

Document in its entirety

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U.S. Department of State
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE



August 25 1976

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(b) (6) TO: ARA - Mr. Shlaudemman

(b) (6) THROUGH: ARA - Ambassador Ryan

(b) (6) FROM: ARA/BC - R.V. Fildes/R.S. Driscoll/W.V. Robertson

SUBJECT: Charles Horman Case.

(b) (5) This case remains bothersome. The connotations for the Executive are not good. In the Hill, academic community, the press, and the Horman family the intimations are of negligence on our part, or worse, complicity in Horman's death. (While the focus of this memo is on Horman, the same applies to the case of Frank Teruggi.)

We have the responsibility:

- categorically to refute such innuendos in defense of U.S. officials;
- to proceed against involved U.S. officials if this is warranted.

(b) (5) Without further thorough investigation we are in a position to do neither. At the moment we do not have a coherent account of what happened (see attached "Gleanings"). That is why we believe we should continue to probe.

Based on what we have, we are persuaded that:

- (b) (5)
- The GOC sought Horman and felt threatened enough to order his immediate execution. The GOC might have believed this American could be killed without negative fall-out from the USG.

There is some circumstantial evidence to suggest:

- (b) (5)
- U.S. intelligence may have played an unfortunate part in Horman's death. At best,

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(b)(5) it was limited to providing or confirming information that helped motivate his murder by the GOC. At worst, U.S. intelligence was aware the GOC saw Horman in a rather serious light and U.S. officials did nothing to discourage the logical outcome of GOC paranoia.

Our leads are:

- (b)(5) — Rafael Gonzalez: His mental condition is open to question. Yet this may be selective since he can also be pretty lucid. If he is unbalanced, it is for Chilean intelligence to explain why they kept him on the payroll for so many years and used him as contact with us on Horman. We should question him further along the lines suggested in the enclosure.
- (b)(1) — Enrique Sandoval's brother: Inquiry would have to be made with considerable discretion. Approach-
- (b)(6) — ing the brother (most likely, Colonel Guillermo Sandoval Velasquez) to confirm Horman was shot at the stadium would be terribly sensitive. Revelation of his indiscretion in 1973 would endanger the Colonel and possibly others. We are skeptical that anything positive can be accomplished through this line of inquiry.
- (b)(5) — The GOC: The Chileans have failed satisfactorily to explain why Gonzalez was chosen to deal with our Consulate in the search for Horman's body. We could press them on this point. Preferably after we clarify a few things with Gonzalez. We could also ask for a complete copy of the autopsy of Horman's body, which we do not seem to have.
- (b)(1) — CIA: The Agency's comments on its relations with Gonzalez do not explain Gonzalez' knowledge of
- (b)(3) — The [redacted] needs further illumination no matter CIA disclaimers. Further, we find it hard to believe that the Chileans did not check with [redacted] regarding two detained Americans when the GOC was checking with Horman's friends and neighbors regarding Horman's activities. [redacted] lack of candor with us on other matters only heightens our suspicions.

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-- Other Actors: Accounts by Mrs. Horman, Terry Simon, Frank Manitzas, Capt. Davis, and others don't all fit in place. There is room for further inquiry here. But this should wait a bit.

-- Coroner/morgue: We have accepted without questioning the morgue record that a body, later identified as Horman's, was dumped in the street and was logged into the morgue at 1330, 9/18. A death certificate was issued a week later and an autopsy was performed October 5 putting the time of death as 0945, 9/18. This implies that Horman was killed no later than about 17 hours after being detained. That is, he was shot early 9/18. This is in conflict with reports the Chilean intelligence was trying to get a line on Horman throughout the morning of 9/18.

(b) (5) Is it possible the records are phony to conceal the time of death? And why?

-- DIA/FBI: We have asked INR to question both DIA and FBI about any records they might have on Horman and Teruggi. *We have assumed all along that the liaison*

(b) (5) if any, was the CIA. We may be wrong. This is an avenue we have to either follow or close.

