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EXCISE

E1205

63
ACTION ARA-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-01 INR-05
CIAE-00 IO-03 L-01 SY-02 SCCT-01 PRS-01 DHA-02 ORM-01
OMB-01 /042 W

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R 082005Z AUG 75
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4305
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES.
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
USMISSION USUN
USCINCSO
DIA

Chile Project (#S199900006)
U.S. Department of State
Release Excise Deny Declass
Exemption(s) B1, B3

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LIMDIS

NOFORN

EO 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: CI, PINS, SHUM
SUBJECT: ANALYSIS OF DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES OF CHILEAN
EXTREMISTS

REFS: (A) STATE 183642 (B) STATE 184296

1. SUMMARY: WE CONCLUDE THAT REPORTS DESCRIBING DEATHS OR
DISAPPEARANCES OF 119 CHILEAN EXTREMISTS OUTSIDE OF CHILE
ARE PROBABLY UNTRUE, THOUGH MOST OR ALL CONCERNED ARE
PROBABLY DEAD. MOST PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATION WE CAN PIECE
TOGETHER FOR WHAT WILL PROBABLY REMAIN SOMETHING OF A
MYSTERY IS THAT GOC SECURITY FORCES ACTED DIRECTLY OR THROUGH
THIRD PARTY, PLANTED REPORTS IN OBSCURE PUBLICATIONS TO
PROVIDE SOME MEANS OF ACCOUNTING FOR DISAPPEARANCE OF
NUMEROUS VIOLENT LEFTISTS. GOC SECURITY FORCES MAY HAVE

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KILLED SOME OR ALL OF THEM. END SUMMARY.

2. WHAT DO WE KNOW? -- FIRST LIST (SANTIAGO 5039) APPEARED

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IN ARGENTINA MAGAZINE "LEA." STORY WAS THAT 60 CHILEAN EXTREMISTS HAD BEEN KILLED OUTSIDE OF CHILE AS RESULT OF INTERNAL PURGES IN EXTREMIST GROUPS ARISING OUT OF CONFLICTS OVER MONEY, IDEOLOGY, ETC. KILLINGS WERE ALLEGED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN ARGENTINA, MEXICO, FRANCE, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA AND PANAMA.

3. "LEA" IS OBSCURE PUBLICATION WHICH MAY HAVE APPEARED FOR ONLY ONE ISSUE, MAY HAVE USED FALSE PUBLISHING ADDRESS, AND APPEARS TO BE TIED TO LOPEZ REGA AND RIGHT-WING ARGENTINE GROUPS.

4. SOURCE OF "LEA" STORY IS ALLEGEDLY OBSCURE MEXICAN NEWS SERVICE CALLED FONEL, UNKNOWN TO US AND TO CHILEAN FOMINISTRY. THERE IS NO CONFIRMATION FROM ANY OTHER SOURCE OR COUNTRY THAT SUCH PURGES HAVE OCCURRED, NOR HAVE THE BODIES OF THE 60 PERSONS NAMED BEEN PRODUCED OR IDENTIFIED.

5. SECOND LIST (SANTIAGO 5185) FIRST APPEARED IN JUNE 25 ISSUE OF "O DIA" OF CURITIBA, BRAZIL. ARTICLE ALLEGED THAT AN ADDITIONAL 59 CHILEAN EXTREMISTS "DIED, WERE WOUNDED, OR ESCAPED" IN ARMED CONFRONTATIONS WITH ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES IN SALTA AREA. STORY WAS DATED BUENOS AIRES, BUT WAS NOT ATTRIBUTED TO ANY WIRE SERVICE.

6. "O DIA" EXISTS, BUT IT IS AN OBSCURE, MORE-OR-LESS MONTHLY NEWSLETTER PUT OUT BY ONE PERSON IN CURITIBA (SAO PAULO 1595), WHO CLAIMS HE GOT THE STORY FROM "A FRIEND" ON A RECENT TRIP TO BUENOS AIRES (SAO PAULO 1608). THERE IS NO CONFIRMATION THAT SUCH A CLASH IN SALTA OR ANYWHERE ELSE ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE.

7. THERE IS SOME REASON TO BELIEVE "O DIA" LIST WAS DISTRIBUTED IN SANTIAGO BY A GOC SOURCE; ONE SANTIAGO NEWSPAPER SPECIFICALLY SO STATED. THERE IS NO INDICATION ANY HIGH-LEVEL GOC ELEMENT INVOLVED IN DISTRIBUTION.

