



# **Ford Foundation records, Latin America and the Caribbean Program Files on the 1973 Coup d'Etat in Chile**

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English

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## Summary Information

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**Repository:** Rockefeller Archive Center

**Creator:** Silvert, Kalman H.

**Creator:** Manitzas, Nita R.

**Creator:** Carmichael, William D. (William Daniel), 1929-

**Creator:** Bell, Peter D.

**Creator:** Jarvis, Lovell S.

**Creator:** Dye, Richard W.

**Creator:** Hakim, Peter

**Creator:** Horlick, Gary N.

**Creator:** Fagen, Richard R.

**Creator:** McCarthy, Thomas F.

**Creator:** Himes, James R.

**Creator:** Ford Foundation

**Title:** Ford Foundation records, Latin America and the Caribbean Program Files on the 1973 Coup d'Etat in Chile

**ID:** FA721

**Date [inclusive]:** 1971-1978

**Physical Description:** 0.76 Cubic Feet 1 standard box

**Language of the Material:** English

**Abstract:** In the summer of 1985, these papers from the Santiago, Chile field office were given to the Archives by Jeffrey Puryear. They were processed in the fall of 1985, and are contained in two Hollinger boxes in the Records Storage Center. The bulk of the papers cover the period 1973 to 1974, but also include a few documents from 1971 and 1978. The records were re-housed into a single Hollinger box in 2015.

### Preferred Citation

Information regarding the Rockefeller Archive Center's preferred elements and forms of citation can be found at <http://www.rockarch.org/research/citations.php>.

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## Historical Sketch of Santiago Office

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The Ford Foundation opened a field office in Santiago, Chile, in 1966. Two staff members were assigned. By 1973, there were seven residential, New York-appointed staff members in the Santiago office. After the military coup on September 11, 1973, the Foundation made plans to decrease the number of Foundation employees in Chile. At different points during the year, several of the staff members listed below were reassigned elsewhere. By September 1974 the office was closed.

From 1974 until 1981, grants to Chile were monitored by the Bogota office. In 1981, the Foundation's office in Lima became the main office for the Andean Region and the Southern Cone, and took over responsibility for grants to Chile. The papers include memoranda from the following Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) program staff:

NEW YORK-BASED STAFF William Carmichael - Head, LAC Program Richard Dye - Deputy Head, LAC Program Kalman Silvert - Program Advisor

SANTIAGO-BASED STAFF Peter Bell - Representative Gary Horlick - Assistant Representative Peter Hakim - Assistant Representative Jeffrey Puryear - Program Assistant Thomas McCarthy - Program Assistant Nita Manitzas - Program Advisor Lovell Jarvis - Program Advisor (1972-1973) Consultant to Chile (1974)

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## Scope and Contents

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These papers from the Santiago, Chile field office span the years 1971 to 1978, but the vast majority deal with the period from September 1973 to September 1974. They are concerned with the effect that the September 11, 1973 military coup had on Ford Foundation grantees in Chile, and on the field office itself.

The papers are comprised primarily of memoranda between the Santiago and New York offices, memoranda among staff within the Santiago office, and outside correspondence. The memoranda include several reports on the status of grants. These note the effects that the change in government had on various Ford Foundation grantees. The papers also contain numerous clippings, in Spanish, from Chilean newspapers which provide the official account of the coup and of its aftermath. Also included in the papers are published articles, in English, which appeared in the North American press.

The papers document the Foundation's monitoring of the situation, and contain many assessments by Foundation staff of the significance of the coup, the nature of the new regime, the changed work

context for the Foundation, and the future role for the Foundation in Chile. At the time of the coup, the Foundation had many grants underway in Chilean universities. The papers illustrate the high priority that the field office staff gave to documenting the changes the military made in the universities, and particularly within the social science departments. (One such change, well noted in these papers, was the May 2, 1974 decree, "Controloria Interna de la Universidad de Chile"). They also reflect the priority that the Foundation placed on assistance to displaced Chilean scholars. The Foundation was able to use its existing graduate fellowship programs, and to work with grantees such as CLACSO (Latin American Center for Social Sciences) to relocate intellectuals affected by the coup to other Latin American countries and to the United States.

