

CHILE IN THE U.S. IMAGINATION: NATIONAL AND NORTH CAROLINA PRESS  
COVERAGE OF THE CHILEAN MILITARY COUP OF SEPTEMBER 11, 1973

by

Tristan Kosich

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Tristan Kosich

Greenville, NC

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Approved by:

Dr. Angela Thompson

Department of History, Thomas Harriot College of Arts and Sciences

The Chilean coup of September 11, 1973, drastically changed the course of Chilean history, resulting in the imposition of the military dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet and the overthrow of a long-standing democracy which would not reemerge until 1990. Chile had been under civilian constitutional rule since 1833 except for a civil war in 1891 and a period of military rule between 1924 to 1932.<sup>1</sup> Before the coup of 1973, Chile stood out as one of the few stable, democratic governments in Latin America at a time where many other countries were ruled by authoritarian dictatorships.

The prelude to the coup began in the Chilean presidential election of 1964 when Salvador Allende of the Socialist Party ran as a traditional Marxist, promising not merely a welfare state but rather state ownership of the means of production and distribution as well as nationalization of major industries like copper, in which international companies based in the United States had significant interests. The United States also feared that his election would be detrimental to American security interests and inspire the fall of other regimes in the Western hemisphere to Communism.<sup>2</sup> To prevent this outcome, President Lyndon Johnson directed the Central Intelligence Agency (hereafter C.I.A.) and State Department to fund other political parties in Chile, primarily the Christian Democrats and their candidate Eduardo Frei. Because of this interference, Frei won the election. Later, in the following election in 1970, Allende won despite U.S. efforts to undermine him.

The United States under President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger then engaged in covert and overt actions to prevent the installation of Allende as president and then undermine his government. Scholars do not agree whether U.S. action was a contributing or controlling

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<sup>1</sup> Paul E. Sigmund, *The U.S. and Democracy in Chile* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas C. Wright, *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Praeger, 2001), 136.

factor in the downfall of Allende or if the United States plotted directly with General Pinochet to orchestrate the coup three years after Allende's election. Regardless, the United States is widely held responsible for assisting the Pinochet regime, which became internationally infamous for abusing human rights in its objective of eliminating political opposition and communism.

Beyond the domestic upheaval, the significance of these events largely pertains to the Cold War and American interventionism. The Cold War and American strategy of containment of communism across the globe were driving forces behind U.S. covert action in Chile attempting to prevent Allende from coming to power and undermine his administration. The Cold War also shaped U.S. support of the Pinochet regime. It was anticommunist but also a dictatorship that engaged in systematic repression and human rights violations of political opposition, which clearly contradicted American values.

How did the U.S. press cover the coup and its aftermath? Did the U.S. government justify its actions as an effort to contain the spread of communism? Was the press supportive of covert action and support of Pinochet? In what way, if at all, did the U.S. public respond? Little has been done to show how the U.S. government presented its involvement to the public, how the U.S. media reported U.S. involvement in Chile, or how the public reacted.

To this end, this study examines American press coverage in 1973 and 1974 of the coup, the Pinochet regime, and U.S. covert action in Chile. This research is an analysis of how newspaper press coverage reflected and shaped public opinion of American foreign policy to such an extent that notable reform occurred. The central argument is that coverage from 1973 and 1974 generated condemnation for the coup and added to public mistrust of the federal government, helping to spur Congressional investigations and reform of the U.S. Intelligence Community. This public mistrust was also stoked by the Vietnam War and other intelligence

scandals. The *Pentagon Papers* publication in 1971 exposed that the American government had systematically lied to the American public about the war effort in Vietnam, so by the time of the coup, many Americans' trust in the government had already been lessened. Many Americans condemned the coup; as a Raleigh *News and Observer* editorial wrote, "we who believe in representative, free government are all diminished by Chile's loss."<sup>3</sup> Coverage in 1973 gave much attention to human rights abuses and violation of civil liberties by the military junta, while 1974 articles exposed U.S. covert action in Chile. Public sentiment was best summarized by Senator Frank Church's statement in 1974 that, "Our policy in Chile was unsavory and unprincipled...It can't possibly be justified unless we take the view that our methods and objectives are the same as the Soviet Union."<sup>4</sup>