8. NEARLY ALL OF 119 PERSONS WERE ON PEACE COMMITTEE LIST

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OF 163 DISAPPEARED PERSONS PRESENTED TO SANTIAGO APPEALS COURT AND SUPREME COURT IN MAY, AND HANDED PERSONALLY TO SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT EYZAGUIRRE AND MIN JUSTICE SCHWEITZER. MOST OF 119 HAD BEEN OBJECTS OF PREVIOUS AMPARO (HABEAS CORPUS) REQUESTS (SANTIAGO 5190). ORDINARILY THESE REQUESTS INCLUDE SWORN STATEMENTS THAT PERSONS CONCERNED HAD BEEN DETAINED.

9. PEACE COMMITTEE ALSO CLAIMS TO HAVE "DIRECT" EVIDENCE IN 77 OF THESE CASES AND "INDIRECT" EVIDENCE IN ANOTHER 26

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THAT THESE PERSONS WERE DETAINED IN CHILE BY GOC SECURITY FORCES. WE HAVE SEEN SEVERAL COMMITTEE FILES ON INDIVIDUALS INCLUDED IN THE 119, AND THEY APPEAR CONVINCING; SOME MIGHT BE FALSIFIED TO A GREATER OR LESSER DEGREE, BUT WE DOUBT ALL ARE. FURTHER, COMMITTEE CLAIMS THAT IN FOUR CASES GOC HAD OFFICIALLY ACKNOWLEDGED PERSONS WERE DETAINED (SANTIAGO 5405). IN NO CASE DOES COMMITTEE HAVE KNOWLEDGE THAT PERSON WAS EVENTUALLY RELEASED OR SUBSEQUENTLY CONTACTED RELATIVES. ALL 119 NAMES ARE ON ICRC'S REFINED LIST OF PERSONS PRESUMED DETAINED BY GOC (SANTIAGO 5428), AND BRITISH EMBASSY/SANTIAGO TOLD US GOC HAD ASSURED EMBASSY THAT TWO PERSONS WHO SUBSEQUENTLY APPEARED AMONG 119 WERE IN GOC CUSTODY AND IN GOOD CONDITION (SANTIAGO 5280).

10. THREE BODIES ONLY (TWO OF THEM AMONG THE 119 AND THE OTHER OF SAME TYPE OF CASE) HAVE APPEARED IN BUENOS AIRES, ACCOMPANIED BY ALLEGED CHILEAN IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS. HOWEVER FAMILY MEMBERS HAVE SWORN TO DETAILED STATEMENTS THAT BODIES DO NOT BELONG TO THEIR MISSING RELATIVES. IN TWO OF THE THREE CASES, THEY HAVE FURTHER CLAIMED THAT ALLEGED IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS ARE CRUDE FORGERIES.

11. POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS: PRESS STORIES ARE TRUE AS PRINTED -- FOR VARIETY OF REASONS CITED ABOVE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT "LEA" AND "O DIA" STORIES AT FACE VALUE. FURTHER, WE KNOW OF NO RESPONSIBLE SOURCE (SENIOR GOVERNMENT CIVILIAN ADVISER, FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL, SENIOR CHILEAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OFFICER, PEACE COMMITTEE OFFICIALS AND CLERGYMEN, DEFENSE LAWYERS AND MANY OTHERS) WHO WILL PUBLICLY ACCEPT STORIES AS TRUE. AFTER PERIOD OF INITIAL ACCEPTANCE (E.G. "EL MERCURIO" JULY 25 EDITORIAL - SANTIAGO

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5185), SANTIAGO PRESS DROPPED STORY, AND EVEN LEADING "EL MERCURIO" EVENTUALLY QUESTIONED LISTS AND CALLED FOR FULL INVESTIGATION (SANTIAGO 5384).

