

Communism, Chile, and the CIA:

Taking a Look at the Declassified Communications That Led to the 1973 Chilean Coup

Senior Group Website
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The past three years when researching History Day projects, our focus has been on social movements such as the Quiet Revolution, the trade union Solidarność, and the Third World Liberation Front. When we heard this year's theme, we were compelled to expand our perspective of communication and research a topic that we didn't know a lot about. As we researched historical events that related to the theme, we remained interested in social movements. Using this interest to guide our search, we came upon Salvador Allende and the Chilean coup. We knew a little about the coup and Pinochet's regime mainly through Isabel Allende's book, *Of Love and Shadows*, and it seemed like a topic that would interest us. As we dug deeper into the historical event, we found the US's involvement fascinating and wanted to learn more. It was intriguing for us to learn about the back-channel communications conducted by the CIA and we thought it would be interesting to center these declassified communications as our project's focus.

This year pushed our research skills. Because we are attending school online and many events are virtual, we have been challenged to find a wide variety of sources. We started our research by requesting books from the library and looking into reliable databases. We were able to use the National Security Archive's website as a great resource for looking at the declassified communications, and found the books *The Pinochet File* by Peter Kornbluh and *The Chilean Spring* by Fernando Algría both extremely helpful. We attended multiple virtual help sessions at the East Side Freedom Library to receive research materials and feedback on our writing. We were able to interview the Director Of J2 Intelligence at US Southern Command, Army Brigadier General Timothy Brown. This interview was insightful and helped us understand the evolution of the US military's involvement in Latin America.

In the past, when participating in History Day, we have created documentaries. This year, we wanted to try something new and find another way to present our research creatively. Creating a website intrigued us because we could still have a larger word count and be able to play with creating a unique and creative design. Although learning how to use the website creator has proved to be challenging, we have had a lot of fun designing our website and finding multimedia to back up our main argument.

Our project relates to this year's theme, *Communication in History*, because it takes an in-depth look into documented communications (mainly phone and cable) from an impactful historical event: the declassified communications between US government officials and members of the Chilean military that led to the 1973 Chilean coup. These communications had a lasting impact on the entire nation of Chile and its citizens, an impact that is still felt today. Our project takes a look at this year's theme through the lens of focusing on how people have used communication to shape history.

Bibliography:
Primary Sources:

Government Documents:

Kornbluh, Peter. "Chile and the United States: Declassified Documents Relating to the Military Coup, September 11, 1973." *National Security Archives*, George Washington University.

This primary database put together by historian Peter Kornbluh, along with the other declassified communications, was key to our research. These official government documents, declassified during the Clinton administration, include communications between Chilean and US officials such as wire transcripts and records of phone calls, as well as internal US government transcripts from phone calls and meetings. This source helped us understand the nature of the communications between the US government and the Chilean military as well as the large role the CIA played in the 1973 coup d'état.

Kornbluh, Peter. "U.S. Covert Intervention in Chile: Planning to Block Allende Began Long before September 1970 Election Nixon Alerted in Advance to Date of Coup, Retired CIA Operative Writes in Foreign Affairs." *National Security Archives*, 2014.

Similar to the first database of declassified documents, this source includes physical evidence supporting our theme connection. These communications illustrate the role the US played in establishing Pinochet's dictatorship and the many years they spent attempting to thwart, ruin, and remove democratically elected leader Salvador Allende because of his successful socialist government and beliefs.

Kornbluh, Peter. "KISSINGER AND CHILE: THE DECLASSIFIED RECORD Kissinger Pressed Nixon to Overthrow the Democratically Elected Allende Government Because His "'Model' Effect Can Be Insidious," Documents Show." *National Security Archives*, 2013.

This third collection of declassified documents published on the National Security Archives website focuses on Secretary of State and National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger and his large role in instigating and aiding the 1973 Chilean coup. Many of these documents we included on our website. They paint a detailed picture of Kissinger's attempted and successful manipulation of a nation ending in the deaths, torture, and oppression of Chile's citizens.

Articles:

Castleman, Michael. "The CIA Makes Headlines: Psychological Warfare in Chile." *Ann Arbor SUN*, 4 July 1975. <https://aadl.org/node/199641>

Originally appearing in the *Liberation Magazine*, this article discusses the use of psychological warfare by the CIA in Chile through anti-communist radio ads meant to target Allende. We were able to use this newspaper clip as a visual within our website on the page 'CIA Communications in Chile.'