This study primarily uses national newspaper articles and editorials from *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*. These were the largest, most influential, and most-widely read newspapers of the time period. This study also incorporates articles from North Carolina newspapers from the cities of Charlotte, Raleigh, Burlington, Chapel Hill, Gastonia, and Greensboro to provide a more diverse, local perspective. This examination uses twenty-nine national newspaper articles and twenty-six North Carolina state newspaper articles. National and international newspapers were more negative than North Carolina newspapers in their reporting on the coup. For this study, "negative" articles include those which explicitly condemn the coup, criticize the junta, express sympathy for Allende, or report on events unfavorable to the junta or United States, such as detention of innocents by the junta or leaked information of American covert action.

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<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "Chile's Loss Diminishes Us All," *News and Observer*, September 13, 1973, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *The New York Times*, "Testimony on Chile to be Probed," *News and Observer*, September 18, 1974, 2.

Of the twenty-nine national news articles in this study, eighteen were negative, while only three were defensive of the coup and U.S. involvement. The other seven were neutral, factual reports. North Carolina newspapers republished many of these national newspaper articles and editorials, signifying that editors likely shared the condemnatory views of the coup they were reprinting. Thirteen of the twenty-six editorials and reader write-in articles in North Carolina newspapers were negative, while eleven were supportive of the coup or the United States. The remaining two express concerns that could be shared by either side. Thus, there was not unanimity on the issue, but it is noteworthy that even in the conservative home state of Senator Jesse Helms there is evidence that more Americans than not were unsupportive of the coup and American interference in Chile.

Literature on the coup largely seeks to uncover the extent and impact of U.S. influence in Chile. Historians and journalists largely portray American motivations as security related in the context of the Cold War; the United States feared the spread of Socialist, pro-Soviet, anti-American regimes in its hemisphere. Those more critical of the United States argue for the significance of corporate interests of companies like International Telephone & Telegraph (hereafter ITT) that were heavily invested in Chile. Yet, very little research examines the justifications the U.S. government presented at the time or what most Americans thought of their government's activities. In a democracy, the citizens ideally play a role in the actions of their government, including foreign policy. The information they receive and their reaction to government actions are therefore important for shaping future foreign policy. This case study examines those reactions and their effects on U.S. foreign policy shortly after the coup.

The broader significance of this topic lies in its relation to how American foreign policy is conducted and in exploring the influence of the Cold War. In this case, the idea of communism

as a security concern in the United States led the government to engage in covert action helping to generate conditions favorable for the military coup and imposition of an undemocratic dictatorship which engaged in known violations of human rights and political repression. The research of Chilean scholar Sebastian Hurtado-Torres of Santiago University looks to the American media in the forms of newspapers, magazines, and television broadcasts to analyze the connections between foreign policy, ideology, and American attitudes toward Chile. Hurtado-Torres examines mainly national newspapers and covers the years from 1964 to 1973, the year of the coup.<sup>5</sup> This study follows his research into the years after the coup and evaluates his conclusions with the occurrence of developments relating to the coup and newspaper coverage in American newspapers, particularly in North Carolina.

Much of the historical literature attempts to establish the role and efficacy of U.S. covert action in Chile from the election of 1964 to the coup of 1973. Many works on the subject are objective examinations, but others have pro-Allende or anti-American biases that may exaggerate the importance of U.S. influence. Many books written immediately after the coup in 1973 are direct efforts to condemn the United States, though little information on U.S. actions in Chile was available at this time.<sup>6</sup> Samuel Chavkin's *The Murder of Chile*, published 1982, is one such work which suffers from factual errors and only includes the perspective of the far-left in Chile. Chavkin was a news correspondent in Latin America, not a historian.<sup>7</sup> A loose collection of interviews with exiled Allende officials and supporters, this book provides insight into the political repression carried out by the dictatorship, but its analysis is narrow in its viewpoint.