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CIAE-00 IO-03 L-01 SY-02 SCCT-01 DHA-02 ORM-01 OMB-01

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4306
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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12. LISTS ARE A PLANT BY FORCES OPPOSED TO PRESENT GOC -- AT LEAST ONE SENIRO GOC CIVILIAN ADVISER SPECULATED ON THIS LINE ("WE WOULDN'T BE SO STUPID AS TO DO SOMETHING THIS CLUMSY."). MOTIVATION, IN ADDITION TO EMBARRASSING GOC IN CONJUNCTION WITH ABORTIVE UNHRC VISIT, WOULD BE TO PRESSURE GOC INTO DISCLOSING WHAT HAPPENED TO DISAPPEARED EXTREMISTS/COMRADES. (WE DO NOT QUESTION ASSERTION THAT ALL OR MOST OF 119 WERE OPPONENTS OF PRESENT GOC, ALTHOUGH NOT ALL ARE/WERE MEMBERS OF EXTREMIST MIR. NOR DO WE DOUBT THAT MIR, OTHER ORGANIZED OPPONENTS, OR PERHAPS EVEN INDIVIDUAL PEACE COMMITTEE STAFFERS WOULD BE WILLING TO PLANT SUCH LISTS). TENDING TO UNDERCUT THIS THEORY, HOWEVER, IS POSSIBILITY THAT SOME ONE CONNECTED WITH GOC DISTRIBUTED "O DIA" LIST BEFORE PUBLICATION IN CHILE. MORE IMPORTANT, EVEN ASSUMING THE "OPPOSITION" HAD THE CAPABILITY FOR MOUTING SUCH AN OPERATION, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THEY WOULD OR

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COULD HAVE USED THE RIGHT-WING CONTROLLED "LEA" AND THE "O DIA" CHANNELS TO DISSEMINATE THE LISTS. FINALLY, IF THIS WERE AN OPPOSITION MANEUVER AND ANY OF THE 119 WERE STILL DETAINED, GOC COULD DISPROVE ARTICLES BY PRODUCING ALIVE AND WELL SOME OF PERSONS NAMED IN LISTS -- SOMETHING THAT HAS NOT YET OCCURRED -- OR BY RELEASING SOME INFORMATION ON HOW THEY ACTUALLY DIED.

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13. THE GOC PLANTED THE STORIES -- TO ASSUME THIS, ONE MUST EXPLAIN WHY GOC OR SOME AGENCY OR OFFICIAL WOULD FEEL COMPELLED TO CONCOCT A COVER STORY ON DISAPPEARED PERSONS. WE SEE THREE POSSIBLE REASONS: (A) UNHRC WOULD INEVIABLY LOOK INTO QUESTION OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS, AND SOME KIND OF PRIOR PUBLIC EXPLANATION OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM WAS URGENTLY NEEDED; (B) PRESSURE WAS ON GOC FROM PEACE COMMITTEE LIST AND IN COURTS; AND (C) EYZAGUIRRE AND SCHWEITZER MAY HAVE BEEN DEMANDING EXPLANATION FROM GOC ON WHAT HAPPENED TO THESE PEOPLE. WE CONCLUDE THAT GOC MIGHT WELL HAVE BEEN IMPELLED TO PLANT LISTS.

14. ADDITIONALLY, IT WOULD BE PLAUSIBLE TO ASSUME THAT ARGENTINE SECURITY FORCES AND/OR RIGHT-WING GROUPS SUCH AS AAA AND LOPEZ REGA ELEMENTS EXTENDED AT LEAST TACIT COOPERATION TO GOC IN THIS MATTER. "LEA" APPARENTLY HAS SOME CONNECTION WITH LOPEZ REGA; AND ARGENTINES HAVE NEITHER CONFIRMED NOR DENIED ALLEGED CLASH IN SALTA.

15. IF THESE ASSUMPTIONS ARE JUSTIFIED, IT SEEMS TO US PROBABLE THAT MOST OR ALL OF THE 119 ARE DEAD (NONE HAS BEEN HEARD FROM) AND THAT SOME OR ALL MAY HAVE BEEN KILLED WHILE DETAINED, OR PERHAPS IN ENCOUNTERS WITH GOC SECURITY FORCES WITHIN CHILE. THE EVIDENCE IS CIRCUMSTANTIAL, BUT IT IS CONSISTENT WITH RECURRENT SECOND-AND THIRD-HAND REPORTS OF THE DEATHS OF VIOLENT LEFTIST EXTREMISTS AT THE HANDS OF THESE FORCES.

16. SEE ALSO [REDACTED] WHICH CONFIRMS IN SEVERAL RESPECTS PLAUSIBILITY OF ARGUMENT THAT SOME ELEMENT OF GOVERNMENT WAS INVOLVED IN PLANTING TWO LISTS TOTTALING 119 PERSONS.
POPPER

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** [REDACTED]
*** Current Classification *** [REDACTED]

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