The papers convey the volatility of the political environment and the uneasiness that was felt by the Ford Foundation staff in Santiago. Because of the uncertain situation, the Foundation was required to reconsider the feasibility and effectiveness of a continued Ford Foundation presence in Chile.

The papers also demonstrate the staff's concern for victims of the coup. There are some memoranda relating to the arrest of Clodomire Almeyda, Foreign Minister during much of Allende's regime, and to the detentions of Dr. Mariano Requena, Technical Director of the National Health Service, and Dr. Giorgio Solimano, Director of the Ministry of Health's nutrition programs.

There are also a few brief references to Mr. Charles Horman, including a copy of a letter from his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Horman, to McGeorge Bundy thanking him for the Foundation's assistance during the search for her son. A good account of Mr. Horman's disappearance is contained in an October 8, 1973 letter from Mr. Richard Fagen, a former full-time consultant to the Foundation in Santiago, to Senator J. William Fulbright. However, at the time the letter was written, Mr. Horman's death had not yet been confirmed. Finally, two 1978 reports by Richard Dye, are insightful, brief analyses of Chile in the international context. They contain comments on the investigation into the 1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier, Chilean Ambassador to Washington under the Allende Administration.

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## Arrangement

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The papers are contained in nineteen folders, and they are arranged in chronological order. When a document is accompanied by a cover memorandum, the two are filed together, with the date of the cover memo determining their place among the material.

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## Administrative Information

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### Publication Statement

Rockefeller Archive Center

15 Dayton Avenue

Sleepy Hollow 10591

[archive@rockarch.org](mailto:archive@rockarch.org)

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### Conditions Governing Access

Records more than 10 years old are open for research with select materials restricted as noted. Brittle or damaged items are available at the discretion of RAC.

### Conditions Governing Use

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The Rockefeller Archive Center has authority to grant permission to cite and publish material from the collection for scholarly purposes. Permission to publish extensive excerpts, or material in its entirety, will be referred to the Ford Foundation.

### Immediate Source of Acquisition

Ford Foundation archive was deposited at RAC in 2011. Ford Foundation records, correspondence, reports, program files and officers papers were transferred to, and accessioned by, RAC beginning in 2011. Accessions continue as necessary.

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## Controlled Access Headings

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- Civil society -- Chile
- Social Justice--Chile
- Human rights -- Chile
- Chile -- Politics and government -- 1973-1988

- Non-governmental organizations--Chile--Chile
- Chile--History--Coup d'état, 1973
- Coups d'état--Chile

## Collection Inventory

Title/Description	Instances	
1971 December	box 1	folder 1
<b>Scope and Contents</b>		
Includes 'Santiago [Chile] Office Report on Fiscal Year 1971' by Peter Bell, and a list of Chile office graduate fellowships for FY 1971.		

1973 September 12 - 28	box 1	folder 2
<b>Scope and Contents</b>		
Includes Thomas McCarthy memos on grantees: University of Chile, Faculty of Physical and Mathematical Sciences (PA67-569), reproductive biology (PA69-703, PA72-384), State Technical Institute (PA71-505), Ministry of Education - Normal Schools Project (PA69-741), National Health Service - Nutrition (PA72-445), National Institute for Agricultural Research (PA72-435).		
Nita Manitzas memos: "Don Clodomiro Almeyda", "National Secretariat of Women", "Pontifical Catholic University of Chile - Institute of Sociology (PA64-452)", "Pontifical Catholic University of Chile - Center for Urban and Regional Development (PA66-30)", "Pontifical Catholic University of Chile - Institute of Political Science (PA72-59)", "Pontifical Catholic University of Chile - Center for Legal Assistance (PA73-538), and "Institute for Legal Teaching and Research (PA72-261)".		
Lovell S. Jarvis memos: "Conversation with Staff from CPI-INTEC", "Center for National Planning Studies (CEPLAN), Catholic University", "Current situation in Institute of Economics, Catholic University", "Current status of the Department of Economics, West Campus, and Department of Political Economy, North Campus, University of Chile", "Department of Industry, University of Chile" Peter Bell memos: "First Post-Coup Status Report on the Foundation's Program in Chile", "Faculty of Sciences, University of Chile (PA65-327)", and "Catholic University of Chile, Department of Rural Development (L73-40)".		
Alain de Janvry memos: "ICIRA", "Catholic University of Chile - Postgraduate program in rural economics", and "Land Tenure Center Project in Chile".		

