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TRIBUTE TO JUSTICE

Remembering 40 Years

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 2013
NEW YORK CITY

CHARLES
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FOUNDATION

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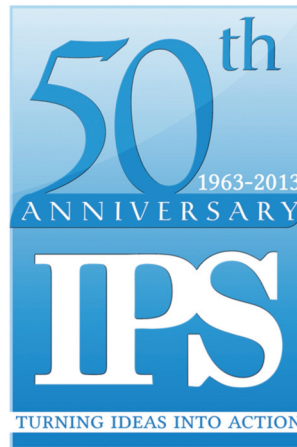
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TRIBUTE TO JUSTICE

Remembering 40 Years

Program

WELCOME
Joyce Horman

BLESSING
Joe Eldridge

CO-HOSTS
Michael Ratner
Amy Goodman

DINNER

PRESENTATION OF
JUSTICE AWARDS

Center for Constitutional Rights Team
Peter Weiss
Nancy Stearns
John Corwin
Rhonda Copelon (posthumously)
Presented by Joyce Horman

Joan Garcés
Presented by Patricio Guzmán

Judge Baltasar Garzón Real
Presented by Costa Gavras

Sir Geoffrey Bindman
Presented by Joan Jara

Peter Kornbluh
Presented by Chris Lemmon

John O'Leary (posthumously)
Presented by Deborah Shaffer

Judge Juan Guzmán Tapia
Presented by Elizabeth Farnsworth

Fabiola Letelier & Sergio Covalan
Presented by Joyce Horman

SPECIAL REMARKS
Heraldo Muñoz

CLOSING REMARKS

PERFORMANCE
Claudia Acuña

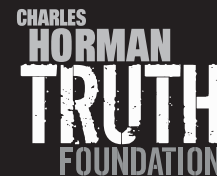
EVENT
COMMITTEE

Annie Gregson
Eliana Loveluck
Ernesto Castillo
Ingrid Montealegre
Jill Hamberg
Jose Matta
Leah Novak
Kaye Johnson
Lina Srivastava
Maryanne Dugan
Mary Laird
Mishy Lesser
Mike Locker
Paul Cantor
Yvonne Myska Lopaur

AWARD
ENDORSEMENTS

Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR)
Center for Latin American Studies, UC Berkeley (CLAS)
Center for Judicial Accountability, San Francisco, CA
Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)
La Peña, Berkeley CA
North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA)
Spanish Association for Human Rights, APDHE
UC Hastings Law School

Welcome



Welcome to the Charles Horman Truth Foundation “Tribute to Justice” dinner. Thank you for joining this awards ceremony and toasting the advances in prosecuting human rights crimes around the world. And thank you for all you have done in pursuit of that goal!

Forty years ago, the country that Pablo Neruda described as “a long petal of sea, wine and snow” was viciously attacked by its own military. The U.S.-backed coup violently ended Chile’s democratic attempt to find a peaceful road to redress social inequality and establish economic independence. The bloody repression that followed cost the lives of thousands and changed the lives of millions—in Chile, and around the world.

On September 11, 1973, there was no legal recourse to challenge Pinochet’s overthrow of democracy. There was no Inter-American Court of Human Rights, no International Criminal Court, no international judicial mechanism to overcome the immunity behind which the Pinochet’s of the world safeguarded their crimes. There were few human rights organizations focusing on the prosecution of human rights violations.

Over the course of four long decades of struggle, the solidarity movement that emerged from the bloodshed of the coup—made up of activists, artists, filmmakers, dancers, poets, playwrights, churches, musicians, lawyers and victims—successfully brought the brutality and injustice of Pinochet’s crimes to world-wide attention. This success generated a global groundswell to establish legal mechanisms to hold tyrants accountable for crimes against humanity, and bring Pinochet and others like him to justice.

Because of the significant work of tonight’s Justice Award Recipients, and many others in this room, Pinochet was arrested in October 1998. His detention for fifteen months, the final ruling of the British Law Lords, as well as his prosecution in the Chilean courts after he returned to Chile, broke the shield of “sovereign Immunity” behind which dictators have hidden. The Pinochet case established a dramatic precedent for the principle of universal jurisdiction and the prosecution of human rights violators that continues today around the world.

We congratulate each and every person that contributed their energy and skills to advancing international legal recourses for human rights crimes. Tonight we are here to celebrate, toast, and support those advances.

