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SPECIAL HANDLING

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~~SECRET~~ SECTION 1 OF 3 SANTIAGO 1430

ROGER CHANNEL///// **DECAPTIONED**

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SUBJECT INTERESTIGATION OF HORMAN CASE: INTERVIEWS WITH RAFAEL GONZALEZ

REF: A) STATE 012271, B) SANTIAGO 0616, C) SANTIAGO 0678
D) STATE 017320

1. SUMMARY: A REVIEW OF THE TRANSCRIPTS OF EMBOFFS' JANUARY 24 AND 31 INTERVIEWS OF GONZALEZ INDICATES THAT WHILE THE LATTER REPLIED TO ALPQUESTIONS, HE DID NOT ADEQUATELY ANSWER THE IMPORTANT ONES. THE BASIC ISSUE IS WHETHER GONZALEZ HAS IN HIS POSSESSION ANY FACTS NOT HITHERTO KNOWN ABOUT THE DEATH OF CHARLES HORMAN OR THE POSSIBLE INVOLVEMENT OF US INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, CIVILIAN OR MILITARY, THEREIN. IN OUR INTERVIEWS HE PRODUCED NO SUCH FACTS AND NO NEW ALLEGATIONS ON THESE TWO ISSUES. FURTHERMORE, REGARDLESS OF GONZALEZ' PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE, SOME JUDGMENT MUST BE MADE ON HIS RELIABILITY. ON THE BASIS OF HIS REFUSAL TO ANSWER QUESTIONS ON THE KEY ISSUES, HIS EFFORTS TO TRADE HIS ALLEGED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HORMAN FOR AN ALL-OUT US EFFORT TO GET HIM OUT OF CHILE, THE GLARING CONFLICTS BETWEEN WHAT HE HAS TOLD US ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS AND WHAT HE HAS

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TOLD US NEWSPERSONS, NAND HIS WANDERING AND SOMETIMES GROTESQUE STATEMENTS, WE CONCLUDE THAT GONZALEZ IS NOT RELIABLE. EVEN IF THE GOC WERE PREPARED TO ALLOW GONZALEZ TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY -- AND IT IS NOT -- ON THE BASIS OF THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE HERE OUR JUDGMENT IS THAT GONZALEZ WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO SATISFY THE UNDERSTANDABLE DESIRES OF THE NORMANS AND THEIR CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORTERS TO KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT CHARLES NORMAN'S DEATH, NOR WOULD HE SHED FACTUAL LIGHT ON POSSIBLE US INTELLIGENCE INVOLVEMENT IN THE AFFAIR. ON THE CONTRARY, GONZALEZ' WELL-DEVELOPED CAPACITY TO SPIN OUT SELF-SERVING YARNS COULD DO A GREAT DEAL OF HARM IN BOTH AREAS. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE USG CONTINUE TO PRESS THE GOC FOR GONZALEZ' RELEASE, BUT THAT WE AVOID LIKE THE PLAGUE GONZALEZ' SUGGESTIONS THAT THE USG MOUNT SOME KIND OF COVERT OPERATION TO GET HIM ASYLUM IN THE US AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, OR THAT WE BECOME THE INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN GONZALEZ AND FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL OR GENERAL LEIGH. END SUMMARY.

2. THE EMBASSY HAS POUCHED (SANTIAGO A-19 OF JANUARY 24 AND SANTIAGO A-26 OF FEBRUARY 15) SPANISH-LANGUAGE TRANSCRIPTS, TAPES AND ANCILLARY DOCUMENTS ON THE JANUARY 24 AND 31 INTERVIEWS WITH RAFAEL GONZALEZ. WE HERE PRESENT OUR IMPRESSIONS OF GONZALEZ AND THOUGHTS ON THE SALIENT POINTS OF THE INTERVIEWS, ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT HAVE THE COMPLETE RECORD AND THEREFORE LACK SOME PERSPECTIVE. AFTER WE STOPPED THE TAPES, GONZALEZ RAISED POINTS WHICH THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD ADDRESS.

3. THE ITALIANS LEFT US ALONE IN THE SECOND SESSION. EMBOFF FIRST NOTED TO GONZALEZ THE AMENDMENT REQUESTED BY THE DEPARTMENT (REF D) IN THE ORIGINAL UNDERSTANDING ON CONDITIONS OF THE INTERVIEWS (REF B). GONZALEZ AGREED TO CONTINUE THE RECORDING IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT TRANSCRIPTS AND/OR TAPES MIGHT HAVE TO BE RELEASED TO THE

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CONGRESS. HE ASKED, HOWEVER, THAT IN SUCH EVENT THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE INFORMATION BE MAINTAINED, AND THAT CONGRESS BE INFORMED OF THE DANGER PUBLICATION WOULD CAUSE HIM.