(b) (5) -- Teruggi: Finally, the Horman and Teruggi links are interesting. Both worked for FIN (clipping service), did chores for Professor Fagin at the Ford Foundation, and both were arrested and almost immediately shot. Of 80 Americans who required the Embassy's attention, only these two appear to have been tortured and then shot. In their October 30 memo to Colonel Hon the Chileans lumped them together as radicals. Gonzalez' statement that Horman was considered as knowing too much comes to mind. Further inquiry must tie in the circumstances of both deaths.

Attachment:

"Gleanings".

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THE NORMAN CASE - Gleanings

1. The GOC felt it had motivation to proceed against Norman:

- One of Norman's old neighbors was called about 0800, 9/18/73 by a person identifying himself as an officer for Chilean military intelligence. She was told that an unidentified "gringo with a beard" had been detained, and he had her name and phone number. She explained Norman was a former neighbor who occasionally used her phone. She was asked if she knew Norman was an "extremist" and whether she knew he worked in film-making. She responded she had no knowledge of Norman's activities. (undated memo by husband Mario Carvajal Araya attached to 10/30/73 memo by Anderson.) Question: How did they develop the leads which led them to look for him?
- (b) (5) -- The GOC accused Norman (and Teruggi) of subversive activities (Oct. 30 memo from Chilean Army Intelligence). Question: Where did they get the information? What was the basis for their conclusions?
- (b) (1) -- Gen. Lutz said they had knowledge that Teruggi was in Chile to spread false rumors to the outside world regarding Chile (Col. Ron memo of 10/16/73).
- (b) (5) -- Norman/Teruggi were involved in a news clipping service (FIN) favorable to Allende (Turdy/Kessler).
- (b) (5) -- Norman was doing research on GOC/USG tie in Schneider assassination (Mrs. Norman).
- (b) (5) -- Norman worked in Chile Films for Eduardo Paredes, one-time Allende Investigaciones Director (Manitras). Paredes was often accused of being a MIRista (Bio Sketch). Question: Were Paredes' activities considered so unsavory that they tainted Norman? Was Norman using Paredes as a source for his study of the Schneider assassination?
- (b) (5) -- Norman "knew too much" (Gonzalez).
- (b) (5) --

1/ Occasional references are made to Teruggi since the cases are closely linked.

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(b) (5) 2. The GOC killed Horman - Chronology:

- Horman returns to Santiago 1730, Saturday, 9/15/73, with Capt. Davis.
- He checks into Riviera Hotel night of 9/15 (Steven Volk/Anderson memo of 10/1/73). Horman returns to his quarters on 9/16 (Mrs. Horman). Mrs. Horman last saw husband on 9/17 (Santiago 4715, 9/29/73). But she reported to U.S. Embassy she had not seen her husband after 9/10 when he left for Vina del Mar (Santiago 5667, 11/18/73).
- Visits U.S. Embassy afternoon of 9/17 (Manitras)..
- A military patrol arrests Horman on 9/17 between 1630-1800 hours (neighbors).
Question: Were they specifically looking for Horman?
- Military return at 2200 and haul away several cartons from Horman's place (neighbors).
- Friend of Horman's, Warwick Armstrong, gets second-hand message morning of 9/18 to report to the nearest police station to answer questions regarding a friend who makes films (Santiago 5667, 11/18/73).
- Warwick Armstrong informs Consulate around noon 9/18 that Horman was detained.
- Military intelligence calls neighbors around 0800 9/18 to ask about detained "bearded gringo". (Mrs. Mario Carvajal Araya).
- He is seen outside Gen. Lutz' office (Gonzalez).
Question: What time?
- The Foreign Ministry confirms, then denies, Horman was detained at the stadium September 20 and was released the following day (Foreign Ministry).
- UN official said military sources reported that Horman "had been savagely beaten and shot" (Anderson memo 10/18/73).