HONORARY COMMITTEE

Felipe Agüero	Program Officer, Santiago, Ford Foundation
Reed Brody	Counsel and Spokesperson, Human Rights Watch
John Cavanagh	Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies
Sergio Corvalan	Human Rights Lawyer, Horman case in Chile
Nash Cox	Horman family friend
Diane L. Dixon	Diane Dixon Associates; Chile Activist
Ariel Dorfman	Novelist, Playwright, and Journalist; Walter Hines Page Research Professor of Literature and Latin American Studies, Duke University
Joseph Eldridge	University Chaplain and Senior Adjunct Professorial Lecturer, School of International Service, American University
Claudio M. Grossman	Dean, American University Washington College of Law
Joan Jara	Founder, The Victor Jara Foundation
Debbi Lazar	Horman relative
Frederick Lazar	Horman relative
Fabiola Letelier	President, Organization for the Advancement and Defense of Community Rights; Horman case in Chile
Melanie Mayron	Emmy Award-winning Actress
Isabel Morel de Letelier	Widow of Orlando Letelier
Heraldo Muñoz	Assistant Secretary-General and Assistant Administrator, Director of the Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, UNDP New York
Dave Nelson	Attorney; former Associate Circuit Judge, Illinois; Charles Horman friend
Richard Pearce	Award-winning Film Maker
Deborah Shaffer	Award-winning Documentary Film Maker
Sheila Shayon	Horman family friend
Sissy Spacek	Oscar Award-winning Actress
Rose Styron	Poet; Founding Member, Amnesty International USA
Janis Teruggi	Adjunct Professor, The Graduate School of Political Management, The George Washington University; Sister of Frank Teruggi
Michael E. Tigar	Professor Emeritus of Law, Duke University
Juan Gabriel Valdes	Profesor de Globalización y Relaciones Internacionales de América Latina
Steven Volk	Director, Center for Teaching Innovation and Excellence, Oberlin College
Peter Weiss	President, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy; Vice President, Center for Constitutional Rights
Rev. William L. Wipfler	Former Director, Human Rights Office, National Council of Churches

Amy Goodman Co-Host

Amy Goodman is the host and executive producer of *Democracy Now!*, a national, daily, independent, award-winning news program airing on over 1,200 public television and radio stations worldwide. *Time* magazine named *Democracy Now!* its “Pick of the Podcasts,” along with NBC’s *Meet the Press*.

Goodman is the first journalist to receive the Right Livelihood Award, widely known as the “Alternative Nobel Prize” for “developing an innovative model of truly independent grassroots political journalism.”

Goodman’s fifth book, *The Silenced Majority: Stories of Uprisings, Occupations, Resistance, and Hope*, written with Denis Moynihan, rose to #11 on the *New York Times* bestseller list.

She writes a weekly column (also produced as an audio podcast) syndicated by King Features, for which she was recognized in 2007 with the James Aronson Award for Social Justice Reporting.

Her other numerous awards include: The American Women in Radio and Television Gracie Award; the Paley Center for Media’s She’s Made It Award; the Puffin/Nation Prize for Creative Citizenship; and the Robert F. Kennedy Prize for International Reporting.



Michael Ratner Co-Host

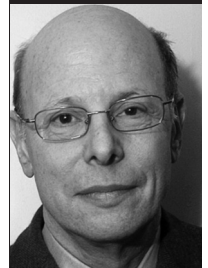
Michael Ratner is President Emeritus of the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) in New York and the President of European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR) in Berlin. He was part of the small group of lawyers that took on representation of the Guantánamo detainees in January 2001, a case that resulted in a victory in the Supreme Court in 2004.

He and CCR are currently U.S. counsel for Wikileaks and Julian Assange and are active on issues of Palestinian rights, represented the Gaza flotilla, the family of Rachel Corrie, and work to protect advocacy on behalf of Palestine in the United States.

He is also engaged in European courts to bring U.S. officials including former Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld to justice for the Abu Ghraib abuse and torture and for their actions at Guantánamo.

Ratner’s awards include: Trial Lawyer of the Year, the Columbia Law School Medal of Honor (2005), The Nation Institute/Puffin Foundation Prize for Creative Citizenship (2007). In 2006, the *National Law Journal* named Ratner as one of the 100 most influential lawyers in the United States.

Ratner’s many authored or co-authored books include: *Hell No: Your Right to Dissent in 21st-Century America* (2011); *Killing Che: How the CIA Got Away with Murder* (2011); *Guantanamo: What the World Should Know* (2004); and *The Trial of Donald Rumsfeld: A Prosecution by Book* (2008).





Center for Constitutional Rights

The Center for Constitutional Rights is a non-profit legal and educational organization dedicated to protecting and advancing the rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Founded in 1966 by Arthur Kinoy, William Kunstler, Morton Stavis and Ben Smith, CCR is committed to the creative use of law as a positive force for social change.

CCR works to strengthen protections for human rights around the world, to support individuals and groups promoting social justice, and to serve as a check against government abuses of individual rights. Currently, we are leading the fight against government anti-terror initiatives that undermine basic rights both in the United States and abroad.

Universal Jurisdiction

The principle of universal jurisdiction is classically defined as “a legal principle allowing or requiring a state to bring criminal proceedings in respect of certain crimes irrespective of the location of the crime and the nationality of the perpetrator or the victim”. This principle is said to derogate from the ordinary rules of criminal jurisdiction requiring a territorial or personal link with the crime, the perpetrator or the victim. But the rationale behind it is broader: “it is based on the notion that certain crimes are so harmful to international interests that states are entitled—and even obliged—to bring proceedings against the perpetrator, regardless of the location of the crime and the nationality of the perpetrator or the victim”. Universal jurisdiction allows for the trial of international crimes committed by anybody, anywhere in the world.

Reprinted from “The principles of universal jurisdiction and complementarity: how do the two principles intermesh?” by Xavier Philippe; *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 88, No. 862, June 2006.