4. GONZALEZ ADDRESSES THE QUESTIONS OF HORMAN'S DEATH AND CIA ACTIVITIES -- SORT OF

EMBOFFS AT THE SECOND MEETING FINISHED QUESTIONS R THROUGH V (REF A) AND THEN FOUND GONZALEZ WILLING TO GO THROUGH QUESTIONS A THROUGH F. HIS ANSWERS IN GENERAL APPEARED CONSISTENT WITH WHAT HE TOLD CONSUL BROWNELL IN THEIR JUNE 8, 1976 MEETING (76 SANTIAGO 5663), AND HE GAVE A LITTLE MORE DETAIL. HE HINTED WIDELY, BUT REFUSED TO GO INTO WHAT HE SAID HE KNEW ABOUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HORMAN'S DEATH, OR THE POSSIBLE INVOLVEMENT OF US INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES. ON THIS POINT HIS STATEMENT WAS INCONSISTENT WITH HIS DENIAL TO BROWNELL THAT HE KNEW ANYTHING ELSE ABOUT HORMAN.

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5. GONZALEZ' MOST IMPORTANT ASSERTION WAS THAT HE BECAME INTERESTED IN THE HOMRAN CASE AFTER HAVING EXHUMED THE BODY WITH JAMES ANDERSON IN MARCH 197 (TRANSCRIPT I PP. 16 AND 25). HE THEN UNDERTOOK A PERSONAL INVESTIGATION TO SATISFY HIS CURIOSITY AND CONSCIENCE. HE NOW KNOWS -- HE SIAD -- HOW HORMAN DIED, BUT HE WOULD ONLY SPECULATE A LITTLE ON THE SUBJECT (TRANSCRIPT I, PP. 20-24). HE ALSO DUCKED THE QUESTIONS (K, N AND O) ON A POSSIBLE US INTELLIGENCE CONNECTION WITH THE HOMRAN CASE, AND DENIED THE QUOTES APPARENTLY ATTRIBUTED TO HIM IN THOSE QUESTIONS (RESPECTIVELY, I P. 7; I PP. 17-19; AND I PP. 24-25). WE ASSUME THE QUOTES WERE TAKEN FROM A TAPE OF HIS JUNE 1976 TALK WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS. GONZALEZ ALSO REFUSED TO ANSWER A QUESTION ON HIS KNOWLEDGE OF JAMES ANDERSON BEFORE THE EXHUMATION OF HORMAN (I PP. 7-8). AND HE SAID THAT HE COULD TALK ABOUT HORMAN ONCE OUT OF CHILE UNDER SECURE CONDITIONS (I P. 35; II P. 27).

6. GONZALEZ' RELIABILITY. THE MATTER OF GONZALEZ' PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE IS NOT THE ISSUE. HIS RELIABILITY IS. WE HAVE ABOUT THE SAME IMPRESSION OF GONZALEZ AS BEFORE. HE IS INTELLIGENT, WELL INFORMED, AND WELL BALANCED ON SOME MATTERS. HIS SENSE OF SELF-INTEREST IS VERY STRONG, AND WE BELIEVE HE WOULD SAY ABOUT ANYTHING THAT HE THOUGHT WOULD HELP GET HIM OUT OF CHILE. THUS, HE TOLD US IN THESE CONVERSATIONS THAT HE HAD TALKED ABOUT HORMAN

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WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS IN JUNE 1976 IN ORDER TO CATCH OUTSIDE ATTENTION FOR HIS FAMILY'S CASE (I P.3). NOW THAT HE REALIZES HIS STATEMENTS AT THAT TIME WORKED AGAINST HIS INTEREST IN LEAVING CHILE, HE REFUSES TO SAY ANYTHING MORE -- BUT HE DANGLES BEFORE THE USG THE POSSIBILITY OF GIVING DETAILS OF WHAT HE KNOWS ABOUT HORMAN ONCE CHILE IS BEHIND HIM.