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<sup>5</sup> Sebastian Hurtado-Torres, "The U.S. Press and Chile, 1964-1973: Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Revista de Historia Iberoamericana* 5, no. 2 (June 21, 2012).

<sup>6</sup> Kristian Gustafson, *Hostile Intent: U.S. Covert Operations in Chile, 1964-1974* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2007), 10.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Chavkin, *The Murder of Chile*, (New York: Everest House, 1982).

First published in 1991, Thomas C. Wright's *Latin American in the Era of the Cuban Revolution* examines Chile under Allende and its global context in the Cold War amidst U.S. fears sparked by the Cuban Revolution. As such, it looks beyond Chile to the rest of Latin America regarding the significance of the election of a Marxist and the potential for a spread of Socialism due to this unconventional Communist victory. He examines why the United States became involved in Chile and concludes that U.S. leaders feared "hemispheric cohesion" of an anti-United States axis an advance of Marxist ideas in Latin America.<sup>8</sup> Though analysis of Chile constitutes only one part of this study, Wright's work nonetheless a significant expansion of the topic beyond domestic affairs or U.S. covert action to an international level of analysis.

Paul E. Sigmund's *The United States and Democracy in Chile* (1994) is an unbiased and informative analysis of U.S. action in Chile. Sigmund contends that the U.S. role was "supportive but not determinative."<sup>9</sup> For instance, Sigmund argues that U.S. funding of Eduardo Frei of the Christian Democratic Party in the presidential election of 1964 only marginally helped but was probably unnecessary and likely served to tarnish the party's reputation in Chile.<sup>10</sup> Sigmund's work boasts an extensive bibliography which includes a large number of Senate reports and declassified documents about U.S. action in Chile even before the large wave of declassification that occurred after this book's publication.

All major research on U.S. involvement in Chile use a number of reports from Senate hearings held after the coup. The Senate report of April 1975, *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders* is examined primarily in connection with the assassination of General

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<sup>8</sup> Wright, *Latin American in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*, 136.

<sup>9</sup> Sigmund, *The U.S. and Democracy in Chile*, xi.

<sup>10</sup> Sigmund, *The U.S. and Democracy in Chile*, 25.

Schneider of Chile in 1970.<sup>11</sup> Based on C.I.A. archives, this report exonerated the United States of responsibility for Schneider's death, though the C.I.A. had originally supported and funded the group responsible with the intention of kidnapping the general. More widely cited is the *Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities: Covert Action in Chile, 1963-1973*, also known as the Church committee report.<sup>12</sup> Prior to the release of more declassified documents, the Church committee report was the primary source of all writing about U.S. involvement in the Chilean coup and the years prior.<sup>13</sup>

More recent works since 1999 have benefitted from the declassification by President Clinton of tens of thousands of government documents on C.I.A. and State Department activities in Chile. This does not mean that a single perspective or uncontested analysis of U.S. action in Chile has emerged. Declassified documents regarding covert action do not fill in all the blanks. Many important conversations, orders, etc., are not recorded or written down so that secrecy and plausibility may be maintained. Parts of the documents are often omitted, and what remains may still be factually inaccurate or misleading. Henceforth, there are competing narratives and interpretations of the events in Chile.

Peter Kornbluh, Senior Analyst at the National Security Archive and Director of Cuba and Chile Documentation Projects, sifts through a tremendous amount of declassified documents in *The Pinochet File* (2003) in an effort to reevaluate what role the United States played in the coup, what motivated Nixon and Kissinger to act, and what support the C.I.A. gave to

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<sup>11</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Alleged Assassinations Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, 94<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess. 20 November, 1975.

<sup>12</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Covert Action in Chile, 1963-1973*, 94<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

<sup>13</sup> Gustafson, *Hostile Intent*, 12.

Pinochet.<sup>14</sup> According to Kornbluh, his Chile Declassification Project yielded 24,000 documents and recordings of private commentaries, secret directives, and high level intelligence reports on U.S. policies and actions in Chile.<sup>15</sup> *The Pinochet File* also shows in images a plethora of the declassified documents. From these sources, Kornbluh contributes more details to the existing historical narrative about U.S. covert actions to establish an unstable political climate in Chile and destabilize the Chilean government under Allende. Indeed, this compelling work certainly tarnishes the reputation of the United States and especially of major actors such as Secretary of State Kissinger.

