Defence Procurement, will be visiting Chile from 5-10 March to attend the Santiago International Air Show, FIDAE 92, at which there will be a substantial RAF presence.

Our Ambassador in Santiago has suggested that the Prime Minister might wish to use the opportunity of Mr Clark's visit to send a personal message to President Aylwin. The message would renew the contact made during the President's visit to London last April.

I enclose a copy of your record of their meeting last April, and a draft message from the Prime Minister.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO

HIS EXCELLENCY
PRESIDENT AYLWIN OF CHILE

HE Sr. Patricio Aylwin Azocar

Alan Clark brings with him my best wishes to you and your wife. I am glad that Britain will be well-represented at FIDAE 92.

I have been following events in Chile with interest and wish to congratulate you on your outstanding leadership of Chile in the two years since the successful return to democracy.

It is almost a year since your visit to London; I recall our meeting with great pleasure. Your visit marked an important development in the traditionally close relations between our two countries. I was glad to see that it has been followed by further high-level contact, in particular the visit to London of Defence Minister Rojas last October, and the Princess Royal's visit to Chile the month before.

If you are able to attend the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio in June, I ~~hope that I may have the pleasure of~~ look forward to meeting you again there.

[John Major]

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T170/91

c/foreign-Azocar SLH

cc FCO
SUBJECT
MASTER
OPS
FILED ON:

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

17 June 1991

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter of 3 May.

It was good of you to write in such generous terms. Your visit certainly did a great deal to strengthen the links between our two countries.

You kindly suggested that I might consider a visit to Chile. I would very much like to take you up on your offer - alas, it is difficult for me to foresee when this might be.

With warm good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

John Major

His Excellency Senor Patricio Aylwin Azocar

Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 June 1991

Dear Stephen,

On 4 June you sent me a thank-you letter from President Aylwin of Chile to the Prime Minister. The letter also contained an invitation to the Prime Minister to visit Chile.

On balance, we think the Prime Minister should reply and I accordingly enclose a draft containing a non-committal line about a future visit to Chile.

A translation of President Aylwin's letter is also enclosed.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq CMG LVO
10 Downing Street

DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO:

His Excellency Senor Patricio Aylwin
President of the Republic of Chile

Thank you for your letter of 3 May.

It was good of you to write in such generous terms. Your visit certainly did a great deal to strengthen the links between our two countries.

You kindly suggested that I might consider a visit to Chile. I would very much like to take you up on your offer - alas, it is difficult for me to foresee when this might be.

Chile DAS

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

4 June 1991

Dear Simon,

LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER FROM PRESIDENT AYLWIN

I enclose a thank you letter from President Aylwin of Chile to the Prime Minister following his visit to this country. The key point seems to be an invitation to the Prime Minister to visit Chile.

I do not think the Prime Minister needs to respond to the letter but if you thought he should reply, saying that he looks forward to visiting Chile (but without making a commitment) perhaps you could let me have a draft. In that case, perhaps you could also let me have a translation of President Aylwin's letter.

Yours,
Stephen

J. S. WALL

Simon Gass, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

STEPHEN

I have received the attached letter from the Chile Ambassador. Could you possibly handle this?

GRAHAM BRIGHT MP

4th June 1991

The Ambassador

Embassy of Chile
London

23 May 1991

Mr Graham Bright
Private Secretary to The Rt Hon John Major
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

Dear Mr Bright,

President Patricio Aylwin, already back in Chile after his visit to Europe, asked me to forward this letter to the Prime Minister.

I am pleased to enclose the letter and kindly ask you to hand it to The Rt. Hon. John Major.

Yours sincerely,

GERMAN RIESCO

The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES PREM 19 PIECE/ITEM 4588 (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: Letter from Wall dated 9 May 1991	
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Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.
This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

PRIME MINISTER'S 1
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T135A/91

STS 511/91

SUBJECT
MASTER
OPS
FILED ON:

Santiago, 3 May 1991

Dear Prime Minister,

Now that I am back in Chile, I wanted to write to thank you and your government for having been so solicitous towards me and my colleagues during our visit to Britain.

The delightful meal which you gave us and your generous words, the gift of the family tree of my British ancestors and our interesting talk at your house will hold unforgettable memories for me.

I receive these gestures as an expression of esteem towards my country and trust that my visit has served to strengthen the ties of friendship between our nations. We should be most honoured if you would consider visiting Chile.

Courtesy close.

signed: Patricio Aylwin Azocar

CIME: Relatio
f. 2

Santiago, 3 de mayo de 1991.

Excmo. Señor
John Major
Primer Ministro de Gran Bretaña e Irlanda del Norte
LONDRES

Estimado Primer Ministro:

Al regresar a Chile, quiero hacer llegar a Ud., y a su gobierno, mis sentimientos de gratitud por las atenciones con que yo y mis acompañantes fuimos distinguidos durante nuestra visita al Reino Unido.

La grata cena que Ud. tuvo la gentileza de ofrecernos, sus palabras afectuosas, el árbol genealógico de mis ancestros británicos que me obsequió y nuestra interesante conversación en su residencia, serán para mí recuerdos imborrables.

Recibo esos gestos como expresión de aprecio hacia mi país y confío en que mi visita haya servido para fortalecer los lazos de amistad entre nuestras naciones. Sería para nosotros muy honroso que Ud. considerara la posibilidad de visitarnos.

Con las seguridades de mi mayor consideración y aprecio, me es grato saludarlo cordialmente.

PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR

CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT cc MASTER

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

11 April 1991

VISIT OF PRESIDENT AYLWIN OF CHILE

Thank you for the briefing which you provided for President Aylwin's meeting with the Prime Minister today. The Prime Minister took a shine to the President and this afternoon's meeting was genuinely warm and friendly. Both the President and the Prime Minister spoke briefly to the media (mostly Chilean) in Downing Street afterwards.

The main points from this afternoon's meeting were as follows:

Situation in Chile

At the Prime Minister's request, the President described the political and economic situation in Chile. Politics were, by contrast with the British system, conducted as far as possible on the basis of consensus between government and opposition. By and large the armed forces had accepted the establishment of democratic control though there were problems outstanding, such as the fact that a quarter of the members of the Senate were appointed under the previous regime and terrorism (which might come from both the extreme right and extreme left or conceivably from groups with links to the armed forces).

The Prime Minister, who had opened the meeting by again expressing our pleasure at the restoration and consolidation of democracy in Chile, said that it followed from that that we wanted to see a secure democracy. The death of Senator Guzman had shocked the world and one could only hope that the sense of public outrage would lead to the isolation of terrorists in Chile. We would be very happy to discuss the scope for provision of anti-terrorist training. The menace of drugs trafficking was also linked to terrorism and we looked forward to cooperating in that field as well.

The President expressed gratitude. He thought that Chilean democracy would be consolidated on the basis of agreement between government and opposition in three important spheres:

(i) agreement on the rejection of terrorism and that it should not be made a subject of inter-party controversy

(ii) reform of the municipal system to introduce local democracy and

(iii) reform of the judiciary

CONFIDENTIAL

Those three things would be very important to Chile's stability.

Relations with Pinochet

The President described his difficulties with the armed forces in familiar terms. The Prime Minister went on to ask him about the conduct of relations between himself and Pinochet. In replying, the President said that what he was telling the Prime Minister was obviously confidential. In private, Pinochet was very respectful. They had never had a row. Pinochet felt free to express his disagreements and when the President told him he was wrong Pinochet said that he accepted the President's decision as his superior. So much for face to face relations. However, from time to time, Pinochet took the government by surprise by publishing statements going beyond his role as commander in chief. In those circumstances, the President would call him up and tear him off a strip. Pinochet, like a small boy caught out, would say contritely that he would not do it again. Referring to the Rettig report, the President said that the armed forces acknowledged the facts but regarded what had happened as a closed chapter. While that was not the end of the matter, the fact that the armed forces did not deny what had happened gave some room for hope for the future.

The President said it was hard to know to what extent Pinochet retained his own intelligence and information machine at the heart of the army. That was something which caused him a lot of concern, particularly given the possibility that terrorist acts were linked to the past dictatorship.

Economic issues

At the Prime Minister's suggestion the President described the present economic situation in Chile and the inevitable tension between the need for significant social spending on the one hand and the requirements of financial probity on the other. The President had supported his finance minister's rigorous stance on public spending but last year's tax reforms had given them the wherewithal to deal with social issues. The Prime Minister referred to the high level of British inward investment in Chile but to the relatively low level of trade. He hoped that the President's visit would improve business awareness. The President said that interest had already been shown during his visit e.g. the possibility of a joint aircraft manufacturing project.

Falklands

The Prime Minister thanked the President for his very helpful attitude to trade and economic relations between Chile and the Falklands. Now that democracy was re-established in Chile and in Argentina, he hoped those trade and economic relations could be developed. The President agreed.

Military training

The Prime Minister said that if Chile was interested we could look at the scope for training their military forces, within our available resources. The President said he was very

pleased to be told of this interesting possibility. Any offer of training would, he hoped, be made to the Minister of Defence, not direct to the armed forces. This was a point he had already made to the Foreign Secretary. The Prime Minister said that he would consult the Foreign Secretary and we would be back in touch.

GATT

The President looked forward to growing cooperation with Britain on world political and economic issues. The Prime Minister stressed the importance of a satisfactory outcome to the GATT round. We had been very upset at the failure to meet the original target date. It was critical that we pursued the GATT agreement very rigorously and speedily and endeavoured to get on course this year. Much would depend upon the US fast-track approach. It would be disastrous if the President did not get the necessary votes in Congress. Britain was doing all it could in the EC to pursue movement on agriculture. We were also pressing on some of the US high tariffs which they had neglected to include in the negotiations. An important objective was a successful GATT round which opened markets to free trade and prevented self-interested power blocs from establishing tariff girdles around themselves. Even to protectionists a successful GATT outcome was important because the alternative was a trade war. As a European country we felt very strongly the need for a GATT agreement even though it might be domestically painful. The Prime Minister hoped the President would put his political weight behind such an outcome. The President warmly agreed.

Conclusion

The Prime Minister said that now that Chile was in a democratic state of grace the prospect of better relations was greatly improved. He hoped the President's visit would not be a one-off event and that we could build our trade, investment and political links. Our Ambassadors should work at least 24 hours a day, 8 days a week to that end. Either the President himself or his ministers would be warmly welcomed in the UK and the Prime Minister hoped we could establish a regular pattern of political and commercial contact.

The President responded to this with evident pleasure and reciprocated what the Prime Minister had said. He hoped the Prime Minister would visit Chile. The Prime Minister said that he would like to do so.

I am copying this letter to Jeremy Heywood (HM Treasury), Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence), Martin Stanley (Department of Trade and Industry), David Rossington (Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food) and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

(J. S. WALL)

Christopher Prentice, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

R.

LIST OF GUESTS ATTENDING THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT OF CHILE IN THE CABINET ROOM ON THURSDAY 11 APRIL 1991

The Prime Minister

Sir John Coles

Mr Richard Neilson
Mr Stephen Wall
Mr John Penney (Interpreter)

His Excellency the President of the Republic of Chile
(His Excellency Senor Patricio Alywin)

His Excellency the Ambassador of the Republic of Chile
(Senor German Riesco)

Senor Carlos Portales	Director General, External Policy,MFA
Senor Carlos Bascunan	The President's Chef de Cabinet

Senora Estela Lorca (Interpreter)

CERC
Bkup

Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 April 1991

Dear Stephen,

Visit of President Aylwin of Chile: 10 - 14 April

I hesitate to add a further paper to those already prepared for the visit of President Aylwin of Chile but there is one important point that needs more emphasis.

In promoting our interests in Chile we cannot, like the Germans and others, offer much financial help. But what in many ways lasts longer and is more valuable is political support and recognition. President Aylwin and his colleagues fully merit it.

President Aylwin's arrival in power was a very considerable feat. He successfully and peacefully organised the opposition to Pinochet and turned his long political and legal experience to good effect by using Pinochet's own especially designed constitution to ease him from power. Since then he has worked courageously and with integrity to promote reconciliation in a deeply traumatised society and to maintain economic progress. If President Aylwin and his colleagues return to Chile convinced that these achievements have been recognised and that they have been welcomed back with enthusiasm into the fold of democratic, pluralist nations by the political leadership of the world's oldest and stablest democracy, that will benefit our interests.

With this in mind, the Prime Minister may wish to invite President Aylwin to talk about Chile. That would offer an opportunity to pay an appropriately warm tribute. The impact would be much reinforced if the Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Education were able to speak similarly to, respectively, Messrs Foxley and Lagos.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Gieve (HM Treasury) and Stephen Crowne (Department of Education and Science).

Yours ever,
Christopher Prentice.

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG
10 Downing Street

WINDOW

Senor Carlos Bascunan

HE The Ambassador for Chile

THE PRESIDENT

Senor Carlos Portales

Senora Estela Lorca (Interpreter)

Sir Percy Cradock

Mr John Penney Interpreter

Mr Richard Neilson

L

THE PRIME MINISTER

Sir John Coles

Mr Stephen Wall

Peter BEAN

E. R.

CHILE

Human Rights and the Rettig Report

1. One of the main challenges facing President Aylwin on his assumption of power was to restore human rights in Chile and set right the wrongs of his predecessor Pinochet.

2. Since Aylwin's elections several hundred "political" prisoners have been released. But some 200 are still in jail, mainly because changing the law to allow re-trial in cases where torture was used to extract evidence has proved a lengthy business.

3. The most difficult task has been to come to terms with the systematic persecution of opposition over the 17 years of the Pinochet dictatorship. Pinochet, still Commander of the Army, has stated that he will not allow any of 'his people' to be touched. Aylwin's response was to establish the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation chaired by an eminent lawyer, Raul Rettig, to try to establish what happened to those who died in custody or simply 'disappeared'. His report, which the Embassy in Santiago describes as 'meticulous and rigorous' gives details of the illegal deaths of 2,279 victims, though without naming the killers.

4. In an emotional address to the nation, Aylwin called on the courts to ignore Pinochet's hastily passed amnesty law and investigate the cases. On behalf of the Chilean nation he asked the forgiveness of the victims' families.

5. The responses of the Armed Forces have been mixed: the Air Force and police (Carabineros), the branches least involved, expressed regret for what happened and accepted responsibility, while the Navy, and most of all Pinochet, claim that they were fighting a war against Communist subversion and show no sign of repentance. There the matter uneasily rests.

ACCESS FOR CHILEAN AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS TO THE EC

1. Access to the British market for Chilean and other Latin American agricultural products is governed by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Any improvements will largely depend on the current GATT Uruguay Round. Within the GATT Chile is a member of the Cairns Group of agriculture exporting countries - led by Australia - pressing for a substantial outcome on agriculture. Agriculture remains the key to the success of the Round. The Community's performance has not been impressive. The EC's agriculture offer was delayed three weeks, and when finally tabled last November was greeted critically by the US and Cairns Group, in particular for offering little on import access and export subsidies.

2. Our position is clear: we are glad the Uruguay Round negotiations are back under way and we welcome agreement within the EC that we must aim for an early conclusion. Delay runs the risk that the rest of the package already agreed may unravel. Britain will continue to argue within the EC for greater flexibility on agriculture, but hopes should not be raised too high. There is a limit to which we can face down the EC agriculture lobby.

3. The recent agreement by the Community to negotiate specific binding commitments in internal support, market access and export subsidies should go some way to meet the demands of the Cairns Group. The principle that agriculture be subjected to full GATT discipline is also a step forward.

9 April 1991

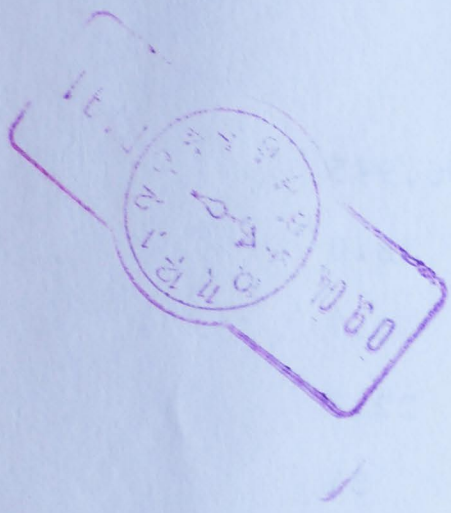
CH1AEG

STATISTICAL ANNEX: CHILE

Area (sq km)		756,945
Population (m)	1989	13.0
Population Growth (%)	1980-89	1.7
GNP (US$bn)	1989	22.9
Position in GNP league table	1989	51
GNP per head (US$)	1989	1,770
Position in GNP per capita league table	1989	61
Real GNP Growth (%)	1980-89	1.0
Inflation (%)	1990	26.1
Balance of Payments on Current Account (US$bn)	1989	-0.9
Volume Growth (%)		
Exports		-
Imports		-
External Debt (% GNP)	1989	78.3
Govt budget balance (% GDP)	1988	-0.2
Short term interest rate (%)		-
Change in real effective exchange rate index (%)	1989	-2.3
Exchange rate (Peso/US$)	1990	305.06

UK Trade with Chile (£m)	1989	1990
UK Exports to Chile	96	128
UK Imports from Chile	193	222
Trade Balance	-97	-94
Position in Export League Table	61	56

UK Investment in Chile (£m)	1987	137
Chile - Investment in UK		-
UK Aid to Chile (£000)		
Gross Bilateral	1988	306
Attributable Multilateral	1987	1,230



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SIC U2J
CHILE: THE ASSASSINATION OF SENATOR JAIME GUZMAN

SUMMARY

1. PUBLIC OPINION HAS BEEN APPALLED BY THE MURDER, WHICH HAS BEEN CONDEMNED BY ALL POLITICAL PARTIES. IT HAS SHOWN THAT TERRORISM IS ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS FACING THE GOVERNMENT. PRESIDENT ALWIN HAS TAKEN A FIRM STAND BUT HE NEEDS RESULTS IF HE IS NOT TO LOSE CREDIBILITY.

DETAIL

2. GUZMAN WAS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL INTELLECTS AND IDEOLOGISTS OF THE PINOCHET REGIME. HE WAS A GIFTED TEACHER AND ENJOYED THE ESTEEM OF HIS LAW STUDENTS AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY. HE WAS THE ARCHITECT OF THE 1980 CONSTITUTION. HE WAS CONSEQUENTLY NOT POPULAR WITH THOSE SECTIONS OF THE CHILEAN MEDIA SYMPATHETIC TO THE LEFT. BUT HE HAD WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORTED THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. GUZMAN STUCK TO A DEAL WHEREBY HIS PARTY, UDI, BACKED GABRIEL VALDES AS PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE. HE WAS THE MOST ELOQUENT AND EFFECTIVE SPOKESMAN OF THE RIGHT. AS A PARLIAMENTARIAN HE HAD QUICKLY DEMONSTRATED SKILL AND ACUMEN AND WAS RESPECTED BY POLITICANS WITH VERY DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS. HE WAS AN INTENSELY DEVOUT ROMAN CATHOLIC. HE HAD WON AFFECTION FOR HIS QUALITIES OF HUMOUR AND HIS ECCENTRICITIES, WHICH INCLUDED HAVING A SIESTA EVERY DAY WHEN THE SENATE WAS IN SESSION. GUZMAN'S DEATH IS A REAL LOSS TO CHILEAN POLITICS.

3. THE AMBASSADOR TOGETHER WITH VARIOUS EC COLLEAGUES ATTENDED THE FUNERAL SERVICE ON 4 APRIL. IT WAS PRESIDED OVER BY ARCHBISHOP OVIEDO. THE PRESIDENT, CABINET MINISTERS AND THE HEADS OF THE ARMED FORCES ATTENDED, AS WELL AS PROMINENT CHILEANS FROM EVERY WALK OF LIFE. THE CHURCH WAS PACKED. AFTERWARDS, THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE FOLLOWED THE CORTEGE TO THE GENERAL CEMETERY. APART FROM ISOLATED INCIDENTS OF UNRULY BEHAVIOUR AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CEREMONIES, THE PROCESSION WAS ORDERLY. SPOKESMEN FOR UDI STRESSED

THAT GUZMAN HAD BEEN A MAN OF PEACE AND DISORDERS WOULD NOT DO HONOUR TO HIS MEMORY.

4. AT A MEETING OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ON 2 APRIL, PRESIDENT AYLWIN CALLED FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF THE ARMED FORCES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE HE CONDEMNED THE MURDER IN STRONG TERMS: THE PERPETRATORS OF THIS CRIME AIMED AT POLARISING SOCIETY AND DESTROYING NORMALITY. CHILEANS WANTED TO LIVE IN PEACE. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD DO EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO ERRADICATE TERRORISM. HE SAID THAT HIS EUROPEAN TOUR WOULD GO AHEAD. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE DEFLECTED BY TERRORIST ACTIONS. TO DO SO WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO LETTING THE TERRORISTS ENTER THE GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS AND PUT EVERYONE AT THEIR MERCY. THE SENATE HELD A SECRET SESSION ON 2 APRIL, ATTENDED BY THE MINISTERS OF THE INTERIOR, FINANCE AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PRESIDENCY, TO CONSIDER TERRORISM. IT WAS AGREED THAT EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES WERE NEEDED TO COUNTER TERRORIST GROUPS AND ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE. AFTERWARDS GABRIEL VALDES ADMITTED THAT HE AND A NUMBER OF OTHER SENATORS HAD RECEIVED DEATH THREATS. INTERVIEWED LATER ON TELEVISION VALDES WON PRAISE FOR HIS MEASURED WORDS: IN A DEMOCRACY TRUTH RATHER THAN REPRESSION WAS THE BEST DEFENCE AGAINST TERRORISM.

COMMENT

5. CHILEANS ARE REPELLED BY THE MURDER OF GUZMAN. HE WAS THE MOST NOTABLE VICTIM OF TERRORIST GROUPS WHICH HAVE BEEN BEHIND A STEADY STREAM OF VIOLENT CRIMES. MOST WEEKS SEE A BANK ROBBERY, THE MURDER OF A CARABINERO OR SOME OTHER SUCH EPISODE. THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOW RECOGNISED THAT THE FAR LEFT IS RESPONSIBLE AND THAT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT GROUPS OF THE FAR RIGHT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED. IT WAS SINISTER THAT ARMED AND HOODED MEMBERS OF THE THREE PRINCIPAL TERRORIST GROUPS HAD OPENLY DEMONSTRATED IN SANTIAGO ON 29 MARCH AND DISTRIBUTED PAMPHLETS WITH PICTURES OF GUZMAN AND GENERAL CONTRERAS (THE FORMER HEAD OF DINA) INDICATING THAT THEY WOULD BE KILLED. THE FACT THAT TWO FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS, RELEASED BY THE PRESIDENT FROM JAIL LAST YEAR, WERE RECENTLY ARRESTED WHEN ATTEMPTING TO COMMIT ARMED ROBBERIES HAD ALREADY CAUSED A FURORE. NOW, THE MURDER OF GUZMAN HAS CREATED A POLITICAL CLIMATE IN WHICH IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE PRESIDENT TO ORDER THE RELEASE OF MORE AMONG THE REMAINING FIFTY OR SO IN JAIL.

6. THE CARABINEROS HAD ALREADY BEEN GIVEN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF DEALING WITH TERRORISM. BUT SO FAR THEY HAVE HAD LITTLE SUCCESS

AND DO NOT INSPIRE CONFIDENCE. THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED AFTER THE ASSASSINATION THAT A SPECIAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANISATION WILL BE ESTABLISHED EMBRACING BOTH THE CARABINEROS AND THE POLICIA DE INVESTIGACIONES (PLAIN CLOTHES POLICE), AND CALLED ON THE ARMED FORCES TO ASSIST IN THIS. THE ARMY HAS APPARENTLY PLEDGED ITS WILLINGNESS TO HELP BUT HAS SAID THAT THEY CAN ONLY GATHER INFORMATION BY PARTICIPATING IN INVESTIGATIONS. IF THE GOVERNMENT IS TO GET ON TOP OF TERRORISM IT WILL PROBABLY NEED TO ESTABLISH AN INTELLIGENCE ORGANISATION DRAWING ON EXPERTISE AVAILABLE FROM THE ARMED FORCES. BUT ANYTHING EVEN REMOTELY RESEMBLING THE DINA AND CNI OF THE PINOCHET YEARS IS HIGHLY EMOTIVE HERE AND WILL BE HARD FOR AYLWIN TO CONTEMPLATE. THERE IS THUS A RISK THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL FAIL TO TAKE RESOLUTE ACTION AND THE PROBLEM MAY GET WORSE. THE DILEMMA WAS MADE STARK FOR THEM WHEN MARIO VARGAS LLOSA WAS HERE A FEW WEEKS AGO. HE WARNED HOW THE COLOSSAL TERRORIST PROBLEM IN HIS COUNTRY HAD BEGUN AS A SEEMINGLY SMALL AND CONTAINABLE PHENOMENA.

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9 April 1991

Dear Stephen,

Visit of President Aylwin: Additional Briefing

As agreed on the telephone earlier today, I enclose three pieces of extra briefing:

- A summary of the position on human rights in Chile and the Rettig Report
- A generalised note on the problem of access for Chilean agricultural exports to the EC
- Key economic statistics on Chile.

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO
10 Downing Street

COVERING RESTRICTED

PRIME MINISTER

cc Mrs. Major

good speech! 4

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF CHILE: 10/11 APRIL

The President of Chile is paying an official visit from 10-15 April. His programme includes talks with you and the Foreign Secretary, lunch with The Queen, a Mansion House dinner, a dinner with City bankers and an address to the University Senate at Cambridge. He will be meeting the Leader of the Opposition. President Aylwin (whose great-great-grandfather emigrated to Chile in the first half of the last century) will also be going privately to West Sussex whence his forebears came.

A You are giving dinner to Aylwin tomorrow night (see guest list and programme attached). I also attach the speech for tomorrow.

You will be having talks with President Aylwin and a team of his officials for an hour at 1700 on Thursday.

By way of briefing I suggest that you read the attached interview
B from this Monday's Financial Times and the scene-setting
C telegrams from Santiago by our Ambassador Dick Neilson. An FCO brief is in the folder.

President Aylwin, who is 73, has been in power for a year. His election at the head of a coalition of parties from left to right returned Chile to democracy after 17 years of military rule under General Pinochet.

Aylwin is popular, has consolidated democracy (despite the fact that General Pinochet remains as head of the army) and has maintained the economic success which was about the one good thing that came out of military rule.

Chile's inflation is likely to fall from 27% to under 18% this year. Growth is likely to rise to 4%.

Our objectives in our relations with Chile are:

- to support democracy (we played a part in the overthrow of Spanish rule in the early 19th century and are regarded as traditional friends);

- to maintain Chile's co-operative attitude over the Falkland Islands;

- to boost our trade and investment.

Aylwin's objectives will be to look to the UK for help over access to our market and tariff reductions and to seek our help in training the Chilean armed forces for life in a democracy.

Although you will have done it in your speech tomorrow you may want to start Thursday's meeting by paying tribute to Aylwin's achievement in restoring democracy to Chile: there was enormous interest/concern in the UK at the overthrow of Allende and distress at the human rights abuses of the military regime. Admiration for Aylwin in achieving return to democracy.

You may then want to get the President to describe the present political and economic situation. (He has had recent difficulties with Pinochet over the findings of the independent report on human rights abuses under the military junta.) We want to help the consolidation of democracy in any way we can. We have a lot of experience in military training and, resources permitting, will do what we can to help promote the integration of Chile's armed forces.

Our economic relations are good but could be strengthened. In the new political climate both in Chile and in Argentina we want to strengthen transport and trade links between Chile and the Falkland Islands.

We are the second largest investor in Chile after the United States. In trade we lag behind the Germans and French. We hope the President's visit will alert our businessmen to the existence of Chile's sophisticated market.

If the President asks about access to the UK market you will need to say that this is governed by EC and GATT regulations and cannot be altered unilaterally. The successful outcome of the GATT round would improve Chilean access to the EC market.

Finally, you may want to commend the Memorandum of Understanding signed during the visit on co-operation on the fight against drug abuse. We propose to send an expert to Chile this year to discuss counter measures.

Terrain

International Issues

You may want to touch briefly on the Gulf (including what we are doing for the Kurds). You may also want to give the President some account of how we see the development of the European Community including its growing relationship with the other countries of Eastern Europe and the fact that we do not see integration as an obstacle to better relations with non-EC countries.

Press Arrangements

On Wednesday there will be media present in the Street should you wish to pose with President Aylwin on the steps outside the door to No.10 as you greet him. There will be a press pool in the White Room to cover the receiving line introductions before dinner. They will remain for a picture of you, President Aylwin and the Princess Royal when she arrives (after all the other guests have been introduced and gone through to the Pillared Room at around 1950).

For the talks on Thursday afternoon, there will be the standard photocall in the Front Hall on arrival. In addition, Channel 4 will film the first few minutes of the talks in the Cabinet Room.

Hot Box

There are two other bits of briefing on the visit in the Hot Box.

J.S. WALL

9 April 1991

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Foreign &
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8 April 1991

London SW1A 2AH

Dear Stephen,

President of Chile: Meeting on 11 April

Further to my letter of ~~5~~ April, I can now confirm WITH JSW that the President will be accompanied by Sr Carlos Portales, Director General, Exeternal Policy in the Chilean MFA, Sr Carlos Bascunan, the President's Chef de Cabinet, and the Chilean Ambassador, Sr German (sounds "Herman") Riesco.

I am sorry this information was not available earlier. The Chilean Foreign Minister, Sr Enrique Silva Cimma, will not be attending.

Yours ever,

Christopher Prentice.

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO
10 Downing Street

cc PC
Backup

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London SW1A 2AH

5 April 1991

Dear Stephen,

President of Chile: Meeting on 11 April

The Prime Minister will be having talks with President Aylwin at 1700 on Thursday 11 April. He and Mrs Major will have hosted a dinner for the President and his party the night before (and handed over a scroll setting out the President's ancestry). I enclose personality notes, a brief history of Chile, the programme for the visit and the Ambassador's scene-setting telegrams.

The President will be accompanied by the Chilean Ambassador and possibly the Foreign Minister and an official. On our side, in addition to the Prime Minister and his Private Secretary, Sir John Coles and our Ambassador Mr Richard (Dick) Neilson will attend. Two interpreters, one from each side, will be present throughout.

The visit will be the first by a President of Chile to the United Kingdom since 1965. It will emphasise Chile's return to the democratic family of nations after the military regime of General Pinochet (1973-1990).

Internal situation

Aylwin's greatest achievement in the 1980s was to create and sustain, within a constitutional framework which Pinochet created to perpetuate his own dominance, a credible, effective and non-violent opposition to the military dictator. Aylwin used that political base first to defeat Pinochet in a referendum on Pinochet's continuation in power, and then to defeat both Right and Left in presidential and general elections. Such was the scale of popular support for Aylwin and his "Concertacion" that the junta members and, reluctantly, Pinochet decided to go gracefully. Thus Chile returned peacefully to democracy after 17 years of military rule (though Pinochet remains Head of the Army).

/At the outset

At the outset of his Presidency, Aylwin set himself the tasks of resolving the human rights problems which arose under the previous regime, tackling social inequalities (while maintaining the successful economic model), and re-establishing Chile as a respectable member of the international family of nations. He has succeeded in the latter aim, and has made an impressive start in dealing with the other two.