Dorfman, Ariel. "THE CHALLENGE IN CHILE." *The New York Times*, 29 June 1986, www.nytimes.com/1986/06/29/magazine/the-challenge-in-chile.html.

This article talks about what went on in Chile's national stadium during the coup. At the national stadium many citizens were shot and killed or sent on to torture camps. This article helped give us a primary view on that event, which we go more in depth about in our main events.

Friedman, Uri. "The Other 9/11: A CIA Agent Remembers Chile's Coup." *The Atlantic*, Atlantic Media Company, 13 Sept. 2015, www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/09/chile-coup-salvador-allende-cia/380082/.

This source gave us a better understanding of the CIA's involvement in Chile through a first-hand account from an agent. This source was very beneficial towards our project because of its primary account of the events in Chile. As well, we were able to use what we learned in this source to further the accuracy of our writing.

**Neruda, Pablo. "The Satraps." *The New York Times*, 26 Sept. 1973,
www.nytimes.com/1973/09/26/archives/the-satraps.html.**

Translated and published in *The New York Times*, this poem was written by famous Chilean Nobel Laureate poet, Pablo Neruda, shortly before his death and the US backed military coup. It is a testament to the brutality of the events in Santiago and the nation. The poem condemns Nixon and 'the wolves of Wall Street.'

Novitski, Joseph. "Allende Sees Chile Finding Her Own Way to Socialism." *The New York Times*, 4 Oct. 1970.

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1970/10/04/105310153.html?pageNumber=1>

Published in *The New York Times*, this article was written shortly after Allende was elected president, becoming the first socialist president in the Western Hemisphere, and discusses Chile's path to a democratic socialism that denounces authoritarian regimes. It includes an interview with Allende and reading this article gave us insight into the kind of government Chile's citizens and Allende hoped for after the 1970 presidential election.

Onis, Juan De. "Chile Reports Gains in Reducing Hunger Among Children of Its Poor." *The New York Times*, 21 Aug. 1977,

www.nytimes.com/1977/08/21/archives/chile-reports-gains-in-reducing-hunger-among-children-of-its-poor.html.

This article from *The New York Times* archives details the program set up during Allende's presidency to distribute free milk to school children and how it changed under Pinochet's regime. Reading this article showed us the influence both administrations had on the Chilean population.

Rattner, Steven. "Economist in the Public Cause." *The New York Times*, 15 Oct. 1976,

www.nytimes.com/1976/10/15/archives/economist-in-the-public-cause-milton-friedman.html.

This article talks about how Milton Friedman's economic model was tested in Chile through the Chicago boys. This allowed us to see how the US was able to halt Chile's development through economics and expanded our view on the importances of economics to Chile's downfall.

Seymour. "C.I.A. Is Linked to Strikes In Chile That Beset Allende." *The New York Times*, 20 Sept. 1974, www.nytimes.com/1974/09/20/archives/cia-is-linked-to-strikes-in-chile-that-beset-allende-intelligence.html.

This primary source from *The New York Times* archive, originally published in 1974, reports on the CIA's involvement in removing Allende from power. At the time the public's knowledge of the involvement was very little. This article was informative because it took a look at the CIA's involvement through a primary lens when the events of the coup were so recent.

Winn, Peter. "Chile Was the Watergate of United States Foreign Policy." *The New York Times*, 9 May 1976, www.nytimes.com/1976/05/09/archives/chile-was-the-watergate-of-united-states-foreign-policy-chile.html.

This article was very interesting to read and details in depth the impact of the US's involvement in Chile and the corruption of US foreign policy. As the title suggests, the author was opposed to the US's involvement and he provides evidence into how the US attempted to manipulate a country to please its own interests, resulting in thousands of deaths. His article explains why the US is an imperialist entity.

Books:

Alegría, Fernando. *The Chilean Spring*. Latin American Literary Review Press, 1980.

This haunting story follows the life of a photographer who was killed in the aftermath of the Chilean coup. The book incorporates his journal entries and gives a profound look into the terror of the days immediately following the coup and that would continue for nearly two decades. The author includes discussions in the opinion section of a local paper that, when

reading it, made it feel as if you were in Chile in the months of political turmoil leading to the coup.

Allende, Isabel. *Of Love and Shadows*. 1993.