Jonathan Haslam's *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende's Chile* also uses new source materials to analyze why the Popular Unity government of Allende failed. Haslam takes an international relations approach, using not only government documents of the United States but also from Brazil, France, Germany, Italy, and Britain. Haslam assigns great importance to U.S. covert action in swaying events in Chile. Notably, Haslam cites a confidential, non-attributed source to confirm that the United States helped plan the coup of 1973 through special outside management, a claim that the C.I.A. still disputes.<sup>16</sup> While still largely blaming the United States, most of the book argues that the Allende government's political miscalculations and poor economic planning were in great measure responsible for its downfall.

John Dinges' *The Condor Years* is a unique "underground history" covering the period of 1973 to 1980. This time period was that of Operation Condor, a continent-wide covert operation carried out by South American regimes led by Chile to eliminate left-wing activists in the

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<sup>14</sup> Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File* (New York: New Press, 2003), xviii.

<sup>15</sup> Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, xvii.

<sup>16</sup> Jonathan Haslam, *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende's Chile* (New York: Verso, 2005), 219; "CIA Activities in Chile," Central Intelligence Agency, June 19, 2013, Accessed March 06, 2019, <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/chile/>.

region.<sup>17</sup> Dinges reports that in his study he was able to interview or obtain testimony from over 200 people who participated in this period, including security forces, armed leftist groups, and U.S. officials.<sup>18</sup> Like Kornbluh and Haslam, Dinges also incorporates a large number of the secret documents, such as from Chile's intelligence agency, DINA, and the CIA, that had recently been declassified. Also like the *Pinochet File*, this study seeks to understand the extent of U.S. knowledge and support of Condor. According to this compelling research, the United States encouraged and provided a framework for these regimes to share intelligence during Operation Condor. The United States otherwise sent mixed signals regarding its human rights policies and support of these dictatorships against communists, leading them to proceed with their operations in the brutal fashion they thought most effective.<sup>19</sup>

Among the most recent works on the U.S. involvement in Chile are *Hostile Intent: U.S. Covert Operations in Chile, 1964-1974* (2007) by Kristian Gustafson and *Nixon, Kissinger, and Allende: U.S. Involvement in Chile* (2009) by Lubna Z. Qureshi. Gustafson states that most of the history on this topic deals with U.S. actions in Chile as events independent of each other, whereas he argues they all compose a single campaign against Allende. His focus is with C.I.A. covert action and the U.S. government's decision-making process with the specific purpose of "drawing out some of the lessons about the function and utility of covert action as a tool of statecraft."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Francesca Lessa, "Operation Condor on Trial: Justice for Transnational Human Rights Crimes in South America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* (November 18, 2018): 1–36.

<sup>18</sup> John Dinges, *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents* (New York: New Press, 2004), ix.

<sup>19</sup> Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 252.

<sup>20</sup> Gustafson, *Hostile Intent*, 6.

Qureshi uses declassified tapes and documents to analyze the decision-making process of Nixon and Kissinger. Whereas previous works establish what the United States did in Chile, this study seeks to understand why. She disagrees with Haslam's characterization of Allende as inept and Gustafson's idea for why the Nixon administration considered Allende a threat. Whereas other scholars have argued that the United States perceived Allende as a security concern, Qureshi concludes that Nixon and Kissinger acted out of imperial disdain for Latin America and under pressure from U.S. business interests, such as from ITT and the major copper companies invested in Chile.<sup>21</sup> Whereas Gustafson's research examined the many aspects of covert action, Qureshi's work compellingly condemns the immorality and blowback of *realpolitik* policies pursued by Nixon and Kissinger.