It is the human rights issue, however, which dominates Chilean politics, putting the spotlight on the relation between the civilians and the military, as personified by Aylwin and Pinochet. The two men despise and distrust each other. On his departure from the Presidency, Pinochet remained Commander of the Army. It looked for a while as if he might soon retire from that role too. But the uncovering by the Aylwin government of physical evidence of massacres by the military and the meticulous investigation of abuses by a special commission (the Rettig Commission) set up by Aylwin, together with evidence of financial corruption in the Armed Forces (some of it very near Pinochet's family) have made the soldiers apprehensive. They look to the General for reassurance. He now seems set to stay, a brooding and sometimes threatening presence.

Nor is the Right Aylwin's only worry: reduction in the prominence of military and police forces is allowing the resurgence of 60s style left-wing terrorism. Initially random, the attacks are now concentrating on those involved in human rights abuses, or their apologists, including the leader of the far-right UDI, Senator Guzman. Aylwin's frustrated response underlines the need for a rapprochement between the legitimate government and its Armed Forces.

The Economy

The success of the Pinochet government was its economic policy. In search of an alternative to both the Marxist experiment of Allende (which it brutally snuffed out) and the sluggish statism of the previous Christian Democrats, the Pinochet government exposed Chile to the rigours of the free market. This process suffered a major setback when copper prices (then 46% of exports) collapsed in 1982, but the economy has since recovered under the capable management of Aylwin's Finance Minister Foxley (whom the Prime Minister met last July in London). With manageable debt, low inflation, modest increases in social expenditure and prospects of sustainable growth, Chile is an economic model for the rest of Latin America. There is now an inward investment boom. President Aylwin, no economist, recognises that much of the credit belongs to his predecessor. Aylwin is prouder of his own real political achievements.

/External

External Policy

Aylwin has quickly succeedeed in reintegrating Chile into the family of nations. Pinochet's overthrow in 1973 of an elected, if chaotic, government and his regime's unrelenting brutality made Chile an international pariah. "Chile solidarity" organisations and the pressure of articulate and politically aware exile groups in virtually all Western countries (except Japan) kept alive the hope of a return to democracy and helped ensure a warm welcome by host governments for restored democracy.

UK-Chile

We were the beneficiaries of Chile's traditionally poor relations with Argentina, especially when both were under military rule. Chile (though not recognising British sovereignty over the Islands) was helpful at the time of the Falklands conflict and since (separate brief). Now that both Chile and Argentina have civilian governments both sides are trying to mend fences. Our Falklands interests may be affected. President Aylwin's visit is a good opportunity to emphasise the importance we attach to transport and trade links between Chile and the Islands.

Falklands apart, our bilateral relations with Chile are friendly but insubstantial: we kept relations to a minimum throughout the Pinochet years. But at Aylwin's inauguration, the UK was represented by Sir Geoffrey Howe, then Deputy Prime Minister, the most senior British Minister ever to visit South America. Our main initiative since then has been, at President Aylwin's request, to strengthen links between the Chilean Army and the British armed forces, with the aim of showing the Chileans how they serve the civil power without adversely affecting either their self-esteem or their fighting effectiveness.

Since Chile is a relatively prosperous country, our aid programme remains very modest, including a small programme to help political refugees return home. Our decision - alone amongst major EC partners - not to contribute to a special Chilean social fund was regretted in Santiago.

Our commercial relations with Chile are good. Chilean exports to Britain, mainly copper, fishmeal, fruit and wine, exceeded £220m last year, the bilateral trade showing a £94 million balance in their favour. Britain remains the second largest investor in Chile after the United States. Recent large investments have been in copper mining (RTZ) forestry/wood pulp (Shell) and lubricants (Castrol).

/There are

There are some major project business opportunities. Biwater did a lot of preparatory work for a water treatment scheme for Santiago in the final years of Pinochet. They are reviving the scheme with the new government. Balfour Beatty are in contact with the group planning a new airport terminal for Santiago. Plessey hope to sell a new and sophisticated traffic control system to Santiago. Imperial College together with the training equipment manufacturer ABMTM have an ambitious scheme for improving Chilean technical education.

No export credit problems inhibit British exports to Chile.

In spite of requests, the Chilean side have not told us what points Sr Aylwin may wish to raise. We believe, however, that in addition to bilateral matters he may wish to hear the Prime Minister's views on Middle East security arrangements post-Gulf and Antarctic questions. We believe he may wish to raise access for Chilean products to the British market, and links with the Falklands, and also repeat his request for help with the reintegration of the Chilean Army into civilian society.

The Prime Minister may wish to make the following points:

Gulf

- Now that Kuwait is free our objective is peace and stability in the region. Can only be achieved by regional security arrangement by the countries of the region. Gulf Co-operation Council plus Syria, have made a good start with the Damascus Declaration. Ready to support their efforts; deploying a battle group to the Gulf until June.

- Lasting security requires tighter control of weapons sales - drawing the line between legitimate self defence and a renewed arms race. Requirements imposed on Iraq by the new UN Security Council Resolution are an important first step.

- Lasting peace in the Middle East requires progress on the Arab/Israel/Palestinian question. Secretary of State Baker's recent tour of the Middle East revealed general support from both Israel and the Arabs for the "double track" approach, envisaging parallel movement on the Palestinian question and on Israel's relations with her Arab neighbours.

- We support his efforts, and remain committed to an international conference at the right time.

/Antarctic

Antarctic: Mining

- Antarctic minerals a problem. We believe neither total ban nor original Convention will now achieve necessary consensus. Our moratorium proposal is intended to produce compromise. We hope Chile will support us on this.

Falkland Islands

- Pleased with Joint UK/Argentine Statement on Fisheries (Nov 90). A symbol of the improved relationship since the Madrid accords. Importance we attach to our position in the Falklands cannot be overstressed. Grateful for Chilean efforts to help with establishment of an air link. Look forward to developing further links.

Drugs

- President Aylwin no doubt shares our concern that Andean drug barons may be turning their attention to Chile. Hope Chile will join us and others in preventing Chile from becoming a haven for drug money. Memorandum of Understanding signed by Sr Silva Cimma and Mr Garel-Jones today an important first step in this process. With agreement of Chilean authorities we propose to send a Customs expert to Chile later this year to discuss drug countermeasure techniques.

EC/GATT

- Impressed by Chile's constructive contribution to the GATT round. Resumption of negotiations very welcome. Inclusion of agriculture an important step. Successful outcome of GATT would improve Chilean access to EC market.

- (Defensive) President will be aware that access to UK market is governed by EC and GATT regulations. Cannot be altered unilaterally. EC measures to reduce tariffs for Andean countries (not including Chile) was a political gesture in support of their campaign against the illicit drug trade.

- (Defensive) Do not consider it consistent with the role of the European Investment Bank (EIB) to extend further its operations outside the Community and Lomé countries.

Bilateral

- We are endeavouring to respond to the President's request to Sir Geoffrey Howe to help with the reintegration of the Chilean Army into civilian society. Not an easy task: resources we committed to it last year not taken up. Will maintain our efforts.

/On arms sales

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- On arms sales, can confirm that the restrictions applied in Pinochet's time now lifted. Will apply same criteria case by case to Export Licence applications as we do for any other friendly democratic country. Hope we shall be a regular supplier to Chilean Armed Forces.

- Pleased Trade Minister Tim Sainsbury able to visit Chile recently. We value Chile as an important trading partner. Prudent economic policies are maintaining investor confidence. Important that they are maintained. Will continue to encourage British industry to take an interest in Chile.

- (Defensive) As a middle-income country Chile has only a modest UK aid programme. We doubled our technical assistance programme in 1990 and are helping exiles return and settle in Chile. Discussions are under way on new areas of co-operation: environment and technical education. (Cannot commit ourselves to large projects, but we are increasing our aid contribution to Chile).

Yours ever,

Christopher Prentice.

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO
10 Downing Street

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CHILE - HISTORY

A century before the Spanish conquest the Incas moved south into Chile from Peru, moving across the desert from oasis to oasis at the foot of the Andes. They reached the heartland (the area around present day Santiago) and conquered it, but were unable to take the forest south of the Rio Maule; there the fierce Mapuches (Araucanians) held them. In 1537 Diego de Almagro, at the head of a hundred Spaniards and some thousands of Indians, took the Inca road from Peru south to Salta and across the Andes. Many of the Indians perished, but the heartland was reached; bitterly disappointed at not finding gold they returned to Peru. The next conquistador who took the desert road was Pedro de Valdivia; he reached the heartland in 1541 and founded Santiago on 12 February. Reinforced by fresh colonists from Peru and Spain, Valdivia widened his conquest and pushed south into Mapuche land, but was able to hold only the settlement to which he had given his name. The Mapuches fought desperately - they soon mastered the use of the horse - and in 1554 they captured Valdivia himself and killed him. Fighting continued for three centuries and it was not until 1881 that peace was made and immigrants were able to settle in the Mapuche lands.

The colonial period was greatly troubled by constant wars against

the Mapuches and by internal dissensions, particularly between the landowners and the priests, who strongly objected to a system of Indian serfdom - the Indians were constantly in revolt. There have been, too, natural disasters in the form of earthquakes and tidal waves which have wiped out the cities again and again. From the end of the 16th century British and French pirates frequented the coasts. From the first, Chile formed part of the Viceroyalty of Peru; it was controlled from Lima, and trade was allowed only with Peru. This led to uncontrolled smuggling and by 1715 there were 40 French vessels trading illegally along the coast. It was not till 1778 that trading was allowed between Chile and Spain.

In 1810 a group of Chilean patriots, including Bernardo O'Higgins - the illegitimate son of a Sligo-born Viceroy of Peru, Ambrosio O'Higgins, and a Chilean mother - revolted against Spain. This revolt led to seven years of war against the occupying troops of Spain - Lord Cochrane was in charge of the insurrectionist navy - and in 1817 General José de San Martín crossed the Andes with an army from Argentina and helped to gain a decisive victory. O'Higgins became the first head of state: under him the first constitution of 1818 was drafted. But there was one thing which was dangerous to touch in Chile: the interests of the dominant landed aristocracy, and O'Higgins's liberal policies offended

them, leading to his downfall in 1823. A period of anarchy followed, but in 1830 conservative forces led by Diego Portales restored order and introduced the authoritarian constitution of 1833. Under this charter, for almost a century, the country was ruled by a small oligarchy of landowners. It was during this period, from 1879 to 1883, that the War of the Pacific was fought against Peru and Bolivia; all three contestants were claiming the new nitrate wealth of the desert in the north. Chile emerged victorious - even Lima was occupied - and for 40 years thereafter it drew great wealth from the nitrate fields. One unexpected result of the war was that the Chilean land workers or inquilinos, after a taste of liberty, were unwilling to return to the bondage of the big estates; the demobilized soldiers migrated to the cities and later pushed south into the new lands beyond the Bío-Bío recently opened by pressure on the Mapuches. The free labourer had made his appear ace.

The rule of the Right was challenged by the liberal regime of President Alessandri in 1920. Acute economic distress in 1924, linked to the replacement of Chile's natural nitrates with artificial fertilizers more cheaply produced in Europe, led to army intervention and some reforms were achieved. The inequalities in Chilean society grew ever sharper, despite the maintenance of political democracy, and gave rise to powerful

socialist and communist parties. President Eduardo Frei's policy of "revolution in freedom" (1964-70) was the first concerted attempt at overall radical reform, but it raised hopes it could not satisfy. In 1970 a marxist coalition assumed office under Dr Salvador Allende; the frantic pace of change under his regime polarized the country into left- and right-wing camps. Gradually increasing social and economic chaos formed the background for Allende's deposition by the army and his death in September 1973. A military regime, led by General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, succeeded him. In its early years particularly, it suppressed internal opposition by methods which were widely condemned. Despite economic prosperity and efforts to make the regime more popular, President Pinochet's bid to be chosen for a further eight years in office after 1989 was rejected by the electorate in 1988. The following year a group of 17 parties, led by Patricio Aylwin's Christian Democrats, achieved a convincing victory in presidential and parliamentary elections. General Pinochet handed over power to President Aylwin on 11 March 1990.

CH1ADZ

AYLWIN AZOCAR, PATRICIO

President of the Chile since March 1990.

Born 1918, the direct descendant of an emigrant who left London in the early nineteenth century.

Law degree from University of Chile in 1944. Became Professor of Law Faculty in 1946, when he wrote what is generally regarded as the standard work on commercial arbitration. Founder member of the Falange, precursor of the Christian Democrat Party (PDC), in 1945. He has been President of PDC no less than 7 times, most recently from 1987 to 1989. Close aid of President Eduardo Frei in 1960s. Elected Senator 1965. Involved in negotiating guarantees from Allende before his assumption as President in 1970, he subsequently became a staunch critic of Allende when the Unidad Popular Government did not respect those guarantees. Like many in PDC, welcomed military intervention in 1973, but became increasingly critical of Pinochet when it became evident that he did not intend to hand power back to civilians. Remained in Chile throughout Pinochet Government. One of the founders of the Group of 24, group of lawyers who openly criticised the regime and the 1980 Constitution in particular. One of first within the opposition to advocate working pragmatically within 1980 Constitution to restore democracy. Played a crucial role as spokesman of the broad-based 'Concertacion' of parties for the 'No' vote which eventually won at October 1988 plebiscite. Confirmed as PDC's and later Concertacion's Presidential candidate in early 1989. Won Presidential election with 55% of the vote in December 1989. Opinion polls after he took over in March 1990 show him with more than 80% support.

The apparent twists and turns of Aylwin's career reflect above all the tortuousness of recent Chilean political history. Throughout Alywin has shown commitment to moderation, commonsense and reason. A modest man with an avuncular manner and cheshire-cat smile, his detractors allege that he lacks the steel to guide Chile through a difficult period. But the way he won the Presidency of his party when many had written him off, and subsequently the opposition candidacy for President, suggests an inner strength of character and considerable determination. Since being elected President he has gained in stature and authority. Has displayed caution, canniness but also firmness where necessary in his first months as President, handling trickly questions such as relations with Pinochet well. A staunch Catholic, he clearly perceives his historic responsibility to guide Chile through a crucial, difficult period.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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COVERING CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign & Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 April 1991

Dear Stephen,

Visit of President Aylwin: Briefing for Mrs Major

You requested briefing material for Mrs Major for the dinner party which she and the Prime Minister are giving for the Chilean President and Ministers on Wednesday 10 April.

I enclose biographical notes on the President, Ministers and Ambassador who will be attending. I also enclose our political background brief, a short history of Chile, and the steering paragraphs of the briefing letter for the Prime Minister's talks with President Aylwin on Thursday 11 April.

Yours ever,

Christopher Prentice.

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO
10 Downing Street

COVERING CONFIDENTIAL

AYLWIN AZOCAR, PATRICIO

President of the Chile since March 1990.

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CHILE - HISTORY

A century before the Spanish conquest the Incas moved south into Chile from Peru, moving across the desert from oasis to oasis at the foot of the Andes. They reached the heartland (the area around present day Santiago) and conquered it, but were unable to take the forest south of the Rio Maule; there the fierce Mapuches (Araucanians) held them. In 1537 Diego de Almagro, at the head of a hundred Spaniards and some thousands of Indians, took the Inca road from Peru south to Salta and across the Andes. Many of the Indians perished, but the heartland was reached; bitterly disappointed at not finding gold they returned to Peru. The next conquistador who took the desert road was Pedro de Valdivia; he reached the heartland in 1541 and founded Santiago on 12 February. Reinforced by fresh colonists from Peru and Spain, Valdivia widened his conquest and pushed south into Mapuche land, but was able to hold only the settlement to which he had given his name. The Mapuches fought desperately - they soon mastered the use of the horse - and in 1554 they captured Valdivia himself and killed him. Fighting continued for three centuries and it was not until 1881 that peace was made and immigrants were able to settle in the Mapuche lands.

The colonial period was greatly troubled by constant wars against

the Mapuches and by internal dissensions, particularly between the landowners and the priests, who strongly objected to a system of Indian serfdom - the Indians were constantly in revolt. There have been, too, natural disasters in the form of earthquakes and tidal waves which have wiped out the cities again and again. From the end of the 16th century British and French pirates frequented the coasts. From the first, Chile formed part of the Viceroyalty of Peru; it was controlled from Lima, and trade was allowed only with Peru. This led to uncontrolled smuggling and by 1715 there were 40 French vessels trading illegally along the coast. It was not till 1778 that trading was allowed between Chile and Spain.

In 1810 a group of Chilean patriots, including Bernardo O'Higgins - the illegitimate son of a Sligo-born Viceroy of Peru, Ambrosio O'Higgins, and a Chilean mother - revolted against Spain. This revolt led to seven years of war against the occupying troops of Spain - Lord Cochrane was in charge of the insurrectionist navy - and in 1817 General José de San Martín crossed the Andes with an army from Argentina and helped to gain a decisive victory. O'Higgins became the first head of state: under him the first constitution of 1818 was drafted. But there was one thing which was dangerous to touch in Chile: the interests of the dominant landed aristocracy, and O'Higgins's liberal policies offended

them, leading to his downfall in 1823. A period of anarchy followed, but in 1830 conservative forces led by Diego Portales restored order and introduced the authoritarian constitution of 1833. Under this charter, for almost a century, the country was ruled by a small oligarchy of landowners. It was during this period, from 1879 to 1883, that the War of the Pacific was fought against Peru and Bolivia; all three contestants were claiming the new nitrate wealth of the desert in the north. Chile emerged victorious - even Lima was occupied - and for 40 years thereafter it drew great wealth from the nitrate fields. One unexpected result of the war was that the Chilean land workers or inquilinos, after a taste of liberty, were unwilling to return to the bondage of the big estates; the demobilized soldiers migrated to the cities and later pushed south into the new lands beyond the Bío-Bío recently opened by pressure on the Mapuches. The free labourer had made his appearance.

The rule of the Right was challenged by the liberal regime of President Alessandri in 1920. Acute economic distress in 1924, linked to the replacement of Chile's natural nitrates with artificial fertilizers more cheaply produced in Europe, led to army intervention and some reforms were achieved. The inequalities in Chilean society grew ever sharper, despite the maintenance of political democracy, and gave rise to powerful

socialist and communist parties. President Eduardo Frei's policy of "revolution in freedom" (1964-70) was the first concerted attempt at overall radical reform, but it raised hopes it could not satisfy. In 1970 a marxist coalition assumed office under Dr Salvador Allende; the frantic pace of change under his regime polarized the country into left- and right-wing camps. Gradually increasing social and economic chaos formed the background for Allende's deposition by the army and his death in September 1973. A military regime, led by General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, succeeded him. In its early years particularly, it suppressed internal opposition by methods which were widely condemned. Despite economic prosperity and efforts to make the regime more popular, President Pinochet's bid to be chosen for a further eight years in office after 1989 was rejected by the electorate in 1988. The following year a group of 17 parties, led by Patricio Aylwin's Christian Democrats, achieved a convincing victory in presidential and parliamentary elections. General Pinochet handed over power to President Aylwin on 11 March 1990.

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CHILE: BACKGROUND BRIEF

Chile: Internal Political Developments

1. The process of return to democracy was remarkably smooth, perhaps surprising all but the most optimistic of Chileans. In 1987, Pinochet was in full control, preparing himself for a further 8 year presidential term. The opposition political parties were split and riven with factionalism, yet by December 1989 Sr Patricio Aylwin was elected President with over 55% of the vote.

2. The change began early in 1988 with the creation of the "Comando del No" in which the major parties of the centre and left sank their differences to beat Pinochet in the plebiscite to extend his term of office. The Comando retained remarkable cohesion after achieving a 56% 'No' vote, and became the Concertacion (of 17 political parties) which gave Sr Patricio Aylwin (Christian Democrat) his victory.

3. The Christian Democrats (PDC), who enjoyed prominence in the 1960s under Eduardo Frei, re-emerged from the election as the largest political force in the country receiving about a third of the votes cast in the congressional elections. Thirteen of the party's 15 candidates were elected to the 47 member Senate while 29 Christian Democrats won seats in the 120 strong Chamber of Deputies.

The Opposition

4. In the build-up to the elections politicians were aware of a popular mood strongly in favour of conciliation and compromise, and against substantial changes to the highly successful economic model. The main right wing parties (Renovacion Nacional and Union Democratica Independiente) projected themselves as centre right, the Socialist groupings now appear firm in their commitment to "macroeconomic equilibrium". Those who did not heed the

popular mandate for moderation were heavily penalised: neither the extreme right (Avanzada Nacional) nor the extreme left (Partido Communista and Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria - MIR) was able to elect a single deputy or senator. Nevertheless there has been a growing number of terrorist attacks, some against US targets and others claimed by the extreme left Lautaro Youth Movement.

Civil/Military Relations

5. The incoming democratic Government reached agreement with the Armed Forces through a new law which subordinates the Armed Forces to the elected president, but which also defines a minimum defence budget equal in real terms to that of 1989. It also precludes political interference in internal military affairs, giving the Forces a large measure of autonomy in establishing promotions and defining their own organisation.

6. The way is not proving smooth however. General Augusto Pinochet went back to his barracks as Commander in Chief of the Army when he relinquished the presidency in March. For a time it seemed he might retire gracefully, but assassination attempts on former members of his regime (one of them successful), the discovery of mass graves of political dissidents and evidence of widespread corruption in the Army, including Pinochet's own family, have placed him back at the centre of Chilean politics. The strain is beginning to show. Some of his public statements betray a bizarre lack of grip, and his recall of all troops to their barracks for a day shortly before Christmas was seen as an attempt, with mixed success, to overawe the Government.

The Future

7. Nineteen ninety was a period of transition and slow adjustment, during which no radical policies were introduced. This is likely to continue. The choice of the elderly and cautious Silva Cimma as Foreign Minister ruled out any spectacular moves in foreign policy. He is unlikely

to be replaced. The challenges facing President Aylwin are relations with the Armed Forces, particularly the Army, human rights, the economy, and the social inequalities left behind by the Pinochet regime. His Government established a "Commission for Truth and Reconciliation" to investigate human rights abuses during the Pinochet years. Its report was published on 4 March. The President has now asked the Supreme Court to investigate the abuses it catalogues, though its investigations may be hampered by aspects of the Chilean constitution. The government has also produced a package of law reforms designed to prevent human rights abuses, restrict the power of military courts and free many of those still in prison for violent but politically-motivated crimes under Pinochet. The slowness of the passage of these laws (the 'Leyes Cumplido') through the Legislature has been criticised.

The Economy

8. The new Government has made strenuous efforts to assure all concerned that the successful free market model developed under the Pinochet regime will be adhered to. It is accepted on all sides that the spectacular 10% growth rate of the pre-election year cannot be sustained, and high interest rates will ensure a lower figure (4%) for the current year. Business confidence remained buoyant, however, as outside and domestic investment held up despite the restoration of trade union rights and the need to raise funds for social expenditure. Chile was hit hard by the increase in oil prices from the Gulf crisis, but special economic measures limited the damage, and by November inflation was down to pre oil-shock levels (annual rate for 1990 - 27%).

9. To readjust the "social debt" which accumulated under Pinochet, Aylwin has increased VAT and is using the increased revenue on social welfare programmes. The long term effect on the Chilean economy remains to be seen, but the intention is not to upset the balanced and viable free

America.

Chile/Argentina

15. A long running dispute between Chile and Argentina over the Beagle Channel, which at one stage had both sides massing troops, was resolved by Papal intervention in 1985. Since then relations have improved markedly, particularly now both countries have democratically elected civilian governments. Argentine President Menem was the first Head of State to visit Chile after President Aylwin's inauguration.

Latin America Department

7 March 1991

UK-Chile

We were the beneficiaries of Chile's traditionally poor relations with Argentina, especially when both were under military rule. Chile (though not recognising British sovereignty over the Islands) was helpful at the time of the Falklands conflict and since (separate brief). Now that both Chile and Argentina have civilian governments both sides are trying to mend fences. Our Falklands interests may be affected. President Aylwin's visit is a good opportunity to emphasise the importance we attach to transport and trade links between Chile and the Islands.

Falklands apart, our bilateral relations with Chile are friendly but insubstantial: we kept relations to a minimum throughout the Pinochet years. But at Aylwin's inauguration, the UK was represented by Sir Geoffrey Howe, then Deputy Prime Minister, the most senior British Minister ever to visit South America. Our main initiative since then has been, at President Aylwin's request, to strengthen links between the Chilean Army and the British armed forces, with the aim of showing the Chileans how they serve the civil power without adversely affecting either their self-esteem or their fighting effectiveness.

Since Chile is a relatively prosperous country, our aid programme remains very modest, including a small programme to help political refugees return home. Our

decision - alone amongst major EC partners - not to contribute to a special Chilean social fund was regretted in Santiago.

Our commercial relations with Chile are good. Chilean exports to Britain, mainly copper, fishmeal, fruit and wine, exceeded £220m last year, the bilateral trade showing a £94 million balance in their favour. Britain remains the second largest investor in Chile after the United States. Recent large investments have been in copper mining (RTZ) forestry/wood pulp (Shell) and lubricants (Castrol).

There are some major project business opportunities. Biwater did a lot of preparatory work for a water treatment scheme for Santiago in the final years of Pinochet. They are reviving the scheme with the new government. Balfour Beatty are in contact with the group planning a new airport terminal for Santiago. Plessey hope to sell a new and sophisticated traffic control system to Santiago. Imperial College together with the training equipment manufacturer ABMTM have an ambitious scheme for improving Chilean technical education.

No export credit problems inhibit British exports to Chile.

('well informed of vision')

- 'diff. with Pinochet'

Pinochet

- consolidate democracy.

- compromises with Opp.

- Tax reform + other laws.

- Former
- Federation

4-5% sustainable,
(Growth from when?)

Int'l Savings | Extra. inv.

Problems.

- terrorist actions. (Sen. Guzman)

Municipal System.,

Judiciary., Moderniz Justice., above 20% GNP

Infl. down., unempl. up.,

Inv. in Chile.
(not Trade).

FINANCIAL TIME

MONDAY INTERVIEW

Returning his country to the fold

Patricio Aylwin, President of Chile, talks to **Leslie Crawford**

'Justice must be reconciled with prudence'

For President Patricio Aylwin Azócar of Chile, this week marks something of a homecoming – in more than one sense.

On Wednesday he arrives in the UK for a state visit at the start of a European tour, a trip that (along with an earlier visit to Washington) sets the seal on Chile's return to the fold of democratic nations.

Besides lunching with the Queen and dining with Mr John Major, the prime minister, Mr Aylwin will also be seeking his own roots at the home of his ancestors in Sussex. His great-great-grandparents emigrated to Chile in 1835, their origins and language forgotten long ago; but the family name survives in a small Hertfordshire food business called G Aylwin & Sons.

Today the name Aylwin is more readily associated with Chile's transition to civilian rule over the past year. He was elected president after General Augusto Pinochet, the military dictator, paved the way for a contested election in which his own candidate resoundingly lost. By common consent the veteran politician has played a skilful hand in presiding over one of the more remarkable political events in modern Latin American history.

He will need all his quiet eloquence to persuade his hosts that the recent upsurge of terrorism in Chile against Pinochet supporters is not going to disrupt the delicate process of healing a profoundly divided society. Not that Mr Aylwin seems especially daunted by the recent violence, in which leftist guerrillas last Monday murdered Senator Jaime Guzman, a right-wing leader and supporter of the former military regime. "To cancel the

of democracy last year would exploit the human rights report to take revenge.

"The extreme left have known who their persecutors were for a long time. Why would they strike now, when the whole of society recognises that they were the victims of the military repression?"

The guerrillas have overturned Mr Aylwin's delicate political equation. The erstwhile victims are now perceived as the main threat to democracy. And the military, whose support for civilian rule is lukewarm, are being asked to join the anti-terrorist fight.

Handling Chile's bitter human rights legacy has been the toughest challenge of Mr Aylwin's career. The path he chose required the forgiveness of the victims and repentance by the former military rulers.

But his vision of reconciliation began to unravel with Gen Pinochet's categorical rejection of the human rights report. The general, who retained the army command after stepping down from power last month, refused to apologise for crimes committed under his rule and denied that the report had any historical or legal validity.

"The army's reply was crude and insensitive," Mr Aylwin says. "The military were fighting to salvage their prestige. But I think they would have won back more respect if they had shown some humility."

He believes the military have missed an opportunity to make peace with society. Had there been a sign of contrition, it would have been easier for Mr Aylwin to justify the decision not to pursue human rights trials against the authors of the repression. The families of the 1,600 *desparacidos* – the people who went "missing" during the

overhauled the judicial system by the time he leaves office in 1994. One project in the government's drawer is to dilute the power of Gen Pinochet's appointees to the Supreme Court by expanding the number of justices from 17 to more than 30. But in order to avoid charges of political manipulation, he must first forge an agreement with the right-wing opposition parties in Congress.

It is a task Mr Aylwin handles with great skill. He would not have survived 46 years in politics and been elected seven times leader of the Christian Democratic party (also known as the "Cosa Nostra" in Chile),

PERSONAL FILE

1918 Born November 26 in Viña del Mar, Chile.
1945 Joins the National Falange.
1958 Elected leader of Christian Democratic party.
1965 Elected Senator.
1971-1972 President of the Senate.
Dec 1989 Elected president.
March 1990 Assumes office.

restored, the draconian restrictions on trade union activity lifted, the power of military courts curbed. The president will shortly have the authority to pardon political prisoners.

This he has achieved with the goodwill of all Chile's ruling and opposition parties. Gen Pinochet he has had to deal with alone. The 72-year-old president and the 75-year-old former dictator work within spitting distance of each other in central Santiago. Watching these two veteran heavyweights wrestle for power has become the nation's favourite spectator sport.

Every month, Chileans tot up the points. President Aylwin came out on top last April, when he launched his human rights initiative despite Gen Pinochet's vociferous opposition, and in October, when he vetoed the promotion of two army generals. Gen Pinochet's orchestrated army protest before Christmas was regarded as a blow beneath the belt.

The return to civilian rule has been cemented by the new government's acceptance of the dictatorship's economic model. Chile's open, export-oriented

concerned that Chile's newfound wealth has not reached almost a third of the population. He says the fight against poverty which engulfs 5m Chileans is not progressing fast enough. Uppermost in his mind is the fear that unemployed and disillusioned youth could provide a fertile ground for leftist guerrilla groups.

Mr Aylwin asked for [illegible] to control inflation. Now that it has been curbed, from an annual peak of 30 per cent last October to about 23 per cent now, the government is channelling more resources into social projects – housing, health, pensions and family benefits.

Some of these projects are being financed with European aid – a source of funding denied to Gen Pinochet's dictatorship. So too, foreign travel was denied to a man regarded by most European governments as a pariah. President Aylwin's five-nation tour of Europe turns the wheel full circle.

contested election in which his own candidate resoundingly lost. By common consent the veteran politician has played a skilful hand in presiding over one of the more remarkable political events in modern Latin American history.

He will need all his quiet eloquence to persuade his hosts that the recent upsurge of terrorism in Chile against Pinochet supporters is not going to disrupt the delicate process of healing a profoundly divided society. Not that Mr Aylwin seems especially daunted by the recent violence, in which leftist guerrillas last Monday murdered Senator Jaime Guzman, a right-wing leader and supporter of the former military regime. "To cancel the tour would imply giving in to terrorist blackmail," Mr Aylwin said last week.