Peter Weiss

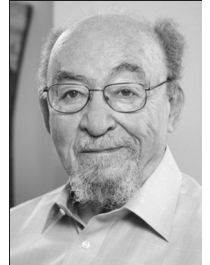
Peter Weiss is a distinguished international human rights attorney who was a member of the Center for Constitutional Rights' team that on behalf of Charles Horman's family sued Henry Kissinger and other Nixon Administration officials for wrongful death in 1976. This unique and novel case focused international attention on the United States' role and its accountability for human rights crimes in Chile. Weiss also litigated the seminal case known as *Filártiga v. Peña-Irala* in 1979 that established the right of victims of torture to sue their torturers in US courts.

Peter Weiss is Co-President of the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms, President Emeritus of its US affiliate—the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy—and Vice-President of the Center for Constitutional Rights. He is a member of the Board of Advisers of the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights in Berlin and a former Vice President of the International Federation of Human Rights in Paris.

Weiss is a founder and former President of the American Committee on Africa and former Chairman of the Board of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. He has long been an activist for peace in the Middle East and is currently a member of the Executive Committee of Americans for Peace Now, which supports the Peace Now movement in Israel. He retired from the practice of intellectual property law in 2005.

Weiss is a graduate of Yale Law School and has lectured and written widely on the international law of war and peace, nuclear weapons and human rights. He was the principal author of the draft brief on the illegality of the threat and/or use of nuclear weapons used by many countries in making written submissions to the International Court of Justice in the 1996 nuclear weapons advisory opinion; he served as counsel to Malaysia at the hearings.

Peter Weiss has fought tirelessly for the rule of law, human decency, and the principle of human rights and civility in the conduct of international affairs.





Nancy Stearns

Nancy Stearns is an attorney who was a member of the Center for Constitutional Rights' team that on behalf of Charles Horman's family sued Henry Kissinger and other Nixon Administration officials for wrongful death in 1976. Before entering law school in 1967, Stearns worked for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Atlanta. Her Civil Rights Movement experience guided her legal career.

As a staff lawyer at the Center for Constitutional Rights, in 1969, Stearns filed the first feminist challenge to New York State's restrictive abortion law. That case became the model for successful challenges to the abortion laws of several others states. Decisions in those cases were cited by the United States Supreme Court in its landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision.

While at CCR, Stearns also helped to develop the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation's guidelines to prevent sterilization abuse, challenged compulsory maternity leave policies, and successfully defended New York State's rape-shield law, which prohibited the questioning of rape victims about their prior sexual conduct.

Stearns' work at CCR was not limited to the area of women's rights. Her work as a staff attorney included considerable anti-war litigation—she was one of the team of lawyers representing members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War who were prosecuted by the federal government in connection with their anti-war activity. She also sought to reunite Vietnamese families separated by the Vietnamese Babylift, which brought Vietnamese infants and young children to the U.S. for adoption at the close of the Vietnam War, despite the fact that they still had living parents. She also did litigation involving Native American land claims and environmental issues.

From 1981-1995, Stearns served as an Assistant Attorney General in the Environmental Protection Bureau of the New York States Attorney General's office enforcing New York and U.S. toxic waste laws. Since 1996, Stearns has worked as an attorney in the Law Department of the New York State Supreme Court.

John Corwin

John Corwin is an attorney who was a member of the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) team that on behalf of Charles Horman's family sued Henry Kissinger and other Nixon Administration officials for wrongful death in 1976. In addition to his work at CCR, Corwin has practiced public interest law at The Legal Aid Society and the office of the New York State Attorney General where he headed the Love Canal litigation, and later served as Chief of the Consumer Frauds and Protection Bureau.

Throughout his career Corwin has worked in the nonprofit and public interest sector. Through Corwin Consulting, LLC, founded in 2002, he offers his personal services as the interim chief executive for nonprofits undergoing leadership transition. Corwin served most recently as Interim Executive Director at the Institute for Global Ethics. He has also been Interim Executive Director at The Way to Work; and Interim CEO at the Harlem School of the Arts, The New York eHealth Collaborative; and Reach Out and Read. Corwin also served as Interim CEO at the American Liver Foundation, the nation's leading nonprofit organization promoting liver health and disease prevention; at Learning Leaders Inc., New York City's largest educational not-for-profit; The Valley, a youth services agency in Harlem; and at the Community Health Care Association of New York State. He served as Interim President at the US Committee for the United Nations Population Fund (now called Friends of UNFPA) and as Interim Executive Director at the US affiliate of the African Medical & Research Foundation (AMREF USA).

Previously, for almost six years Corwin served as the first full-time Executive Director of The Glaucoma Foundation (1995–2000). His nonprofit management experience also includes his tenure as Director of Development and Public Affairs for the Trust for Public Land's Mid-Atlantic Region (2001–2002). He is a member of the American Society of Association Executives (ASAE), BoardSource, the Alliance for Nonprofit Management, and Governance Matters. Corwin holds degrees from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard Law School.