Two notable research articles exploring American media coverage of the coup are "The Chile Solidarity Movement and its Media: An Alternative Take on the Allende and Pinochet Years" by Victoria Goff and "The U.S. Movement in Solidarity with Chile in the 1970s" by Margaret Power.<sup>22</sup> These articles examine the solidarity groups in North America formed "to create and disseminate alternative media products to cover the dramatic changes taking place in Chile and to counter some of the coverage of Chile in the mainstream U.S. press."<sup>23</sup> These groups continuously covered human rights violations in Chile and kept this issue in the public eye. Indeed, as this study will show, human rights was a major focus in most media coverage of Chile after the coup, and this may be thanks in part to the continuous efforts of the solidarity groups discussed in Goff's and Power's research. Goff explores more than one form of media

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<sup>21</sup> Lubna Z. Qureshi, *Nixon, Kissinger, and Allende: U.S. Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), xiii.

<sup>22</sup> Margaret Power, "The U.S. Movement in Solidarity with Chile in the 1970s," *Latin American Perspectives* 36, no. 6 (2009).

<sup>23</sup> Victoria Goff, "The Chile Solidarity Movement its Media: An Alternative Take on the Allende and Pinochet Years," *American Journalism* 24, no. 4 (2007): 2.

and examines the solidarity movement through documentaries, films, music recordings and festivals, radio, and newsletters. Interestingly, Goff notes that the Community Action on Latin America (CALA) newsletter covered all parts of the country except the South, and coverage for the other newsletters mentioned in the article similarly seems to neglect the South.<sup>24</sup> Examination of a sample of North Carolinian newspapers will at least reveal some of the viewpoints presented to and held by Americans in the South. As for the widespread effects of solidarity media discussed in Goff's research, she concludes that it had sizeable impact on North American public opinion and on both the U.S. and Chilean governments.<sup>25</sup> Goff acknowledges that the movement suffered from ideological divisions between its Marxist and more moderate liberal members and allowed bias to influence how its media products presented information.<sup>26</sup> However, Goff and activists in the movement argue that these grassroots networks and their publications led to heightened awareness of abuses in Chile, kept the "Chilean dictatorship exposed as a pariah" and encouraged activism opposing U.S. policies in Latin America.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, these publications explored issues in more depth and covered topics that had otherwise gone ignored by the mainstream media.

Margaret Power's "The U.S. Movement in Solidarity with Chile in the 1970s" explains the solidarity movement's formation and also hails it being successful in maintaining a negative image of Pinochet, helping to educate the public about neocolonial practices carried out by the United States in Latin America, and helping to secure the release of political prisoners in Chile.<sup>28</sup> Power's study argues that political refugees were important in shaping American perceptions of

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<sup>24</sup> Goff, "The Chile Solidarity Movement," 16.

<sup>25</sup> Goff, "The Solidarity Movement," 24.

<sup>26</sup> Goff, "The Chile Solidarity Movement," 26.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>28</sup> Margaret Power, "The U.S. Movement in Solidarity with Chile in the 1970s," *Latin American Perspectives* 36, no. 6 (2009): 3.

events in Chile as they provided exposure to Chileans who supported the Allende government.<sup>29</sup> Power also contrasts mainstream national news coverage, mainly consisting of *Time*, *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, of Chile from before and after the coup, finding that this coverage was largely anti-communist and negatively portrayed Allende's regime, but it then shifted its focus after the coup towards repression by the junta.<sup>30</sup>

Power then traces how the solidarity movement and media covered the Congressional response to the disapproval of most of the American public and also much of the international community to the Chilean coup. Following the efforts and investigations by such members as Edward Kennedy and Frank Church, the push to make human rights an important issue on Capitol Hill and in the formulation of foreign policy began.<sup>31</sup> Power explains that the solidarity movement helped by conducting letter and phone campaigns and lobbying for the release of the thousands of political prisoners in Chile.<sup>32</sup> In keeping the topic of Chile alive, refugees played a crucial role for bringing their experiences to the United States and energizing solidarity groups. Nearly two percent of Chile's population fled as refugees, allowing the dictatorship to retain tighter control domestically but allowing for a diaspora of political dissidents to influence global opinion.<sup>33</sup> Ultimately, Power's research reiterates the importance of the solidarity movement in North America for generating widespread condemnation of Pinochet, saving the lives of political prisoners, and promoting integration of human rights.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Power, "The U.S. Movement in Solidarity with Chile in the 1970s," 5.