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-- Chilean who asked not to be identified claimed that a relative, an officer in Naval Intelligence, said that American prisoner who the relative had personally interrogated had later been taken out and shot (Anderson memo 10/18/73).

(b) (6) -- Source at stadium passes word to Embassy through Enrique Sandoval around 9/30 that Horman is dead (Enrique Sandoval statement to Kessler/Diuguid/Fimbres).

3. The Gonzalez Connection:

-- Gonzalez served for 20 years as intelligence officer with National Defense Staff (Gonzalez).

(b) (3) -- Gonzalez had contacts with [redacted] when
(b) (6) his superiors sent him to pick up or deliver material (Gonzalez).

-- On 9/11 accompanied troops that stormed La Moneda. His job was to collect papers and to take them to the Ministry of Defense (Gonzalez).

(b) (5) Question: Can we verify this from GOC records?

-- He volunteered his services to the military immediately after the coup; PACH later hired him as an informer (Admiral Carvajal).

(b) (6) -- Transferred to PACH 5/15/74 as a civilian with rank of Captain in the reserves (Gonzalez).

(b) (5) -- Saw the "guys" that brought Horman back to Santiago (Gonzalez). Question: When? Who were they?

-- He was called in to the Office of Army Intelligence on the Horman arrest (Gonzalez). At that time he was working for the Estado Mayor de Defensa Nacional (Gonzalez). He was present as an interpreter (Gonzalez to Omang). Horman's Spanish was rather poor despite his many months in Chile. (Lt. Col. Ryan - 10/5/73 memo). But Gonzalez never talked to Horman (Gonzalez). Questions: Who called Gonzalez in? What time was it? How long was he in the office? What else was said about Horman? Can he further describe the civilian in the office?

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-- Chilean Naval counter-intelligence officer tells Milgr 3/14/74 he has authority to effect transfer of Horman's remains (Embassy cable).

-- Gonzalez contacts Anderson at the U.S. Consulate (Anderson). Gonzalez was sent by "intelligence service" on March 21, 1974, to assist Consulate in "recognition" and exhumation of Horman's body (Gonzalez). He would not name the superior officer giving him the order (Embassy cable). The "intelligence service" who sent him remembered that Gonzalez had seen Horman alive and consequently could identify the body (Gonzalez).

(b) (5)

Questions: Who sent Gonzalez to the Consulate? Did he go directly to Anderson? Why, because he knew him? Did he identify himself as a FACH Lt. Col. as stated by Anderson?

-- "Somebody from CIA came over to the Ministry", name not recalled, and together they went to the cemetery to search for Horman's body (Gonzalez-Manitzas tape).
(S. 75) Questions: Was this Anderson? Was this a second meeting following Gonzalez' call on the Consulate?

-- He identified Horman's body by the clothes, blond hair and beard (Gonzalez - Embassy cable). Horman had a beard when seen outside Lutz' office (Gonzalez). Capt. Davis described Horman as having on 9/15 a beard and black hair (memo of 10/30/73). But Horman shaved his beard on 9/15 (or 9/17) "because of the coup" (Manitzas/Purdy memo of 11/30/73). However, Mrs. Horman saw her husband last time on 9/16 and circulated picture of Horman with beard (Purdy memo of 11/30/73). When detained Horman had a beard (Warwick Armstrong report - see below).

Questions: Did Gonzalez identify Horman on the basis of seeing him in Lutz' outer office or from pictures in the press? What about the blond/black hair discrepancy? Or beard/no beard aspect?

-- Gonzalez takes asylum in Italian Embassy on September 3, 1975. Alleges DINA threatened to kill him because he knows too much and was critical of DINA abuses (Gonzalez).

(b) (3)

-- Gonzalez begins to spread stories of alleged cozy working relations and misdeeds of numerous COC officials; accuses [] of providing "hit lists" to DINA (Embassy).