Rhonda Copelon

Rhonda Copelon was a human rights attorney and activist and one of the world's foremost legal scholars of the rights of women. Copelon played a major role in several groundbreaking cases, including one that allowed victims of abuses in other countries to seek justice in American courts. According to Michelle J. Anderson, dean of the City University of New York (CUNY) School of Law, Copelon's work "altered the bedrock of how U.S. courts treat international human rights abuses." Copelon was a Vice President at the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) and a professor at CUNY School of Law at Queens College. In her 40-year career, she worked on cases involving gender-based violence, racial discrimination, government wiretapping, job discrimination, and abortion rights. She died in 2010 at the age of 65.

In the late 1970s Copelon worked as a member of the CCR team of attorneys, with Peter Weiss, Nancy Stearns and John Corwin, to file suit against Henry Kissinger and other Nixon Administration officials for complicity in the wrongful death of Charles Horman in Augusto Pinochet's coup in Chile in 1973. Also in the late 1970s, she worked with Peter Weiss on the groundbreaking civil suit *Filártiga v. Peña-Irala* that established that victims of torture committed abroad had recourse in US courts.

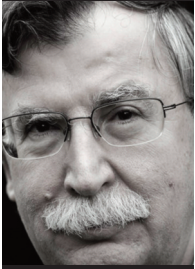
The *Filártiga* decision was handed down on the same day as one of the hardest losses of Copelon's career, the US Supreme Court's judgment in *Harris v. McRae*. This was a class action suit on behalf of women living in poverty who needed publicly funded abortions. Copelon's argument was that it was impermissible to prefer the potential life of a fetus to the health and life of a pregnant woman. With *Harris v. McRae* the Supreme Court prohibited Medicaid reimbursement for almost all abortions, even in cases where a woman's life was endangered or when pregnancy was the result of rape or incest.

As a result of this Supreme Court decision, Copelon became increasingly committed to using international human rights law to secure justice for women. In 1992 she co-founded CUNY's International Women's Human Rights Clinic (IWHRC). Under her leadership, the clinic enabled students and activists around the world to participate in a range of precedent-setting human rights legal and advocacy campaigns to stop gender violence, and to advance reproductive and sexual rights, along with wider economic and social rights.

Rhonda Copelon continued

Despite the important cases she brought before the courts, the most influential aspect of her work may prove to be her academic writing of the mid-1990s. Copelon argued that states should be accountable under human rights law as much for the crimes by private citizens that they passively allow to happen—particularly acts of violence against women—as for the crimes they actively commit through police, army, or other state officials. Already these concepts of state responsibility are being incorporated into the work of UN human rights institutions and advocacy groups.

Born in New Haven on Sept. 15, 1944, Rhonda Copelon graduated from Bryn Mawr in 1966 with a degree in history and political science and received her law degree from Yale.



Juan Garcés

Juan Garcés is a Spanish attorney who has made major contributions to international human rights law in the fight against impunity for heads of government who commit crimes against humanity.

When Salvador Allende became President of Chile in 1970, the newly elected President invited Garcés to serve as his personal advisor. He served in that capacity until the September 11, 1973 military coup forced him to leave Chile. Garcés fled to France to serve as personal advisor of UNESCO's Director General. He returned to his native country of Spain after the restoration of the representative form of government and became a member of the Madrid Bar in 1981.

Garcés served as the lead counsel in the case that he initiated against Augusto Pinochet in Spain in 1996 using the principle of universal jurisdiction, heading a multi-national team of lawyers representing survivors and families of survivors of more than 3,000 cases of assassination, forced disappearance, and torture committed under Pinochet's regime.

When General Pinochet travelled to London in October 1998, Garcés filed a request with Judge Baltasar Garzón of Spain in order to obtain an arrest warrant and begin extradition proceedings against him. The path for this action was paved earlier by Garcés' legal and procedural work against crimes committed by the Pinochet regime. Pinochet's detention and the British Court's ruling granting his extradition to Spain marked the first time that a national court applied the principle of universal jurisdiction against a former head of state, declaring its legal right and ability to judge crimes against humanity committed in another country, despite self-granted local amnesty laws.

Garcés graduated from the Universidad Complutense of Madrid (1967) and earned a doctorate in political science from the Sorbonne (1970). He is a recipient of the Alternative Nobel Prize (the Right Livelihood Award, Sweden, 1999) and France's National Order of Merit Award (2000) for his contributions to international law. He has been a professor of political science in leading universities of several countries.

Baltasar Garzón Real

Baltasar Garzón Real is internationally renowned as the Spanish jurist who issued the first detention request, through Interpol, for former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet on charges of abductions, torture, murder, forced disappearances and terrorism. General Pinochet's subsequent arrest in London on October 16, 1998, marked the first dramatic application of the principle of universal jurisdiction—the right of third countries to prosecute crimes against humanity committed in other nations where the perpetrator is shielded from justice.

Judge Garzon's heroic effort to indict and extradite Pinochet to Spain resulted in his house arrest in London for over 500 days and stripped him of the "sovereign immunity" he had maintained from prosecution for his human rights atrocities. Building on the legal work of Spanish lawyer and former Allende advisor, Joan Garcés, and of public prosecutor Carlos Castresana, Judge Garzón relentlessly pursued the Pinochet case, eventually winning a ruling in London that Pinochet be extradited to Madrid to stand trial. For political reasons, the British government freed Pinochet to return to Chile instead, but he was immediately prosecuted there also. Garzón's precedent-setting prosecution transformed Spain into a center of international human rights accountability and paved the way for similar efforts to prosecute crimes against humanity committed in Argentina, Guatemala, and El Salvador.