<sup>30</sup> Power, "The U.S. Movement in Solidarity with Chile in the 1970s," 7.

<sup>31</sup> Power, "The U.S. Movement in Solidarity with Chile in the 1970s," 9-10.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

*The U.S. Press and Chile: 1964-1973: Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* by Dr. Sebastián Hurtado-Torres of Ohio University is another of the few studies on what Americans perceived of the events in Chile. Hurtado-Torres adeptly analyzes the portrayal of Chile in major American newspapers and magazines while examining how U.S. policies were connected to a broader Cold War mindset in American society.<sup>35</sup> Utilizing newspaper readership trends, declassified documents, a wide body of secondary sources, and a wide array of newspapers from across the United States, his study argues that American motivations behind action in Chile were security-based concerns rooted in Cold War ideology. Additionally, Hurtado-Torres concludes that the press and government generally held similar anti-communist attitudes towards Chilean affairs.<sup>36</sup> The administration of Eduardo Frei enjoyed a favorable image in the U.S. media and support from the U.S. government. On the other hand, U.S. policymakers, diplomats, and most of the press viewed Allende as a communist threat during his rise and presidency. Hurtado-Torres argues that anticommunism “was the foremost guiding ideological principle” for the United States at that time and was the main driving force motivating American policy toward Chile.<sup>37</sup> In this way, the United States viewed Allende and his leftist government as a threat to the entire Latin American political system. In addition, modernization theory shaped U.S. perception and policy. In opposition to Marxism, Modernization Theory proposed that modern capitalism was the final economic, evolutionary stage of a society, generated by a large middle class and strong foundations of liberal democracy.<sup>38</sup> Thus, the communist regime of Allende posed a threat to the United States from a Cold War or anticommunist perspective, while American action, both

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<sup>35</sup> Sebastian Hurtado-Torres, “The U.S. Press and Chile, 1964-1973: Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Revista de Historia Iberoamericana* 5, no. 2 (June 21, 2012): 1.

<sup>36</sup> Hurtado-Torres, “The U.S. Press and Chile,” 57.

<sup>37</sup> Hurtado-Torres, “The U.S. Press and Chile,” 38.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-39.

covert and overt, against Chile was justified as necessary steps for guiding a backward Latin American state down the proper path of modernization.

Through these two intellectual frameworks Hurtado-Torres presents his research of the U.S. media's coverage of Chile. His research analyzes the time period before the coup occurred while the most important foreign policy issue remained the Vietnam War, as this long conflict was the target of significant public protest.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, covert action in Chile was still unrevealed to the public. Hurtado-Torres' study shows that press coverage by the major national newspapers such as *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Christian Science Monitor* was decidedly negative in their portrayal of Allende as a communist threat during the 1964 election and even more frantically in 1970, as the number of articles about Chile doubled from the first election to the second.<sup>40</sup> Though papers varied in the staunchness of their opposition to Allende, they were all generally unsympathetic. *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* were some of the most important news magazines to adopt critical positions depicting the situation in Chile under Allende as being one of "constant crisis and social unrest."<sup>41</sup> Among the many newspapers opposed to Allende, Hurtado-Torres argues that *The New York Times* was the most constructive and even-handed in its criticism, calling for a peaceful solution without U.S intervention as political polarization increased in the years before the coup.<sup>42</sup>

The 1973 coup and its aftermath received extensive coverage in both national and regional newspapers. In its coverage, the media focused primarily on human rights abuses, the

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<sup>39</sup> Hurtado-Torres, "The U.S. Press and Chile," 41.