Of Love and Shadows is a fiction book based on the true horrors of the Pinochet regime. Written by Salvador Allende's goddaughter Isabel Allende, it tells a primary view of the events of 1970s Chile in a compelling way. This book helped spark our interest in the topic and gave a more personal perspective on what happened in Chile.

Furci, Carmelo. *The Chilean Communist Party and the Road to Socialism*. Zed Books, 1984.

This book analyzes the history of the communist party in Chile, one of the oldest communist parties in the world, and takes a look at Chile's progressive socialist government of the 70s. From this book, we were able to better understand what led to the success of Allende and how socialism positively impacted Chile.

Galeano, Eduardo. *Memory of Fire: Century of the Wind*. Cedric Belfrage, 1988.

This poetically written book shares historical short essays of Latin America, many that discuss the oppression of the region by the US. This volume includes multiple pieces on Allende's Chile including about his last speech shortly before he died and an essay about the violation of his home by soldiers after his death. Reading these stories allowed us to look into the success of Allende and the inhumanity of the 1973 Chilean coup through a primary lens.

López-Calvo, Ignacio. *Written in Exile: Chilean Fiction from 1973-Present*. Routledge, 2020.

This book includes fiction written by Chile's authors, poets, and intellectuals who were forced into exile after the coup in fear for their lives. This book gave us a powerful look at the emotions and soul of the Chilean people and how they were deeply traumatized by Pinochet's dictatorship. Many of these accounts we also used as quotes in our website.

Márquez, García Gabriel, and Miguel Littín. *Clandestine in Chile: the Adventures of Miguel Littín*. New York Review, 2010.

This book recalls the story of Chilean filmmaker Miguel Littín who snuck back into Pinochet's Chile (after being forced into exile by the military junta) in disguise to document the oppression of his dictatorship. His story was very telling to the experience of many who were forced into exile under the Pinochet regime and it was interesting to learn about how his experiences influenced his work in film. This book was enjoyable to read and insightful about life under an oppressive regime.

***The Chilean Coup and Its Cruel Aftermath*. International Organization of Journalists, 1974. (Published by the IOJ including official statements that do not have a specified author.)**

This primary source assembled by the International Organization of Journalists, includes a collection of documents, reports, studies, and photos. This source focuses on journalists and the military junta's removal of free speech and the free press. By reading this source, we gained a deeper understanding of how the military junta controlled and manipulated the communication of the brutality in Chile.

Secondary Sources:

Articles:

"CIA Cover-Up on Chile." National Security Archive, 11 Aug. 2017, nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/chile/2016-09-09/cia-cover-chile.

This article analyzes the declassified documents from the 1973 coup. It looks at different information within the documents, explaining correspondences with officials in Chile. This source helped us understand what communication with Chile was happening at the time and the steps the CIA was prepared to take to remove Allende from power.

Kornbluh, Peter. "Declassifying U.S. Intervention in Chile." NACLA, nacla.org/article/declassifying-us-intervention-chile.

In this source, acclaimed author Peter Kornbluh, talks about the US government's steps to declassify important documents on Chile. This source taught us why these documents had been classified and how declassifying them would help inform the public about the US's manipulation and missteps in Chile, information not previously communicated to the American people.

Morley, Morris, and Chris McGillion. "The Reagan Administration and Re-democratisation in Chile, 1983-1986." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* , vol. 25, no. 1, ser. 1-22, Jan. 2006. 1-22, doi:JSTOR.

This article explains the Reagan administration's steps toward moving Chile's government away from communism with the Pinochet regime. This source helped us understand how the legacy of the US's involvement in Chile resulted in future administrations' involvement.

"The Pinochet File" by Peter Kornbluh (Review). *New Yorker*, 2020, www.newyorker.com/magazine/2003/09/08/the-pinochet-file.

This article published in *The New Yorker* magazine reviews Peter Kornbluh's book on the declassified CIA documents on Chile. This article helped us find additional primary and secondary sources. This article also gave us references to other sources that talked about the declassification of the CIA documents.

"The CIA and Chile: Anatomy of an Assassination." *National Security Archive*, 23 Oct. 2020, nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/chile/2020-10-22/cia-chile-anatomy-assassination.

"The CIA and Chile: Anatomy of an Assassination", describes the US involvement in the assassination of Chilean army general René Schneider. The US's involvement in this assassination was made clear through declassified documents and this article explains that. This

source helped us write our build up and better understand the back-channel communication between the CIA and Chilean military.