In the aftermath of the Pinochet case, Garzón continued to pursue human rights abusers. In 2000, he accepted to investigate charges of genocide, terrorism, and torture committed by Argentine military officers during the dictatorship that lasted from 1976–1983. In 2003, Garzón obtained the arrest and extradition of an Argentine Navy intelligence officer, Ricardo Cavallo, who was living in Mexico, on charges of genocide and terrorism. In April 2005, Garzón convicted another Argentine naval officer, Adolfo Scilingo, for participating in "death flights" of 30 political prisoners and the National Criminal Court of Spain sentenced him to 640 years in prison in Spain.

In 2009, Garzón accused six officials of the administration of George W. Bush of authorizing and facilitating human rights abuses as part of the war on terrorism and urged Spanish prosecutors to investigate them in connection with the torture of prisoners at the U.S. military's Guantánamo Bay base in Cuba. Under pressure from

Baltasar Garzón Real continued

Washington, revealed by the Wikileaks cables, Spanish authorities blocked efforts to apply universal jurisdiction to U.S. officials for those abuses.

In 2008, Garzón accepted to open the first inquiry ever into the Franco's supporters crimes against humanity committed during the war between 1936 and 1939 and during the fascist dictatorship established after it. Shortly after Judge Garzón declared his jurisdiction he was ordered to interrupt it and was accused by the Fascist Party of abusing his judicial authority for opening the inquiry. In what many observers believe was political retribution for his attempt to simultaneously investigate the absolute impunity of crimes against humanity committed in Spain, and the corruption case against its largest contemporary political parties, Garzón was suspended from serving as a judge for 11 years in February 2012.

During his career, Garzón served on Spain's Central Criminal court, the Audiencia Nacional. As examining magistrate of the Juzgado Central de Instrucción No. 5, Garzón led the investigation of Spain's most important criminal cases, including terrorism, organized crime, and money laundering. In 2012, Garzón became senior legal counsel to the anti-secrecy group, Wikileaks, to help defend its founder, Julian Assange.

Baltasar Garzón is a graduate of the University of Seville (1979). Between 1999 and 2008 Garzón was awarded 22 Honoris Causa Doctoral Degrees, the first 21 by non-Spanish academic institutions (including universities in Argentina, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, Mexico, the United States, England, and Belgium). His 22nd Honoris Causa Doctoral Degree was awarded by the University of Jaén in 2009. Garzón received the Hermann Kesten Prize in 2009 and the International Hrant Dink Award in 2010. In 2011, Garzón received the first ALBA/Puffin award for human rights activism. The award committee cited his "exceptional courage in defense of human rights and his commitment to the recovery of historical memory regarding crimes against humanity."

Sir Geoffrey Bindman, QC

Sir Geoffrey Bindman, QC is a British attorney specializing in human rights law who represented Amnesty International and Chilean victims' interests in the case against Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet in the late 1990s. Bindman was responsible for the arrest order against Pinochet during his visit to London in 1998. The arrest was made possible thanks to a request made under the extradition treaty between the United Kingdom and Spain, which is now part of a European Convention on Extradition.

Bindman has served as Chair of the British Institute of Human Rights since 2005. In 2003 he won The Law Society Gazette Centenary Award for Human Rights, and was knighted in 2006 for services to human rights. In 2011 he was appointed to the Queen's Counsel.

In 1974, Bindman established Bindman's, LLP with the vision of "protecting the rights and freedoms of ordinary people." Over the years, the firm has evolved to offer a broad range of services both to private individuals, NGOs, companies, and other organizations. However, that founding commitment—to fairness and to ensuring access to justice—remains at the heart of everything they do.

Bindman received a law degree from Oriel College in Oxford in 1956 and qualified as a solicitor three years later. He became a legal advisor to the Race Relations Board in 1966, and served in that capacity for seventeen years. Bindman has served as a legal advisor to Amnesty International and represented the satirical magazine Private Eye. In the late 1980s, Bindman visited South Africa as part of an International Commission of Jurists delegation sent to investigate apartheid and subsequently became editor of a book on the topic, South Africa and the Rule of Law.

In September of 2012, Bindman told BBC Radio that he agreed with Desmond Tutu that British Prime Minister Tony Blair should be prosecuted on the basis that starting the Iraq War was a "crime of aggression" in breach of the United Nations Charter.





Peter Kornbluh

In the aftermath of General Pinochet's detention, Peter Kornbluh joined Joyce Horman, Isabel Letelier and other victims and activists to pressure the Clinton administration to declassify the still secret U.S. files on Pinochet's repression and the U.S. role in Chile. In his capacity as Director of the Chile Documentation project at the nonprofit National Security Archive, Kornbluh helped to organize the campaign for a special Chile declassification effort, working closely with U.S. officials to identify, centralize, and release never-before-seen records on the military coup and its aftermath. When the CIA refused to cooperate in releasing operational records on covert intervention in Chile, Kornbluh led a public effort to force compliance. Eventually, the Clinton administration declassified 24,000 documents on Chile, among them 2,000 formerly top secret CIA reports and cables.