The assassination followed publication of a report on human rights abuses under the Pinochet regime commissioned personally by Mr Aylwin when he took office last March – a report bluntly rejected by Gen Pinochet. Ironically, Senator Guzman himself had prophesied that the report would open old wounds and spur the extreme left to take justice into its own hands.

President Aylwin is very definite in pinning blame on the extreme left, which has also recently killed a police inspector and a military doctor. Talking just before Senator Guzman's assassination, the president said he did not believe that the hard core of guerrillas who refused to abandon arms after the restoration down from power last month, refused to apologise for crimes committed under his rule and denied that the report had any historical or legal validity.

"The army's reply was crude and insensitive," Mr Aylwin says. "The military were fighting to salvage their prestige. But I think they would have won back more respect if they had shown some humility."

He believes the military have missed an opportunity to make peace with society. Had there been a sign of contrition, it would have been easier for Mr Aylwin to justify the decision not to pursue human rights trials against the authors of the repression. The families of the 1,600 *desparacidos* – the people who went "missing" during the Pinochet years – believe justice has been sacrificed to political expediency.

But Mr Aylwin draws on the failure of other Latin American countries to heal their human rights wounds to argue that "the virtue of justice must be reconciled with the virtue of prudence". It is not easy for him to admit that justice has been a casualty of Chile's negotiated political transition. A lawyer by profession, and the son of a president of the Supreme Court, he feels the failure of the judicial system to protect human rights almost as a personal injury. "People do not believe in the courts any longer. It is a waste of time, the procedures are too slow, there are not enough resources. There is a general belief in the country that justice is lame."

Mr Aylwin hopes to have had he not been a shrewd negotiator.

In addition, Mr Aylwin's image as a benign, grandfatherly figure has served him well in a country still nervous of extremes. Like De Gaulle, he has projected himself as a president above the fray of partisan politics. The fact that he is barred by the constitution from standing for re-election has also helped him.

A year into his government, Mr Aylwin has not only held together an unorthodox ruling coalition of Socialists, Radicals, Greens and Christian Democrats. He has also co-opted the right-wing opposition into approving legislation that is chipping away at the authoritarian shackles bequeathed by the military regime.

The Communist party has been legalised, press freedom

opposition parties in Congress.

It is a task Mr Aylwin handles with great skill. He would not have survived 46 years in politics and been elected seven times leader of the Christian Democratic party (also known as the "Cosa Nostra" in Chile),

PERSONAL FILE

1918 Born November 26 in Viña del Mar, Chile.
1945 Joins the National Falange.
1958 Elected leader of Christian Democratic party.
1965 Elected Senator.
1971-1972 President of the Senate.
Dec 1989 Elected president.
March 1990 Assumes office.

former dictator work within spitting distance of each other in central Santiago. Watching these two veteran heavyweights wrestle for power has become the nation's favourite spectator sport.

Every month, Chileans tot up the points. President Aylwin came out on top last April, when he launched his human rights initiative despite Gen Pinochet's vociferous opposition, and in October, when he vetoed the promotion of two army generals. Gen Pinochet's orchestrated army protest before Christmas was regarded as a blow beneath the belt.

The return to civilian rule has been cemented by the new government's acceptance of the dictatorship's economic model. Chile's open, export-oriented economy is the only positive legacy Mr Aylwin acknowledges of the former regime. He thinks that the economic transformation could have been undertaken in a democracy, although the sacrifices are more easily imposed under authoritarian rule.

From 1984, Chile has sustained seven years of consecutive economic growth and a dramatic increase in exports, and has laid its foreign debt problems to rest. But to do so an austerity programme had first to be implemented that caused high unemployment in the early 1980s.

"Eastern Europe and Latin American countries are trying to achieve this economic transformation in democracy," says Mr Aylwin, "and we must hope for their success."

The president, however, is

patience last year as his economic team tightened the reins to control inflation. Now that it has been curbed, from an annual peak of 30 per cent last October to about 23 per cent now, the government is channelling more resources into social projects – housing, health, pensions and family benefits.

Some of these projects are being financed with European aid – a source of funding denied to Gen Pinochet's dictatorship. So too, foreign travel was denied to a man regarded by most European governments as a pariah. President Aylwin's five-nation tour of Europe turns the wheel full circle.

The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES PREM 19 PIECE/ITEM 4588 (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
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Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

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E. R.

STEPHEN

Dinner for the President of Chile
10 April

I attach a copy of the outline programme for the evening and the guest list.

There are just two queries on the programme. There is to be an exchange of presents - the President will be giving the PM a pair of spurs and the PM will be giving the President a scroll indicating the President(s British ancestry.

The best time probably to do this would beon arrival upstairs perhaps in the area outside the study before facing the barrage of cameras in the Green Room.

2. Should Mrs Major go down to greet The Princess Royal with you and the Prime Minister or wait upstairs with the Aylwins?

The seating plan will be ready tomorrow.

4 April 1991

Sue

THE CONTENTS OF THIS ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN SHOULD NOT BE

RELEASED TO ANY UNAUTHORISED PERSONS

VISIT OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CHILE

10/15 APRIL 1991

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
(to be read in conjunction with the official programme)

ARRIVAL

PLEASE NOTE THAT THE GATES TO THE VIP AREA WILL NOT BE OPENED UNTIL ONE HOUR BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE AIRCRAFT.

His Excellency The President will arrive at London Heathrow Airport (Royal Suite) by special flight on Wednesday 10 April at 17.15.

When the aircraft has landed a representative of the British Airports Authority will escort the greeting party to the tarmac. His Excellency the Ambassador of Chile and Señora de Riesco will board the aircraft to greet His Excellency The President and escort him down the steps of the aircraft to the red carpet where the following will be waiting to welcome him:

The Lord Reay
Lord-in-Waiting to Her Majesty The Queen

Sir David Muirhead
Special Representative of the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

Mr Richard Neilson
HM Ambassador at Santiago

Brigadier Alan Cowan
Secretary, Government Hospitality

Group Captain Paul Gray RAF (Ret'd)
Government Hospitality

Miss Pamela Ridler
Government Hospitality

After the greeting party has welcomed His Excellency The President they will proceed with him to the Royal Suite. Members of the Embassy of Chile will be waiting outside the suite and will be introduced. The other Government Hospitality Escort Officers will then also be introduced.

His Excellency The President and Señora de Aylwin will enter the left hand suite accompanied by The Lord Reay, Sir David Muirhead, Mr Richard Neilson, Brigadier Cowan and the following members of the official suite:

HE Señor Enrique Silva Cimma

HE Señor Alejandro Foxley

HE Señor Ricardo Lagos

Señora Isabel Aylwin de Matta

HE Señor German Riesco

Señora de Riesco

Señor Carlos Klammer

Señora Estela Lorca

The remainder of the official suite will enter the right hand suite.

Members of the unofficial suite and the Press will proceed directly through Immigration and Customs control.

After a suitable interval, His Excellency The President and the accompanying members of his suites will board limousines for the journey to London.

PLEASE NOTE THAT NOBODY WILL BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE VIP AREA UNTIL AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE OFFICIAL PARTY.

TRANSPORT

Transport will be provided throughout the visit by Government Hospitality. A car plan is attached at Annex A.

INTERPRETATION

Señora Estela Lorca will interpret for His Excellency The President throughout his programme. Mr John Penney will provide additional interpretation for His Excellency The President throughout his programme (with the exception of the visit to Sussex) and for HE Señor Enrique Silva Cimma as required.

Miss Mary Garner-Winship will provide interpretation for Señora de Aylwin throughout her programme as required (with the exception of the visit to Sussex).

Miss Cecily Newby will provide interpretation for Señora Isabel Aylwin de Matta during the dinner at 10 Downing Street

PARTICIPATION BY THE OFFICIAL SUITE

Except where indicated below and in the official programme, His Excellency the President will be accompanied thoughout his visit by the official suite.

Señora de Aylwin will be accompanied by Señora Isabel Aylwin de Matta throughout the programme

Wednesday 10 April

19.30 Dinner given by the Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street

The following members of the official suite will accompany His Excellency the President and Señora de Aylwin:

HE Señor Enrique Silva Cimma

HE Señor Alejandro Foxley

HE Señor Ricardo Lagos

Señora Isabel Aylwin de Matta

HE Señor German Riesco

Señora de Riesco

Señor Carlos Portales

Señor Augusto Aninat

Señor Carlos Klammer

Señor Carlos Bascuñan

Señor Fernan Ibañez

Señor Marcelo Trivelli

Señora Estela Lorca (Interpreter)

Mr Richard Neilson will also attend

In addition the following will accompany the party to No 10 Downing Street and will remain in the waiting room where refreshments will be provided:

Señorita Pilar Velasco

Doctor Gonzalo Sepulveda

Lt Col Carlos Montalba

Thursday 11 April

11.10 Call on The Speaker of the House of Commons

His Excellency The President will be accompanied by:

HE Señor Enrique Silva Cimma

HE Señor Alejandro Foxley

HE Señor Ricardo Lagos

HE Señor German Riesco

Señor Carlos Portales

Señor Augusto Aninat

Señor Carlos Klammer

Señor Carlos Bascunan

Lt Col Carlos Montalba

Doctor Gonzalo Sepulveda

Señora Estela Lorca

In addition Señor Pablo Cabrera, Minister-Counsellor, and one Protocol Officer from the Embassy of Chile will attend

Mr Richard Neilson will also attend

13.00 Luncheon given by Her Majesty the Queen

The following members of the official suite will accompany His Excellency the President and Señora de Aylwin:

HE Señor Enrique Silva Cimma

HE Señor Alejandro Foxley

HE Señor Ricardo Lagos

Señora Isabel Aylwin de Matta

HE Señor German Riesco

Señora de Riesco

Señor Carlos Bascuñan

Señor Carlos Klammer

Doctor Gonzalo Sepulveda

Lt Col Carlos Montalba

Señora Estela Lorca (Interpreter)

Mr Richard Neilson will also attend

17.00 Talks with the Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street

The following members of the official suite will accompany His Excellency The President:

HE Señor German Riesco

Señor Carlos Portales

Señor Carlos Bascuñan

Señora Estela Lorca (Interpreter)

Mr Richard Neilson will also attend

Friday 12 April

11.00 Ceremony at Westminster Abbey

In addition to the official suite and other guests Rear Admiral J R Tod of the Royal Navy will attend the ceremony

Mr Richard Neilson will also attend

16.30 Call on the Lord Chancellor

The following will accompany His Excellency The President:

HE Señor Enrique Silva Cimma

HE Señor German Riesco

Señor Carlos Portales

Señor Carlos Klammer

Señor Carlos Bascunan

Lt Col Carlos Montalba

Señor Marcelo Trivelli

Señor Eduardo Araya

Doctor Gonzalo Sepulveda

Señora Estela Lorca

In addition Señor Pablo Cabrera, Minister-Counsellor, and one Protocol Officer from the Embassy of Chile will attend.

Mr Richard Neilson will also attend.

19.30 Dinner given by the Midland Bank PLC and City Bankers

The following will accompany His Excellency The President:

HE Señor Alejandro Foxley

HE Señor German Riesco

Señor Augusto Aninat

Señor Fernan Ibañez

Señora Estela Lorca (Interpreter)

Saturday 13 April

11.00 Visit to Cambridge

The entire official suite will accompany His Excellency The President and Señora de Aylwin to Cambridge, but only the following will accompany them to the luncheon:

HE Señor Enrique Silva Cimma

HE Señor Alejandro Foxley

HE Señor Ricardo Lagos

Señora Isabel Aylwin de Matta

HE Señor German Riesco

Señora de Riesco

Señor Carlos Portales

Señor Carlos Klammer

Señor Carlos Bascunan

Señora Estela Lorca (Interpreter)

Mr Richard Neilson will also attend

The following will also attend the lunch:

Señor Jorge Carey

Señor Jorge Schneider

Señor Pablo Cabrera

Señora de Cabrera

Señor Fernando Zegers

Señor Luis Pascal

Señora Florencia Varas

17.00 Visit to Treyford and Weekend at Amberley Castle

The following will accompany His Excellency The President and Señora de Aylwin:

Señora Isabel Aylwin de Matta

HE Señor German Riesco

Señora de Riesco

Señor Carlos Bascunan

Doctor Gonzalo Sepulveda

Señora Estela Lorca

Mr Richard Neilson will also attend

Señor Carlos Klammer will join the party on Sunday 14 April.

Monday 15 April

Gatwick Airport

07.30 Members of the unofficial suite and the press party travelling with His Excellency The President should check in at the Ogden Allied desk in the South Terminal (adjacent to the North Suite) at 07.30. They will then be conducted to the aircraft.

09.15 Mr Ian Hamilton, Operations Director, Gatwick Airport Ltd will join the party which will bid farewell to His Excellency The Preisdent

DISTRIBUTION

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Master of the Household (4)

10 Downing Street

Private Secretary (2)
Press Secretary (2)
Mrs Goodchild
Mr Mattieson

Palace of Westminster

Lord Chancellor's Office (2)
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Embassy of Chile (30)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Private Secretary (2)
PS/ Mr Garel-Jones (2)
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Lt Col Williams (4) - for the Metropolitan Police
Resident Clerk
Head of Mission Section (2)
GHF (40)

Heathrow Airport

Mr Baxendale

Gatwick Airport

Mrs Griffiths

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Department of Education and Science

Private Secretary (2)

British Council

PS/ Sir David Orr

8 CLEVELAND ROW, ST JAMES'S, LONDON SW1A 1DH
TELEPHONE: 01-210
SWITCHBOARD: 01-210 3000

ANNEX A
VISIT OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE AND SEÑORA DE AYLWIN

10 to 15 APRIL 1991

CAR PLAN

WEDNESDAY, 10 APRIL

LONDON HEATHROW AIRPORT - CLARIDGE'S **(Depart 1730)**

CAR 1 ***H329 XYU*** ***R Thorn*** ***0836 369 408***	**HE The President** **Señora de Aylwin** **Detective Chief Inspector Catherall**
Police Car	**Detective Sergeant Fraser** **Chilean Security Officer**
Embassy Car	**Chilean Security Officers**
CAR P ***G325 UUW*** ***M Marchant*** ***0836 369 427***	**Señor Klammer** **Señora Lorca** **Mr Penney** **Group Captain Gray**
CAR 2 ***F894 RYT*** ***P Shepperd*** ***0836 369 418***	**HE Señor Silva Cimma** **Señor Portales** **Group Captain Heal**
CAR 3 ***G61 UUW*** ***S Parsons*** ***0836 369 415***	**HE Señor Foxley** **Señor Aninat** **Wing Commander Higson**
CAR 4 ***E732 MJD*** ***M Humphreys*** ***0836 397 055***	**HE Señor Lagos** **Señor Bascuñan** **Group Captain Drury Bird**

continued

LONDON HEATHROW AIRPORT - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1730) *(Cont'd)*

CAR 5 *F893 RYT* *R Feeney* *0836 369 437*	Señora Aylwin de Matta Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Miss Ridler
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	HE The Ambassador of Chile Señora de Riesco Miss Garner - Winship
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señorita Velasco Doctor Sepulveda Mr Neilson
CAR 8 *E731 MJD* *T Hudson* *0836 397 054*	Señor Ibañez Señor Trivelli Señor Araya

CLARIDGE'S - DOWNING STREET (Depart 1920)
DOWNING STREET - CLARIDGE'S

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President Señora de Aylwin Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Mr Penney Group Captain Gray
CAR 2 *F894 RYT* *P Shepperd* *0836 369 418*	HE Señor Silva Cimma Señor Portales Group Captain Heal
CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Aninat Wing Commander Higson

continued

CLARIDGE'S - DOWNING STREET (Depart 1920) *(Cont'd)*
DOWNING STREET - CLARIDGE'S

CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Señor Bascuñan Group Captain Drury Bird
CAR 5 *F893 RYT* *R Feeney* *0836 369 437*	Señora Aylwin de Matta Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Miss Ridler
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	HE The Ambassador of Chile Señora de Riesco Miss Garner - Winship
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señorita Velasco Doctor Sepulveda Mr Neilson
CAR 8 *E731 MJD* *T Hudson* *0836 397 054*	Señor Ibañez Señor Trivelli

THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - KEW GARDENS (Depart 0900)
KEW GARDENS - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1030)

CAR 5	Señora de Aylwin
F893 RYT	Señora de Riesco
R Feeney	Miss Ridler
0836 369 437	
CAR 5A	Señora Aylwin de Matta
E804 LHX	Señora de Cabrera
C Rose	Miss Garner - Winship
0836 369 437	

CLARIDGE'S - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (Depart 0925)
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1015)

CAR 4	HE Señor Lagos
E732 MJD	Adviser
M Humphreys	Group Captain Drury Bird
0836 397 055	

CLARIDGE'S - FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE (Depart 0940)
FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE - PALACE OF WESTMINSTER (Depart 1045)

CAR 2	HE Señor Silva Cimma
F894 RYT	Señor Portales
P Shepperd	Group Captain Heal
0836 369 418	
CAR 8	Señor Aninat
E731 MJD	Señor Araya
T Hudson	Mr Neilson
0836 397 054	

continued

THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - PALACE OF WESTMINSTER (Depart 1100)
PALACE OF WESTMINSTER - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1140)

CAR 1	HE The President
H329 XYU	HE The Ambassador of Chile
R Thorn	Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
0836 369 408	
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser
	Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P	Señor Klammer
G325 UUW	Señora Lorca
M Marchant	Mr Penney
0836 369 427	Group Captain Gray
CAR 3	HE Señor Foxley
G61 UUW	Señor Ibañez
S Parsons	Wing Commander Higson
0836 369 415	
CAR 4	HE Señor Lagos
E732 MJD	Señor Bascuñan
M Humphreys	Group Captain Drury Bird
0836 397 055	
CAR 6	Señor Trivelli
E733 MJD	Mr Neilson
F Kohan	
0836 369 428	
CAR 7	Lieutenant Colonel Montalba
D192 GYN	Señorita Velasco
B Hobart	Doctor Sepulveda
0831 471 891	

continued

THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - WINDSOR CASTLE (Depart 1215)
WINDSOR CASTLE - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1430)

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President Señora de Aylwin Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Mr Penney Group Captain Gray
CAR 2 *F894 RYT* *P Shepperd* *0836 369 418*	HE Señor Silva Cimma Mr Neilson Group Captain Heal
CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Bascuñan Wing Commander Higson
CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Dr Sepulveda Group Captain Drury Bird
CAR 5 *F893 RYT* *R Feeney* *0836 369 437*	Señora Aylwin de Matta Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Señorita Velasco Miss Ridler
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	HE The Ambassador of Chile Señora de Riesco Miss Garner - Winship

CLARIDGE'S - OPERATION RALEIGH (Depart 1610)
OPERATION RALEIGH - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1715)

CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Group Captain Drury Bird

continued

CLARIDGE'S - LONDON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (Depart 1605)
LONDON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1800)

CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Wing Commander Higson

CLARIDGE'S - 10 DOWNING STREET (Depart 1650)
10 DOWNING STREET - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1800)

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President HE The Ambassador of Chile Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Mr Penney Group Captain Gray
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	Señor Bascuñan Señor Portales Mr Neilson

continued

THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - MANSION HOUSE (Depart 1945)
MANSION HOUSE - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 2230 approx)

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President Señora de Aylwin Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Mr Penney Group Captain Gray
CAR 2 *F894 RYT* *P Shepperd* *0836 369 418*	HE Señor Silva Cimma Señor Portales Group Captain Heal
CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Aninat Wing Commander Higson
CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Señor Bascuñan Group Captain Drury Bird
CAR 5 *F893 RYT* *R Feeney* *0836 369 437*	Señora Aylwin de Matta Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Miss Ridler
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	HE the Ambassador of Chile Señora de Riesco Miss Garner - Winship
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señorita Velasco Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Doctor Sepulveda Mr Neilson
CAR 8 *E731 MJD* *T Hudson* *0836 397 054*	Señor Ibañez Señor Trivelli Señor Araya

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - HM TREASURY (Depart 0925)
HM TREASURY - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1015)

CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Wing Commander Higson

CLARIDGE'S - THE BRITISH COUNCIL (Depart 0945)
THE BRITISH COUNCIL - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1030)

CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Adviser Group Captain Drury Bird

CLARIDGE'S - WESTMINSTER ABBEY (Depart 1035)

CAR 2 *F894 RYT* *P Shepperd* *0836 369 418*	HE Señor Silva Cimma Señor Portales Group Captain Heal
CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Aninat Wing Commander Higson
CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Señor Bascuñan Group Captain Drury Bird
CAR 5 *F893 RYT* *R Feeney* *0836 369 437*	Señora Aylwin de Matta Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Miss Ridler
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señorita Velasco Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Doctor Sepulveda Mr Neilson
CAR 8 *E731 MJD* *T Hudson* *0836 397 054*	Señor Ibañez Señor Trivelli Señor Araya

continued

CLARIDGE'S - WESTMINSTER ABBEY (Depart 1050)

CAR 1	HE The President
H329 XYU	Señora de Aylwin
R Thorn	Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
0836 369 408	
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser
	Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P	Señor Klammer
G325 UUW	Señora Lorca
M Marchant	Mr Penney
0836 369 427	Group Captain Gray
CAR 6	HE the Ambassador of Chile
E733 MJD	Señora de Riesco
F Kohan	Miss Garner - Winship
0836 369 428	

WESTMINSTER ABBEY - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1130)

CAR 1	HE The President
H329 XYU	HE The Ambassador of Chile
R Thorn	Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
0836 369 408	
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser
	Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P	Señor Klammer
G325 UUW	Señora Lorca
M Marchant	Mr Penney
0836 369 427	Group Captain Gray
CAR 3	HE Señor Foxley
G61 UUW	Señor Ibañez
S Parsons	Wing Commander Higson
0836 369 415	
CAR 4	HE Señor Lagos
E732 MJD	Señor Bascuñan
M Humphreys	Group Captain Drury Bird
0836 397 055	

continued

WESTMINSTER ABBEY - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1130) *(Cont'd)*

CAR 6	Lieutenant Colonel Montalba
E733 MJD	Señor Trivelli
F Kohan	Mr Neilson
0836 369 428	
CAR 7	Señorita Velasco
D192 GYN	Doctor Sepulveda
B Hobart	
0831 471 891	

WESTMINSTER ABBEY - THE FERNCLIFF CENTRE (Depart 1130)
THE FERNCLIFF CENTRE - RESIDENCE OF THE AMBASSADOR OF CHILE (Depart 1245)
RESIDENCE OF THE AMBASSADOR OF CHILE - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1430)

CAR 5	Señora de Aylwin
F893 RYT	Señora de Riesco
R Feeney	Miss Ridler
0836 369 437	
CAR 5A	Señora Aylwin de Matta
E804 LHX	Señora de Cabrera
C Rose	Miss Garner - Winship
0836 369 437	

WESTMINSTER ABBEY - HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (Depart 1130)
HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL - CANNING HOUSE (Depart 1225)

CAR 2	HE Señor Silva Cimma
F894 RYT	Señor Portales
P Shepperd	Group Captain Heal
0836 369 418	
CAR 8	Señor Aninat
E731 MJD	Señor Araya
T Hudson	
0836 397 054	

continued

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - CANNING HOUSE (Depart 1235)
CANNING HOUSE - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1315)

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President HE The Ambassador of Chile Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Mr Penney Group Captain Gray
CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Ibañez Wing Commander Higson
CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Señor Bascuñan Group Captain Drury Bird
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Señor Trivelli Mr Neilson
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señorita Velasco Doctor Sepulveda

continued

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - PALACE OF WESTMINSTER (Depart 1615)
PALACE OF WESTMINSTER - EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE (Depart 1700)

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President HE The Ambassador of Chile Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Mr Penney Group Captain Gray
CAR 2 *F894 RYT* *P Shepperd* *0836 369 418*	HE Señor Silva Cimma Señor Portales Group Captain Heal
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	Señor Bascuñan Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Mr Neilson
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señorita Velasco Doctor Sepulveda
CAR 8 *E731 MJD* *T Hudson* *0836 397 054*	Señor Aninat Señor Trivelli Señor Araya

CLARIDGE'S - EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE (Depart 1700)

CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Aninat Wing Commander Higson
CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Señor Ibañez Group Captain Drury Bird

continued

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1800)

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President HE The Ambassador of Chile Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Mr Penney Group Captain Gray
CAR 2 *F894 RYT* *P Shepperd* *0836 369 418*	HE Señor Silva Cimma Señor Portales Group Captain Heal
CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Aninat Wing Commander Higson
CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Señor Bascuñan Group Captain Drury Bird
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Mr Neilson
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señorita Velasco Doctor Sepulveda
CAR 8 *E731 MJD* *T Hudson* *0836 397 054*	Señor Aninat Señor Trivelli Señor Araya

continued

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - MIDLAND BANK (Depart 1930)
MIDLAND BANK - CLARIDGE'S

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President HE The Ambassador of Chile Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Mr Penney Group Captain Gray
CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Aninat Wing Commander Higson
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señor Ibañez Señorita Velasco Doctor Sepulveda

SATURDAY, 13 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - CAMBRIDGE (Depart 1000)

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President Señora de Aylwin Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Mr Penney Group Captain Gray
CAR 2 *F894 RYT* *P Shepperd* *0836 369 418*	HE Señor Silva Cimma Señor Portales Group Captain Heal
CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Aninat Wing Commander Higson
CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Señor Bascuñan Group Captain Drury Bird
CAR 5 *F893 RYT* *R Feeney* *0836 369 437*	Señora Aylwin de Matta Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Miss Ridler
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	HE The Ambassador of Chile Señora de Riesco Miss Garner - Winship
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señorita Velasco Doctor Sepulveda Mr Neilson
CAR 8 *E731 MJD* *T Hudson* *0836 397 054*	Señor Ibañez Señor Trivelli Señor Araya

continued

SATURDAY, 13 APRIL

CAMBRIDGE - TREYFORD (Depart 1400)
TREYFORD - AMBERLEY CASTLE (1800 approx)

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President Señora de Aylwin Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señor Klammer Señora Lorca Dr Sepulveda Group Captain Gray
CAR 5 *F893 RYT* *R Feeney* *0836 369 437*	Señora Aylwin de Matta Señor Bascuñan Miss Ridler
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	HE The Ambassador of Chile Señora de Riesco Mr Neilson
CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Señor Trivelli Señorita Velasco

AMBERLEY - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1900 approx)

CAR 7 *D192 GYN* *B Hobart* *0831 471 891*	Señor Klammer Lieutenant Colonel Montalba Señor Trivelli Señorita Velasco

continued

SATURDAY, 13 APRIL

CAMBRIDGE - CAMBRIDGE SCIENCE PARK (Depart 1600)
CAMBRIDGE SCIENCE PARK - CLARIDGE'S (Depart 1700)

CAR 2 *F894 RYT* *P Shepperd* *0836 369 418*	HE Señor Silva Cimma Señor Portales Group Captain Heal
CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Señor Aninat Wing Commander Higson
CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Señor Ibañez Group Captain Drury Bird
CAR 8 *E731 MJD* *T Hudson* *0836 397 054*	Señor Araya Mr Penney Miss Garner - Winship

CLARIDGE'S - HEATHROW AIRPORT (SPELTHORNE SUITE) (Depart 2030)

CAR 4 *E732 MJD* *M Humphreys* *0836 397 055*	HE Señor Lagos Group Captain Drury Bird

SUNDAY, 14 APRIL

AMBERLEY CASTLE - ARUNDEL CATHEDRAL (Depart 0910)
ARUNDEL CATHEDRAL - AMBERLEY CASTLE (Depart 1020 approx)

CAR 1 *H329 XYU* *R Thorn* *0836 369 408*	HE The President Señora de Aylwin Detective Chief Inspector Catherall
Police Car	Detective Sergeant Fraser Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	Chilean Security Officers
CAR P *G325 UUW* *M Marchant* *0836 369 427*	Señora Lorca Dr Sepulveda Group Captain Gray
CAR 5 *F893 RYT* *R Feeney* *0836 369 437*	Señora Aylwin de Matta Señor Bascuñan
CAR 6 *E733 MJD* *F Kohan* *0836 369 428*	HE The Ambassador of Chile Señora de Riesco

CLARIDGE'S - HEATHROW AIRPORT (HOUNSLOW SUITE) (Depart 1730)

CAR 3 *G61 UUW* *S Parsons* *0836 369 415*	HE Señor Foxley Wing Commander Higson

MONDAY, 15 APRIL

CLARIDGE'S - GATWICK AIRPORT **(Depart 0730)**

CAR 2	**HE Señor Silva Cimma**
F894 RYT	**Señor Portales**
P Shepperd	**Wing Commander Higson**
0836 369 418	
CAR 7	**Lieutenant Colonel Montalba**
D192 GYN	**Señor Trivelli**
B Hobart	**Señorita Velasco**
0831 471 891	
CAR 8	**Señor Aninat**
E731 MJD	**Señor Ibañez**
T Hudson	**Señor Araya**
836 397 054	

AMBERLEY CASTLE - GATWICK AIRPORT **(Depart 0800)**

CAR 1	**HE The President**
H329 XYU	**Señora de Aylwin**
R Thorn	**Detective Chief Inspector Catherall**
0836 369 408	
Police Car	**Detective Sergeant Fraser**
	Chilean Security Officer
Embassy Car	**Chilean Security Officers**
CAR P	**Señor Klammer**
G325 UUW	**Señora Lorca**
M Marchant	**Dr Sepulveda**
0836 369 427	**Group Captain Gray**
CAR 5	**Señora Aylwin de Matta**
F893 RYT	**Señor Bascuñan**
R Feeney	**Miss Ridler**
0836 369 437	
CAR 6	**HE The Ambassador of Chile**
E733 MJD	**Señora de Riesco**
F Kohan	**Mr Neilson**
0836 369 428	

Gold Crest *(Printer's Draft)*

HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM
OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND NORTHERN IRELAND

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Visit of
His Excellency
The President
of The Republic of Chile
and Señora Patricio Aylwin

10 to 15 APRIL 1991

His Excellency Señor Patricio Aylwin, President of The Republic of Chile, and Señora de Aylwin will be accompanied by :

His Excellency Señor Enrique Silva Cimma,
Minister for Foreign Relations

His Excellency Señor Alejandro Foxley,
Minister for Finance

His Excellency Señor Ricardo Lagos,
Minister for Education

Señora Isabel Aylwin de Matta

His Excellency Señor German Riesco,
Ambassador of The Republic of Chile to the Court of St James's

Señora de Riesco

Señor Carlos Portales,
Director General, External Policy, Ministry of Foreign Relations

Señor Augusto Aninat,
Director General, International Economic Relations, Ministry of Foreign Relations

Señor Carlos Klammer,
Director General of Protocol and Ceremonial

Señor Carlos Bascuñan,
Chef de Cabinet to His Excellency The President

Señor Fernan Ibañez,
Executive Vice - President, Foreign Investment Committee, Ministry of the Economy

Comandante Carlos Montalva,
Aide-de-Camp to His Excellency The President

Señor Marcelo Trivelli,
Adviser to His Excellency The President

Señor Eduardo Araya,
Deputy Director of Protocol, Ministry of Foreign Relations

continued on next page

Personal Assistants to His Excellency The President :

Señorita Pilar Velasco,
Press Secretary to His Excellency The President

Doctor Gonzalo Sepulveda,
Personal Physician to His Excellency The President

Señora Estela Lorca,
Personal Assistant to His Excellency The President

In attendance:

Group Captain Paul Gray RAF (Ret'd) }
Miss Pamela Ridler }
Group Captain Peter Drury-Bird RAF (Ret'd) } *Government Hospitality*
Group Captain Philip Heal RAF (Ret'd) }
Wing Commander Max Higson RAF (Ret'd) }

Whilst in London the Visitors will stay at :

Claridge's
Brook Street, W1

Whilst in Sussex the Visitors will stay at :

Amberley Castle
Amberley, West Sussex

Programme

WEDNESDAY, 10 APRIL

1715 hrs	Arrive at London Heathrow Airport by Special Flight from Madrid *Royal Suite* Met by the Lord-in-Waiting to Her Majesty The Queen, The Lord Reay, and the Special Representative of the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir David Muirhead Ceremonial Guard found by the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards
1730	Leave London Heathrow Airport by car
1810 *(approx)*	Arrive at Claridge's *Brook Street, W1*
1920	Leave Claridge's
1930	Arrive at 10 Downing Street Met by the Prime Minister, and Mrs John Major
1930 for 2000	In the Presence of Her Royal Highness The Princess Royal Dinner given by Her Majesty's Government Hosts : The Prime Minister and Mrs John Major *Dress : Black Tie*

THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

(See page for Separate Programme for Señora de Aylwin)
(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Silva Cimma, Minister for Foreign Relations)
(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Foxley, Minister for Finance)
(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Lagos, Minister for Education)

1100 hrs	Leave Claridge's
1110	Arrive at the Palace of Westminster *Speaker's House* Call on The Speaker of the House of Commons, The Rt Hon Bernard Weatherill, MP
1140	Leave the Palace of Westminster
1150	Arrive at Claridge's
1215	Leave Claridge's
1300	Arrive at Windsor Castle *Sovereign's Entrance* Received by Her Majesty The Queen accompanied by His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh Luncheon given by Her Majesty The Queen
1430	Leave Windsor Castle
1515	Arrive at Claridge's
1545 to 1610	The Leader of the Opposition, The Rt Hon Neil Kinnock, MP, will call at Claridge's

continued on next page

THURSDAY, 11 APRIL *(Cont'd)*

1615 hrs to 1640	The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commmonwealth Affairs, The Rt Hon Douglas Hurd, MP, will call at Claridge's
1650	Leave Claridge's
1700	Arrive at 10 Downing Street
	Met by the Prime Minister, The Rt Hon John Major, MP
	Talks with the Prime Minister, The Rt Hon John Major, MP
1800	Leave 10 Downing Street
1810	Arrive at Claridge's
1945	Leave Claridge's
2000	Arrive at Mansion House *Walbrook Entrance*
	Met by The Right Honourable The Lord Mayor of London, Sir Alexander Graham
1930 for 2015	Dinner given by The Corporation of The City of London Host : The Right Honourable The Lord Mayor, Sir Alexander Graham *Dress : White Tie, Uniform or National Dress* *Decorations*

PROGRAMME FOR SEÑORA de AYLWIN
THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

0900 hrs	*Leave Claridge's*
0930	*Arrive at the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew Richmond, Surrey*
	Met by an Assistant Curator, Mr Hans Fliegner
	Conducted Tour of the Gardens
1030	*Leave the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew*
1100	*Arrive at Claridge's*
1215	*Leave Claridge's*
1300	*Arrive at Windsor Castle Sovereign's Entrance*
	Received by Her Majesty The Queen accompanied by His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh
	Luncheon given by Her Majesty The Queen
1430	*Leave Windsor Castle*
1515	*Arrive at Claridge's*

No Official Engagements for the Remainder of the Afternoon

Programme for the Evening as for His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile

PROGRAMME FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR SILVA CIMMA,
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS
THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

0940 hrs	*Leave Claridge's*
0955	*Arrive at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office* *Ambassadors' Door, L - Shaped Road*
1000	*Call on the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,* *Mr Tristan Garel - Jones, MP*
1045	*Leave the Foreign and Commonwealth Office*
1105	*Arrive at the Palace of Westminster* *Speaker's House*

Programme for the Remainder of the Day as for
His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile

PROGRAMME FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR FOXLEY,
MINISTER FOR FINANCE
THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

1605 hrs	*Leave Claridge's*
1625	*Arrive at the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry* *69 Cannon Street, EC4* *Met by The Chairman,* *The Rt Hon Edmund Dell*
1630	*Introduction and Welcome given by the Chairman of the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry,* *The Rt Hon Edmund Dell* *Council Chamber* *His Excellency the Minister for Finance will give a Talk to an audience drawn from Members of the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Confederation of British Industry, British Invisibles and the British - Chilean Chamber of Commerce, at the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry*
1800	*Leave the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry*
1820	*Arrive at Claridge's*

Programme for the Evening as for His Excellency
The President of The Republic of Chile

PROGRAMME FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR LAGOS,
MINISTER FOR EDUCATION
THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

0925 hrs	*Leave Claridge's*
0940	*Arrive at the Department of Education and Science* *Elizabeth House, York Road, SE1*
0945	*Call on the Secretary of State for Education and Science,* *The Rt Hon Kenneth Clarke, MP*
1015	*Leave the Department of Education and Science*
1030	*Arrive at Claridge's*

Programme for the rest of the Morning as for
His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile

No Official Engagements during the Afternoon

Programme for the Evening as for His Excellency
The President of The Republic of Chile

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

(See page for Separate Programme for Señora de Aylwin)
(See page for Separate Programme for Señor Silva Cimma, Minister for Foreign Relations)
(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Foxley, Minister for Finance)
(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Lagos, Minister for Education)

0900 hrs	Meeting with Newspaper and Television News Editors *The Orangery*
1050	Leave Claridge's
1100	Arrive at Westminster Abbey *Great West Door* Met by the Dean of Westminster, The Very Reverend Michael Mayne His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile will lay a Wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior Proceed to the Tomb of Lord Cochrane His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile will lay a Wreath
1130	Leave Westminister Abbey
1140	Arrive at Claridge's
1235	Leave Claridge's
1245	Arrive at Canning House *Belgrave Square, SW1* Met by the Director General, Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Council, Sir Kenneth James
1230	Vin d'Honneur given by the Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Council Host : The Chairman, Sir Jock Taylor *Dress : Lounge Suit*
1315	Leave Canning House

continued on next page

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL *(Cont'd)*

1325 hrs	Arrive at Claridge's
	Private Luncheon
1615	Leave Claridge's
1625	Arrive at the Palace of Westminster *Royal Court, via Chancellor's Court, House of Lords*
	Met by the Assistant Serjeant-at-Arms, Miss Jenny Rowe
1630	Call on The Lord Chancellor, The Rt Hon Lord Mackay of Clashfern
1700	Leave the Palace of Westminster
1710	Arrive at the Embassy of The Republic of Chile *12 Devonshire Street, W1*
1715 to 1800	Meeting with Members of the Chilean Community
1800	Leave the Embassy of The Republic of Chile
1810	Arrive at Claridge's
1930	Leave Claridge's
1945	Arrive at the Head Office, Midland Bank plc *27 Poultry, EC2*
1930 for 2000	Dinner given by The Chairman, Midland Bank plc, and City Bankers Hosts : The Chairman, Midland Bank plc, Sir Kit McMahon, and City Bankers *Dress : Lounge Suit*

PROGRAMME FOR SEÑORA de AYLWIN
FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

1050 hrs	*Leave Claridge's*
1100	*Arrive at Westminster Abbey* *Great West Door*
	Met by the Dean of Westminster, *The Very Reverend Michael Mayne*
	Attend Wreath - laying Ceremonies
1130	*Leave Westminster Abbey*
1200	*Arrive at The Ferncliff Centre* *Ferncliff Road, E8*
	Met by the Project Leader, *Ms Diana Fearnehead*
	Presentation on the Work of the Centre and Tour of the Children's Activity Areas
1245	*Leave The Ferncliff Centre*
1315	*Arrive at the Residence of the Ambassador of The Republic of Chile* *92 Eaton Place, SW1*
	Luncheon with Embassy Ladies
1430	*Leave the Residence of the Ambassador of The Republic of Chile*
1440	*Arrive at Claridge's*

No Official Engagements for the Remainder of the Day

PROGRAMME FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR SILVA CIMMA, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS
FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

0800 hrs	*Breakfast Meeting with Newspaper and Television Editors* *The Orangery*
1050	*Leave Claridge's*
	Programme as for His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile
1130	*Leave Westminster Abbey*
1145	*Arrive at the Headquarters of the Socialist International* *Maritime House, Old Town , Clapham, SW4*
	Meeting with the Secretary General , *Señor Luis Ayala*
1225	*Leave the Headquarters of the Socialist International*
1245	*Arrive at Canning House* *Belgrave Square, SW1*
	Programme as for His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile
1325	*Arrive at Claridge's*
	Private Luncheon
1500 to 1530	*Members of British Human Rights Organisations will call at Claridge's*
1615	*Leave Claridge's*
	Programme for the Remainder of the Afternoon as for His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile

No Official Engagements during the Evening

PROGRAMME FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR FOXLEY,
MINISTER FOR FINANCE
FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

0800 hrs	*Breakfast Meeting with Newspaper and Television Editors* *The Orangery*
0925	*Leave Claridge's*
0940	*Arrive at HM Treasury*
0945	*Call on the Chancellor of the Exchequer,* *The Rt Hon Norman Lamont, MP*
1015	*Leave HM Treasury*
1030	*Arrive at Claridge's*
1050	*Leave Claridge's*

Programme for the Remainder of the Day as for
His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile

PROGRAMME FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR LAGOS,
MINISTER FOR EDUCATION
FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

0800 hrs	*Breakfast Meeting with Newspaper and Television Editors* *The Orangery*
0945	*Leave Claridge's*
0955	*Arrive at The British Council* *Spring Gardens, SW1*
1000	*Call on The Chairman,* *Sir David Orr*
1030	*Leave The British Council*
1040	*Arrive at Claridge's*
1050	*Leave Claridge's*

Programme for the Remainder of the Day as for
His Excellency The President of The Republic of Chile

No Official Engagements during the Evening

SATURDAY, 13 APRIL

(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Silva Cimma, Minister for Foreign Relations)

(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Foxley, Minister for Finance)

(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Lagos, Minister for Education)

1000 hrs Leave Claridge's

1115 Arrive at The Senate House
Trinity Street, Cambridge

Met by the Pro Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge and Master of St Catharine's College,
and Mrs Supple

His Excellency The President will give an Address

Leave The Senate House accompanied by
the Pro Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge and Master of St Catharine's College,
and Mrs Supple

Arrive at St Catharine's College
King's Parade,Cambridge

Luncheon given by St Catharine's College
Hosts : The Pro Vice Chancellor of the University
of Cambridge and Master of St Catharine's College,
and Mrs Supple

1400 Leave St Catharine's College

continued on next page

1700 hrs — Arrive at The Manor House
Treyford, West Sussex

Met by the Lord Lieutenant of the County of West Sussex,
The Duke of Richmond and Gordon,
The Chief Executive of West Sussex County Council and Clerk to the Lieutenancy for West Sussex,
Mr Brian Fieldhouse,
The Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, Royal College of Arms,
Mr Timothy Duke,
The Rector, Parish of Treyford - cum - Didling,
The Reverend John Collins, and
Mr and Mrs Daniel Hodson

The Lord Lieutenant will formally welcome His Excellency
The President to West Sussex

Refreshments will be offered at The Manor House
by Mr and Mrs Daniel Hodson

The Rouge Dragon Pursuivant will escort His Excellency
The President to the Aylwin Family Graves where His Excellency
The President will lay a Floral Tribute

1740 *(approx)* — Leave The Manor House accompanied by the Rector of the Parish of Treyford - cum - Didling,
The Reverend John Collins

1745 *(approx)* — Arrive at St Andrew's Church
Didling, West Sussex

The Reverend John Collins will escort His Excellency
The President to the Aylwin Family Graves where
His Excellency will lay a Floral Tribute

1800 *(approx)* — Leave St Andrew's Church

1830 *(approx)* — Arrive at Amberley Castle
Amberley, West Sussex

Met by the Owners - in - Residence,
Mr and Mrs Martin Cummings

Private Dinner

**PROGRAMME FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR SILVA CIMMA,
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS,
HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR FOXLEY,
MINISTER FOR FINANCE AND
HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR LAGOS,
MINISTER FOR EDUCATION**

SATURDAY, 13 APRIL

***Programme for the Morning as for His Excellency
The President of The Republic of Chile***

1430	*Proceed from the Main Hall, St Catharine's College to the Old Combination Room*
	Presentation on ***The Cambridge Phenomenon*** *given by the Chairman, Segal, Quince and Wickstead, Doctor Nick Segal, followed by a Presentation on* ***Science and Technology Parks*** *given by Fellow of Churchill College and Reader in Architecture, Professor Marcial Echenique*
1600	*Leave St Catharine's College*
1610	*Arrive at Cambridge Science Park*
	Met, on behalf of Trinity College, Cambridge, by Mrs Lindy Beveridge
	Conducted Tour of Cambridge Science Park
1630	*Arrive at St John's Innovation Centre*
	Met by the Director, Mr Walter Herriot
	Presentation on and Guided Tour of St John's Innovation Centre given by Mr Walter Herriot
1700	*Leave St John's Innovation Centre*
1815 (approx)	*Arrive at Claridge's*

No Official Engagements for the Remainder of the Evening

SUNDAY, 14 APRIL

0910 hrs	Leave Amberley Castle
0925	Arrive at the Cathedral of Our Lady and Saint Philip Howard *Arundel, West Sussex*
	Met by The Administrator, Canon Anthony Whale
0930	Attend Sunday Mass
1020 *(approx)*	Leave the Cathedral of Our Lady and Saint Philip Howard
1035 *(approx)*	Arrive at Amberley Castle
	Private Luncheon

No Engagements for the Remainder of the Day

PROGRAMME FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR SILVA CIMMA,
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS,
HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR FOXLEY,
MINISTER FOR FINANCE AND
HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR LAGOS,
MINISTER FOR EDUCATION
SUNDAY, 14 APRIL

No Official Engagements

`MONDAY, 15 APRIL

(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Silva Cimma, Minister for Foreign Relations)
(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Foxley, Minister for Finance)
(See page for Separate Programme for His Excellency Señor Lagos, Minister for Education)

0800 hrs Leave Amberley Castle

0915 Arrive at London Gatwick Airport
North Suite

0930 Depart by Special Flight for Amsterdam

The Lord Lieutenant of the County of West Sussex,
The Duke of Richmond and Gordon,
and the Special Representative of the Secretary of
State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,
Sir David Muirhead,
will bid Farewell

PROGRAMME FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR SILVA CIMMA,
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS,
HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR FOXLEY,
MINISTER FOR FINANCE, AND
HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR LAGOS,
MINISTER FOR EDUCATION
MONDAY, 15 APRIL

0730 hrs	*Leave Claridge's*
0910	*Arrive at London Gatwick Airport*
0930	*Depart by Special Flight for Amsterdam*

DIRECTORY

Government Hospitality Fund *8 Cleveland Row, St James's, SW1*	071-210 4291
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Embassy of The Republic of Chile *12 Devonshire Street, W1* Ambassador's Residence *92 Eaton Place, SW1*	071-580 6392 071-235 1047
London Heathrow Airport Royal Suite	 081-745 5248
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Mansion House	071-626 2500
Royal Botanic Gardens Kew *Richmond, Surrey*	081-940 1171
London Chamber of Commerce and Industry *69 Cannon Street, EC4*	071-248 4444
Department of Education and Science *Elizabeth House, York Road, SE1*	071-934 9000
Westminister Abbey	071-222 5152
Canning House *2 Belgrave Square, SW1*	071-235 2303

continued on next page

DIRECTORY *(Cont'd)*

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HM Treasury	071-270 3000
British Council *10 Spring Gardens, SW1*	071-930 8466
St Catherine's College *King's Parade, Cambridge*	0223 338300
The Manor House *Treyford, West Sussex*	0730 825436
Amberley Castle *Amberley, West Sussex*	079883 1992
Cambridge Science Park *Bidwells, Trumpington Road, Cambridge*	0223 841841
Cathedral of Our Lady and Saint Philip Howard *Arundel, West Sussex*	0903 742172
London Gatwick Airport North Suite	0293 503457

Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 April 1991

Dear Stephen,

Visit of President Aylwin of Chile

I enclose a draft of possible contributions for the Prime Minister's toast at his dinner for President Aylwin on 10 April. We have included a reference to our increased aid allocation for Latin America after consulting the ODA.

Yours ever,

Christopher Prentice.

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG
10 Downing Street

Chile

Mr President,

May I extend a warm welcome to you, your wife and your daughter.

DRAFT EXTENDED TOAST TO PRESIDENT AYLWIN OF CHILE
WEDNESDAY 10 APRIL

SCANNED

We are delighted to have you, your ministers and your colleagues as our guests tonight.

~~Pleasure to welcome President Aylwin to Britain.~~ It is a privilege to welcome to Britain a South American President with British origins. A President who, moreover, has an "Englishman" as his Finance Minister (Sr Foxley - and we welcome him too this evening) and a "Scot" (Sr Hamilton) as his Minister of Mines. //But perhaps these links with Britain should come as no surprise when one recalls that the Republic of Chile's Navy was founded by an English Lord, Lord Cocheran, and that the struggle for independence against Spain was led by an Irishman, the great Bernardo O'Higgins.

The President's British ancestery is well established. While the preparations for this visit were being made, the researchers at the Royal College of Arms, with the help of the President's family, traced the direct ancestors of the President back to the seventeenth century. This evening I gave the President a scroll showing that his family derives from a long line of Sussex yeoman from a beautiful area of our country round Midhurst. I believe the President will be having a look at the area, and perhaps meeting some very distant cousins when the official part of his programe is over.

Our research shows the family did not always enjoy good fortune. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Robert Aylwin, as a younger son, had to leave the land and become a tallow-chandler in London. His son Robert Patrick Aylwin was also a tallow-chandler in South London, but, again, times forced a change, ~~and~~ His son, Richard Aylwin (under what pressures we do not know) made the tremendous decision to emigrate to Chile. He prospered there, very sensibly

UNCLASSIFIED

married a Chilean lady and became so well-established that Her Majesty's Government appointed him Consul in the port of Constitución.

But the challenges to the Aylwin family were not yet over. ~~- their reserves of determination were to be tested again, and yet again.~~ In the political troubles of the 1890s the emigrant's son Ricardo ~~Camilo~~ Patricio Aylwin stood up for what he believed was right, ~~even to the extent of facing~~ he suffered imprisonment and financial ruin. All the more credit then to his son, the President's father, ~~the late Miguel Antonio Aylwin~~ that entirely by his own efforts, ~~and his own intellectual stamina~~ he should have risen from being a farm boy in his grandmother's care to ~~being~~ become President of the Supreme Court of Chile.

What pride, Sir, your Yeoman ancestors from Sussex would take in these achievements. →

~~And the theme goes on. Who could have foreseen, as recently as 1987, that within the very constitutional arrangements established by General Pinochet, the patient and determined workings of yet another Aylwin would create~~ And that is your achievement. You created the united opposition which, ~~in the 1988 Referendum, would lead the Chilean electorate~~ people to give a ~~resounding~~ say 'No' to ~~the continuation of the military regime and all that went with it.~~ dictatorship.

~~Who could have foreseen that the same 'Comando del no', made up of so many disparate forces, would be held together by that same Aylwin determination to deliver a convincing win for the democratic 'Concertacion' and the peaceful return to power of our guest tonight?~~

You turned that mix of parties ~~into a united political~~, made up of many disparate forces.

And let me stress this: the peaceful return to power. In a world where dictatorship is, having been cast aside ~~and peoples are reasserting their control of their own affairs~~ the peaceful transition to democracy is a precious achievement, ~~and~~ I pay tribute to the maturity of the Chilean people, ~~and~~ I pay special tribute to the skill of President Aylwin and his supporters in bringing this about.

PO6ADV/2

into a potent political force. You led Chile peacefully back to democracy.

Pride, [illegible] surprise. ~~[illegible]~~

But your achievements surpass even these of your forbears.

And they are achievements which have given enormous satisfaction to all of Charles friends. To all who watched her suffering with anguish. And to all who have rejoiced in your return to democracy.

We in Britain were delighted when Chile returned to the democratic fold. As a sign of this we increased our ~~technical assistance programme~~ help to Chile and ~~began the financing of~~ have helped fund a programme to ~~help~~ help exiles ~~to return~~ both home. The good government policies we see ~~currently~~ in Latin America, ~~as exemplified by those in Chile,~~ have led us to increase substantially our bilateral aid budget to the region as a whole.

Mr President, we welcome you here as we welcomed Chile's return to democracy and the light of freedom. May I propose a toast to you, President and Mrs Aylwin, to the happiness and prosperity of all your people, and to ~~a~~ ~~the~~ ~~further enhancing of our~~ long-standing friendship ~~between~~ ~~us~~ between our country and ours.

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TELNO 87
OF 261600Z MARCH 91
AND TO SAVING WASHINGTON, BUENOS AIRES, MONTEVIDEO, LA PAZ
AND TO SAVING RIO DE JANEIRO, BRASILIA, LIMA, QUITO, BOGOTA
AND TO SAVING CARACAS, MEXICO CITY

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF CHILE, 10-15 APRIL
PART ONE OF THREE PARTS

PART 1: AYLWIN, THE MAN

SUMMARY
1. AYLWIN IS A MODEST, THOROUGHLY DECENT MAN WHO IS A NATURAL CONCILIATOR. HE ALSO HAS RESERVES OF TOUGHNESS WHICH HAVE SERVED HIM WELL IN DEALING WITH GENERAL PINOCHET. HE HAS MADE AN OUTSTANDINGLY SUCCESSFUL START AS PRESIDENT. IN PREPARATION FOR AYLWIN'S VISIT YOU MAY FIND IT USEFUL TO HAVE MY PEN PICTURE OF HIM. MIFTS PROVIDE FURTHER BRIEFING MATERIAL.

DETAIL
2. PRESIDENT AYLWIN ENJOYS ROBUST HEALTH FOR A MAN OF 73. A LAWYER BY TRAINING, HE HAS HAD A LONG AND DISTINGUISHED POLITICAL CAREER. HIS CHOICE AS THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE OF THE CONCERTACION WAS SOMETHING OF A SURPRISE. IT CAME AFTER FIERCE IN-FIGHTING AMONG THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN WHICH HE APPARENTLY MANOUEVRED WITH SKILL AND A DETERMINATION THAT BELIED HIS EASY-GOING EXTERIOR. ONCE INSTALLED, HE QUICKLY ESTABLISHED HIMSELF AS THE RIGHT MAN FOR THE JOB AT THE RIGHT TIME.

3. AFTER 17 YEARS OF MILITARY RULE THE DIVISIONS WITHIN CHILEAN SOCIETY ARE DEEP. THE PRESIDENT NEEDS TO INSPIRE THE NEW DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE COUNTRY WHILE AVOIDING A BACKLASH FROM THE ARMED FORCES. AYLWIN HAS DONE BETTER THAN ANYONE MIGHT HAVE HOPED. HE HAS SET HIMSELF SQUARELY BEHIND A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY BASED ON THE RULE OF LAW AND A FULL REGARD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. HE MADE AN ELEGANT GESTURE TO THE LEFT BY HIS DECISION TO PERMIT THE REBURIAL IN APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS OF EX-PRESIDENT ALLENDE IN SEPTEMBER 1990. HE HAS HANDLED THE KEY ISSUE OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS WITH SKILL. PINOCHET HAS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS ATTEMPTED TO TEST HIM BUT HE HAS SHOWN COURAGE, TOUGHNESS AND ACUMEN IN DEALING WITH THE GENERAL AND MAINTAINING INTACT HIS

PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY. HIS SUCCESS HAS ALREADY LED TO TALK ABOUT EXTENDING HIS INITIAL FOUR YEAR PERIOD BUT THE PRESIDENT HAS SO FAR REJECTED SUCH AN IDEA, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE.

4. AFFECTIONATELY KNOWN AS QUOTE DON PATO UNQUOTE, HE BEAMS HIS WAY THROUGH LIFE AND, ALTHOUGH SOME CRITICS HAVE CLAIMED HIS FACE IS SET IN A RICTUS OF A SMILE, IT IS ALL PART OF HIS ROLE AS PRIME CONCILIATOR. ALTHOUGH HORRIFIED BY THE ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH TOOK PLACE UNDER THE MILITARY REGIME, HE IS NEVETHELESS MORE INTERESTED IN BRINGING SOCIETY TOGETHER THAN IN ALLOWING DIVISIONS TO DEEPEN AND FESTER. HE BELIEVES THAT BRINGING THE TRUTH INTO THE OPEN WILL PROVIDE THE CATHARSIS CHILE NEEDS TO PUT THE PAST BEHIND IT AND GET ON WITH CONSTRUCTING THE FUTURE. HIS HANDLING OF THE RETTIG COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES UNDER THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT IS PERHAPS HIS SUPREME TEST. SO FAR HE HAS SHOWN HIMSELF EQUAL TO THE TASK. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE CRIES OF QUOTE FOUL UNQUOTE FROM THE ENTRENCHED RIGHT, HE IS CALMLY REQUIRING THEM, AND SOCIETY AS A WHOLE, TO CONTEMPLATE THE REALITY OF THE MILITARY OPPRESSION.

5. AYLWIN IS A MODEST MAN. HE AND HIS WIFE LIVE SIMPLY IN THE SAME HOUSE HE HAS OCCUPIED FOR OVER 40 YEARS. HE HAS AN IMPRESSIVE BEARING AND A RESTRAINED GRACE OF MANNER. HE IS CHARMING AND CAN BE GOOD COMPANY. HE IS A DEVOUT ROMAN CATHOLIC AND HIS RELIGION PLAYS A CENTRAL PART IN HIS LIFE. HE IS DEVOTED TO HIS FAMILY. BOTH THE IMAGE AND THE REALITY IS OF A ROCK OF DECENCY.

6. AYLWIN IS CONSCIOUS OF THE DIGNITY OF HIS PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE, NOT LEAST BECAUSE OF HIS AWARENESS THAT THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF HIS PRESIDENCY WILL BE CRITICAL TO THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN CHILE. HE HAS THE VISION TO RECOGNISE THAT CHILEAN DEMOCRACY IS BEING GIVEN A SECOND CHANCE AFTER TWO VERY NEAR SQUEAKS. HE HAS INSPIRED HIS EXCELLENT MINISTERIAL TEAM TO REALISE THAT IDEOLOGY MUST COME SECOND TO COOPERATION IN DEMOCRACY. HE HAS BEEN IN OFFICE FOR A YEAR AND THE START HE HAS MADE SUGGESTS THAT HE MAY BE REMEMBERED AS ONE OF CHILE'S GREAT PRESIDENTS. THE SPLENDIDLY HIGH-LEVEL PROGRAMME ORGANISED FOR HIM WILL BE APPRECIATED AS IT WILL DEMONSTRATE TO THE PRESIDENT THAT WE RECOGNISE THE IMPORTANCE FOR CHILE OF THE HISTORIC ROLE HE HASBEEN CALLED TO PLAY IN HIS COUNTRY'S DESTINY. IT WILL ALSO PLEASE HIM BECAUSE HE HOPES, THROUGH PERSONAL DIPLOMACY AND VISITS, TO MAKE OBVIOUS CHILE'S RE-INTEGRATION INTO THE CONCERT OF NATIONS.

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AND TO SAVING CARACAS, MEXICO CITY

PART TWO: PRESIDENT AYLWIN'S CHILE

SUMMARY

1. THE RESTORED DEMOCRACY HAS GOT OFF TO A GOOD START. HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES ARE BEING RESOLVED IN A WAY WHICH SHOULD FOSTER RECONCILIATION AND ENABLE CHILE TO CONCENTRATE ON THE FUTURE. THE ARMY IS SLOWLY COMING TO TERMS WITH ITS NEW, SUBORDINATE ROLE. THE ECONOMY HAS DONE WELL WITH INFLATION COMING DOWN, GDP GOING UP AND INVESTMENT COMING IN. DEALING WITH UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS AMONG THE POOR COULD BE AYLWIN'S MAIN PROBLEM IN THE LONGER TERM. CHILE'S RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES SOMETIME LACK SUBSTANCE AND HER PRINCIPAL TIES ARE WITH THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE. IN FUTURE, THE COUNTRIES OF THE PACIFIC BASIN COULD BECOME MORE IMPORTANT TO CHILE.

DETAIL

2. THE MAIN ISSUES ON THE PRESIDENT'S DESK HAVE BEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS. AYLWIN WANTS TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR RECONCILIATION IN CHILE, BOTH AMONG THOSE DIVIDED BY IDEOLOGY AND SO THAT THE COUNTRY CAN COME TO TERMS WITH ITS PAST. THE RETTIG REPORT, PUBLISHED ON 4 MARCH ON WHICH I HAVE REPORTED SEPARATELY, WAS A KEY ELEMENT. THE FORMAL REACTIONS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY ARE AWAITED. THEY WILL PROBABLY ARGUE THAT RETTIG GIVES AN INCOMPLETE PICTURE AND IT LOOKS AS IF THEIR POSITION IS HARDENING. THERE IS STILL SCOPE FOR THINGS TO GO WRONG AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WILL MEET THIS WEEK. BUT PUBLIC REACTIONS AND THOSE OF THE AIR FORCE AND CARABINEROS HAVE BEEN RESTRAINED, AND WITH ANY LUCK THOSE OF THE ARMY AND NAVY WILL BE CONTAINABLE. THE CHANCES ARE THAT THE STING IS BEING DRAWN FROM THIS ISSUE, EVEN THOUGH IT WILL REMAIN ON THE AGENDA FOR A LONG TIME.

3. FROM THE OUTSET THE NAVY, AIR FORCE AND CARABINEROS STRESSED THEIR DETERMINATION TO ABIDE BY CONSTITUTIONAL NORMS AND WORK WITH THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. RELATIONS WITH THE ARMY HAVE BEEN MORE

DIFFICULT. NOT SURPRISINGLY, PINOCHET HAS FOUND IT HARD TO ADJUST TO HIS NEW ROLE. AYLWIN HAS HAD A TRICKY BALANCING ACT IN SATISFYING PUBLIC DEMANDS OVER HUMAN RIGHTS WITHOUT PROVOKING THE ARMY UNDULY. TOWARDS THE END OF LAST YEAR RELATIONS WITH THE ARMY DETERIORATED AS A RESULT OF THEIR PERCEPTION (PROBABLY INCORRECT) OF A GOVERNMENT CAMPAIGN TO DAMAGE THEIR PRESTIGE AND QUOTE INSTITUTIONAL HONOUR UNQUOTE AND TO FORCE PINOCHET'S RESIGNATION. PINOCHET PUT THE ARMY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ON FULL ALERT ON 19 DECEMBER - THE SORT OF MOVE WHICH COULD BE THE PRECURSOR TO A COUP. THIS IRRITATED MAJORITY OPINION BUT REMINDED AYLWIN OF THE RISKS OF SEEMING TO PUSH THE ARMY TOO FAR. SINCE THEN HE AND PINOCHET HAVE ACHIEVED A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP. AT NO POINT, HOWEVER, HAS PINOCHET SUCCEEDED IN WEAKENING THE AUTHORITY OF THE PRESIDENT. THE SIGNS ARE THAT THE ARMY IS SLOWLY SETTLING DOWN TO ITS NEW POSITION. THE DANGERS OF ANOTHER COUP SEEM REMOTE. THE ARMY KNOWS THAT THEY LACK PUBLIC SUPPORT AND THAT THE OTHER SERVICES WOULD NOT, UNDER EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES, BACK THEM IN ANY SUCH ADVENTURE.