Also includes misc. correspondence, clippings, telegrams, etc.

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1973 October 1 - 9

box 1

folder 3

### Scope and Contents

Includes: Richard Dye memos: "Report on trip to Chile and Argentina, October 4-10, 1973"; "Chile: Activities of the National Council of Churches" (October 12, 1973).

Riordan Roett, Director of Latin American Studies, Johns Hopkins University, "Draft letter to a select group of university presidents seeking their support for placement of Chilean scholars in North American colleges and universities", October 15-17, 1973.

"Communications with the State Department Concerning the Chilean Situation", October 2-17, 1973 (44 pages).

Peter Bell correspondence with Nathaniel Davis, United States Ambassador in Santiago, Chile, October 8, 1973.

Kalman Silvert memo, "Distasteful Regimes and Foundation Policies Overseas", October 18, 1971.

William Carmichael: "Request for 'A' Status, University of Brasilia (L71-191)", January 27, 1972.

Misc. correspondence with Marion Bieber and Clemens Heller.

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1973 October 10 - 18

box 1

folder 4

### Scope and Contents

Includes: Peter Bell memo, "Evolving Situation in Chile", October 9, 1973.

Peter Hakim memos: "Nutrition in Chile", October, 8, 1973; "Dr. Enrique Sandoval", October 5, 1973.

Thomas McCarthy memos: "Hugo Corvalan", Aug.-Oct. 1973; "Catholic university -School of Education and Interdisciplinary Program in Educational research (PA71-155)", October 2, 1973; "LAM (PA71-505)", October 1, 1973; "School of Agronomy, University of Concepcion (PA73-595); "Interamerican Center for Teaching of Statistics (CIENES)", 9/28/1973.

Lovell S. Jarvis memos: "Department of Systems, School of Engineering, Catholic University", September 27, 1973; "Conversation with Fernando Kusnetzoff, ex-Dean, School of Architecture, university of Chile, north Campus", September 27, 1973.

Gary Horlick memo: "Refugee committee", October 3, 1973.



Kalman Silvert memo, "Argentine experience -- Chile",  
October 1, 1973.

William Carmichael, "Deployment of Santiago office Staff  
during the Weeks Ahead", October 3, 1973.

Richard Fagen (Stanford University), correspondence with  
William Carmichael (Ford Foundation) and J. William  
Fulbright (Foreign Relations Committee, US Senate), October  
8, 1973.

Unsigned/undated reports, "Precautionary Measures as  
Defense Against Kidnapping"; "Suggested Action for Kidnap  
Victims- One Company's Program"; and "Considerations in  
Establishing a Company Policy and Program to Deal with  
International Terrorism".

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1973 October 18 - 25

box 1

folder 5

### **Scope and Contents**

Includes: Peter Bell memo: "Notes from Meeting of Santiago  
Staff, October 7, 1973".

Kalman Silvert memo, "Ad hoc group meeting -- Chilean  
situation", October 24, 1973.

Social Science Research Council memo: "List of Participants  
in Chile Meeting, October 20, 1973" (New York); and  
"Proposed Agenda for Meeting on Chile Scholars", October  
11, 1973.

News clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1973 October 24 - 30

box 1

folder 6

### **Scope and Contents**

Includes: Peter Bell memo, "Institute of Sociology, Catholic  
University of Chile (PA64-452)", October 12, 1973  
"Interdisciplinary Center for Urban Development, Catholic  
University of Chile (PA66-30C)", October 11, 1973; "The  
ideology of the Chilean Junta", October 30, 1973; "Graduate  
fellowship applicants in Chile", October 30, 1973.

Peter Hakim, "Faculty of Sciences, University of Chile",  
October 11, 1973

Gary Horlick memo, "Present condition of the institute of  
Legal Teaching and Research (PA72-261)", October 15,  
1973; "Present status of Center for Legal Assistance, Catholic  
university of Chile (PA73-538), October 10, 1973

Thomas McCarthy, "GF FY1974", October 23, 1973

Betty Nagel, "It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness", October 25, 1973

"Chilean Universities and the Coup", by Paul D. Sigmund, from the journal CHANGE, Winter 1973-1974.

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1973 November 1 - 30

box 1

folder 7

## Scope and Contents

Includes: Peter Bell memos, "The Aftermath of the military Coup in Chile", November 22, 1973; "Status report on the University of Chile, Department of Political Economy (PA61-372)", November 29, 1973; "Amnesty International in Chile", November 20, 1973; "Pro-Marxist group of the PDC", November 29, 1973.

William Carmichael to Peter Bell, "Your responsibilities for the Foundation in Chile", November 1, 1973; and itinerary, "Tentative schedule for visit of William Carmichael, November 8-13, 1973".

Robert Drysdale memo, "Conversations with Jose Carlos Fajardo (INDIE) and Beatrice Avalos (PIIE-Chile)", November 12, 1973.

Richard Dye memo, "Vacancies in Ford Foundation-supported projects", November 9, 1973.

James Himes memo, "Meeting with Dr. Fernando Travieso, Director of the Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo (CENDES), Chilean refugees", November 13, 1973.

Lovell Jarvis memo, "Current status of the Department of Political Economy, North Campus, University of Chile", November 23, 1973.

Peter T. Knight memo, "Possible post-graduate program in economics incorporating Chilean professors", November 12, 1973.

Thomas McCarthy memo, "Dr. Mariano Requena", November 15, 1973.

Francis Sutton memo, "SODEPAX, Visit of Father Spae, Nov. 5, 1973", November 6, 1973.

James Trowbridge memo, "Opportunities for Chileans in Peru", November 13, 1973. Frank Newman (University of California, Berkeley) correspondence with Alejandro Silva Bascunan (President, Law School, Catholic University of Chile).

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1973 December 5 - 1974 January 16

box 1

folder 8

### **Scope and Contents**

Includes: Peter Bell memo, "La Segunda, there is a Ford in the Future Market (by Rafael Otero)", December 21, 1973; "There are Marxists in your Ford future...", December 21, 1973; "Visit of James D. Theberge to Chile", January 28, 1974; "Rafael Otero Echeverria's article on the Foundation in 'La Segunda'", December 28, 1973; "Rejection of Marcial Losada for Graduate Fellowship", January 7, 1974; "The Ford Foundation in the Chilean News Media", January 18, 1974.

Peter Cleaves memo, "Peru's Catholic University and Developments in Chile", December 5, 1973.

Richard Dye memo, "Correspondence with Chilean grantees", January 8, 1974.

Thomas McCarthy memo, "Marcial Losada (GF GY1974)", January 2, 1974; "La Segunda, Ercilla, and the Ford Foundation", January 16, 1974.

Jorge Eschevers (University of Concepcion) correspondence with Pater Bell.

James Theberge (Center for Strategic and International Studies) correspondence with William Carmichael, January 3, 1974.