7. E ARE STRUCK BY GONZALEZ' FIXATIONS. AT THE SLIGHTEST PRETEXT HE GOES OFF INTO A MONOLOGUE HAVING LITTLE RELATION TO THE SUBJECT AT HAND. THUS, ON QUESTION (1) ABOUT THE CIA'S HYPNOSIS OF HIS WIFE, HE REFUSED TO GO INTO DETAIL AND WENT ON AT LENGTH INTO OTHER MATTERS (I PP. 29-35; II, P.2). HE WENT INTO A SIMILAR MONOLOGUE ON THE CHILEAN AIR FORCE'S PERSECUTION OF HIM (II PP. 10-17), INTERSPERSED WITH ATTENTION-GETTING COMMENTS ABOUT GOC SURVEILLANCE OF THE EMBASSY AND GENERAL LEIGH'S BELIEF THAT AMBASSADOR POPPER AND SECRETARY KISSINGER ARE COMMUNISTS.

8. IN SHORT, BASED ON THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US, WE SERIOUSLY DOUBT GONZALEZ' RELIABILITY, AND WE QUESTION WHETHER HE KNOWS ANYTHING OF VALUE ABOUT HORMAN'S DEATH AND ANY US INTELLIGENCE CONNECTION TO IT.

9. PRESENT SITUATION. GONZALEZ REMAINS IN A CATCH-22 SITUATION: IN ORDER TO FOCUS US ATTENTION ON HIS AND HIS FAMILY'S FATE, HE TALKED TO US JOURNALISTS ABOUT HORMAN. BY DOING SO, HE REINFORCED THE GOC'S DETERMINATION NOT TO LET HIM LEAVE CHILE. THE CHILEANS HAVE GOOD REASON TO FEAR WHAT HE WOULD SAY ABROAD. WE BELIEVE HIM CAPABLE OF SAYING MUCH ABOUT SUBJECTS THAT WOULD DEEPLY EMBARRASS THE GOC, IN WHAT WOULD PROBABLY BE A COMBINATION OF THINGS HE KNEW, HAD HEARD OF, AND HAD MADE UP. IN THE MEANTIME, HE IS NOT WILLING TO SAY MORE ABOUT HORMAN OR THE CIA BECAUSE, HE SAYS, IT MIGHT PREJUDICE EVEN MORE HIS CHANCES OF GETTING OUT OF CHILE, AND BECAUSE OF LOYALTY TO HIS OLD INTELLIGENCE COLLEAGUES (I PP. 2-3).

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10. GONZALEZ IS PERFECTLY AWARE OF THE DILEMMA. HE PUT HIS EMPHASIS ON US ACTION; WHEN HE WENT OFF THE TAPE AFTER THE SECOND SESSION, GONZALEZ SAID THAT PRESIDENT CARTER COULD GET HIM OUT OF CHILE IF HE WANTED. THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT SAY NO TO THE NEW US PRESIDENT. GONZALEZ THEN OFFERED THREE IDEAS FOR US CONSIDERATION. FIRST, HE ASKED WHAT WOULD BE THE USG'S REACTION SHOULD HE AND HIS FAMILY TURN UP TO REQUEST ASYLUM AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. HE NOTED THAT IF SUCH A REQUEST WERE ACCEPTED, THE USG WOULD HAVE MUCH MORE EASON TO PRESSURE THE GOC FOR HIS RELEASE.

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11. SECOND, GONZALEZ GAVE US COPIES OF TWO PSYCHIATRISTS' REPORTS ON HIM, OF JULY 1976, CERTIFYING AS TO HIS MENTAL HEALTH (POUCHED FEBRUARY 15). HE ASKED THAT WE PRESENT THEM TO FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL, SINCE THEY COUNTERED THE GOC'S ASSERTION THAT HE IS INSANE. AND FINALLY, GONZALEZ SAID THAT HE KNEW FROM D
CONTACTS WITH FRIENDS AND FROM WHAT THE ITALIANS HAD TOLD HIM THAT THE ARMY, NAVY, AND CARABINERO INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, PLUS DINA, HAVE NOTHING AGAINST HIS DEPARTURE. ONLY THE AIR FORCE OPPOSES IT, AND THAT MEANS AIR FORCE CINC GENERAL LEIGH. HE ASKED IF WE COULD CONFIRM THIS, SO THAT HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET TO LEIGH AND TALK HIM INTO REASON.

12. ITALIAN GOVERNMENT ACTION AND THE AMERICAN PRESS.
THE ITALIAN CHARGE DE VERGOTTINI TOLD EMBOFF FEBRUARY 2 THAT THE GOI HAD INTENDED TO RAISE THE GONZALEZ PROBLEM WITH VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE DURING THE LATTER'S VISIT TO ROME. WHEN THE GOI, HOWEVER, HEARD OF EMBASSY'S JANUARY 20 APPROACH TO THE ITALIANS ON INTERVIEWING GONZALEZ (REF B), IT DECIDED TO WAIT, IN THE HOPE THAT THE RENEWED US INTEREST IN GONZALEZ INDICATED THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION HAD DECIDED TO MAKE ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO GET HIM OUT OF CHILE. EMBOFF EXPLAINED BACKGROUND OF THE INTERVIEWS. DE VERGOTTINI SAID HE WOULD PROBABLY SUGGEST TO ROME THAT THE

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GOI WAIT A FEW WEEKS AND THEN RAISE THE QUESTION AGAIN IN THE DEPARTMENT.