<sup>40</sup> Hurtado-Torres, "The U.S. Press and Chile," 51.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

fall of democracy, and heavy-handed repression carried out by the Chilean dictatorship. On the other hand, numerous editorials, letters, and opinion pieces express no sympathy or surprise for the fall of Allende. Of course, support for Pinochet diminished over the decade as more abuses were revealed and U.S. involvement was disclosed. On the other hand, whereas there was only mild public reaction to U.S. interventions in Cuba in 1961 and in the Dominican Republic in 1965, the Chilean coup generated a profoundly negative response in the United States and Europe.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, Senator William Fulbright remarked that Congress received an “unprecedented number of telegrams, letters, and phone calls expressing opposition to the coup, concern for its victims, and strong suspicion of U.S. involvement.”<sup>44</sup> In the case of almost all North Carolinian newspapers examined in this study, the coup was front-page news on the day of the coup and many days afterwards, returning to relevance as new developments occurred throughout the month.

Associated Press articles about the coup littered the city newspapers of Greensboro, Burlington, Gastonia, Raleigh, and Charlotte. The article “Snipers Shooting: Chile Junta Ready to Blast Buildings” conveys concerns about the fatalities and destruction in the country following the swift and surprising attack on the presidential palace on September 11.<sup>45</sup> Staff writer Barbara Ross for the *Greensboro Record* presents an academic’s views of the coup in a front-page editorial “Experiment Didn’t Work.” This article includes many of the recurring topics and themes in coverage of the coup: evaluating Allende, lamenting the fall of a stable democracy, and suspicion of U.S. involvement. Ross quotes Dr. Zopf, a sociology professor at Guilford

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<sup>43</sup> Sigmund, *The United States and Democracy in Chile*, 85.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>45</sup> Associated Press, “Snipers Shooting: Chile Junta Ready to Blast Buildings,” *Greensboro Record*, September 12, 1973, 1.

College, who held a critical view of Allende and portrays him as an inflexible Marxist and the coup as unsurprising, a “getting rid of the debris of an unsuccessful experiment.” The professor argues that Allende’s policies were a burden on the middle class and bourgeoisie.<sup>46</sup>

In regard to these articles, it is important to note the large effort by the Nixon administration to “make the Chilean economy scream” with such policies as placing a credit blockade on the nation. Chile was heavily dependent economically on the United States as a major consumer of Chilean copper. It had also inherited a large amount of foreign debt from the Frei administration. U.S. private investment composed most of Chile’s foreign investment, while American corporations played a large part in almost all critical areas of Chile’s economy. In fact, U.S. corporations controlled production of eighty percent of Chile’s copper, which accounted for eighty percent of Chile’s foreign exchange earnings.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the U.S. government and American corporations held great sway in affecting the Chilean economy and had motivation to retaliate in force to major expropriations. It was known that United States lending to Chile and financial assistance from the heavily American-influenced World Bank and the Interamerican Development Bank ceased upon Allende taking office.<sup>48</sup> It is therefore difficult to blame the economic crisis that occurred under Allende entirely on his administration’s policies.

The concern for the break in Chile’s democratic tradition was a recurring theme in post-coup coverage. It can be seen here as the article notes that the coup, “was the first time since 1938 that the military has interfered with Chilean politics and this is considered unusual for Latin America.”<sup>49</sup> The article also points out that there was suspicion of collusion between ITT and the

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<sup>46</sup> Barbara Ross, “Experiment Didn’t Work,” *Greensboro Record*, September 12, 1973, 1.

<sup>47</sup> Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations, “Covert Action in Chile: 1963-1975,” 1975, 36.

<sup>48</sup> AP, “U.S. Weighs Stand After Coup in Chile,” *Greensboro Record*, September 12, 1973, 6.

<sup>49</sup> Ross, “Experiment Didn’t Work,” 13.

C.I.A. to prevent Allende from being elected. Latinos were highly suspicious from the beginning of the U.S. government's involvement. A *Charlotte Observer* article from September 20, 1973, remarked that, "all the propaganda resources the United States can muster will not convince many Latin Americans of Yankee innocence."<sup>50</sup> The article notes that these suspicions originated from publicity in Senate testimonies, newspapers, and on television about C.I.A. and ITT "schemes to crush Allende."<sup>51</sup> Suspicions held by American and Latinos were further intensified by the Church Committee's findings in 1975 which revealed that the United States did intervene covertly from the 1960s through the 1970 election and worked to undermine the Allende administration primarily through propaganda and economic measures.