Kornbluh's tireless efforts to declassify US government documents have uncovered critical information about the US role in destabilizing the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende as well as the Nixon administration's support for the military coup and the Pinochet regime. Among the documents were dozens of reports and cables on the case of Charles Horman. One of them, which had been kept from the Horman family for years, appeared to vindicate the premise of the movie, "Missing." The secret State Department assessment stated that "there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that: U.S. intelligence may have played an unfortunate part in Horman's death."

This document, and others that Kornbluh provided to Chilean authorities, have been used as evidence in the legal proceedings in Chile on the murders of Charles Horman and his friend, Frank Teruggi. Since the case was first filed in Chile by Joyce Horman in December 2000, Kornbluh has served as a close advisor to the Horman and Teruggi families in their pursuit of truth and justice. In December 2004, he testified on the case before investigative judge Jorge Zepeda.

Kornbluh is the author/editor/co-editor of numerous books and articles, among them *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* which contains a comprehensive account of the murders of Charles Horman, Frank Teruggi and other atrocities committed by the Pinochet regime. When the book was first published on the 30th anniversary of the military coup, the Los Angeles Times selected it as a "best book" of the year. *The Pinochet File* has been translated into Spanish and published in Barcelona as *Pinochet: Los Archivos Secretos*. The book has been updated and revised; it is being released anew on the 40th anniversary of the coup.

John O'Leary

John O'Leary served as U.S. ambassador to Santiago from August 1998 to June 2001—a period of time that overlapped with the dramatic arrest and protracted detention of General Augusto Pinochet in London, as well as the initial legal proceedings against the former dictator after he returned to Chile. During that time, he not only lent his support for the declassification of U.S. documentation on Pinochet's repression, but pushed the State Department to post thousands of those records on the worldwide web, making them readily accessible to Chileans, U.S. citizens and the global community. In contrast to some of his predecessors who shunned human rights victims in favor of the Pinochet regime, Ambassador O'Leary opened the doors of the Embassy to those working to secure justice for the regime's human rights violations. In December 2000 he, and his talented and gregarious wife, Patricia Cepeda, welcomed Joyce Horman to the residency to discuss her case. As journalist Marc Cooper wrote, "O'Leary was the best of faces that America can and should put forward to the world."

The former mayor of Portland, Maine, O'Leary was nominated by President Clinton to be ambassador to Chile shortly before former dictator Pinochet's 1998 arrest in Great Britain. In support of Pinochet's victims, he soon became an ally of the human rights community in pressing for the Clinton administration to do a special declassification project on Chile. With his encouragement, the State Department scanned and digitalized some 24,000 records, including those of the CIA, DOD, DIA, FBI and NSC, and developed a search engine and on-line database for those records to be globally accessible the department's website. He also arranged for a paper copy of all the documents to be brought to Chile for public viewing, and use in legal investigations after Pinochet's return from London.

As ambassador, he vigorously supported legal initiatives by Charles Horman's family and those of two other murdered Americans that would encourage the Chilean authorities to investigate and prosecute for their wrongful deaths. He also hosted an investigative team of FBI, Justice and State Department officials who traveled in the Spring of 2000 to formally investigate General Pinochet's involvement in the 1976 car-bomb murder in Washington DC of former Allende minister Orlando Letelier and U.S. citizen Ronni Karpen Moffitt, by agents of the Chilean secret police.



John O'Leary continued

O'Leary graduated from Yale University in 1969 and from Yale Law School in 1974. A Democrat, he served on the Portland City Council from 1975 to 1982. He was later elected mayor of Portland, where he was instrumental in securing city and community support to build the Portland Museum of Art and a new Portland Public Library. In 1992 he became candidate Bill Clinton's campaign manager in the state of Maine.

Following his ambassadorship in Chile, O'Leary returned to Washington in 2001 where he became a principal of O'Leary & Barclay, a company that focused on business opportunities between the US and Latin America. He served as president of the Chilean-American Chamber of Commerce. In one of O'Leary's proudest accomplishments, he also worked with Goldman Sachs of New York and the Wildlife Conservation Society to create a massive nature conservation reserve in Tierra del Fuego, near the southern tip of South America. In 2008, the Chilean government awarded him the Bernardo O'Higgins medal—the highest honor it bestows on a foreign citizen.

On April 2, 2005, John O'Leary died at age 58 from complications of Lou Gehrig's disease. At his funeral, President Clinton eulogized him as a gifted diplomat and extraordinary human being who served his country with great distinction. He will be remembered as an exemplary diplomat and conscientious man whose commitment to truth, justice and dignity reflects the capability of the United States government to conduct respectful relations with its regional neighbors, and constructively promote the principle of international human rights.