13. EMBOFF WAS APPROACHED FEBRUARY 7-8 BY ONE OF THE AMERICAN JOURNALISTS WHO HAD INTERVIEWED GONZALEZ IN JUNE 1976, AND BY DE VERGOTTINI. THE FORMER WANTED TO INTERVIEW GONZALEZ AGAIN, AND THE LATTER WAS INTERESTED IN THE POSSIBILITY. BOTH ASKED OUR OPINION. EMBOFF NOTED TO BOTH THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES FOR GONZALEZ OF FURTHER PUBLICITY BUT DID NOT EXPRESS AN OPINION AS TO WHERE THE BALANCE LAY. AS IT TURNED OUT, THE JOURNALIST HAS NOT FOLLOWED UP WITH THE ITALIANS.

14. US INTERESTS AND ACTIONS. THE US HAS TWO OBJECTIVES WITH REGARD TO GONZALEZ: TO FIND OUT WHAT HE SAYS HE KNOWS ABOUT HORMAN'S DEATH AND ANY US INTELLIGENCE CONNECTION, AND TO GET HIS US CITIZEN SON OUT OF CHILE (SINCE THE MOTHER AND CHILD WILL NOT LEAVE WITHOUT GONZALEZ, THAT MEANS GETTING ALL OUT). THESE AIMS CONFLICT, AS GONZALEZ KNOWS SO WELL. AS FAR AS WE CAN SEE, OUR RECENT INTENSIVE CONVERSATIONS HAVE ONLY GIVEN US FURTHER REASON FOR SKEPTICISM THAT HE HAS MUCH USEFUL TO TELL US. WE ARE READY TO ACCEPT WHAT GONZALEZ DEFINES AS HIS SPECULATION THAT SOMEONE IN AUTHORITY ORDERED HORMAN'S DEATH. BUT WE DOUBT THAT WE COULD GET FROM HIM THE KIND OF RELIABLE TESTIMONY THAT WOULD SATISFY THOSE INTERESTED IN RESOLVING THE MANY DOUBTS ON HORMAN'S DEATH.

15. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT THE PRINCIPAL US CONCERN IS THE WELFARE OF THE INNOCENT DUAL-CITIZEN SON, AND THAT THE USG SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON GETTING THE FAMILY OUT OF CHILE. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THE USG COULD CONVINCE THE GOC TO ALLOW GONZALEZ' DEPARTURE. THE GOC MIGHT PAY MORE ATTENTION TO THE NEW ADMINISTRATION THAT IT DID TO THE LAST ONE ON THIS ISSUE, AND THE DEPARTMENT WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE WHETHER THE EXERCISE OF MUSCLE THAT WOULD PROBABLY BE NECESSARY TO EXTRACT GONZALEZ WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH BROADER US INTERESTS. WE CAN THINK OF NO WAY TO GUARANTEE TO THE GOC THAT GONZALEZ WOULD NOT

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TALK HIS HEAD OFF ONCE OUTSIDE CHILE, WHICH PROBABLY MEANS NO DEAL -- BUT WE SHOULD TRY.

16. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES STRONGLY THAT WE SHOULD NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN THE KIND OF SCHEMES PUT TO US BY GONZALEZ. ASIDE FROM THE QUESTION OF US GOOD FAITH THAT WOULD BE RAISED, AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR GENERAL US POLICY ON ASYLUM IT WOULD BE TOO RISKY FOR GONZALEZ TO ATTEMPT A MOVE FROM THE ITALIAN CHANCERY TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, AND WE SHOULD NOT OURSELVES UNDERTAKE SUCH AN ACTION, EITHER CLANDESTINELY OR OTHERWISE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE PSYCHIATRIC REPORTS WOULD AFFECT THE GOC POSITON. AND, WE SEE NO REASON TO CARRY GONZALEZ' MAIL TO ADMIRAL CARVAJAL OR GENERAL LEIGH.

17. UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, THE EMBASSY WILL TAKE THIS LINE WITH GONZALEZ. WE OWE HIM ANSWERS ON THESE POINTS.
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