4. AYLWIN NOW WANTS TO CONCENTRATE MORE ON THE NEEDS OF THE POOR IN CHILE. FINE SHOPPING MALLS IN THE PROSPEROUS SUBURBS OF SANTIAGO CANNOT DISGUISE HOW MANY CHILEANS LIVE IN REAL POVERTY. THEY LOOK TO AYLWIN TO IMPROVE THEIR LOT. THEY HAVE BEEN PATIENT DURING AYLWIN'S FIRST YEAR, BUT THEIR HOPES MAY BE UNREALISTICALLY HIGH. THE CONCERTACION HAS HELD TOGETHER WELL BUT LACKS THE COHERENCE OF NATURAL PARTNERS. STRAINS ARE LIKELY EVENTUALLY AS THEY GRAPPLE WITH PRESSURES FOR HIGHER SOCIAL EXPENDITURE AND THE NECESSARY BUDGETARY DISCIPLINE. MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO SHOW A GREATER SENSE OF URGENCY IN DEALING WITH THE PERCEIVED GROWTH OF TERRORISM AND VIOLENT CRIME.

5. ULTIMATELY, THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT THEY WILL STAND OR FALL ON THEIR ECONOMIC RECORD. THEY INHERITED A GENERALLY WELL MANAGED ECONOMY ALTHOUGH IN 1989, PINOCHET'S LAST YEAR IN OFFICE, THE ECONOMY HAD GROWN AT THE UNSUSTAINABLY FAST RATE OF TEN PERCENT AND INFLATION HAD RISEN SHARPLY. FROM THE OUTSET, AYLWIN AND HIS MINISTERS STRESSED THEIR WISH TO CONTINUE WITH THE OVERALL SUCCESSFUL FREE-TRADE, MARKET-ORIENTATED AND FISCALLY CONSERVATIVE POLICIES PURSUED UNDER PINOCHET. DEFICIT FINANCING AND POPULIST GESTURES WERE REJECTED. THEY DID NOT SHRINK FROM IMPOSING AN ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME INVOLVING SHARP RISES IN INTEREST RATES. COUPLED WITH HIGHER OIL PRICES AND AN INCREASE IN VAT, THIS WAS PAINFUL TO BOTH INDUSTRY AND AN AGRICULTURAL SECTOR SUFFERING FROM DROUGHT AND HEAVY DEBTS. IN 1990 GROWTH SLOWED TO JUST OVER TWO PERCENT, GIVING A GDP OF USD 27.8 BILLION AND A GDP PER CAPITA OF

USD 2111 BILLION.

6. BUT INFLATION IS NOW UNDER CONTROL AND IS LIKELY TO FALL FROM 27 PERCENT TO BELOW 18 PERCENT BY THE END OF THIS YEAR. GDP GROWTH IS PICKING UP AND SHOULD BE AT LEAST 4 PERCENT IN 1991. ANOTHER SIGN OF INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE IS THE CONTINUING INFLOW OF INVESTMENT (USD 1.46 BN IN 1990). RESERVES ARE OVER USD 5 BN. CHILE'S EXTERNAL DEBT (USD 18.3 BN AT THE END OF 1990) IS WELL MANAGED. IN SEPTEMBER 1990 FINANCE MINISTER FOXLEY NEGOTIATED A STRETCHING OF DEBT SERVICE PAYMENTS WHICH INCLUDED USD 320 MILLION OF NEW MONEY FROM BOND SALES. CREDITORS REGARD CHILE AS A MODEL DEBTOR.

7. SO ECONOMIC PROSPECTS ARE GOOD. BUT THERE ARE PROBLEMS. CHILE HAS DIVERSIFIED WITH GREAT SUCCESS SINCE 1973 WHEN 85 PERCENT OF ITS EXPORT EARNINGS CAME FROM COPPER. COPPER STILL ACCOUNTS FOR OVER 40 PERCENT OF INCOME FROM ABROAD. AGRO-INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS (FRUIT, TIMBER, FISHMEAL) ACCOUNT FOR MUCH OF THE REST. BUT COPPER PRICES HAVE ALREADY FALLEN (FROM USD 1.20 IN MID 1990 TO USD 1.09 TODAY) AND MAY FALL FURTHER. THE GOVERNMENT RECOGNISES THAT CHILE, WHICH TRADES OVER 30 PERCENT OF GDP, MUST DIVERSIFY FURTHER TO REDUCE EXPOSURE TO MOVEMENTS IN THE COPPER PRICE. EVEN SO, IT WOULD TAKE A VERY SEVERE FALL IN COPPER PRICES, COUPLED WITH A DOWNTURN IN WORLD TRADE BADLY HITTING THEIR OTHER EXPORTS, TO THREATEN CHILE'S ABILITY TO SERVICE ITS DEBT.

8. IN ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS CHILE DOES NOT LOOK FOR GRAND GESTURES. PRESIDENT AYLWIN SEEKS RECOGNITION THAT HIS COUNTRY, AS A DEMOCRACY, IS NOW REINTEGRATED INTO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. HE SEES THE UNITED NATIONS AS THE PRINCIPAL VENUE FOR CHILE. UNLIKE ARGENTINA, CHILE DID NOT SEND SHIPS TO THE GULF AND ANY CHILEAN PRESENCE THERE IN FUTURE WOULD PROBABLY NEED TO BE AS PART OF A UN HUMANITARIAN EFFORT. THE CHILEANS ARE PRAGMATIC. WHILST JOINING IN THE RHETORIC ABOUT LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY, THEY ARE SCEPTICAL ABOUT THE PRACTICAL POSSIBILITIES AND BENEFITS OF REGIONAL COOPERATION. RATHER THAN BUILD REGIONAL GROUPINGS, THEY HAVE PREFERRED TO WORK TOWARDS BILATERAL TARIFF REDUCTIONS, NOTABLY WITH MEXICO, VENEZUELA AND BOLIVIA. WHEN CONDITIONS ARE RIGHT, THEY HOPE TO DO THE SAME WITH ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL. CHILE IS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT PRESIDENT BUSH'S INITIATIVE FOR A FREE TRADE ZONE FOR THE AMERICAS. BUT UNTIL IT GETS GOING THEY WILL RELY ON BILATERAL NEGOTIATION TO SECURE CONCESSIONS ON MARKET ACCESS TO THE UNITED STATES. ALTHOUGH LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES SUPPLY 27 PERCENT OF CHILE'S IMPORTS, THEY TAKE ONLY ABOUT 12 PERCENT OF

TOTAL EXPORTS (WHICH IN 1990 EXCEEDED USD 8.5 BN). CHILE'S MAIN TRADE PARTNERS ARE THE EC, WHICH TAKES OVER ONE-THIRD OF ALL EXPORTS, FOLLOWED BY THE USA (19 PERCENT) AND JAPAN (14 PERCENT). TRADE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE PACIFIC RIM, TO WHICH CHILE BELONGS GEOGRAPHICALLY, IS GROWING STEADILY.

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PART THREE: ANGLO-CHILEAN RELATIONS AND BRITISH INTERESTS IN CHILE

SUMMARY

1. IF BRITAIN AND CHILE ARE TO MAXIMISE THE IMPACT OF AYLWIN'S VISIT WE NEED TO SHOW HIM AND THE MEDIA THAT WE REJOICE AT HIS SUCCESS IN LEADING CHILE BACK TO ITS DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS. WE SHOULD LEAVE THE MESSAGE THAT OUR GOODWILL MATTERS TO THEM. OUR RELATIONS ARE EXCELLENT BUT GOODWILL ON ITS OWN IS NOT ENOUGH AND THE RESERVOIR IN ANY CASE NEEDS TOPPING UP. CHILE HAS BEEN HELPFUL OVER THE FALKLANDS IN THE PAST BUT AYLWIN WANTS BETTER RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA. WE CAN NO LONGER TAKE THEIR COOPERATION FOR GRANTED. EXPORTS TO CHILE WENT UP BY 33 PERCENT LAST YEAR AND WE ARE THE SECOND LARGEST INVESTOR HERE. IGNORANCE ABOUT BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES IN CHILE IS THE GREATEST BARRIER TO DOING EVEN BETTER. DEFENCE SALES ARE POSSIBLE IF WE PURSUE THEM KEENLY. AYLWIN WILL LOOK FOR OUR SUPPORT ON AGRICULTURAL TARIFFS AND INVESTMENT.

DETAIL

RESTOCKING GOODWILL

2. ANGLO-CHILEAN TIES GO BACK TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC. WE ARE SEEN AS A NATION WHICH HAS BEEN POSITIVELY INFLUENTIAL IN CHILEAN DEVELOPMENT. THEY LIKE AND ADMIRE US. BUT THE RESERVOIR OF GOODWILL SOMETIMES NEEDS REPLENISHING. CHILEANS SAY THEY UNDERSTAND HOW OUR RULES ON AID PREVENT US FROM PROVIDING DIRECT SUPPORT TO THE FLEDGLING DEMOCRACY, UNLIKE SOME EUROPEAN PARTNERS. THE VISIT MUST MAKE AN IMPACT WHICH ABUNDANTLY RENEWS THE GOODWILL TOWARDS US. THE NOTE STRUCK SHOULD BE ONE OF REJOICING THAT THE UNRESTRICTED FRIENDSHIP WE ENJOYED FOR SO LONG IN THE PAST HAS NOW BEEN RESTORED WITH THE RETURN OF A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT: AND THAT OUR GOODWILL MATTERS TO THEM - BRITAIN'S DEBILITIES OF THE LATE 60S AND EARLY 70S (WHEN CHILE WAS LAST DEMOCRATIC) HAVE LONG PASSED.

PROCESS.

6. NOW THAT CHILE HAS A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT WE NEED HAVE NO SPECIAL INHIBITIONS ABOUT SELLING THEM DEFENCE EQUIPMENT. THE CHILEAN NAVY NEEDS NEW SUBMARINES AND OFFSHORE PATROL CRAFT. OTHERS, SUCH AS THE DUTCH AND GERMANS, ARE DOING EVERYTHING THEY CAN TO WIN THESE VALUABLE ORDERS. THE REPEAL OF THE KENNEDY AMENDMENT IS BRINGING THE US BACK INTO PLAY. WE SHOULD LOOK FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO REMIND THE PRESIDENT THAT WE CAN PROVIDE OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS AT COMPETITIVE PRICES. WE ALSO HOPE TO MAKE A BREAKTHROUGH IN SALES TO THE ARMY. WITH EQUIPMENT SALES, TRAINING AND INFLUENCE FOLLOW.

7. THE CHILEANS WILL WANT TO IMPROVE THEIR OWN EXPORT PROSPECTS. I EXPECT THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL SEEK SUPPORT FOR IMPROVED ACCESS FOR CHILEAN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE. HE MAY REQUEST A LOWERING OF TARIFF BARRIERS. I REALISE WE CAN OFFER HIM LITTLE JOY BUT WHERE WE NEED TO GIVE A NEGATIVE RESPONSE WE SHOULD STRESS OUR REQUIREMENT, LIKE OUR COMMUNITY PARTNERS, TO FOLLOW COMMON RULES. BUT WE SHOULD UNDERLINE OUR CONSISTENT ROLE AS CRITIC OF CAP AND OUR SUPPORT FOR MORE COMPETITION.

INVESTMENT

8. THE UK IS THE SECOND LARGEST INVESTOR IN CHILE. THERE IS NO EXACT FIGURE FOR THE TOTAL BUT IT IS AROUND POUNDS 1-1.5 BILLION. THIS INCLUDES THE RTZ STAKE IN LA ESCONDIDA, THE SECOND BIGGEST COPPER MINE IN THE WORLD, WHICH WAS INAUGURATED IN MARCH. SEVERAL UK COMPANIES, SUCH AS BLUE CIRCLE, SHELL AND BAT, HAVE ANNOUNCED MAJOR EXPANSION PLANS FOR THEIR INVESTMENTS IN CHILE IN 1991. COMPANIES ARE RELUCTANT TO PROVIDE DETAILS BUT DIVIDENDS REMITTED FROM UK INVESTMENTS IN CHILE PROBABLY AMOUNT TO POUNDS 100 MILLION PER ANNUM. THE INVESTMENT ACTIVITIES OF BRITISH COMPANIES HERE ARE A SUCCESS STORY AND IT IS IN OUR INTERESTS THAT THESE SHOULD BE MORE WIDELY KNOWN. CHILEAN MINISTERS THEMSELVES RECOGNISE THAT INVESTMENT RATHER THAN AID IS WHAT THEY NEED. ENHANCING THEIR PROSPECTS FOR NEW INVESTMENT WILL BE A MAJOR PRIORITY FOR THEM DURING THE VISIT. I AM GLAD THAT THE CITY OF LONDON WILL PLAY SUCH A PROMINENT PART IN THE PROGRAMME. (THE LORD MAYOR'S VISIT IN MAY WILL PROVIDE FURTHER IMPETUS).

CONCLUSION

9. YOU HAVE RIGHTLY DESIGNATED CHILE AS A QUOTE FLAGSHIP COUNTRY UNQUOTE IN LATIN AMERICA. ITS ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IS A MODEL FOR THE REST OF THE CONTINENT. WE CAN SHARE IN CHILE'S REJOICING AT

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

3. PRESIDENT AYLWIN WANTS TO EXPOSE THE CHILEAN MILITARY, AND IN PARTICULAR THE ARMY, TO THE INFLUENCE OF ARMIES WITH A STRONG TRADITION OF OPERATING IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. HE LOOKS TO US TO HELP. A START HAS BEEN MADE BUT IT MUST NOW BE DEVELOPED AS IT REPRESENTS OUR BEST CARD IN OUR EFFORTS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT ALTHOUGH NOT PROVIDING LARGE SUMS OF AID, WE WANT TO SUPPORT THE NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. I HOPE EVERY OPPORTUNITY WILL BE TAKEN TO STRESS OUR WILLINGNESS TO ASSIST OVER TRAINING ARMY OFFICERS. BUT WE CAN UNDERLINE THAT IT IS UP TO THE CHILEANS TO TAKE UP OFFERS OF COURSES.

LINKS WITH THE FALKLANDS

4. THE POSSIBILITY OF TRAVEL TO AND FROM PORT STANLEY AND PUNTA ARENAS IS VALUABLE TO THE FALKLANDS, AS IS TRADE IN FRUIT, VEGETABLES AND OTHER PRODUCTS. CHILE HAS BEEN HELPFUL TO US IN THE PAST OVER THE FALKLANDS. HOWEVER, PRESIDENT AYLWIN'S GOVERNMENT ARE DETERMINED TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA. WE CANNOT TAKE CHILEAN HELP FOR GRANTED. THIS WAS BROUGHT HOME TO US LAST YEAR WHEN THEY DECLINED TO NOMINATE PUNTA ARENAS AS A DIVERSION AIRFIELD FOR RAF AIRBRIDGE FLIGHTS. THERE WERE PROBLEMS WITH THE ARGENTINES OVER FLIGHTS BY THE CHILEAN AIRLINE DAP BETWEEN PUNTA ARENAS AND PORT STANLEY. THESE NOW LOOK LIKE BEING RESOLVED BUT AT ONE STAGE THE CHILEANS SEEMED RELUCTANT TO PUT THEMSELVES OUT ON BEHALF OF DAP FOR FEAR OF UPSETTING THE ARGENTINES. WE MUST ENSURE THAT THE PRESIDENT FULLY UNDERSTANDS THAT WHILST WE TOO ARE WORKING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA, WE ATTACH GREAT POLITICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE WELFARE OF OF THE ISLANDERS.

TRADE

5. BRITISH EXPORTS TO CHILE ARE INCREASING. IN 1990 THEY WERE UP BY 33 PERCENT OVER THE PREVIOUS YEAR TO POUNDS 128 MILLION. CHILEAN EXPORTS TO THE UK ROSE 15 PERCENT TO POUNDS 222 MILLION. TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT, BEVERAGES AND CHEMICALS ACCOUNTED FOR 40 PERCENT OF OUR EXPORTS. GIVEN THE STABILITY AND VIGOUR OF THE CHILEAN ECONOMY, THE PROSPECTS FOR MAINTAINING THE IMPROVEMENT IN OUR PERFORMANCE ARE EXCELLENT. BUT COMPETITION IS FIERCE. WE REMAIN BEHIND THE GERMANS AND FRENCH (WE OVERTOOK THE SPANISH LAST YEAR), AND OTHER COUNTRIES' BUSINESSMEN HAVE TENDED TO CULTIVATE THIS MARKET MORE ASSIDUOUSLY THAN OURS. MORE BRITISH EXPORTERS NEED TO GET THE MESSAGE THAT THIS IS A MARKET WERE LOCAL BUSINESSMEN ARE SOPHISTICATED, USE UP-TO-DATE TECHNOLOGY AND THAT CHILE IS WELL RUN AND THINGS GET DONE. IT IS IN OUR INTERESTS THAT THE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE AYLWIN VISIT SHOULD ASSIST IN THIS

THE RETURN OF AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT. AYLWIN HAS DONE WELL. WE SHOULD TELL HIM SO. WE HAVE SOLID INTERESTS IN CHILE AND THESE SHOULD BECOME MORE IMPORTANT IN THE FUTURE. THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OFFERS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO SET THE SEAL ON THE RETURN TO A FULL RELATIONSHIP. WE MUST LEAVE HIM AND HIS GOVERNMENT IN NO DOUBT ABOUT OUR WISH TO DEVELOP THIS TO BENEFIT BOTH PARTIES. THE MAGNIFICENT PROGRAMME PREPARED FOR THE PRESIDENT IS EXACTLY WHAT IS REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE THIS. THE STAGE IS SET. NOW WE MUST ENSURE THE MOOD IS RIGHT.

NEILSON

YYYY

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SAVING 11

Mrs Goodchild
SG noted. Thankyou. R29/1
S29/1

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 January 1991

Dear Sandra,

Visit of President Patricio Aylwin of Chile

We spoke on Friday about alternative times and dates for President Aylwin to call on the Prime Minister.

We would like to take the option of dinner on Wednesday 10 April, after the President's arrival from Spain, and talks from 17.00 to 18.00 on Thursday 11 April.

We shall be supplying a great list plus reserves for the dinner separately.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

Miss Sandra Phillips
10 Downing Street

Sandra
1930 for 2000 OK
Sue 25/2

Mrs Goodchild
What time do we usually start such dinners (bearing in mind PM will need time for Cabinet/Questions beforehand for following day). Have suggested to FCO 1930 for 2000 - if Chilean President arrives in time.
SP 29/1

cc: Miss Wallis
(for Mrs Major)

FILE KK

cc PC
SP

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

11 December 1990

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF CHILE

Thank you for your letter of 10 December about dates for the visit of the President of Chile. I can confirm that 12 April would be convenient for a meeting with President Aylwin, followed by lunch.

(C. D. POWELL)

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Charles

Yes - still in diary for 10/4 ce

Sandra

5 10/12

(1)

Is this possible?

CDP

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 December 1990

Prime Minister

This invitation originated in your predecessor's time & is well-founded.

Dear Charles,

Visit of the President of Chile as a Guest of Government

In your letter of 29 October you offered noon on Wednesday 10 April 1991 for a call by President Aylwin on the Prime Minister, followed by lunch.

Agree to go ahead with it?

CDP

10/XII

This offer crossed with a Chilean proposal that President Aylwin should visit this country from Thursday 11 April to Sunday 14 April, as part of a European tour.

I understand that 12 April might be convenient for the Prime Minister to receive President Aylwin and offer him lunch. Can you please let me know if he would be willing to do so?

However,

Yes

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CHILE: Relations
AT2

FILE KK

bc PC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

8 November 1990

**VISIT BY PRESIDENT AYLWIN OF CHILE:
GIFT OF A FAMILY TREE**

Thank you for your letter of 7 November suggesting that we should present President Aylwin with his family tree when he comes here next year. The Prime Minister agrees this is a good idea and I should be grateful if you could set the necessary work in hand.

(C. D. POWELL)

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 November 1990

Dear Charles,

Visit by President Aylwin of Chile, 8-12 April 1991: Gift of a Family Tree

Your letter of 29 October confirmed that the Prime Minister would receive the Chilean President during his visit next year.

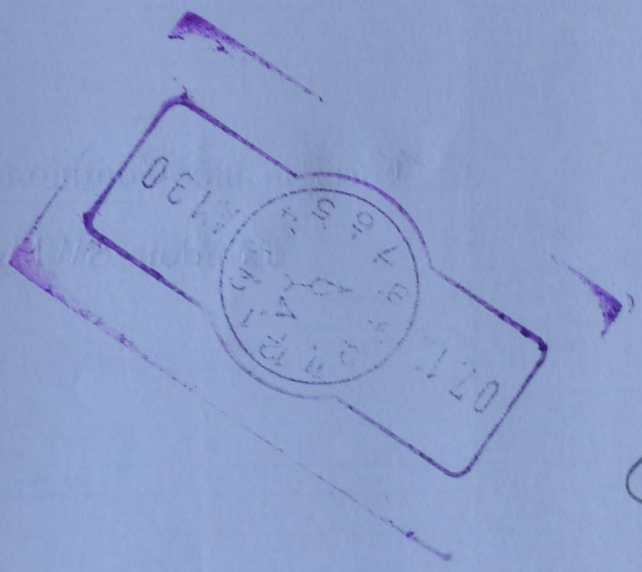
President Aylwin is proud of his Welsh origins, and his trip will include a visit to Cardiff. He has expressed interest in his antecedents on a number of occasions. We believe that an imaginitive gift to mark President Aylwin's visit would be a family tree, and we are looking into the possibility of producing one.

It is of course possible that our research could come to nothing. However, before we incur expenditure I should be grateful to know if the Prime Minister would in principle be willing to present the document when she meets the President at 1200 on 10 April next year.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street



CHILE: Relations Pt 2.

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

29 October 1990

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF CHILE AS A GUEST OF GOVERNMENT

Thank you for your letter of 26 October about the dates for the Guest of Government visit by President Aylwin of Chile. The Prime Minister could offer talks at 1200 on Wednesday, 10 April, followed by lunch.

C.D. POWELL

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Charles

Wed 10 April 1200 talks followed by lunch

AP 27/10

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 October 1990

Dear Charles,

Possible?

Visit of the President of Chile as a Guest of Government, April 1991

When Mr Garel-Jones visited Chile earlier this month he took the opportunity of his call on the Chilean President, Sr Patricio Aylwin, to hand over the Prime Minister's letter of 28 September inviting him to visit Britain; President Aylwin was clearly delighted.

We have now received his formal acceptance (original and translation enclosed). Our provisional planning has been on the basis that President Aylwin will be here for the week begining 8 April. Could you confirm whether the Prime Minister would be available for talks with President Aylwin that week, and able to offer lunch or a dinner?

We shall be proposing that President Aylwin spends the whole of a working week here, as he is keen to include a visit to Wales (where his family originally come from) in the programme.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T227/90

STS 727/90

Santiago, 8 October 1990

Mrs Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister of
Her Majesty's Government
United Kingdom

SUBJECT ce Malvinas
ORS

Dear Prime Minister,

I refer to your letter of 28 September brought by Mr Tristan Garel-Jones, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs responsible for overseas affairs, in which you kindly extended to me a formal invitation to visit the United Kingdom next April.

I shall be pleased to accept your invitation, for which I am most grateful, as I feel sure that my visit to Britain can make a significant contribution towards increasing the continuing good relations between our two countries.

Hoping to see you next spring in London,

[Complimentary close]

(signed)
PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR
President of the Republic

Santiago, 8 de octubre de 1990

Señora
Margaret Thatcher
Primera Ministro del Gobierno
de su Majestad
Reino Unido

Estimada señora Primera Ministro:

Me refiero a su atenta de 28 de septiembre de que fue portador el Sr. Tristán Tarel-Jones, Viceministro de Relaciones Exteriores para asuntos de Ultramar en la que Ud. tiene la gentileza de formalizarme la invitación para visitar el Reino Unido en el próximo mes de Abril.

Junto con expresarle mi aceptación gustosa a dicha invitación, quiero agradecérsela muy profundamente, en la certeza de que mi visita a Inglaterra podrá significar un aporte útil para incrementar las siempre buenas relaciones entre nuestros dos países.

En espera de verla en vuestra próxima primavera en Londres, la saluda con el mayor respeto y consideración.

Muy cordialmente

PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR
Presidente de la República

SUBJECT cc OPS
MASTER

EAL

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

28 September 1990

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T221/90

Dear Mr President,

You may recall that when you met Sir Geoffrey Howe at the celebrations for your inauguration he told you that I hoped that you would visit this country in the near future.

I understand that you would be free to visit the United Kingdom in the Spring of 1991. I am very pleased, therefore, to invite you to come to Britain as a guest of Her Majesty's Government next April.

There is great admiration here for the way in which you have brought Chile back to the fold of Western democracies while maintaining a successful free-market economy. You will receive a warm welcome here.

I look forward to seeing you in the Spring.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency President Patricio Aylwin Azocar

TW

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

28 September 1990

PROPOSED VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF CHILE

Thank you for your letter of 27 September about the invitation to President Aylwin. The Prime Minister has signed the letter to him which I enclose.

I should be grateful if you could arrange for its delivery.

C. D. POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 September 1990

Dear Charles,

Proposed Visit of the President of Chile as a Guest of Government, April 1991

When the Prime Minister wrote on 23 February to the then President-Elect Aylwin declining his invitation to his inauguration, she renewed an invitation to Sr Aylwin to visit Britain in the near future. President Aylwin has now indicated that he would like to visit Britain in April 1991 and would be free to come in the week beginning 8 April during which, we understand, the Prime Minister would be free to see him.

President Aylwin's success in rallying the centre of Chilean political opinion behind his moderate programme and containing the pent up pressures of 17 years of military rule has been a considerable achievement. He has shown courage, toughness, patience and integrity. Although he has enemies on both left and right, he is seen by many as a symbol of reconcilation and democracy.

The election of President Aylwin's democratic government is allowing us to improve our links with Chile. A series of Ministerial visits has begun. The new Chilean Finance Minister, Sr Foxley, has visited this country and made an excellent impression; Mr Garel-Jones is to visit Chile early next month. The Prime Minister and President Aylwin will both be in New York at the end of this month attending the World Summit for Children and President Aylwin has asked to meet the Prime Minister. If the meeting takes place the Prime Minister could personally invite President Aylwin to visit London next April in person. Failing that, Mr Garel-Jones could deliver the invitation during his visit.

Chile has always been one of the best disposed of the Latin American countries towards Britain, and has a continuing if reduced role to play in the strategic balance in the South Atlantic. It is also an important party to the Antarctic Treaty. It is our fourth largest trading partner in Latin America, and its rapidly growing free-market economy offers great potential for further British trade and investment.

/We

We believe therefore that we have much to gain from a visit to this country by President Aylwin. I enclose a draft letter of invitation from the Prime Minister.

Since we may not be sure, even when you set off for New York, whether a meeting between the Prime Minister and President Aylwin will take place, we suggest that Mr Garel-Jones takes the letter with him to Chile (he leaves London on 2 October). We would naturally let him know of any meeting with President Aylwin in New York.

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

FROM: THE PRIME MINISTER

TO: HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR

You may recall that when you met Sir Geoffrey Howe at the celebrations for your inauguration he told you that I hoped that you would visit this country in the near future.

I understand that you would be free to visit the United Kingdom in the Spring of 1991. I am very pleased, therefore, to invite you to come to Britain as a guest of Her Majesty's Government next April.

There is great admiration here for the way in which you have brought Chile back to the fold of Western democracies while maintaining a successful free-market economy. You will receive a warm welcome here.

I look forward to seeing you in the Spring.

L22AAZ

Cttle : Kelatar Piz

fa nto

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 June 1990

CDP 12/6

Dear Charles,

I enclose a letter from President Aylwin of Chile to the Prime Minister, handed to us by the Chilean Embassy on 5 June.

It thanks the Prime Minister for the message sent on President Aylwin's inauguration, Sir Geoffrey Howe's presence at the investiture and for her invitation to visit Britain.

No reply is needed.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Palacio de La Moneda
a 24 de abril de 1990.

SEÑORA PRIMER MINISTRO:

Agradezco sinceramente el mensaje que enviara con ocasión de haber asumido la Presidencia de la República de Chile.

La presencia en Chile de vuestro enviado especial, Sir Geoffrey Howe, que tan dignamente la representó en las ceremonias de mi investidura presidencial, ha servido para acrecentar las amistosas y cordiales relaciones entre nuestros pueblos.

Estoy cierto que en la nueva etapa democrática que Chile inicia, los tradicionales lazos que unen a nuestras naciones se acrecentarán y fortalecerán.

Aprovecho la oportunidad para expresarle mis agradecimientos por su gentil invitación para visitar Gran Bretaña en un futuro próximo. Será para mí muy grato poder hacerlo en la oportunidad que convengamos por los conductos diplomáticos.

Le ruego, Excelentísima señora, reciba el testimonio de mi mayor consideración y respeto.

PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR

A LA
EXCELENTISIMA SEÑORA
MARGARET THATCHER
PRIMER MINISTRO DE GRAN BRETAÑA
L O N D R E S

STS 379/80

Palacio de La Moneda
24 April 1990.

Dear Prime Minister,

I am sincerely grateful for the message you sent when I assumed the Presidency of the Republic of Chile.

The presence in Chile of your special envoy, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who so worthily represented you at my presidential investiture ceremony, has helped to increase the friendly and cordial relations between our peoples.

I am sure that in the new democratic stage which Chile is beginning the traditional ties linking our nations will increase and be strengthened.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank you for your kind invitation to visit Britain in the near future. I shall be very pleased to do so at a time agreed by us through the diplomatic channel.

[Complimentary close]

(signed)
PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR

TO MRS MARGARET THATCHER
BRITISH PRIME MINISTER
LONDON

FILE

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

11 May 1990

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter of 26 April, and for your kind comments regarding the delegation which represented the United Kingdom at your inauguration.

I understand and support your wish to ensure growth and stability in Chile's economy. But I am afraid that the European Investment Bank would not be the right institution to help finance projects in Chile. The European Investment Bank was set up under the Treaty of Rome to operate for the benefit of the Community itself. Most of its activity continues to be within the Community, although more recently we have agreed that as part of our economic assistance to Poland and Hungary the Bank should extend its lending operation to these two countries. The Bank's statutes also provide for financing operations in countries linked to the EC through financial protocols and in the 68 countries which receive financial assistance under the Lomé Convention. But Chile does not fall under either of these categories.

I am sorry if this reply is disappointing. Nevertheless, there are other channels for European assistance to Chile. As you will know, we are looking forward to the early conclusion of the Cooperation Agreement between the Community and Chile. This will be a positive move towards enhanced trade links which will further strengthen relations between Chile and the Community.