John P. Harrison (university of Miami) correspondence with William Carmichael, January 15-19, 1974

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile

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1974 January 21 - February 27

box 1

folder 9

### **Scope and Contents**

Includes: Peter Bell memos, "Report of Amnesty International on Chile", January 21, 1974; "James Petras on Chile after Allende", January 29, 1974; "Paul Rosenstein-Rodan and the 'Chilean Miracle(?)'", February 27, 1974.

John Funari memo, "Assistance to Chilean Displaced Scholars", January 17, 1974.

Howard Freeman memo, "Chilean and other Social Scientists Resettling in Mexico", January 14, 1974.

Richard Dye, "Assistance to displaced Chilean scholars", January 24, 1974.

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1974 March 2 - 21

box 1

folder 10

### **Scope and Contents**

Includes: Peter Bell memos, "The Plans of the Fulbright Commission in Chile", march 21, 1974; "The New Order in Chile", March 21, 1974.

Peter Bell and William Carmichael correspondence re: James Theberge, March 22, 1974.

William Carmichael memo, "Chile: Christina Democrats' View of the Foundation", March 21, 1974.

Peter Hakim memo, "The Detention of Dr. Giorgio Solimano", March 22, 1974; "Tidbits and Outrages", March 20, 1974.

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1974 March 22 - 30

box 1

folder 11

### **Scope and Contents**

Includes: Peter Bell memos, "Reduction in the staff of the Santiago office", March 22, 1974; "Clodomiro Almeyda, Former Foreign Minister of Chile", March 28, 1974.

William Carmichael, "Reductions of the locally-appointed staff in Santiago", March 25, 1974.

Richard Dye memo, "Report on my visit to Chile - March 20-23", March 26, 1974.

Lovell Jarvis memo, "Conversation with Carlos Massad regarding the Foundation", March 22, 1974.

Kalman Silvert memo, "Chile", March 26, 1974.

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1974 April 1 - 5

box 1

folder 12

### **Scope and Contents**

Includes: Peter Bell memos, "Review of the Foundation's Program in Chile and Staff Deployment for the Southern Cone", April 1, 1974; "Non-completed Grants in the Southern Cone", April 2, 1974.

William Carmichael memo, "Coordinating Southern Cone Activities", April 1, 1974.

Kalman Silvert memo, "Chile", April 5, 1974 (Includes correspondence between Kalman Silvert, Luigi Einaudi, and Henry Kissinger).

Amnesty International, "Report of Mission to Santiago, Chile, 1-8 November, 1973".

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1974 April 8 - 18

box 1

folder 13

Separated Materials:

**Separated Materials**

Includes: Peter Bell memo, "Rafael Otero on Cesar Ruiz at Brookings", April 8, 1974; "The Foundation and the Chilean police", April 8, 1974; "Clodomiro Almeyda", April 9, 1974; "The Cleansing of the Universities", April 15, 1974; "Chile", April 18, 1974.

William Carmichael memos, "The Hasbun Affair", April 11, 1974; "The Ford Foundation and the Chile Police" April 11, 1974; "Relations with Chilean Authorities", April 18, 1974.

Kalman Silvert memo, "Chile - Confidential", April 15, 1974; and Silvert correspondence with Marc Schnieder (Office of Senator Ted Kennedy), April 15, 1974.

Thomas McCarthy, "Visit from the Civil Police", April 1, 1974; "Visit from Carabineros", April 4, 1974

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1974 April 19 - May 1

box 1

folder 14

**Scope and Contents**

Includes: Peter Bell memos, "Marxian Economics at Harvard?", April 23, 1974; "The 'Cleansing' Process in Chile", April 23, 1974; "Declaration of the Chilean Bishops", April 25, 1974.

Craufurd Goodwin memo, "Visit to Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies- April 1, 1974 (PA74-143, PA74-77)", April 17, 1974.

Gary Horlick memo, "The 'Cleansing' Process in the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Chile and Processes of Law in Chile", April 23, 1974.