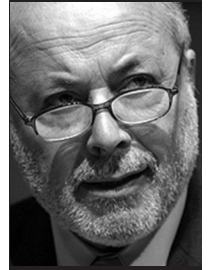
Juan Guzmán Tapia

Juan Guzmán Tapia is internationally recognized as the first Chilean judge to indict General Augusto Pinochet on human rights charges. Seventy-two hours after Pinochet returned from 504 days of detention in England, Judge Guzmán filed legal papers to strip him of his immunity from prosecution; in December 2000, Guzman indicted the former dictator for disappearances related to the infamous Caravan of Death, and placed him under house arrest. After that case was dismissed on the grounds that Pinochet was mentally unfit to stand trial, in December 2004 Guzmán determined that Pinochet was, in fact, mentally competent, and indicted him again for additional deaths and disappearances.

Guzmán also initiated the first formal investigation into the death of Charles Horman in response to the criminal complaint filed by Charles' widow, Joyce Horman, in December of 2000. His investigation included a four-hour re-enactment of the crime scene in the National Stadium where Horman was killed and an effort to interrogate former U.S. officials related to the case, among them former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. When Kissinger failed to respond to a set of questions that Guzmán had formally transmitted to Washington, the judge suggested Kissinger should be held in contempt of court.

In 1999, before Pinochet's release from detention in London, Judge Guzmán ordered the arrest of five retired military officers—including a general—for their roles in the military death squad known as the Caravan of Death that executed more than 70 individuals in the aftermath of the military coup. Guzmán circumvented the amnesty law by arguing that the victims remained disappeared as a result a crime of continuing kidnapping—a crime not covered by the amnesty. As a result, the concept of permanent sequestration allowed for prosecution for the forced disappearances. In 2004 Guzmán's investigations also revealed Operation Pluto—the secret transport in helicopters of prisoners from the Villa Grimaldi torture camp whose bodies were weighted with steel rails and dropped into the ocean. He prosecuted and convicted five of Pinochet's military personnel for those crimes.

Guzmán studied Law at the University of Chile and did postgraduate studies in Paris. He began his judicial career in 1970 and was a member of the Santiago Appeals



Juan Guzmán Tapia continued

Court. He is internationally recognized with awards, prizes, and honorary degrees. In 2008, a feature length documentary titled “The Judge and the General” was produced by West Wind Productions, co-directed by Elizabeth Farnsworth and Patricio Lanfranco, and portrays the story of his prosecution of Pinochet. In May 2010, Judge Guzmán was awarded an Honorary Degree by Haverford College in Pennsylvania for his steady and courageous defense of human rights. In the fall of 2011, Guzmán joined the University of Pennsylvania Law School as a Bok Visiting International Professor, where he taught a course on transnational justice.

Since his retirement from the Chilean judiciary in 2005, Judge Guzmán has continued to focus on transitional justice issues as an advocate and attorney, defending the human rights of Chile’s marginalized Mapuche population, among others.

Fabiola Letelier

Fabiola Letelier is a prominent Chilean human rights attorney and President of the Organization for the Advancement and Defense of People's Rights (Corporación de Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo—CODEPU). Letelier has worked on behalf of the families of countless victims of human rights crimes committed under the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet.

Letelier is the sister of Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador to the United States who was murdered in 1976 in a car bombing in Washington, DC by agents of Pinochet's secret police. In December of 2000, together with Sergio Corvalán, Letelier filed suit on behalf of Charles Horman's family against Pinochet and several of his subordinates with Chilean human rights investigating Judge Juan Guzmán.

Letelier has served on human rights committees around the world and has won several international awards recognizing her struggle for human rights in Chile. In 1998 she was awarded the Albert Schweitzer Award of Excellence from Chapman University. The Albert Schweitzer Award is the highest award given by the university and honors individuals who lead lives dedicated to public service.

Sergio Corvalan

Sergio Corvalán Carrasco was born in the port city of Tocopilla, Chile in 1950. He studied law and philosophy at the University of Chile and Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, and became a lawyer in 1975. He was a researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Social Law in Munich, German Federal Republic (1979–1982).

During the military dictatorship of General Pinochet, he worked with the Ecumenical Committee for Peace in Chile (1973-1974) and with the Vicariate of Solidarity (1975–1978; 1983-1989), collaborating on the defense of many victims of human rights violations.

He investigated cases of human rights violations with the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation (Rettig Commission 1990–1991) and the National Corporation for Reparations and Reconciliation (1992–1996).

As an independent lawyer, he also took on the international legal representation of victims of human rights violations in notable legal cases, such as Amnesty International (German Section) in the case against Colonia Dignidad (Dignity Colony); investigation of the attack against Bernardo Leighton and Anita Fresno (Italy); the disappearance of Alfonso Chanfreau, Marcel Claudet and others (France); in the trial of Augusto Pinochet (Chile); incidents in the National Stadium (kidnapping and illegal assassination of Charles Horman, Frank Teruggi and other victims of human rights violations); and incidents involving the violation of human rights in Colonia Dignidad (kidnapping and disappearance of Juan Maino, Elizabeth Rekas, Antonio Elizondo).

Acknowledgements

The Charles Horman Truth Foundation wishes to thank the special guests that have travelled considerable distances to be with us today to acknowledge our award recipients' extraordinary diligence and their contribution to the advancement of Universal Jurisdiction.

Frank Manitzas: Reporter who interviewed the man who sought refuge in the Italian Embassy and was in the room when Chilean military officials decided Charles had to "disappear" because he knew too much, and that there was an American official in the room too.