I hope you will continue to enjoy every success in the task ahead, and that the new era of good relations between Britain and Chile will be further enhanced in the years to come.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency President Patricio Aylwin Azocar

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

9 May 1990

Dear Charles,

Letter to the Prime Minister from Sr Aylwin President of Chile: European Investment Bank (EIB)

The Chilean Embassy has delivered to us a letter from Sr Aylwin seeking the Prime Minsiter's help in arranging aid for Chile from the European Investment Bank: I enclose the original and a translation.

I also enclose a draft reply to Sr Aylwin which points out that the EIB is not the right source for such aid. To avoid giving a completely negative response, and in the absence of significant UK aid to Chile, the Prime Minister may wish to refer to the proposed EC/Chile cooperation agreement as evidence of European interest.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

a./Foreign/Azocar

SCANNED

DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

To Sr Patricio Aylwin Azocar
President of the Republic of Chile

Thank you for your letter of 26 April, and for your kind comments regarding the delegation which represented the United Kingdom at your inauguration.

I understand and support your wish to ensure growth and stability in Chile's economy. But I am afraid that the European Investment Bank would not be the right institution to help finance projects in Chile. The European Investment Bank was set up under the Treaty of Rome to operate for the benefit of the Community itself. Most of its activity continues to be within the Community, although more recently we have agreed that as part of our economic assistance to Poland and Hungary the Bank should extend its lending operation to these two countries. The Bank's statutes also provide for financing operations in countries linked to the EC through financial protocols and in the 68 countries which receive financial assistance under the Lomé Convention. But Chile does not fall under either of these categories.

I am sorry if this reply is disappointing. Nevertheless, there are other channels for European assistance to Chile. As you will know, we are looking forward to the early conclusion of the

Cooperation Agreement between the Community and Chile. This will be a positive move towards enhanced trade links which will further strengthen relations between Chile and the Community.

I hope you will continue to enjoy every success in the taks ahead, and that the new era of good relations between Britain and Chile will be further enhanced in the years to come.

ej.

STS 290/90

Dear Prime Minister,

Upon assuming my duties as Constitutional President of my country, I should like to express my gratitude to you for the level of delegation sent to represent your country during the ceremony of the transfer of the Presidency in Chile in March of this year, and to convey to you the gratitude of the people of Chile and my personal thanks for the prominent role that your country's support played in the process of return to democracy in Chile.

One of the essential tasks that my Government must tackle urgently is to reconcile reforms and measures to bring about social justice with the effort to ensure the growth and stability of our economy. This of course means that we must have the resources required for such an effort.

In recognition of the will so often expressed by the countries of the European Economic Community to assist us in this new stage of democratic reconstruction, I should like to inform you of Chile's desire that, without prejudice to the Commission of the European Communities guaranteeing loans granted by private European banks for development projects in our country, the European Investment Bank should itself decide to participate in the financing of some projects of national or regional importance, as it has already done in other States which are not members of the Community. Your support for this idea is vital for its acceptance, which is why I take the liberty to request it.

At this historic time when Chile is rejoining the community of democratic nations the Bank's cooperation would undoubtedly be an important economic and political signal, and would make a significant contribution to the mobilisation of resources to meet urgent social needs. I am sure you will understand the importance of satisfying those aspirations in good time as being the only way of giving solidity to the establishment of democracy which is now

taking place in Chile and which Europe has so tirelessly defended.

[Complimentary close]

(signed)
Patricio Aylwin Azócar
President of the Republic of Chile

To Mrs Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. .....

Palacio de la Moneda,
a 9 de abril de 1990

Excelencia,

Luego de asumir las funciones de Presidente Constitucional de mi país, quiero hacer llegar a Vuestra Excelencia mis agradecimientos por el nivel de la Delegación que tuvo la Representación de su país durante los actos de Transmisión Presidencial en Chile el pasado mes de marzo, como asimismo reiterarle los agradecimientos del pueblo de Chile y los míos personales, por el papel destacado que jugara la solidaridad de vuestro país en el proceso de retorno de la democracia en Chile.

Entre las tareas que mi gobierno debe afrontar con urgencia, tiene primordial importancia la necesidad de conciliar las reformas y medidas para hacer justicia social, con el esfuerzo para asegurar el crecimiento y la estabilidad de nuestra economía. Ello exige, naturalmente, contar con los recursos indispensables para tal esfuerzo.

En conocimiento de la voluntad tantas veces expresada por los países de la Comunidad Económica Europea de colaborar con nosotros en esta nueva etapa de reconstrucción democrática, quiero hacerle presente el interés de Chile en que sin perjuicio de que la Comisión de las Comunidades Económicas Europeas extienda garantías a créditos que otorguen bancos privados europeos para proyectos de desarrollo en nuestro país, el propio Banco Europeo de Inversiones decida participar en el financiamiento de algunos proyectos de importancia nacional o regional, como ya lo ha hecho en otros Estados no miembros de la Comunidad. El apoyo de Vuestra Excelencia a esta idea es fundamental para que sea acogida y me tomo la libertad de solicitárselo.

En este momento histórico en que Chile se reincorpora a la comunidad de naciones democráticas no cabe duda que la cooperación del Banco constituiría una importante señal económica y política, contribuyendo así de manera relevante a favorecer la movilización de recursos para atender urgentes necesidades sociales. Estoy cierto que Vuestra Excelencia comprenderá la importancia de satisfacer oportunamente dichas aspiraciones como única vía de dar solidez al afianzamiento de la democracia que ahora se inicia en Chile y que tan arduamente defendió Europa.

Me valgo de esta oportunidad para reiterar a Vuestra Excelencia las seguridades de mi más alta y distinguida consideración.

Patricio Aylwin Azócar
Presidente de la República de Chile

A la
Excelentísima Señora
Margaret Thatcher
Primer Ministro
Reino Unido de Gran Bretaña
e Irlanda del Norte

MT

c: President.

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

23 February 1990

PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION IN BRAZIL AND CHILE

Thank you for your letter of 22 February proposing that the Lord President should represent the Government at the inaugurations of President Aylwin in Chile and President Collor in Brazil. The Prime Minister would be grateful if the Lord President would do so. She has signed the letter to President Aylwin and you can find it enclosed.

I am copying this letter to Gillian Baxendine (Lord President's Office).

Charles Powell

R.N. Peirce, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

23 February 1990

Dear Senor Aylwin,

I am most grateful for your kind personal invitation to attend the inauguration ceremonies in Chile.

Unfortunately, my very heavy commitments prevent me from joining you. We have, therefore, asked Her Majesty The Queen to agree to appoint the Lord President of the Council, Sir Geoffrey Howe, as Her Special Representative at the inauguration.

I take this opportunity to wish you every success in the task ahead, and hope that the good relations which already exist between Britain and Chile will be further strengthened following your country's return to democratic government.

I also renew most warmly the invitation which our Ambassador in Santiago, Mr. Alan White, has already made to you, and hope you will visit Britain in the near future.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

Senor Patricio Aylwin Azocar

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

18 January 1990

Dear Charles

Chilean President-Elect: Message of Congratulations

I enclose a letter from Chilean President-elect, Sr Patricio Aylwin, to the Prime Minister thanking her for the message of congratulations sent after the elections held on 14 December. An unofficial translation is also enclosed.

Sr Alywin won the Presidential election decisively with over 55 per cent of the vote. He will assume Office on 11 March 1990. He had planned to visit London as President-elect with a few of his Ministers designate, as part of a wider tour taking in Washington and Tokyo. This has been postponed. He has an outstanding invitation to visit the UK.

Yours ever

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR

Santiago, 20 de diciembre de 1989

Excma. Señora
Margaret Thatcher
Primera Ministro del Reino Unido
LONDRES

Excma. Señora:

Agradezco muy sinceramente su mensaje y felicitaciones con motivo de mi elección como Presidente de Chile. Comparto plenamente sus deseos de mantener y estrechar las relaciones entre nuestros dos países. Aprecio, asímismo, de manera muy especial, el apoyo de su gobierno en los esfuerzos por consolidar el retorno a la democracia en Chile.

La saluda muy atentamente.

PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR
Presidente Electo de Chile

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

I am very grateful for your message and good wishes on the occasion of my election as President of Chile. I fully share your desire to maintain and improve relations between our two countries. I also particularly appreicate the support of your government in our efforts to consolidate the return of democracy in Chile.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 December 1989

Dear Charles

Chilean President-Elect: Message of Congratulations

The Chilean presidential and congressional elections are being held on 14 December, marking the penultimate step in the country's return to democracy. (Pinochet will however remain President until the new-President is inaugurated on 11 March 1990). Sr Patricio Aylwin is expected to be the decisive victor in the presidential election and the Secretary of State recommends that the Prime Minister send him a message of congratulation. I enclose a draft. If the Prime Minister is content with this, we would telegraph the text to Santiago as soon as the result is known on 15 December.

Sr Aylwin has made clear that he intends to retain many of outgoing President Pinochet's successful economic policies. It will be in our own interests to encourage him in this. There is every likelihood that he will, with a few of his Ministers designate, visit London in the New Year, as part of a wider trip taking in Washington and Tokyo. We will be in touch nearer the time, when dates are firmer, about the possibility of a call on the Prime Minister.

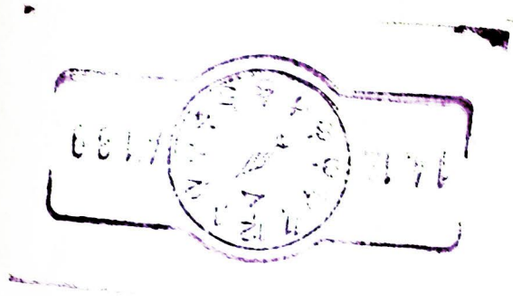
Yours ever

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATION FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE CHILEAN PRESIDENT-ELECT

I send you my warm congratulations on your historic election victory. I am confident that under your leadership we can look forward to excellent relations between our two countries. I send you my best wishes for your term of office, and assure you of the British Government's full support in your efforts to consolidate Chile's return to democracy.



FILE DAS

to PC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

14 December 1989

Dear Bob,

CHILEAN PRESIDENT-ELECT:
MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS

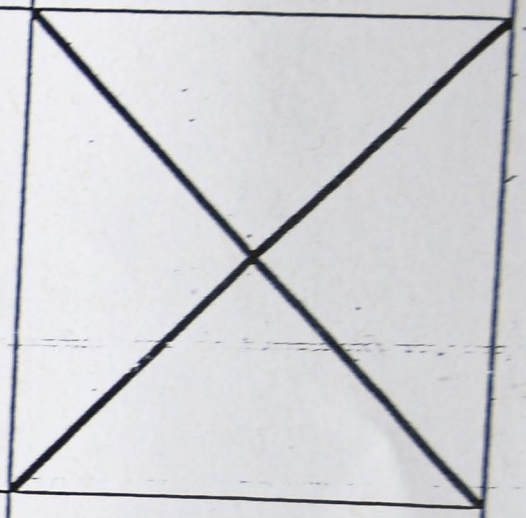
Thank you for your letter of 13 December proposinga message of congratulations from the Prime Minister to the likely new President of Chile. I am sure the Prime Minister would be content to send a message provided the result is clear-cut and you can assume the text enclosed with your letter is all right.

Yours ever,
Charles

C. D. POWELL

R. N. Peirce, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES PREM 19 PIECE/ITEM 4588 (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: Telegram 2370 Washington dated 1 October 1984	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	9/7/16
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
NUMBER NOT USED	
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DOCUMENT PUT IN PLACE (TNA USE ONLY)	

Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.
This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

C/F

JD

CE to

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 September 1988

Dear Admiral Merino,

Thank you for your letter of 18 August. I was grateful to you for taking the trouble to write to me, and have noted what you had to say with considerable interest.

The question of major weapons sales to Argentina is one which we discuss regularly with the Americans - and indeed with other major potential arms suppliers - and I am confident that they bear our concerns very much in mind. We shall of course continue to make our views known to the new United States Administration.

I agree with you that in our dealings with the Soviet Union there can be no question of relaxing our efforts. It is firmness and resolve which have brought us to the point where we can look to a more peaceful future, and we must maintain that. I do, however, welcome the changes Mr. Gorbachev is trying to bring about within his country.

I warmly reciprocate your good wishes.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

Admiral Jose T. Merino

SU

CONFIDENTIAL

CC PC

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 September 1988

Dear Charles

Chile

Thank you for your letter of 8 September enclosing one to the Prime Minister from Admiral Merino.

Our Ambassador in Santiago, who called on Admiral Merino on other business on 13 September, thanked him and said it was being studied in London. Merino said that any increase in Argentine naval capability was a threat to Chile as well as to the UK. He had received information from a reliable secret source suggesting that Secretary of State Shultz had, during his recent visit to Argentina, discussed a deal to supply aircraft. Merino was sure the outgoing US Administration intended to push through such a deal during their last months in office. He added that Chile was very worried about a Dukakis presidency and the military imbalance this might cause in the Southern cone.

On the question of arms sales to Argentina, we are not aware of any US plans to replace the A4-F Skyhawks and other aircraft by more modern equipment. The US Government have recently consulted us on a proposal by Grumman to refurbish six A4s. After careful consideration, MOD have concluded that this will not include work which would upgrade the aircraft's capability for offensive operations against the Falklands. We are not therefore objecting to the proposal. It is not yet clear whether the deal will go ahead, and it would be better not to refer to it specifically in any reply to Admiral Merino.

/ I enclose a draft reply. It does not address the more curious aspects of Admiral Merino's letter, and is deliberately fairly general. You will wish to know, however, that Admiral Merino is being very helpful to our interests over the establishment of a commercial sea service between the Falklands and the mainland.

/We

We shall be happy to transmit the Prime Minister's reply through our Ambassador in Santiago, simultaneously informing the Chilean Ambassador here. Chile is in the midst of a tense electoral campaign leading up to the plebiscite on 5 October.

Yours ever

Bob Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

DSR 11 (Revised Sept 85)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1 +

FROM:
Prime Minister
DEPARTMENT:
TEL. NO:

BUILDING:
ROOM NO:

Reference

Your Reference

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret
Secret
Confidential
Restricted
Unclassified

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

CAVEAT .....

Enclosures flag(s) .....

TO:

Admiral Jose T Merino
Comandante en Jefe Armada
SANTIAGO

Copies to:

J D3 BOA

SUBJECT:

Thank you for your letter of 18 August. I was grateful to you for taking the trouble to write to me and have noted what you had to say with considerable interest.

The question of major weapons sales to Argentina is one which we discuss regularly with the Americans - and indeed with other major potential arms suppliers - and I am confident that they bear our concerns very much in mind. We shall of course continue to make our views known to the new US Administration.

I can assure you that I keep our fundamental Western values and strategic concerns constantly in mind in dealing with the Soviet Union, though I have welcomed the changes which Mr Gorbachev is trying to bring about in his country. You may be sure that neither I nor Britain's allies in NATO have any intention of lowering our guard until we can see real progress in the key issues affecting security in East-West relations.

I warmly reciprocate your good wishes.

CHILG: Relatives

PT2

file KAYAK

cc PC.

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

8 September 1988

The Chilean Ambassador called on me this morning to deliver the enclosed message to the Prime Minister from Admiral Merino. It is a fairly curious number and I told the Ambassador so. I also told him that we were confident that the main allegation in the letter, namely that the United States had agreed to deliver new aircraft to Argentina was not true, at least for the lifetime of the present Administration. Nonetheless, I suppose that we ought to let the Admiral have a reply and I should be grateful if you could provide me with a draft.

(C. D. POWELL)

R. N. Peirce, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

KC

COMANDANTE EN JEFE ARMADA
CHILE

Santiago, August 18, 1988

The Rt. Hon.
Margaret Thatcher
M.P.
10 Downing Street
London, S.W. 1

Dear Prime Minister:

As it is known all over the world, Gorbachev has become the most dangerous man for the free, christian and pacific countries.

From this point of view, it can appear as extremely critical for us, who belong to this free world, that the first Western Power, the United States of America, has apparently accepted Gorbachev's promises of peace. The political-strategic criteria that Reagan and the Department of State have shown, so that in the minds of the uncultivated Americans, the image of the leaving President remains as that of a great pacifist, is preposterous.

He seems to have forgotten that Gorbachev is only another pawn in the chess game played by Moscow's Communism since 1912, where time has no importance in his will to carry out its politics or strategy. In a period of weakness they do not mind and is not important for them to accept or propose any kind of compromises temporally ensuring internal and external peace, giving at the same time confidence to the financial world, with the aim to subsequently accomplish their goals, which at the time of the truce were unattainable.

Now, Mrs. Prime Minister, why do I address you? Because Reagan's Secretary of State, George P. Schultz has just visited Argentina to see President Alfonsin and congratulate him in spite of the fact that he has led his country to economic catastrophe. But this evident support has a covert purpose which is no other than to deliver weapons to the Argentine Government.

But under what pretext? The pretext is that Argentina and the United States have agreed to send Argentine naval forces to watch, together with other countries, the cease-fire just achieved by Pérez de Cuellar, between the Ayatollah and Iraq. That is to say, to put into effect Iran's defeat.

Argentina has plenty of naval forces and does not need more. But the United States will pay for this service to be rendered by Argentina with new naval weapons, particularly to replace the A4-F Skyhawks and other aircraft by more modern equipment.

The United States had not delivered weapons to Argentina since the Falklands War, mainly due to pressures from South American countries on account of the great weapons imbalance in this part of the world, after the adventures of the Argentine Government, and also because it would not be very friendly towards the United Kingdom, its main ally in the NATO.

Therefore, I address to you once again, not to request your support to acquire weapon systems for Chile, but to request your good offices so that, considering the real political situation in the world, the United States may give up the idea to hand over any kind of weapons to Argentina.

I must recall here, that President Reagan wishes to appear as a peace-loving President and peace is something that all peoples in the world fervently desire, particularly those devoted to develop their countries, to increase employment, to step up the standard of life, improve health conditions and promote education, etc....But, although it is true that all this is necessary, one cannot risk an unwanted aggression such as that you suffered.

As you can see, all the events and situations here outlined, without mentioning the incredible statements by Neil Kinnock in South Africa, Mozambique and other underdeveloped countries, only confirm the fact that Gorbachev's policy has followers in the United Kingdom and that it has not changed in spite of the promises to Reagan, Mitterrand or Kohl. Therefore, I think that your clear opinion maintained through your several years of government, allows me to confidently request you to cooperate, so that prevailing balance conditions be maintained in the South American Continent, and that they will not be altered by bewildered dreamers.

I wish you all kind of success in your important government office, and that your efforts, as Head of State, that really wants peace, can be achieved without having to sacrifice freedom and dignity.

With great respect, I remain yours faithfully

JOSE T. MERINO
ADMIRAL

CONFIDENTIAL

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

14 July 1988

Thank you for your letter of 14 July about the proposed statement by the Twelve on Chile. I do not think the Prime Minister will have any objection to this.

Charles Powell

Bob Peirce Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CCPC

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 July 1988

Dear Charles

The Political Directors have recommended that the Twelve member states of the European Community issue a joint statement on Chile following the meeting of Foreign Ministers in Athens on 18 July. A similar statement was issued in October last year.

The purpose of the proposed statement is to underline the Twelve's commitment to the democratic process: the Chilean presidential plebiscite is now likely to be held during the next three months, though a specific date has not yet been announced, and the campaign there is starting to gather pace.

The Foreign Secretary does not think that we need to dissent from the proposal for a statement. Its terms (text enclosed) are unexceptionable. Like last year's statement, it is unlikely to have much impact in Chile, and should cause us no difficulty for our own dealings with the Chileans.

The US Administration issued their own statement on Chile last month. It was more strongly-worded than the proposed EC statement.

Yours ever

Bob Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

A

DRAFT DECLARATION OF THE TWELVE ON CHILE

The Twelve reiterate their hope for an early and orderly restoration of democracy in Chile and recall their attachment to free and democratic elections in that country, as expressed in their declaration of 9 October 1987. They are convinced that restoration of democracy in Chile would contribute to strengthening civilian rule and stability in Latin America.

Taking note of the forthcoming plebiscite, the Twelve wish to stress the need for all measures to be taken so that the campaign be conducted and the vote take place in a way guaranteeing the free expression of the people's will and in a climate free of violence and intimidation.

In particular, the Twelve believe that for the proper conduct of the plebiscite it is essential that the Chilean government without delay lifts the states of exception, restores political liberties, respects human rights and ensures freedom of information and opinion.

Clib
Rebekah Pt2

file
cc PC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

4 March 1988

Thank you for your letter of 4 March about our voting intentions on the annual resolution on Chile in the UN Commission on Human Rights. I think the Prime Minister would be content to see us join the consensus as in previous years. In the event that a vote is taken we should again vote in favour, as in the recent past.

C D POWELL

R. N. Culshaw, Esq., M.V.O.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

A10

cc PC

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 March 1988

Dear Charles

The Prime Minister may wish to be aware of our voting intentions on the annual resolution on Chile in the UN Commission on Human Rights.

This year's resolution is similar to the ones we have supported in recent years. We, the Americans, and some of our EC partners have managed once more to secure amendments to give the draft text more objectivity. Negotiations on further amendments are continuing; we expect the vote to be taken on 7 or 8 March. The resolution seems very likely to be adopted by consensus.

Chile's human rights record is still poor, and the crucial pre-plebiscite period is not the time to lift the pressure on Pionochet. We therefore propose to join the consensus, as in previous years. In the event that a vote is taken, the Foreign Secretary believes that there is no case for departing from the position we have adopted for the last five years and that we should vote in favour: our delegation would give an explanation of vote emphasising some of the positive measures taken in Chile over the past year and underlining, once again, our opposition to Chile's unfairly selective treatment in the UN system.

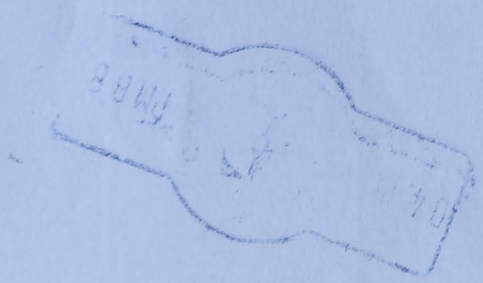
Several of our EC partners are co-sponsoring the resolution. We expect the others to support it. The US position is as usual unpredictable (their voting on this issue has been inconsistent). The Chileans will not be surprised by our vote. They did, incidentally, vote against us on 1 March in the OAS resolution on the Falklands reinforcement exercise.

We shall need to instruct our delegation in Geneva early on Monday, 7 March.

Yours ever

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street



C. R.

No question of seeing PM. Can see me or FCO. CP 13/1

CHARLES

The Chilean Ambassador's secretary rang to ask if we could arrange a meeting for the Ambassador. He wants to bring a letter to the Prime Minister.

I said we would get back to her on Monday.
[Mrs. Smith 580 6392 x12.]
Would you like me to fix a time?
And if so how early does it need to be and how long?

Tessa

TESSA
8 January 1988

Alex KRO
c Sir P Cradock

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

24 November 1987

Thank you for your letter of 23 November about our vote on the United Nations General Assembly annual resolution on Chile's human rights record. I think the Prime Minister would be content to see us vote for the resolution although we should make every effort to achieve a more objective text.

CHARLES POWELL

Robert Culshaw Esq., M.V.O.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

ECL

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(1) CDP

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 November 1987

Dear Charles

Prime Minister
Yes no Agree that we should vote for the resolution?
CDP 23/11

The Prime Minister will wish once again to be consulted about our voting intentions on the UNGA annual resolution criticising Chile's poor human rights record.

This year's vote, on a Mexican-sponsored resolution, is likely to be on 25 November. The text is very similar to the one we voted for last year (and like last year's, it is not well balanced). We have instructed our Mission to the UN to work for appropriate changes in order to achieve a more objective text (the Americans are taking similar action).

The UN Special Rapporteur concluded in his September report that the overall human rights situation in Chile has not improved. EC Heads of Mission in Santiago agree with his assessment. Some of our EC partners will co-sponsor the resolution; the rest will support it. The US voting pattern has not been consistent.

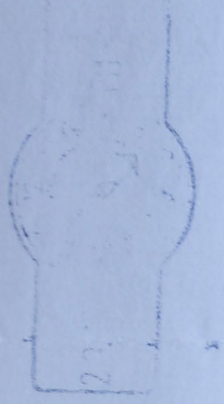
We recommend that we should vote for the resolution and thus maintain consistency with our pattern in previous years. We would as usual issue a balancing explanation of vote, emphasising the positive measures taken in Chile this year. The Chileans will of course not be surprised by our vote (they in any case voted against us, again, on this year's Falklands resolution).

The Foreign Secretary himself, in Brussels today, has not yet considered this issue but will do so on his return tomorrow.

Yours ever

(R N Culshaw)

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street



DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY
1-19 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1H 0ET 5144
Telephone (Direct dialling) 01-215)
GTN 215)
(Switchboard) 215 7877

From the Minister for Trade

Prime Minister

CDP
6/11

Charles Powell Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1A 2AA

6 November 1987

Dear Charles

Mr Clark visited Venezuela and Chile from 26 October to 2 November. I enclose a copy of his report to the Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely
Marjorie Davies

MISS M DAVIES
Private Secretary

ENC

L02ADJ

CONFIDENTIAL

To:

SECRETARY OF STATE

From:

ALAN CLARK

5 November 1987

cc Chancellor of the Duchy
Mr Butcher
Mr Atkins
Chairman BOTB
Sir Brian Hayes
Mr Dell
Mr Stephens ECGD
Mr Titchener OT4
Mr Benjamin PEP
Mr Owen OT4/2
HM Ambassador Santiago
Mr Quantrill
Charge d'Affaires Caracas

I visited Venezuela and Chile from 26 October to 2 November.

VENEZUELA

1 Venezuela is our second largest market in Latin America. The economy is now growing again and the Government predict that this will continue at about 5% a year. However the newly-appointed Finance Minister told me that Venezuela will need fresh finance, unrelated to trade, during 1988 and 1989 and a further partial recycling of debt. For the longer term foreign and domestic investment in non-oil projects would be the principal means of improving the balance of payments.

2 Quite fundamental changes have been made to their laws on foreign investment. With the aim of diversifying the economy away from oil they are now actively seeking partnerships with foreign companies or to attract wholly foreign-owned enterprises in a number of priority sectors - petrochemicals, aluminium, steel, mining and agriculture. The UK, Japanese, French and

Germans all appear to be more active than we are in seeking investment opportunities.

3 In addition to my meeting with the Finance Minister I called on the President of CVG, the development authority for the Guayana region, and the acting Director of the Institute of Foreign Trade. I visited the petrochemicals complex at El Tablazo near Maracaibo and spoke at a lunch given by the Anglo Venezuelan Chamber of Commerce.

4 I urged the merits of a number of British companies pursuing project business including Davy, Shorts, Cable Belt and Balfour Beatty. The most immediately promising, British Shipbuilders, are now close to signing a co-operation agreement with a Venezuelan shipyard which would bring them long-term consultancy and technology sales as well as the prospect of building ships in Britain.

[I wonder how solid this is] Not very.

5 In my discussions with PDVSA, the national oil company, I emphasised our continuing interest in and capacity for supplying equipment to the Venezuelan oil industry.

CONCLUSION

6 Although Venezuela, in common with most Latin American countries, is extremely rich in natural resources, a combination of management shortcomings, institutional corruption and recurrent problems in managing the foreign debt, must make inward investment a matter of careful judgment for the individual firms concerned. The exception to this is the oil industry, in its various forms, which is competently managed and has its own sources of foreign exchange. UK offshore technology is not necessarily appropriate in these conditions; but investment in the petrochemical side could be highly productive.

CHILE

1 In contrast I found Chile to be a market of considerable potential - both long term and immediate. There is a demand for British goods as well as project business and capital investment. The country is pursuing commendable economic policies. She has an excellent record on repaying her overseas debt; she has met and even exceeded targets set by the IMF; and the economy is growing at about 5% a year. Although a member of the geographic grouping of the G77, Chile is taking a responsible and moderate line within the GATT.

2 Our exports to Chile are up by 75% on last year and should exceed £100 million in 1987. Our market share is also rising. But again, we are not advancing as fast as our competitors. Even New Zealand invested over $400 million last year, in Chilean business and prospects.

3 I had an extremely full programme of meetings with Ministers. My first call was on Hernan Buchi, the Finance Minister who is a most engaging character - young, enthusiastic, and virtually a-political. I followed this with meetings with the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Public Works, the President of the Central Bank and the Minister of Mines.

4 I went round the FISA International Trade Fair; attended a lunch hosted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and addressed a lunch given by the British Chilean Chamber of Commerce. Over the weekend I travelled to the giant copper mine at Chuquicamata, in the sub-Andean desert, to prepare the ground for a strong mission (some 32 firms) to be led by the Latin America Trade Advisory Group later this month.

999.49

5 After my arrival I was invited to pay a courtesy call on the President and, additionally, in view of the urgency surrounding the Sea Wolf contract I arranged that I should call on Admiral Ribera, Chief of Staff of the Chilean Navy.

6 At all these meetings I urged the merits of the British case, in commercial terms and, when appropriate raised the subject of human rights - although the two do not always sit happily together.

7 I spoke in support of Biwater in their attempt to win a major project to renew Santiago's sewerage system. Although World Bank opposition to the scheme continues to hamper progress, the Chileans seem likely to proceed with it, but probably not until SAL 3 is successfully concluded.

8 I made a particular point of pressing British Aerospace's bid to supply Sea Wolf to the Chilean Navy. I was able to do this during my call on the President and when I met Admiral Ribera. I confirmed that ECGD could resolve certain difficulties over financing the project. (I was in fact in touch with ECGD direct during my visit.) This was given a particular immediacy as the Navy are to decide on the choice of missile on 5 November. The sale could be worth up to $100 million.

9 The largest British investment in prospect is RTZ's participation in a $1 billion project to develop a new copper mine at La Escondida and I attended a presentation of this scheme. The Chilean investment regime is relatively favourable but I emphasised our continuing interest in concluding an Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement and a Double Taxation Agreement.

10 The Chamber of Commerce is to be commended for mounting a British pavilion at FISA. The standard of presentation should, however, be improved and I have instructed officials to examine this requirement in time for next year's fair. Our competitors at the fair are offering many products which we also manufacture and we must aim for a stronger presence here in future.

11 In my discussion with the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs I spoke of our continuing interest in developments in Chile. I stressed the need for political parties to have access to the media during the period of transition to democracy. He assured me that this would be given to parties which had registered. On being pressed he confirmed that this would include television. (Interestingly, when I was talking with opposition leaders privately they cited access to television as the single most important ingredient of a 'fair' election.) At my meeting with the President I told him that "matters in Chile were a subject of great interest and concern to the people of Britain". Although couched as a compliment he is quite shrewd enough to know what I meant.

12 My discussion with opposition leaders was somewhat less encouraging. Of the eight who attended, four (apparently) regard themselves as potential Presidential candidates. Three of these (Patricio Phillips, Juan Hamilton and Rene Abeliuk) were unimpressive. Most interesting to talk to were Heraldo Munoz - a journalist who had worked as a young socialist for Allende, and German Molina of the Human Rights Committee. The leading moderate (and also a Presidential 'candidate') Ricardo Claro was a man of great wisdom but low on charisma. As the evening advanced argument became repetitious and inchoate. All were united on the need to replace President Pinochet but on little else. I put it to them that time was short if they were to put before the electorate a cohesive political option and credible

policies. They agreed but I detected little readiness to compromise their individual positions in the interests of arriving at a positive alternative.