Charles O. Porter (Fair Trial Committee for Chilean Political Prisoners) correspondence with Kalman Silvert, April 17, 1974, and report: "A New and Better Form of U.S. Intervention in Latin America: A Report on the First Nine Days of Activity by U.S. Lawyers in Chile, April 4-13, 1974".

Kalman Silvert memo, "John Biehl, Confidential", April 26, 1974.

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1974 May 2 - 20

box 1

folder 15

### **Scope and Contents**

Includes: Peter Bell memos, "Present Authorities at the University of Chile", May 27, 1974; "The Regional Employment Office for Latin America and the Caribbean of the International Labor Organization", May 3, 1974; "Visit of U.S. Senate Mission to Chile", April 30, 1974; "The Foundation's Program and Staffing Plans in the Southern Cone", May 6, 1974; "The Sale of Used Cars in Chile", May 13, 1974; "Committee for Fair Trials in Chile", May 20, 1974; "Committee of Cooperation for Peace in Chile", May 20, 1974.

William Carmichael memo, "John Howard's Letter about the Chilean Institute of Legal Teaching and Research", May 14, 1974.

Richard Dye memo, "Scheduling of Foundation Presence in the Southern Cone through September", May 22, 1974; "Meeting with Enrique Oteiza of CLACSO", May 7, 1974; "Visit to the Foundation by Raul Cardinal Silva of Chile", May 7, 1974;

John Howard (International Legal Center) correspondence with Peter Bell, May 13, 1974.

Lovell Jarvis memo, "Recent Staff and Activity Development of the ILO's Regional Employment Office for Latin America and the Caribbean (PREALC)", May 2, 1974.

J.P. Morray (Fair Trial Committee for Chilean Political Prisoners) memo, "Trip to Chile", April 4 - May 1, 1974.

Jeffery Puryear memo, "PREALC Conference", May 2, 1974.

Andrew Wallace memo, "Sale of Vehicles", May 3, 1974.

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1974 May 22 - 27

box 1

folder 16

### **Scope and Contents**

Includes: "Honorable Consejo de Guerra" report.

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1974 July 1 - 22

box 1

folder 17

## Scope and Contents

Includes: David Bell memo, "Inquiry from Henry Ford", July 22, 1974.

Peter Bell correspondence with Hugo Castro Jimenez (Minister of Public Education, Chile), Gonzalo Figueroa Yanez (Institute for Legal Teaching and Research), John Howard (International Legal Center).

William Carmichael memo, "The Complaint Registered by Chilean Authorities with the Ford Motor Company", July 18, 1974; "Relations with Chilean Authorities", April 18, 1974.

Richard Dye memo, "Southern Cone Situation", July 15, 1974.

Peter Hakim memos, "Recent University Developments", July 2, 1974; "Last Week's Cabinet Changes", July 16, 1974.

Jeffery Puryear memo, "Contraloria Interna at the University of Chile", July 1, 1974.

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1974 July 25 - September 23

box 1

folder 18

## Scope and Contents

Includes: Peter Bell memo, "Richard Fagen's Congressional Testimony in Chile", September 23, 1974; and report, "U.S. Policy Toward the Allende Government, A Citizen's View from Santiago: A Statement prepared for the House Subcommittee in Inter-American Affairs, September 17, 1974, Professor Richard Fagen, Stanford University".

Thomas McCarthy memo, "Status of Chilean Students in the United States", July 24, 1974.

Nita Manitzas memo, "Decree Law No. 604", August 28, 1974, and translation, "Government Junta of the Republic of Chile, Decree Laws, Prohibiting the Entry of Persons to the National Territory under the Following Circumstances", August 9, 1974.

James Trowbridge memo, "Chilean Refugees in Peru", September 9, 1974.

Misc. news clippings on the political situation in Chile.

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1978 March 28 - July 27

box 1

folder 19

## **Scope and Contents**

Includes: Richard Dye memos, "Chile Update", March 28, 1978; "Chile at the decision point", July 14, 1978; and James R. Himes memo, "Chile", July 21, 1978.