Rose Styron: Founded Amnesty International USA

Janet Duecy: Shared the house in Santiago that Charles and Joyce lived in for 15 months

Janice Teruggi Page: Sister of Frank Teruggi who was killed in Chile's National Stadium, as was Charles.

The Reverend Bill Wipfler: Former Director of the National Council of Churches' (NCC) Latin American Department.

Kathy Roberts: Legal Director for the Center of Justice and Accountability. Roberts has a background in civil litigation, civil rights, and social theory. She currently works with survivors of torture and human rights abuses.

Nushin Sarkarati: An attorney for the Center of Justice and Accountability, Sarkarati focuses on Cambodian human rights abuses, specifically dealing with Khmer Rouge atrocities in Cambodian courts.

Terry Coonan: Executive director of Florida State University Center for the Advancement of Human Rights.

Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte: Former President of the American Bar Association (1991–92), as well as Former President of Florida State University.

Daniel Maier-Katkin: Professor at Florida State University and attorney specializing in international human rights law as well as criminal justice.

Joe Eldridge: Established the Washington Office of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights.

Susan Cocola Ross: A teacher who utilizes *Missing* in her class to provoke discussions on Latin America-U.S. relations.

Steven Volk: Was in Chile during the coup. A professor at Oberlin College, Volk focuses his teachings on Latin American history. He is currently working on a book tentatively titled, *Not a Part of History We're Proud Of: Chile, the Overthrow of Allende, and the Shaping of American Historical Memory*.

**“FIN” MEMBERS BOW WITH GRATITUDE
TO THE JUDGES, LAWYERS, ACTIVISTS, ARTISTS, AND EDUCATORS
WHO’VE ADVANCED THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE
AND HELPED REVEAL THE U.S. GOVERNMENT’S ROLE
IN CRUSHING DEMOCRACY THERE IN 1973**

**WE STAND IN SOLIDARITY WITH ALL VICTIMS AND SURVIVORS
AS WE DEMAND ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE CRIMES COMMITTED.**

FIN (*Fuente de Informacion Norteamericana*, North American Information Source) was a news magazine founded in 1972 by a small group of progressive, young North Americans drawn to Chile to witness, study, and live *el proceso chileno*. We created FIN to inform Chileans about how the U.S. government and corporations were using their power to suppress popular movements in Chile and around the world. Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi were our friends and colleagues, and played a key role in FIN until they were murdered by the Chilean dictatorship in collusion with U.S. military intelligence.

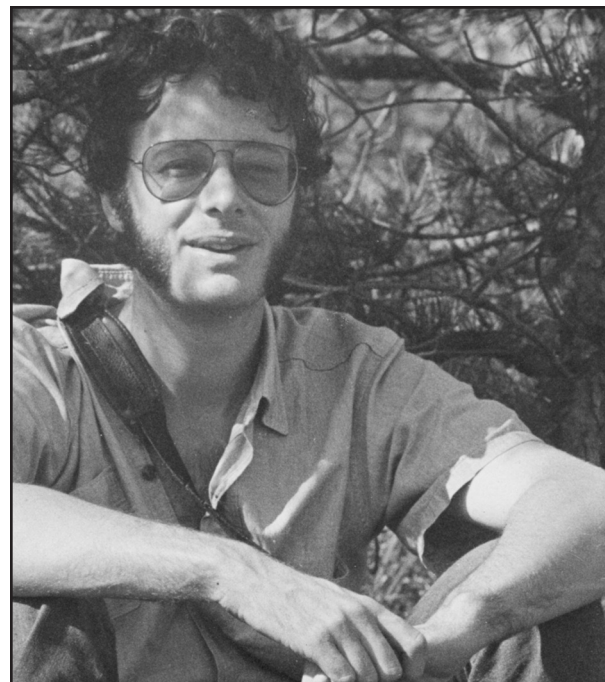
Kathy Fitzgerald	Susan Rabinovitz
Jill Hamberg	Jack Spence
David Hathaway	Kyle Steenland
Jon Lepie	Dinah Volk
Mishy Lesser	Steve Volk
Ruth Needleman	Andrew Zimbalist
and others who wish to remain anonymous	



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numero 4-Agosto

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In memory of Charles Horman and the victims
of the Pinochet regime

Sigue la lucha

Florida State University
Center for the Advancement of Human Rights



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“Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.”

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Written from Birmingham jail, April 16, 1963

IN HONOR OF JOYCE HORMAN AND THE ENTIRE HORMAN FAMILY.

GLORIA I. LERNER

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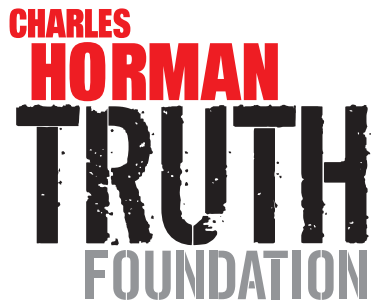
*For information contact: gabrielamistralfoundation@gmail.com
or please visit our website: www.gabrielamistralfoundation.org*

Charles

You were the light
in a dark tunnel

and
with the light
you became
not missing
but present

Diane Dixon
July 2013



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New York, NY 10023
www.hormantruth.org