Books:

Bitar, Sebastian E. US Military Bases, Quasi-Bases, and Domestic Politics in Latin America. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016.

This book talks about US domestic policy and US military involvement in Latin America. It shows how the US military has been involved in many Latin American military coups and points out their involvement to this day. We use this information in our background.

Cosgrove, Serena. Leadership from the Margins: Women and Civil Society Organizations in Argentina, Chile, and El Salvador. Rutgers University Press, 2010.

This book discusses the leading and impactful role women played in standing up to oppression and establishing social movements in Latin America, including in Chile. It was very interesting to read about the women in these social movements because their voices are often not included in many sources we read.

Galeano, Eduardo. *Children of the Days: a Calendar of Human History*. Nation Books, 2015.

This collection of poems and short stories has tales of life for every day of the year including one called 'The Saddest Match in History,' that describes the soccer match Chile's soccer team played against the USSR who refused to play in protest of Pinochet and the military coup that killed Allende. Chile's team won the game by scoring on an open net on the same field political dissidents had only recently been killed on and in the same stadium Pinochet had turned into a detention camp. This book includes multiple stories on Chile and powerfully tells the story of Pinochet's Chile.

Harmer, Tanya. Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War. Univ Of North Carolina Pr, 2014.

This book discusses the war on communism within the Americas, and how threatened the US felt by Allende's administration. It also touches on how Chile's proximity to the US was a

reason for US involvement. This source helped us understand how even though Allende aligned with the Socialist Party, the US saw his political views as a threat to America and an infiltration of communist beliefs. This article was a helpful resource when writing the background.

Hersh, Seymour M. *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House*. Summit Books, 1983.

The Price of Power was a very key source in our project. We were able to use the book's section on US involvement in Chile to help guide our research. This book went very in depth into the exact whereabouts of Henry Kissinger (Nixon's Secretary of State and National Security Advisor) and his actions leading up to the 1973 coup. As we learned through this source, many US meetings about Chile were not put onto the official CIA record system, and this book gave us a look into what might have happened in those meetings. In addition this book had a lot of quotes from US officials that we were able to include in our website.

Kornbluh, Peter. *The Pinochet File: a Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*. New Press, 2013.

Written after the declassification of the US government documents on Chile, this book takes an in-depth look at CIA communications and the impact of the US's involvement in Chilean politics. This source helped us understand the information presented in these declassified files and was central to our research.

Shayne, Julie. *They Used to Call Us Witches: Chilean Exiles, Culture, and Feminism*. Lexington Books, 2010.

This book takes a look at the community of female Chilean exiles in Canada, examining feminism's large role in Chilean political activism past and present. This book was very interesting and gave us a better understanding of the role Chile's woman in BIPOC communities played in working to build a more equal society under Allende.

Websites:

“Chilean President Salvador Allende Dies in Coup.” *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 9 Feb. 2010, www.history.com/this-day-in-history/allende-dies-in-coup.

This website gives an in-depth explanation of the 1973 coup in Chile and the timeline of events. We used this source to gather background information on our topic and understand the communications between the US government and Chilean military that took place.

“Chile Profile - Timeline.” BBC News, BBC, 20 Nov. 2017, www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19356356.

This source from the BBC helped us understand the timeline of events in Chile and the US involvement in the coup. We were able to use this source to guide our research and better understand our topic. The source was also very helpful towards writing our short term.

“The CIA and Chile: Anatomy of an Assassination.” National Security Archive, 23 Oct. 2020, nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/chile/2020-10-22/cia-chile-anatomy-assassination.

The communications between the US and Chile are well explained in this article and it details in depth information about the exact actions of US officials. It helped us understand the topic's connection to the theme. As well, the source had declassified documents linked which was very beneficial.

“‘Make the Economy Scream’: Secret Documents Show Nixon, Kissinger Role Backing 1973 Chile Coup.” Democracy Now!, www.democracynow.org/2013/9/10/40_years_after_chiles_9_11.

This website takes a look at the US government's attempt to ruin Chile's economy as a way to remove Allende from power. This source helped our research by informing us of the US's fear of communism and Chile's socialism.

“September, the Cruellest Month in Chile.” Transnational Institute, 11 Apr. 2018, www.tni.org/es/node/13324.