CONCLUSION

13 Chile is a solvent, stable society with very considerable trade potential. The break from Marxism, and a steady nerve during subsequent economic crises are now paying off in terms of improved living standards, falling inflation and unemployment. My own impression is that human rights are no more in jeopardy here than in at least half of the countries I visit and that President Pinochet does not need to cheat in order to win the Plebiscite vote. Friendly feelings towards the United Kingdom were expressed repeatedly, and spontaneously, at every level. The Falklands war may have faded from memory here in Britain but in Latin America it has left a legacy of respect - not to say awe - every bit as genuine as the attitudes of protest which, for political reasons, have to be struck in public.

I should like to thank the Charge d'Affaires in Caracas - Mr Quantrill, and HM Ambassador in Santiago - Mr White and their staffs for their hospitality and very helpful and knowledgeable support.

I am copying this minute to Tim Eggar (FCO), John Gummer (MAFF), Peter Morrison (DEn) and David Trefgarne (MOD).

ALAN CLARK

DEC 1 1947

CONFIDENTIAL

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 October 1987

CHILE: STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE

Thank you for your letter of 1 October enclosing the text of a proposed statement by the Twelve on Chile. I think that the Prime Minister would agree that we need not object to it.

(Charles Powell)

A.C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 October 1987

Dear Charles,

Chile: Statement by the Twelve

The Presidency wish to issue a statement on Chile next week, along the lines of the enclosed draft. The draft has the support of all our partners in the Twelve.

We have ensured that the text avoids casting doubt on the legitimacy of the forthcoming plebiscite in Chile: it is in fact very similar to the IDU communique last week. There is nothing in it to which we would object. It will do something to encourage the moderate opposition. It will not be welcome to the Chilean Government, but they will find it unsurprising, and are probably resigned to it.

The Foreign Secretary believes that the statement will be of some assistance in rebutting criticism in Parliament and elsewhere of our policy towards Chile. He therefore proposes to raise no objection to the issue of the statement on behalf of the Twelve.

Yours ever,

Tony Galsworthy

(A C Galsworthy)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMAL TRANSLATION

POSSIBLE STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON CHILE: OCTOBER 1987

1. The Twelve countries of the European Community are convinced that a return to a genuinely democratic government in Chile is essential in order to re-establish peace and respect for human rights. They consider, therefore, that the Chilean people ought to benefit from complete freedom of information and opinion, as well as from the ability to elect their President and members of their Parliament within the framework of a ballot guaranteeing the free expression of their will.

2. In recalling their condemnation of violence from whatever source, the Twelve countries of the European Community invite the Government, the institutions and all political forces in Chile to take the measures necessary for the forthcoming election to take place in conformity with the international agreements to which Chile is a party, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 1948 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of December 1966.

CONFIDENTIAL

CC PC

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1

Telephone 01-~~930 7022~~ 218 2111/3

MO 11/16L

8th July 1987

Prime Minister
Could come up
in questions
CDP
8/7

Dear Andy

VISIT BY COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF CHILEAN NAVY

I am writing to let you know that the Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Navy and, as such, a member of the ruling junta, Admiral Merino, is paying a private visit to London from 9th to 14th July. While here he will be calling on the Chief of the Defence Staff and the First Sea Lord, and the latter will host a private lunch which Lord Trefgarne will also attend.

Admiral Merino may also call upon senior members of the Defence Export Services Organisation. The Chileans have signed a letter of intent to buy the County class destroyer HMS FIFE, and there are prospects for an associated sale of the Sea Wolf missile system.

In answer to any questions, it will be stressed that the visit is private but that while here Admiral Merino will have informal discussions with the Chief of the Defence Staff and the First Sea Lord. As for the sale of HMS Fife, we will adhere to the line that her future is under consideration.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Russell Dixon in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Yours Sincerely

Carolyn Whitehouse

(CAROLYN WHITEHOUSE)
Private Secretary

Andy Bearpark Esq
10 Donwing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

(CAROLYN WHITEHOUSE)
Private Secretary

Andy Bearpark Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 December 1986

Dear Charles.

Mr Prime Minister

As usual where the UN is involved we have international obligations which are mutually incompatible. CDP 2/12

Human Rights/Interference in the Internal Affairs of other States

Mark Addison referred to this in his letter of 26 August. I apologise for our delay in sending these comments.

The Prime Minister asked first about the general principle that countries should not interfere with the internal policies of others. Two competing sets of provisions have to be reconciled. Article 2(7) of the Charter of the United Nations and Principle VI of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe both set out the principle of non-interference. However, under Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter, all Members of the United Nations pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organisation to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms. This obligation is reinforced in respect of those states (which include the East Europeans) which have ratified the two International Covenants on Human Rights. Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act also sets out a commitment to respect human rights. These international obligations and commitments relating to human rights (whether under the Charter or other instruments) mean that human rights violations are no longer insulated from external criticism or expressions of concern on the grounds that the matter is exclusively a domestic one.

/Neither

Neither we nor our partners among the Twelve therefore accept that, in a proper case, expressions of concern at violations of human rights can be considered as interference in the domestic affairs of a state. This principle has been firmly established by the practice of the United Nations and of the CSCE process. We have participated with EC partners in numerous demarches to a wide range of countries where human rights have been violated (about one hundred demarches in the last six years). Ministers have regularly made clear their concerns when meeting Ministers or representatives of countries where such violations occur. Although the Soviet Union, the other Eastern Europeans and Third World countries sometimes argue to the contrary, they (particularly Third World countries) implicitly accept the legitimacy of human rights criticism by themselves criticizing others.

Whether to express concern in particular instances, and how best to do so, are questions that we address carefully in individual cases (we do not consider it right to react to every infringement of human rights that is brought to our notice). We do so by taking account of the whole range of UK interests involved. Ministers consider very carefully what action, if any, would be appropriate in the circumstances of each case as it arises.

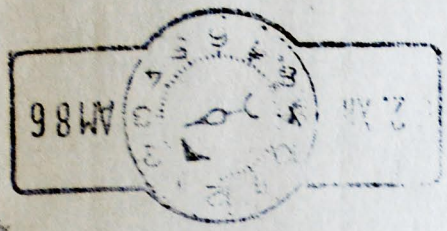
The Prime Minister also asked about our policy towards countries other than Chile with single candidate presidential elections. We have in the past made similar representations. To quote two recent examples: during President Chun's visit in April the Prime Minister welcomed the movement towards a full democratic system in Korea. Last December the then EC Presidency Ambassador in Manila presented a statement of the Twelve to the Philippine authorities welcoming the decision to hold Presidential elections and expressing the hope that these would take place with full respect for constitutional and legal provisions.

[Hardly comparable].

Yours ever

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing St



Relations with Chile;

CHILE

Pt 2

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8RW

ARC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

27 November 1986

CHILE AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Thank you for your letter of 26 November about our voting intentions at the United Nations General Assembly on the annual resolution criticising human rights in Chile.

The Prime Minister is content for us to vote for the Mexican-sponsored resolution.

(C. D. POWELL)

Robert Culshaw, Esq., M.V.O.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 November 1986

Prime Minister
Agree no vote
for a resolution
critical of Chile's
Human Rights record?
Yes

Dear Charles

CDP 26/11

Chile at the United Nations

You will recall the standing instruction that we should consult the Prime Minister about our voting intentions at the United Nations General Assembly on the annual resolution criticising human rights in Chile.

This year's Mexican-sponsored resolution is likely to be taken to a vote on 28 November. The text is again firmly worded. It reflects the frequent and varied abuses recorded over the past year, and detailed in recent reports by the UN Special Rapporteur and by EC Heads of Mission in Santiago. The Special Rapporteur has emphasised that although the Chilean Government has taken some limited positive steps during 1986, for example in the establishment of an Advisory Committee on Human Rights, their record on balance remains poor, and they have failed to respond adequately to the majority of his earlier recommendations. The EC Heads of Mission conclude that there has been an overall deterioration this year in the Chilean Government's human rights record. Against this background, the Foreign Secretary strongly recommends that we vote in favour of the UNGA resolution with a balancing common EC Explanation of Vote (CEOV).

Such a vote would be consistent with our votes in favour of firmly worded UNGA resolutions in 1984 and 1985, and our positive votes in the UN Commission on Human Rights this year and last. All our EC partners and other Western delegations will almost certainly support the resolution. In the CEOV we would express our constructive support for the Chilean Government's extensive co-operation this year with the UN SPecial Rapporteur and for the positive meaures that have been taken, and we would register our continued concern at the selective treatment of Chile in the UNGA and lack of reference in the text to the continuing terrorist violence.

For us to abstain in the face of clear evidence of human rights abuse would be to invoke severe criticism in Parliament, in the media and from the anti-Chile lobby. We would also risk domestic and international criticism that HMG's global approach to human rights issues was inconsistent. Moreover, we made clear on 20 November, in the context of our vote in favour of a new World Bank Structural Adjustment loan for Chile, that we did so on purely and simply technical grounds,

and that our concerns over human rights abuses in Chile were in no sense diminished.

The Foreign Secretary believes that the Chileans will be disappointed, but not surprised, if we vote in favour. We have obtained considerable credit with them following our recent vote in favour of the World Bank Loan, which the US opposed; and they are aware, following lobbying by the Chilean Ambassador and his staff, that we see a strong case for voting in favour of the resolution. We have always made clear to them that we take all relevant facts into account in deciding how to vote. Once again, there are no indications that the Chileans will do anything more than express mild concern to us at a vote in favour; and if they did, we could suitably remind them of their sponsorship of the 1986 Argentine resolution on the Falklands.

Yours ever

Robin Culshaw

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

26 NOV 1982

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M.I.P.T. : FAC 15 SEPTEMBER : CHILE
FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT.

THE TWELVE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE REIMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF SIEGE AND THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES THAT HAVE FOLLOWED THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL PINOCHET. THEY DEPLORE ALL ACTS OF VIOLENCE FROM WHATEVER QUARTER. THE TWELVE EXPRESS THE STRONGEST CONCERN ABOUT THE LOSS OF LIFE WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE AND CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE LIFTING OF THE STATE OF SIEGE.

THE TWELVE CALL ON THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT TO RESUME WITHOUT DELAY AND ACCELERATE THE PRECESS OF RESTORING DEOMCRACY, WITHOUT WHICH NO LASTING SOLUTION TO THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS IS POSSIBLE. THEY APPEAL FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF IMPRISONED OPPOSITION LEADERS, TRADE UNIONISTS, JOURNALISTS AND OTHERS SUMMARILY DETAINED, FOR THE LIFTING OF RESTRICTIONS ON THE MEDIA AND AN END TO THE ACTIVITIES OF ARMED BANDS IN CHILE: AND THEY REITERATE THEIR HOPE THAT AN EARLY DIALOGUE CAN BE STARTED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION.

THE TWELVE PROTEST IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS ABOUT THE DEPLORABLE INCIDENT IN SANTIAGO ON 8 SEPTEMBER INVOLVING THE DUTCH CHARGE D'AFFAIRES. THIS WAS A SERIOUS BREACH OF THE VIENNA CONVENTION ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND THE TWELVE CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE STUDENTS ARRESTED ON THAT OCCASION.

HANNAY

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SAMD FCO
ECD(P) FCO
ECD(E) FCO
FEARN FCO

UCLNAN 3968

LIMITED
SAMD INFO DEPT
ECD(P) MR FEARN
ECD(E) MR RENWICK.
NEWS DEPT

[ADVANCED AS REQUESTED]

Restricted

CONFIDENTIAL

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

15 September 1986

Chile: Proposed Statment by the Foreign Affairs Council

Thank you for your letter of 12 September about the proposal that the Foreign Affairs Council on 15/16 September should issue a statement on Chile.

The Prime Minister agrees that there should be a statement but would wish it to be a genuinely balanced one, meaning that it would also include condemnation of the recent attempt to assassinate President Pinochet.

(CHARLES POWELL)

R.N. Culshaw, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 September 1986

Dear Charles,

Chile : Proposed Statement by European Council of Ministers (Foreign Affairs)

Following the attempted assassination of President Pinochet on 7 September, the Chilean government imposed a State of Siege (martial law). The government's crackdown has been severe. It has involved the summary arrest of many opposition leaders, trade unionists, journalists and others; the killing of a newspaper editor and two others; and the closure of six opposition papers and two press agencies (including Reuters). On 8 September there was also a serious incident during which Dutch diplomats were held by the Chilean authorities at gun-point and forced to release four Chilean students accompanying them.

The scale and nature of this repression has produced shockwaves internationally. When the Foreign Secretary saw Shultz on Tuesday, Shultz emphasised the need for an appropriate response and went so far as to indicate US willingness to use the International Financial Institutions as a way of putting pressure on Pinochet. He said that in current circumstances the Americans would find it very difficult to vote for, or even abstain on, loans proposed for Chile.

/Against

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Against this general background it is not surprising that pressure from EC partners for strong Presidential representations to the Chilean government has built up during the week. We have sought to persuade partners that we should delay such action, until the political situation in Chile becomes clearer. BUt there is now unanimous support in Community capitals for some kind of action. In particular, the Germans, hitherto a moderate Community ally on Chile, have on Genscher's personal instruction insisted on discussion of Chile at the 15 September Council of Foreign Ministers, to be followed by a vigorous statement.

The Prime Minister will wish to be aware of this. The Foreign Secretary believes that there is a solid case for a statement, in view of the strength of feeling worldwide about Pinochet's crackdown, and that as Presidency we would be fiercely criticised if we obstructed our partners' wishes. He therefore proposes that, subject to further reports between now and Monday's meeting, he should seek a balanced statement which incorporates most of the following elements. It should express concern about the reimposition of the State of Siege and the severe measures adopted, and appeal for early release of thoseimprisoned, the lifting of media restrictions and early dialogue between the government and the democratic opposition about peaceful restoration of democracy. It should also refer to the Chilean Foreign Minister's assurance on 8 September that the State of Siege would be for a limited period only and would not interrupt the political and institutional process prescribed in the Constitution; and President Pinochet's 11 September announcement that an electoral registration law would be promulgated soon.

The Foreign Secretary will, of course, scrutinise carefully whatever language is proposed by his colleagues.

Yours ever

R Culshaw

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing St

SUBJECT
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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL NO. T162A/86

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OF 101300Z SEPTEMBER 86

MY TELNO 159 MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET

1. PRIME MINISTER HAS APPROVED TEXT OF PROPOSED MESSAGE TO PINOCHET CONTAINED IN PARA 1 OF TUR. YOU SHOULD SEEK AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO DELIVER IT AT AN APPROPRIATELY HIGH LEVEL.
2. THIS IS PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER. IT SHOULD NOT THEREFORE BE PUBLICLY RELEASED. BUT YOU MAY IN RESPONSE TO ANY PRESS ENQUIRIES REVEAL THE GENERAL LINES IT FOLLOWS.

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MR FEARN

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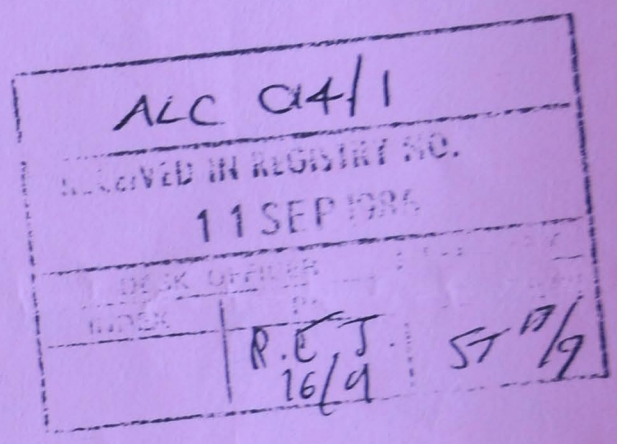

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TO DESKBY 091730Z SANTIAGO
TELNO 159
OF 091600Z SEPTEMBER 86

195 196

YOUR TELNOS 195 AND 196 AND TELECON MCLEAN/BAKER OF 9 SEPTEMBER:
ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT AND STATE OF SIEGE

1. AS EXPLAINED IN TELECON. WE HAVE AGREEMENT THAT. IF ASKED YOU MAY SAY THAT THERE WILL 'ALMOST CERTAINLY BE A MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT PINOCHET FROM THE PRIME MINISTER BUT THAT. SINCE SHE HAS BEEN AWAY FROM LONDON. (IN SCOTLAND SEEING THE QUEEN. ETC), THERE HAVE BEEN INEVITABLE DELAYS IN CONSULTING HER. WE EXPECT OVERNIGHT CLEARANCE FOR OUR PROPOSED MESSAGE, WHICH IN DRAFT READ AS FOLLOWS:
BEGINS. 'I WAS SHOCKED TO HEAR ABOUT THE ATTACK AGAINST YOU AND AT THE LOSS OF LIVES AND INJURIES SUSTAINED. WE CONDEMN THIS BRUTAL ACT OF VIOLENCE. AS INDEED WE CONDEMN SIMILAR ACTS FROM WHATEVER QUARTER.' ENDS.

2. MEANWHILE. YOU MAY THINK IT APPROPRIATE TO ISSUE A GENERAL STATEMENT FROM THE EMBASSY. ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:
BEGINS. 'WE CONDEMN THE VIOLENT ATTACK OF PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S MOTORCADE. AS WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY CONDEMNED ALL ACTS OF VIOLENCE IN CHILE. FROM WHATEVER QUARTER. WE TRUST THAT THE REIMPOSED STATE OF SIEGE WILL LAST ONLY A SHORT TIME. AS THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S STATEMENT OF 8 SEPTEMBER HAS IMPLIED, AND VERY MUCH HOPE THAT THE BRUTAL ATTACK WILL NOT DEFLECT THE GOVERNMENT

FROM THE NEED FOR EARLY STEPS TOWARDS ORDERLY RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY AND FOR DIALOGUE WITH THE MODERATE OPPOSITION.' ENDS.

3. WITHOUT NECESSARILY WAITING FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE, PLEASE MAKE EARLY BILATERAL REPRESENTATIONS. IN LOW-KEY. TO FOREIGN MINISTER, DRAWING ON FOLLOWING POINTS: BEGINS. 'WE ARE PUZZLED BY LAGOS' DETENTION. HE HAS ALWAYS SEEMED TO US A MODERATE AND PRAGMATIC DEMOCRAT. HE MADE AN EXCELLENT IMPRESSION. AND MANY FRIENDS, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO BRITAIN. THERE SEEMS TO BE TALK OF POSSIBLE EXILE. WE WONDER HOW SUCH ACTION WOULD HELP THE PROCESS OF RESTORING DEMOCRACY IN CHILE? WOULD IT NOT MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO JUSTIFY TO THE WORLD THE CLAIM IN YOUR 8 SEPTEMBER STATEMENT THAT THE REIMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF SIEGE WOULD NOT ALTER YOUR GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE MOVING FORWARD WITH THE POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL PROCESS LAID DOWN IN THE CONSTITUTION. YOU WILL UNDERSTAND IF I TELL YOU THAT WE ARE ALREADY COMING UNDER PRESSURE FROM OUR EC PARTNERS TO MAKE FORMAL REPRESENTATIONS.' ENDS.

4. WE ALREADY HAVE PROPOSAL FOR A DEMARCHE FROM MADRID. FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION, WE SHALL TRY TO FEND OFF OUR PARTNERS WITH MESSAGE THAT WE ARE TAKING DISCREET BILATERAL ACTION IN BELIEF THAT A MORE HEAVY-HANDED PROTEST MIGHT PROVOKE AUTHORITIES INTO TAKING THE PRECIPITATE ACTION WE ARE SEEKING TO PREVENT.

5. WE TAKE YOUR POINT ('PARA 3 OF YOUR TELNO 195) ABOUT REFERRING GENERALLY TO THE OBJECTIONABLE PRACTICE OF EXILE: IT IS. HOWEVER. EASIER FOR US TO TAKE BILATERAL ACTION OVER LAGOS IF DEPARTURE POINT FOR OUR CONCERN IS HIS RECENT VISIT TO UK: THERE IS ALSO SOME RISK OF ARGUING AGAINST OURSELVES IN LIGHT OF YOUR RECENT REPRESENTATIONS ABOUT FERNANDEZ LEMBACH (ABOUT WHICH WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED YOUR TELELETTER).

HOWE
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ECD(P)
PS
PS LADY YOUNG
PS MR EGGAR

PS/PUS
SIR W HARDING
MR FEARN.

Confidential

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

9 September 1986

CHILE: ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT PINOCHET

Thank you for your letter of 8 September enclosing a draft message of sympathy to President Pinochet.

The Prime Minister is content for the message to issue as drafted.

(C.D. Powell)

R.N. Culshaw, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

RESTRICTED

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(1)

Prime Minister
Agree to send
this message
to Pinochet?
Dear Charles
CDP 9/9.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

8 September 1986

Chile: Attempted Assassination of President Pinochet

On the evening of 7 September President Pinochet's motorcade was attached by terrorists some 30 kilometres east of Santiago. Pinochet sustained minor injuries but five of his bodyguards were killed and 10 were seriously injured.

The Foreign Secretary suggests that the Prime Minister should send a personal message to the President condemning this brutal act. This would be consistent with our general policy, both on terrorism wherever it occurs and on violence in Chile. The Prime Minister may recall that President Pinochet sent a sympathetic message following the October 1984 Brighton Grand Hotel bombing. I attach a draft.

/

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

I was shocked to hear about the attack against you and at the loss of lives and injuries sustained. We condemn this brutal act of violence, as indeed we condemn similar acts from whatever quarter.

CONFIDENTIAL

SPW (49)

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

26 August 1986

CHILE: PROPOSED EC PRESIDENCY STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF NATIONAL ACCORD

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 22 August and the attached draft coreu.

The Prime Minister is content for you to seek EC clearance for the draft statement as you propose.

She has, however, raised a number of more general questions, on which I should be grateful for a response in due course. In particular she asks how far we accept the general principle that countries should not interfere with the internal policies of others. She recalls that there may be a provision to that effect in the United Nations Charter. She also asks whether there are any other countries with single candidate presidential elections, which we intend to write to in a similar way.

(MARK ADDISON)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CCPC

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 August 1986

Dear Mark,

Chile: Proposed EC Presidency Statement in support of National Accord

The coordinator of the widely-supported National Accord for the Transition to Full Democracy, Sr Molina, has told our Ambassador in Santiago that he plans to make a declaration on behalf of the signatories on the Accord's first anniversary on 25 August. This will support inter alia the principle of free elections; and call for an early plebiscite to amend the 1980 Constitution to permit such elections in 1989, instead of the single candidate Presidential plebiscite envisaged in the existing constitution.

The National Accord is a moderate document supported by all Chile's main democratic opposition parties excluding the Communists and the extreme right. Its signatories have kept a low profile since President Pinochet rejected it last December. Sr Molina is now seeking to revitalise the Accord, following the failure of several initiatives promoted by sections of the opposition since January. He has asked our Ambassador whether the EC would publicly support him by issuing a low-key statement. Such action has the general backing of EC Ambassadors in Santiago.

/We

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We, and our EC partners, continue to believe that the National Accord provides a good basis for dialogue between the Chilean government and the democratic opposition. On 10 September 1985 the EC Council of Ministers issued a statement supporting it, and Mr Eggar welcomed it when replying to Viscount Cranborne's PQ of 12 November 1985. The Prime Minister told the House on 3 July that HMG favoured "early steps to ensure the orderly and peaceful restoration of democracy in Chile". Sr Molina's proposed declaration may be the last realistic opportunity to save a critical initiative. If reactivation of the Accord fails, the likely alternative will be increasing polarisation and violence. This would serve the interests only of President Pinochet and the extreme left, and reduce the chances of a peaceful transition to democracy in Chile. We therefore believe that a low-key Presidency statement in London, reiterating EC support for the National Accord on lines used previously, would be helpful to the democratic opposition and the transition to democracy.

As you know, we are under a standing instruction to refer to you any proposed EC public statement on Chile. I attach a copy of a draft coreu. The EC statement should be issued next week if it is to have the desired impact.

Yours Sincerely,
Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

M Addison Esq
No 10 Downing St

cc Press Office

OUT COREU TELEGRAM

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REFERENCE:

1 On 25 August, the first anniversary of the National Accord, its coordinator Sr Sergio Molina, ~~hopes~~ intends to make a statement rejecting the Presidential plebiscite as set out in the 1980 Constitution, declaring that the National Accord's signatories unanimously support the principle of free Presidential elections, and calling for an early plebiscite of the Chilean electorate to amend the Constitution so as to permit such elections in 1989. Sr Molina has asked ~~the Presidency~~ us if the Presidency could Ambassador ~~to~~ make a low-key statement of support on behalf of the Twelve. We understand that this has the general support of EC Ambassadors in Santiago.

2 The Presidency proposes therefore to issue in London the following general statement of support for the National Accord.

Begins. The European Community on the first anniversary of

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Telephone number: 233 3336		
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OUT COREU TELEGRAM (CONT)

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the National Accord for the Transition to Full Democracy, reaffirm their belief, as expressed in the EC Council of Foreign Ministers' statement of 10 September 1985, that the National Accord provides a basis for developing an early dialogue between the government and the democratic opposition on Chile's political future. Ends.

3 If there are no comments by 1800Z on 27 August the Presidency will take the proposed action on 28 August.

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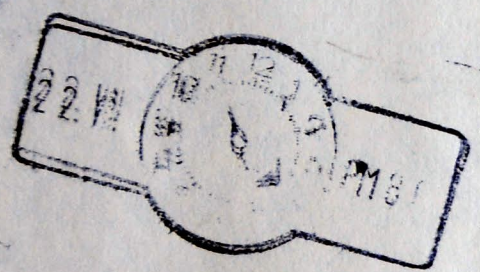

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

31 July 1986

CHILE: EC PRESIDENCY DEMARCHE

Thank you for your letter of 31 July about the proposed demarch to the Chilean Government of the Twelve to express concern about violence during the 2/3 July demonstrations and about continued detentions.

I am confident that the Prime Minister will agree to our making the proposed demarche on behalf of the Twelve and to the text of the possible statement to be made subsequently.

Charles Powell

R. N. Culshaw, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

31 July 1986

Dear Charles.

Prime Minister
Agreed to demarche
to the Chileans and
to - pretty bland - press
statement?
CDP
31/7

Chile: EC Presidency Demarche

When our Ambassador in Santiago called on 8 May on the Chilean Foreign Minister, Sr Del Valle, he stressed that during our forthcoming EC Presidency, we would have real difficulty trying to preserve a positive attitude by the Twelve towards Chile, unless the government took concrete steps to improve their human rights record and towards the restoration of democracy. In reply Del Valle promised categorically that the long-promised electoral registration law would be passed in June, regional electoral tribunals set up by late July, and the political parties law enacted by the end of 1986 (he had made comparable but unfulfilled promises to the Foreign Secretary when they talked at UNGA on 25 September 1985).

In fact the Chilean Government have shown increasing intransigence. They cracked down severely on the 2/3 July demonstrations called by the National Civic Assembly (a loose grouping of professionals, trade unionists, and politicians) to protest at the rejection of their call for dialogue.

Our Ambassador has just returned to Santiago from leave, and it would be appropriate for him to call again on the Foreign Minister. He now carries an additional EC responsibility and our partners are anxious at this time to express the Twelve's concern about the violence during the 2/3 July demonstrations, about the detention of the Civic Assembly leaders, and over the lack of any concrete progress by the government towards the peaceful restoration of democracy.

There has been unanimous pressure from our EC partners for a public demarche both in Santiago and London. The case for such action is strong. The army's repression of the demonstrations was severe, and events surrounding the alleged burning by soldiers of two young students have caused widespread consternation. The Chilean Government have ruled out dialogue with the

/opposition

opposition and have further delayed promulgation of the long-promised laws on political parties and electoral registration. The US has been particularly outspoken since the demonstrations (partly because one of the burned students, now deceased, was a US resident).

As you know, we are under a standing instruction to refer to you any EC public statements on Chile. Our intention is that we would not make public all the details of our parallel demarches but merely issue a statement which drew on what has already been said in the House by the Prime Minister on 3 July and Mr Eggar on 25 July.

/ I attach copies of our two telegrams of instructions to Santiago, and of our proposed EC Presidency statement.

Yours ever

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

CHILE: DRAFT TEXT OF POSSIBLE STATEMENT/DEMARCHE

The European Community deeply regret the deaths and injuries associated with the 2/3 July demonstrations in Chile and condemn recent violence. They trust that the Chilean authorities will establish and make public the full facts about the cases of Rodrigo Rojas and Carmen Quintana.

The EC again urge the Chilean government to take early steps towards the orderly restoration of democracy and to initiate dialogue with the democratic opposition.

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TO PRIORITY SANTIAGO
TELNO 123
OF 281115Z JULY 86

CHILE : EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION : SANTIAGO TEL NOS 142 AND 143

1. WE HAVE ISSUED A COREU INFORMING THE PARTNERS OF THE 22 JULY EC HEADS OF MISSION MEETING. MINDFUL THAT YOU INTENDED TO DO THIS IN ANY CASE, WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT AS THE PRESIDENCY AMBASSADOR IN SANTIAGO, YOU SHOULD MAKE AN EARLY CALL ON DEL VALLE AND THAT THE FURTHER ACTION PROPOSED BY PARTNERS SHOULD BE REVIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF THE OUTCOME OF YOUR CALL. COMMENTS HAVE BEEN REQUESTED BY 1600Z ON 29 JULY.

2. WE PROPOSE THAT YOU MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO DEL VALLE:-

A) THE TWELVE REMAIN GENERALLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE POOR HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LACK OF ANY CONCRETE DEMONSTRATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO THE PEACEFUL RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY.

B) HMG ARE PARTICULARY CONCERNED THAT THE PROGRESS ON ELECTORAL LAWS PROMISED TO YOU BY DEL VALLE ON 8 MAY HAD NOT BEEN REALISED. OUR EC PARTNERS SHARE THIS CONCERN AND THE TWELVE BELIEVE THAT THE MOST URGENT NEED BOTH IN CHILE AND FOR CHILE'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE AND RELATIONSHIPS, IS FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO DEMONSTRATE ITS COMMITMENT TO THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION ENSHRINED IN THE CONSTITUTION, BY THE EARLY PROMULGATION OF THE LAWS ON POLITICAL

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PARTIES AND ELECTORAL REGISTRATION.
C) IN THE LIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF THE 2/3 JULY STRIKE AND THE ARREST AND DETENTION OF THE NATIONAL CIVIL ASSEMBLY LEADERS, PRESSURE HAS RESURGED WITHIN THE EC FOR A MORE ACTIVIST POLICY TOWARDS CHILE.
D) IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN A CONSTRUCTIVE EC APPROACH TO CHILE DURING OUR PRESIDENCY, WE NEED TO SEE CLEAR AND EARLY SIGNS OF CONCRETE PROGRESS TOWARDS THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY AND TO KNOW THE GOVERNMENT'S NEW TIMETABLE FOR ENACTMENT OF THE ELECTORAL LAWS.
3. AS TO VIEWS EXPRESSED IN TURS, WE AGREE THAT A PRESIDENCY PUBLIC STATEMENT EITHER IN SANTIAGO OR LONDON WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE LAPSE OF TIME SINCE THE STRIKE, AND THE ADDITIONAL POINTS MADE IN PARA 2 OF YOUR TEL NO 143.
4. WE AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR TROIKA AMBASSADORS TO CALL ON THE DETAINED ASSEMBLY LEADERS. WE COULD, HOWEVER, AGREE IN PRINCIPLE TO A LOW-KEY COLLECTIVE VISIT BY DIPLOMATS OF THE TWELVE RESIDENT IN SANTIAGO. WE WILL GIVE YOU FINAL ISNTRUCTIONS ON THIS IN THE LIGHT OF GEISLER'S VISIT AND YOUR CALL. AS YOU KNOW GEISLER IS VERY OUTSPOKEN ABOUT CHILE AND WILL SURELY ISSUE A STRONG STATEMENT ON THE DETENTION OF THE ASSEMBLY LEADERS, WHICH COULD IN TURN DETERMINE THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TO A COLLECTIVE EC VISIT.
5. WE TOO ARE UNAWARE OF ANY PRECEDENT FOR THE PROPOSED SYMBOLIC PAYMENT BY THE TWELVE TOWARDS THE HOSPITAL EXPENSES OF SRTA QUINTANA. WE CANNOT THINK OF ANY SOURCE OF EC MONEY FROM WHICH THIS COULD BE FUNDED. WE COULD OF COURSE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO INDIVIDUAL ACTION BY EC MISSIONS.
6 WE SHALL CONFIRM INSTRUCTIONS WHEN WE HAVE PARTNERS' RESPONSES TO OUR COREU.