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- In November 1975 AP correspondent and Italian Charge separately bring Gonzalez' stories to Embassy's attention (Tipton/Steven).
- (b) (1) -- Embassy checks with [redacted] Allegations denied; Gonzalez is described as rejected walk-in prior to 9/73.
CIA record indicates Gonzalez' mental stability is questionable.
- (b) (1) -- [redacted] asserts [redacted] relation with DINA chief is arms-length, consistent with agreed-upon guidelines. Therefore, unconcerned if Gonzalez' accusations appear in press.
- Embassy apparently heads off press stories on Gonzalez' allegations.
- Gonzalez refers to previous professional contact with General Lutz (letter to Pinochet, 4/27/76).
- In early June 1976, Rauch, Omang, and Manitzas held several interviews with Gonzalez. Gonzalez is asked whether he knows anything regarding two dead Americans. He refers to Horman; says he never heard of Toruggi. He repeated his allegations that CIA got "mixed up" in Horman's death and "was behind it".
- In same interviews with the press Gonzalez refers to Anderson as a CIA agent (Manitzas tape).
- (b) (1) -- He repeats this to U.S. Consul June 22 and claims he had known Anderson socially since 1972. He also refers to and describes [redacted] employee.
(NOTE: Embassy says he most likely referring to a [redacted] employee who was recently transferred.)
- In same interviews, U.S. press confirms Gonzalez bona fides as retired civilian from FACH. This based on Controlaria document (Manitzas).
Questions: Can Embassy confirm this documentation?
Confirm Gonzalez' retirement status?
- (b) (3) -- In June 8 interview with U.S. Consul, Gonzalez invites Consul to send Embassy political officer to query him on his knowledge of [redacted] operations.

(b) (4) Names at this time a [redacted] and [redacted] employee (U.S. those two were stationed in Santiago). He mentioned also [redacted] who he said worked in Chile during the late 1950's.

* Executive privileged information withheld in brackets

Questions: Can Gonzalez back up with details how well he knew the [redacted] officers he has mentioned? How does this square with [redacted] disclaimer?

(b) (5) -- Gonzalez on July 6 shows Consul two letters from psychiatrists "attesting" to his mental stability. Embassy cable says Gonzalez "has shown sharp intelligence and lucidity" in interviews with Consul. Questions: How do we reconcile this lucidity and the reported psychiatrists observations with the question of Gonzalez' instability?

(b) (5) 4. Did the USG play a role in Horman's arrest?

-- Copy of hotel registration card for Horman/Simon obtained (Capt. Davis - memo 10/30/73).

(b) (5) Questions: When was the copy made and by whom? Did the U.S. Naval Mission ask GOC naval intelligence colleagues' help to get the copy? Was GOC-Santiago then informed by Chilean intelligence Horman was on the way back?

7 -- The GOC appears to have been immediately aware of Horman's return from Valparaiso with Capt. Davis (Diaguid/Maritzas based on Gonzalez interviews).

-- A civilian was present in Gen. Lutz' office while Horman waited outside. Gonzalez imagined the civilian to be with U.S. intelligence "by the way he behaved, his dress, shoes, and everything (Gonzalez/Maritzas tape).

(b) (5) Questions: Can he buttress his conclusion with more information? Can he provide a description of this "American"? Did we not immediately beef up after the coup the number of U.S. intelligence agents in Chile?

(b) (2) -- Gonzalez speculates in June 8 statement that GOC would not dare shoot a U.S. citizen unless a "go ahead" was given from the U.S. side (June 8 interview - Embassy transcript).

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(b) (5) -- The October 30 memorandum from Army Intelligence to Colonel Hon may have been also based on information provided by U.S. intelligence (Diuguid). The Chileans were seeking confirmation that Horman was a radical (Mrs. Carvajal), or other information on him (Armstrong).
Questions: Was U.S. intelligence queried about Horman? Wouldn't the Chileans logically ask its U.S. intelligence contacts about a U.S. citizen considered dangerous?