This source gave us a general overview on our topic and helped guide our research. The website talked about the coup in Chile and the basic history of it. As well, it was very helpful towards finding photos for our website.

“The Chile Documentation Project.” National Security Archive, 10 Sept. 2018, nsarchive.gwu.edu/project/chile-documentation-project.

This source from the National Security Archive talks about the push to declassify the CIA documents about Chile. It helped us understand how declassifying these documents helped communicate to the public how US involvement resulted in a horrific event and serve justice to those involved.

Ward, Alex. “Chileans Want a More Equal Society. They're about to Rewrite Their Constitution to Have It.” Vox, Vox, 26 Oct. 2020, www.vox.com/21534338/chile-constitution-plebiscite-vote-pinochet.

This source talks about the recent protests in Chile to rewrite the constitution that was instituted by Pinochet. This source helped us understand the legacy of our topic and how the US's missteps in Chile still have an impact today.

Film:

CBS News. “From the 60 Minutes Archives: Schneider v. Kissinger.” CBS News, CBS Interactive, 21 Oct. 2020, www.cbsnews.com/video/from-the-60-minutes-archives-schneider-v-kissinger/.

This *60 Minutes* segment aired shortly after some of the CIA documents from Chile were declassified by the Clinton administration. This film includes interviews, photos, and an in-depth analysis of what the documents revealed which was very helpful toward expanding our knowledge of our topic.

Barrat, Patrice. *Investigating Operation Condor*. Journeyman Pictures, 2012.

Investigating Operation Condor is an investigative documentary that digs into the history of Operation Condor—the collaboration between the US military and DINA, Pinochet's secret

police—a violent operation that killed and tortured political dissidents in South America. This documentary was eye opening and helped us to learn more about the oppressive presence of the US military in Latin America.

Gallenberger, Florian. *Colonia*. Iris Productions, 2015.

This fictional film, based on true events, stars Emma Watson, a flight attendant who goes in search of her husband after he is kidnapped by the military junta in the aftermath of the 1973 Chilean coup. Her search leads her to a cult in southern Chile where Pinochet's soldiers are torturing political detainees.

Larrín, Pablo. *No*. Sony Pictures Classics, 2013.

Nominated for an oscar, this Chilean film starring Gael García Bernal tells the story of a young marketer who develops the ad campaign 'No' that helps influence the vote to remove Pinochet from power. This film, based on true events, was well filmed and gave us an informative look at the Chilean people's struggles in removing Pinochet's oppressive dictatorship from power.

Moretti, Nanni, director. *Santiago*, Italia. Sacher Film, 2018.

This documentary takes a look at how the Italian Embassy helped house and protect Chileans in the aftermath of the violent coup and the bond these citizens of different countries still have today. This documentary helped us understand foreign aid to Chile during Pinochet's regime.

Polański, Roman. *Death and the Maiden*. Capitol Films, 1994.

Adapted from the play by Chilean Ariel Dorfman, this film tells the story of a middle aged Chilean woman who, upon hearing the voice of man accompanying her husband to their home, recalls her brutal torture and rape during the aftermath of the 1973 Chilean coup at the hands of the military junta. She holds this man, who she believes to have been her captor, at gunpoint and has her husband perform a mock trial for the physical and emotional abuse this man

inflicted on her. This emotional movie gave us a powerful perspective of the inhumanity and brutality of the 1973 Chilean coup.

Whitecross, Matt and Winterbottom, Michael. *The Shock Doctrine*. Renegade Pictures, 2009.

Based on Naomi Klein's book of the same title, this movie looks into the detrimental effects of capitalism and neoliberalism. Part of the movie takes a look at 1970s Chile, and shows how Milton Friedman attempted to implement free-market economics in Chile resulting in dramatic inflation and an economic disaster.

Interviews:

Personal Interview, Brigadier General Timothy Brown, March 2021.

We interviewed the Director of Intelligence for US Southern Command, Brigadier General Timothy Brown, who oversees all intelligence operations for the US military in Latin America. This interview was insightful into US military involvement in South America and how it has evolved over time.

Personal Interview, Kornbluh, Peter. "Zoom Interview: Chile 1969-1990." 5 Apr. 2021.

In this personal interview with historian Peter Kornbluh, one of the citizens who helped get the CIA documents declassified, we were able to discuss his personal experience with the declassifying of the documents and his lifetime of research on Chile. He is also the author of *The Pinochet File* which was a very beneficial source to us.