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SIR W HARDING
MR DAVID THOMAS

OUT TELEGRAM

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CHILE: EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION: OUR TELNO 123

1 There has been unanimous EC support for an early Presidency demarche in Santiago and London. Most partners have also requested that we issue a public statement after the demarches have been made.

2 Please now arrange an early call on Del Valle. You should make the points in paragraph 2 of TUR. You should also express the Twelve's hope that the detained Asamblea leaders will be released or brought to trial soon.

3 (Subject to approval from No 10 which we are seeking urgently) after your call you should make the following statement to the press:

Begins. The European Community deeply regret the deaths and injuries associated with the 2/3 July demonstrations in Chile, and condemn recent violence. They trust that the Chilean authorities will establish and publish the full facts about the cases of Sr Rojas and Srta Quintana.

The EC again urge the Chilean government to take early steps towards the orderly restoration of democracy and to initiate a

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dialogue with the democratic opposition. Ends.

4 Fearn will take similar action with the Chilean Ambassador and News Department will issue a similar statement. Grateful therefore to know the likely timing of your action, and for confirmation when your statement has issued.

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PS/Lady Young
PS/PUS
PS/MR Eggar
Sir W Harding
Mr David Thomas
SAmD
ECD(E)
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News Dept
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Defence Dept
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CONFIDENTIAL
FM SANTIAGO
TO PRIORITY FCO
TEL NO 55
OF 071415Z APRIL 86

YOUR TEL NO 45
VISIT OF MR GAREL-JONES, MP

SUMMARY

1. VISIT WELCOMED BY THE OPPOSITION, THE CHURCH, ETC AND ACCEPTED WITH REASONABLE GRACE BY THE GOVERNMENT. MR GAREL-JONES CONCLUDED THAT OUR PRESENT POLICY IS BROADLY CORRECT AND EXPRESSED IT LOUDLY AND CLEARLY IN ALL HIS CONTACTS.

TEXT

2. GAREL -JONES HAD A FULL PROGRAMME FROM 31 MARCH TO 5 APRIL INCLUDING CONTACTS WITH MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERIOR, ADMIRAL MERINO, REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL CURRENTS OF DEMOCRATIC OPINION, HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. WITH THE EXCEPTIONS OF PRESIDENT PINOCHET AND OF CARDINAL FRESNO, WHO WAS AWAY FROM SANTIAGO FOR THE WHOLE WEEK, HE SAW PRACTICALLY ALL THE LEADING POLITICAL PLAYERS.

3. HE GAVE SPEECHES AT THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC STUDIES, THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY AND TO AN AUDIENCE INVITED BY POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE RIGHT. (THIS REPLACED A SPEECH PREVIOUSLY PLANNED IN VALPARAISO).HE GAVE THREE BACKGROUND INTERVIEWS TO THE MEDIA AND HAD AN INFORMAL MEETING WITH BRITISH JOURNALISTS. ON DEPARTURE HE MADE A PREPARED STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (COPY IN MIFT).

4. MR GAREL-JONES INTENDS TO MAKE A PERSONAL REPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE EARLY NEXT WEEK. HOWEVER WE ARE BROADLY AGREED ON THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT.

GOVERNMENT

5. THE GOVERNMENT GAVE NO SIGN OF CHANGING THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE OPPOSITION AND APPARENTLY INTEND TO STICK TO THEIR EXISTING TIMETABLE FOR IMPLEMENTING THE 1980 CONSTITUTION. WE SUGGESTED REPEATEDLY THAT THE EARLY PASSAGE OF THE ORGANIC LAWS DEALING WITH THE ELECTORAL REGISTER, POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM (ALL OF WHICH ARE READY TO BE PROMULGATED THIS YEAR AND THE FIRST TWO IMMEDIATELY) WOULD AT LEAST HELP TO SHOW THAT THE REGIME IS SERIOUS. BOTH MINISTERS WE SAW OFFERED IMPRECISE PROMISES OF ACTION WITHIN A FEW MONTHS (BEFORE SEPTEMBER ACCORDING TO THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR). WE ALSO PRESSED THE CASE FOR A PLEBISCITE TO APPROVE AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION, BUT WERE GIVEN NO REASON /TO

TO EXPECT THAT THIS MIGHT HAPPEN. MR GAREL JONES ARGUED STRONGLY THAT POSITIVE PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY IS REQUIRED IF CHILE'S FRIENDS ARE TO BE ABLE TO HELP HER AND NOT MERELY CRITICISE, IE IT WOULD BE IN CHILES' OWN INTEREST TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS BY THE MIDDLE OF THIS YEAR WHEN BRITAIN ASSUMES THE PRESIDENCY OF THE E.C.

OPPOSITION

6. ALL OPPOSITION PARTIES GREATLY WELCOMED THE VISIT BUT THEY WERE IN POOR SHAPE AND FEW IF ANY OF THE LEADERS MADE A GOOD IMPRESSION THE ALIANZA DEMOCRATICA ARE UNABLE TO LOOK FURTHER AHEAD THAN THEIR CAMPAIGN OF SOCIAL MOBILISATION ALTHOUGH THEY RECOGNISE THAT THIS IN ITSELF CAN NOT BRING DOWN THE GOVERNMENT. SERGIO MOLINA, THE COORDINATOR OF THE ACUERDO NACIONAL, HOPES TO PERSUADE ALL THE POLITICAL PARTIES (I.E. THE ALIANZA DEMOCRATICA PLUS TME PARTIDO NACIONAL AND THE UNION NACIONAL) TO PUT ANOTHER SPECIFIC PROPOSAL TO THE GOVERNMENT LATER THIS YEAR WHEN HE EXPECTS THE SOCIAL MOBILISATION CAMPAIGN TO FALTER. THE PROPOSAL WOULD PROBABLY CONSIST OF A DEMAND FOR VERY EARLY PASSAGE OF ORGANIC LAWS AND A PLEBISCITE TO AMEND THE CONSTITUION SO THAT THE 1989 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WOULD BE A FREE CHOICE AND THE CONSTITUTION (NOW VIRTUALLY UNAMENDABLE) WOULD BE CAPABLE OF SUBSEQUENT AMENDMENT ON REASONABLE CONDITIONS. MOLINA IS AWAITING THE RIGHT OPPORTUNITY TO LAUNCH THIS PROPOSAL.

7. THE RIGHT IS BADLY SPLIT, PRINCIPALLY FOR REASONS OF PERSONALITY, ALTHOUGH THE PARTIDO NACIONAL MAINTAIN THAT THEY WOULD WELCOME ALL OTHERS BACK TO THEIR FOLD AT ANY TIME. HOWEVER, NEITHER THE PARTIDO NACIONAL NOR THE MUN WILL ACCEPT THE PARTY NEWLY FORMED BY FORMER MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR JARPA, THE FRENTE NACIONAL DE TRABAJO, WHICH SEEMS TO BE NO MORE THAN A VEHICLE FOR HIS PERSONAL AMBITION, OR THE UDI WHICH IS STILL TOO CLOSELY LINKED TO THE REGIME. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE RIGHT WILL REUNITE BEFORE THEY ARE FACED WITH A PRACTICAL NECESSITY, EG IMMINENT ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, MR GAREL-JONES WILL BE RETURNING WITH SOME SPECIFIC IDEAS FOR ENCOURAGING THEM TONGET THEIR ACT TOGETHER.

HUMAN RIGHTS

8. THE HUMAN RIGHT S ORGANISATIONS ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE RECENT CONSENSUS RESOLUTION IN GENEVA AND REPEATED THEIR FAMILIAR VIEW THAT STRONG AND SUSTAINED PRESSURE FROM ABROAD IS THENBEST WAY OF FORCING THE GOVERNMENT TO IMPROVE ITS HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE. WE TRIED TO SUPPORT THIS EFFORT BOTH IN PUBLIC AND IN PRIVATE. THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERIOR GAVE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THEY RECOGNISE THAT THEY MUST DO SOMETHING POSITIVE IN THIS RESPECT BUT THE ONLY POSSIBILITY MENTIONED WAS TOALLOW THE RETURN OF MORE EXILES.,I SUGGESTED THE IDEA OF THE AUTHORITIES COMMITING TMEMSELVES TO GIVE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS RAPID ACCESS TO SUSPECTS IN DETENTION AS ONE MEANS OF PREVENTING ABUSES.

THE CHURCH

CONFIDENTIAL

9. MONSENOR PRECHT, VICAR-GENERAL OF THE ARCHDIOCESE AND CARDINAL FRESNO'S MAIN POLITICAL ADVISER AMONGST THE CLERGY, DEPLORED THE LEADING POLITICIANS' DETACHMENT FROM THEIR RANK AND FILE AND THEIR INABILITY TO UNITE. PINOCHET WAS DRIVING THE YOUNG INTO THE ARMS OF THE COMMUNISTS BUT THE CHURCH COULD GO NO FURTHER THAN IT HAD IN SPONSERING THE ACUERDO NACIONAL. DIVISIONS IN SOCIETY WERE SERIOUS AND DEEPENING.,THE ONE RAY OF HOPE WAS THE POPE'S VISIT DUE IN EARLY1987,,WHICH PRECHT BELIEVED WAS BOUND TO UNDER-MIME PINOCHET'S POSITION. HE NOTED PREVIOUS PAPAL VISITS TO HAITI THE PHILIPPINES AND EVEN BRAZIL UNDER FIGUEREIDO AS CONTAINING LESSONS FOR CHILE.

CONCLUSION

10.,ALTHOUGH THE BALANCE IS NOT EASY TO STRIKE,,OUR CURRENT POLICY STILL SEEMS CORRECT. GIVEN THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOW PUTTING OPEN PRESSURE ON THE REGIME (WHICH MANY EXPECT WILL PROVE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE WITH THE CHILEAN MILITARY AND WILL CERTAINLY INFURIATE PINOCHET),,BRITAIN MAY BE THE NEAREST CHILE HAS TO A FRIEND AMONG THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES. EVEN IF THE US WERE TO MATCH THEIR CRITICAL WORDS WITH ACTIONS, CORRESPONDING PRESSURE FROM BRITAIN COULD NOT HAVE MUCH EFFECT ON PINOCHET BUT IT MAY BE THAT THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES AND THE COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENT (ON WHOM PINOCHET ALSO DEPENDS) WILL NOW BE MORE READY TO LISTEN TO US. IF WE RULE OUT FIANCIAL OR ECONOMIC PRESSURE THE ONLY OTHER COURSE OPEN TO HMG IS TO MAINTAIN OUR EFFORTS TO STRENGHTHEN THE MODERATE POLITICAL PARTIES IN PRACTICAL WAYS.

11. THIS WEEK OF INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS DID NOT ENCOURAGE US TO EXPECT MAJOR CHANGES IN THE SITUATION HERE IN THE NEAR FUTURE . HOWEVER, THE FACT THAT WE SHALL HAVE THE PRESIDENCY OF THE EC FROM JULY PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO PERSUADE THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT THAT THEY SHOULD HELP US TO HELP THEM BY TAKING EARLY AND VISIBLE STEPS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY AND TO IMPROVE THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. IN RELATION TO THE FORMER, WE MIGHT IN DUE COURSE PRESS FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSALS CONTEMPLATED BY SERGIO MOLINA (SEE PARA 6 ABOVE). IN RELATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS THE BEST SINGLE STEP WOULD BE TO GET THE REGIME TO END THE STATE OF EMERGENCY - AND WITH IT MANY OF THE MOST OBJECTIONABLE REPRESSIVE POWERS WHICH IT STILL RETAINS.

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PS LADY YOUNG
PS MR EGGAR
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PS/PUS
MR DEREK THOMAS
SIR W HARDING
MR DAVID THOMAS

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PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: Tristan Garel-Jones
DATE: 7 April 1986

Secretary of State

CDP 9/4.

Dear Geoffrey.

CHILE

The Embassy will be sending a cable covering the main points of my trip followed by detailed reports on all the meetings I attended.

I propose, therefore, to confine myself to more general matters which may provide a useful overview on that detail.

1. Is our current policy correct?

I approached my week in Chile with some trepidation expecting to find difficulty in treading the cautious line between maintaining correct - even friendly relations - with officials of the Pinochet Government and making clear our views about the importance of the transition to democracy and on Human Rights.

I found no such difficulty. Not least, because it quickly became apparent to me that our policy is the right one, and for the following reasons:-

(a) No one in Chile has the remotest idea what Pinochet's intentions are and, less still, how the process set out under the 1980 Constitution will unravel in 1988/9. The only groups likely to have real influence over Pinochet are the Armed Forces and, perhaps, some of the civilian elements in the Government (more of that later).

(b) So far as foreign governments are concerned the same applies and the only country with real influence is the United States followed at a very considerable distance, I think we can flatter ourselves, by HMG. Abroad, I would say, the US stand to Pinochet in terms of influence as do the Armed Forces within his own country - we can, perhaps, claim to be on a par with the civilian elements in Government.

(c) The best illustration that I can give about the wisdom of our policy is to say that I was well received in all Government and even military circles. Once I had re-iterated the basic stand of HMG I was able to talk very frankly about our concern for the position on Human Rights and to express our worries about the transition to democracy in the greatest detail. Equally, in all my meetings with political parties, the Church and Human Rights Groups I took care always to ask if there was anything more we could do to help. All of them went out of their way to say how much they appreciated our stand and, with very few exceptions, (the Briones Socialists and

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the Commission on Human Rights whose suggestions in no way amounted to criticism) accepted and appreciated our stand. I was particularly struck to find this attitude in the Vicaria de la Solidaridod - the main Roman Catholic Human Rights organisation.

(d) This contrasts with the position of Spain. I had asked to see the Spanish Ambassador in the belief that, through the Latin net-work, he might have connections and insights not open to us. I was disappointed. The Ambassador told me, rather sadly, that in 2½ years in Chile his Government had instructed him to hand in 16 notes of protest to the Chilean authorities, he had no connections to speak of with the Military and his principal efforts are centered on trying to persuade the Community Ambassadors to act in concert - mainly, I suspect, because he realises that his Government have virtually no influence. 'They all think I'm a Socialist - or worse' he said painfully.

(e) In the light of recent statements from the US Government which were causing some stir in Chile I thought it useful to have a talk with the US Ambassador. He is, of course, well aware of our position and I explained to him who I was seeing and what I was saying. I asked him directly about their policy and, reading between the lines, would judge that recent statements re Chile are more to do with Nicaragua and cock-up than to any real shift in policy. My guess would be that, in the short term at least, they will continue to operate a policy of 'quiet diplomacy'. His main point of leverage at present seems to be that Congress might avail itself of existing provisions under US law to exclude Chile from aid and loan facilities. Clearly it is important for us to be sensitive to any major shift in US policy - our own could look a little threadbare if we were left alone.

(f) Finally there is a fairly substantial British and Anglo/Chilean community. A number of British (and Anglo/Dutch) companies are trading successfully in Chile. The Manager of Lever told me that they employ 1,500 people and make 'satisfactory' profits - the same sort of story from the Chilean Chairman of BAT. Although I did not have the time to look in detail at commercial prospects for the future I was made aware that they do exist. Any change in policy which raised the level of rhetoric without very good reason indeed would not be welcome in these circles.

2. What should we do?

If our policy is the right one (as I believe it to be) then the obvious answer is to continue to pursue it! However, there may be a few small adjustments within that policy that might be helpful and one diplomatic démarche which may be worth considering:

/ (a)

(a) The UN Resolution on Human Rights was clearly a proper thing for HMG to support. In spite of the anger and dismay it caused to the Government it has, in my judgement, been of great significance as has our support for the National Accord. We must ensure that if and when other such situations arise we do not miss the bus. The advice of our Ambassador will be crucial here as events could contrive a need for quick decisions. We do not of course want to get into the position of the Spaniards but I am confident that our Embassy in Santiago under its present leadership will give us as good advice as there is to be had and will not err on the side of rashness. If we get such advice asking for quick action we should respond.

(b) One of the dangers Pinochet poses to our interests is not only that he is an effective recruiting sargeant for the Communists but that he has left the center-right of Chilean politics in disarray. There is a danger that if a General Election were to be held in 1989 that the Christian Democrats would be the base-line and all other parties would stand to the left of them. The CD party in Chile is of impeccable democratic credentials but I cannot emphasise too much that it is a Socialist party. There is no dispute about this. The only matter for debate is whether the mildly Social Democratic wing is stronger than the more radical element. It is therefore astonishing that the Konrad Adenauer Foundation as well as other Foundations in the US continue to provide very substantive help to the CD Party of Chile and no help whatever to the democratic right. I discussed this in Santiago both with the US and West German Ambassadors (the German was accompanied by the Head of the Latin American Desk at their Foreign Ministry). All take it as read the CD is Socialist and that it is very surprising indeed that so much effort should be concentrated in this direction. Both confirmed (I spoke to them separately) that Gabriel Valdes - the leader of the CD Party - is adept at singing the right tune to President Reagan and Helmut Kohl. Both confirmed that there were well placed people in both countries pressing for reconsideration of present policy. Both confirmed that a word from British leaders would be helpful.

(c) The British Conservative Party does not have the resources to provide the sort of help some of our friends may be able to do. Nevertheless I think we should have talks with Scott Hamilton to see what advice and support we can give and to whom it should be given.

(d) The Armed Forces are the one group in Chile about which it can be asserted that they really have influence with Pinochet. It is not easy to break into the military ghetto, but well worth the attempt since many senior officers are now reluctant to support Pinochet's candidacy for 1988/9 both because they are not certain he would win and because they believe that a return to barracks in

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1989 will enable the Armed Forces to withdraw with honour from this chapter of Chilean life. I addressed a meeting at ANEPE (a Group of whom visited the UK last year), after which I had a very friendly talk with the dozen or so senior officers - Generals, Admirals, Colonels - at which these subjects were broached by me and perfectly well received by all present. How can we improve our contacts with the Armed Forces? - Visits and exchanges wherever possible are an obvious route. I would also suggest that wherever possible, where Arms Sales are concerned, we should err on the side of giving the Chileans the benefit of the doubt.

(e) Finally a possible démarche. One point which I emphasised in all my talks with Government officials was that Britain on 1 July takes over the Chairmanship of the Community. They accept and are appreciative of the fact that, with the exception of West Germany, most of our partners wish to take a much higher and more condemnatory profile and even to search for joint actions/ sanctions against Chile whilst Britain retains a more circumspect attitude. I said to them that they must help us to ensure that during our Presidency silent rather than megaphone diplomacy was the order of the day. Both the Foreign Minister and the Minister of the Interior assured me in terms that we would see real progress both on the Human Rights front and on the moves to democracy in the coming months. Of course, they have said these things before and not delivered and there must be some real doubt as to the influence of the civilian element in the Government. Nevertheless they are eager to please. For example, at one meeting at the Foreign Office, I mentioned that I was not particularly re-assured by a reply given to me earlier in the day on Human Rights by the Interior Minister. He made a particular point of coming to a reception which he said he had not intended to do to reassure me and to say that both I myself or the Ambassador could call him immediately if we had any doubts on any subject whatever. He could not have been more friendly and the hints that something would be happening in the coming months could not have been stronger. Little did we know it, but on the Friday (my last day) we had to take him up on his offer. The evening papers carried the news that some General had issued an edict banning all public meetings. We telephoned the Interior Minister at once to be told that he was in a meeting. I told his chef-de-cabinet that I was leaving the following day, that we had prepared a careful statement for the Press aimed at being as helpful as possible and that this placed us in an impossible position. The Minister phoned back later that evening. My message had been passed to him at a meeting discussing the edict. That had been helpful. He said the whole thing was a cock-up (our old friend again!) - that a new edict was going to be issued that very evening which he read out to me. (Very sorry, didn't alter anything he had said to me the night before, assured me of his highest consideration etc., etc.)

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I recount this incident at some length to illustrate that we have some leverage with these men. It is a moot point as to how much we have and it is also questionable how much weight they themselves carry. But there it is.

Above all they do see that the nearest thing they have to a friend will be President of the Community in the next few months and may have a little difficulty in holding the line.

I suggest that a letter from the Secretary of State to his counterpart (or even at a higher level) asking for progress on specific matters relating to Human Rights and progress to democracy be considered. The 'shopping list' contained in such a letter would need to be carefully considered and it would need to be pitched at a level where there was a real chance that they could deliver.

I hope this may be considered as there is no doubt in my mind that there is a systematic abuse of Human Rights combined with a reluctance to take even the steps envisaged in the Constitution for transition to democracy. It would be compatible with our cautious and discreet approach and, if properly prepared, could lead to limited success.

3. Minor Matters

I list below a number of unrelated and relatively minor matters, some of which may be of interest:-

(a) The British Council is doing a good job. English Language teaching is in the hands of the Institues Chileno-Britanicas which operate both in Santiago and the provinces. These are supported by the Council both as to improving the standard and extent of EFL teaching and by providing a platform and premises for a cut-price British presence in terms of Library and Cultural facilities. This does mean, of course, that the Council does not generate funds itself by EFL teaching. The Council have also supported a range of Scholarships to the UK (I gather there are a dozen such scholars funded by ODA in the UK at present). I visited the Catholic University where I met half a dozen such people. Transport Engineers, an Electrical Engineer and a Computer/Information Systems Engineer. They are all of Western standard. Indeed I doubt if any University in Latin America can match them. Some have since returned to the UK to give lectures themselves and the Transport people are doing work on the de-regulation of the Transport System in Santiago which is, I gather, regarded with interest by Sir Denis Walters. All of them are involved professionally in advising the Chilean Government on projects related to their speciality and their British connection has already been translated into orders for Ferranti in one area with the prospect of further orders in other spheres. All openly admitted to a pro-British professional bias - not least because of

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the mature way they felt they had been treated. One of them now sits on the Advisory Council for interviewing potential new scholars and they are all collaborating in forming an Association of ex-British Council Scholars. A thoroughly good show!

(b) I met the Anglican Bishop of Santiago. He profited from the opportunity to lecture me on the moral iniquity of HMG because of our proposals on Sunday Trading. He did not mention Human Rights or the absence of democratic rights. I later discovered that the Anglican Church is regarded as silent or even acquiescent on these subjects. One begins to wonder whether they would recognise a moral issue if it bit them on the neck!

(c) The Ambassador's Residence in Santiago is a very fine building. I recognise it is probably very costly to run and maintain. I daresay that someone's beady eye will fall upon it one day and I do hope that we will not dispose of it for 10 in order to buy something 3rd rate for 8.

(d) The Vicaria de la Solidaridad gave us encouraging figures on all fronts on Human Rights (details will no doubt follow from the Embassy's reports of meetings). These may be Seasonal and the Ambassador was anxious not to set too much store by them. If sustained they would be a big step forward and might provide a start-point if we decided to send a letter to Chile looking for progress.

I will, of course, arrange to de-brief within the Office.

TGJ

Tristan Garel-Jones

c.c. Lady Young
Mr Eggar
Sir W Harding
SAmD

Chile (64) EC

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bc PC

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

18 March 1986

CHILE

Thank you for your letter of 17 March about the proposed statement to express the Twelve's concern about human rights in Chile.

The Prime Minister is content for us to subscribe to the proposed statement. She has commented that, in the light of recent developments, there would seem to be a case for a statement on rather similar lines about the situation in Nicaragua. She was particularly impressed by the article in last week's Economist on the subject. It would be interesting to know to what extent our own information matches that in the article in question.

(Charles Powell)

R.N. Culshaw, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 March 1986

Dear Charles

Chile

In your letter of 25 January 1985, you said that the Prime Minister would wish to be consulted about Community statements on Chile and about the position which we take at the United Nations on matters affecting Chile. This letter is to bring you up to date on the latest EC deliberations and on resolutions on Chile at the current session in Geneva of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR).

Political life in Chile in 1985 was marked by the National Accord for a Transition to Full Democracy, a moderate and reasonable declaration in late August to which a broad spectrum of the democratic opposition subscribed; as well as by a continuation, albeit under another name, of President Pinochet's emergency powers. From the outset Pinochet made clear his contempt for the National Accord and, on Christmas Eve, told the Archbishop of Santiago, who had been the architect of this agreement, that there would be no dialogue with its signatories (as the Accord had envisaged). After Chile's summer break, the new political season has reopened with a spate of bombings, arrests and the detention of a number of opposition leaders. An International Women's Day rally on 7 March, attended by a UK delegation from the anti-Chile lobby, was severely repressed with water-canon and tear gas, and the involvement of the Chilean army.

Against this background we instructed our delegation at the UNCHR to vote for a US resolution on Chile which, whilst welcoming the Chilean governnment's recent cooperation with the UN Special Rapporteur, is firm in its criticism of continuing abuses of human rights there. We found this resolution both balanced and within those parameters of acceptable constructive criticism of the Chilean government established by the 1985 Mexican resolution at UNGA (which we supported). The resolution was adopted by consensus late on 14 March.

Among the Twelve, the Dutch Presidency has found strong support from partners for its desire to pursue a more active Community policy towards Chile. We have striven hard to avoid excesses of zeal, and the Foreign Secretary is pleased with the final version of a policy paper on Chile agreed by Political Directors on 13 March / (copy enclosed).

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The Presidency, in response to recommendations from Community Ambassadors in Santiago, now propose to publish a statement on 18 March to express the Twelve's concern about the persecution of those who try to exercise their fundamental right to freedom of expression. This declaration would be as follows:

"The Chilean Government's refusal to countenance the opposition, which has recently been demonstrated by a number of prosecutions which infringe the principle of freedom of expression, is not conducive to national reconciliation in Chile.

"The Twelve are seriously concerned at these recent developments and call on the Chilean Government to accelerate the democratisation process in order to comply with the clear wish of the democratic groups within the Chilean population".

The Foreign Secretary considers this statement both dignified and reasonable. He believes it is in line with what we have agreed to be the British interest, namely encouragement of an orderly transition to democracy in Chile. He is concerned about the continuing political polarisation, exacerbated by Pinochet's repressive policies, and believes there is value in reminding the Chilean Government of European concerns, alongside US criticism at a time when that has become much sharper. The Foreign Secretary would be grateful for confirmation that the Prime Minister is content for the UK to be associated with this proposed EC statement.

Yours ever

Robin Culshaw

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secrtary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

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EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION: POLITICAL COMMITTEE: THE HAGUE, 12 MARCH: CHILE

1. TEXT IS PARA 2 BELOW AGREED AFTER SHORT DRAFTING DISCUSSION. IPARAGUIRRE (SPAIN) WAS CLEARLY UNHAPPY WITH OMISSION OF WORD ''PRESSURE'' IN LAST PARAGRAPH OF TEXT BUT JACOBOVITS (PRESIDENCY) FORCED THE TEXT THROUGH IN A PIECE OF REMARKABLY HIGH-HANDED CHAIRMANSHIP.
2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT WHICH NOW SUPERCEDES ANNEX 1 OF LATIN AMERICAN WORKING GROUP RAPPORT ORALE (HAGUE COREU 310).:

''
THE TWELVE'S POLICY TOWARDS CHILE

1.THE TWELVE WILL CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THE ORDERLY RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY IN CHILE AND TO SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE THOSE FORCES IN CHILE WHICH CAMPAIGN BY PEACEFUL MEANS FOR A RETURN TO A DEMOCRATIC REGIME.
2. IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARMED FORCES, THE TWELVE WILL INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS TO CONVINCE THE AUTHORITIES OF THE VALUE AND NECESSITY OF BEGINNING A DIALOGUE AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE WITH THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION. IN DOING SO THEY WILL POINT OUT THE DANGER OF A NON-DEMOCRATIC (EXTREMIST) POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPING IN THE POST-PINOCHET PERIOD.
3. IN PURSUIT OF THEIR EFFORTS TO SUPPORT CHILE'S RETURN TO FULL DEMOCRACY, THE TWELVE WILL CONTINUE SUPPORTING AND ENCOURAGING ALL DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS IN CHILE, PARTICULARLY THE SIGNATORIES OF THE NATIONAL ACCORD (SEMI-COLON)

A) BY DIRECT SUPPORT FOR THE LEADERS OF THESE GROUPS, BOTH IN CHILE AND ABROAD, INCLUDING ISSUING INVITATIONS FOR THEM TO VISIT EUROPE (SEMI-COLON)
B) BY ENCOURAGING THE WORK OF ALL THOSE PROMOTING NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN CHILE, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHURCHES (SEMI-COLON)
C) BY RECOURSE TO DEMARCHES TO THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES, IF AND WHEN THESE MIGHT BE HELPFUL, IN WHICH THE TWELVE MIGHT EXPRESS THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE NATIONAL ACCORD AS A MEANS OF ACHEIVING A PEACEFUL RETURN TO DEMOCRACY.

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/4.

4. THE TWELVE WILL SEEK TO CO-ORDINATE THEIR BILATERAL POLICY TOWARDS CHILE IN A CONSISTENT WAY, AS WELL AS THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THIS COUNTRY AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND AT THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

5. THE TWELVE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW CLOSELY THE EVOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE EXTENT OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND WILL NOT HESITATE TO UNDERTAKE AND APPROPRIATE ACTION.

6. THE TWELVE WILL SEEK TO ESTABLISH WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN THE REGION, A REGULAR EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION IDENTIFYING WHERE APPROPRIATE POSSIBILITIES FOR CONCERTED ACTION.

7. IF NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE COMING WEEKS IN STARTING UP A NATIONAL DIALOGUE, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE WILL CONSIDER AT ITS MAY MEETING WHAT OTHER ACTION MIGHT SERVE TO ENCOURAGE PROGRESS TOWARDS REALISATION OF THE COMMON OBJECTIVE THE LATIN AMERICA WORKING GROUP WILL PREPARE THE DISCUSSION."

MARGETSON

FCO PLEASE PASS TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES

LIMITED.

SAMD.
ECD(E)
NEWS.D.
INFO.D.
MR. DEREK THOMAS.
SIR. W. HARDING.
MR. DAVID THOMAS.
MR. RENWICK.

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PART 1 ends:-

CDP to FCO 9.12.85

PART 2 begins:-

FCO to CDP 17.3.86.