In another article from *the Greensboro Record*, Professor Federico Gil of UNC Charlotte hails Allende as a "masterful politician," and a "man of much integrity."<sup>52</sup> He and another professor from UNC Greensboro fear that the overthrow of a democratically elected leftist government will signal to communists and leftists in Latin America that there is no peaceful way to institute socialism in their countries. It is evident that Allende had some measure of international support and respect, not only from articles such as this but also from the solidarity movements examined in the research of Goff and Power.

The press gave significant attention to the fall of democracy in Chile. A *News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC) editorial, "Chile's Loss Diminishes Us All," laments that Chile's elected government was, "not another banana republic," and that "we who believe in representative, free government are all diminished by Chile's loss."<sup>53</sup> Regardless of Allende's socialist policies,

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<sup>50</sup> Carl Rowan, "In Chile's Coup: Latinos Suspect U.S.," *Charlotte Observer*, September 20, 1973, 15.

<sup>51</sup> Rowan, "In Chile's Coup: Latinos Suspect U.S.," 15.

<sup>52</sup> Barbara Ross, "Allende Patriotism Cited by Professor," *Greensboro Record*, September 12, 1973, 49.

<sup>53</sup> Editorial, "Chile's Loss Diminishes Us All," *News and Observer*, September 13, 1973, 4.

many Americans were disappointed. An editorial from September 13, 1973, in the *Greensboro Record* condemns the coup, stating that, “the fall of Chile’s President Salvador Allende is a tragedy, no matter how hateful his Marxist ideology or how unsuccessful his tenure in office.”<sup>54</sup> Concerns in the immediate aftermath pertained to how long it would take for Chile to return to being democratic, and if leftists across Latin America would see the downfall of the peaceful Allende administration as a call to violence.<sup>55</sup> This article is among those least suspicious of the U.S. government, as the writer remarks how fortunate it was that the Nixon administration turned down ITT’s offer of assistance with an intervention. Interestingly, if somewhat ambiguously, the article states that, “the United States...retains a stake in the future of freedom throughout the hemisphere.”<sup>56</sup>

This understanding and reemphasis on American values would prove widespread amidst the American public as reforms and greater focus on human rights in foreign policy followed the aftermath of the coup. As it came to light that the United States acted against Chile and helped foment conditions for a coup leading to the imposition of an oppressive dictatorship, Americans questioned the justifications the government presented to them. For them the United States as a democracy and defender of self-determination of government should not undermine another democracy, even if it was led by a socialist. This was the beginning of a desire to depart from imperialist practices in foreign policy, leaving behind such ideas espoused by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who remarked to the Forty Committee, “I don’t see why we have to let a country go Marxist just because its people are irresponsible.”<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Editorial, “A Shattered Tradition and the Chilean Future,” *Greensboro Record*, September 13, 1973, 12.

<sup>55</sup> “A Shattered Tradition and the Chilean Future,” 12.

<sup>56</sup> “A Shattered Tradition and the Chilean Future,” 12.

<sup>57</sup> Jussi Hanhimaki, *The Flawed Architect: Henry Kissinger and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 102.

Along these lines, the *Charlotte Observer* featured a satirical short story on September 21, 1973, criticizing American foreign policy for being hypocritical in the sense that it claimed to seek promotion of democracy and self-governance in Vietnam, yet the U.S. government was taking no action to return Chile from a dictatorship to a democracy. In the story, a commanding officer tells a disappointed private that the United States will not be sending troops to Chile to restore democracy because the president was a Marxist. The private asks, “aren’t we for the inalienable right of everybody to choose their own leader?” to which the corporal replies, “as long as they’re smart enough to choose our guy.”<sup>58</sup> It was clear that the coup sparked serious questioning of Cold War foreign policy and the justification of covert action against democratic governments.

It was not just Allende supporters that were concerned with the fallen democracy. Editorial articles criticized the ineptitude of Allende while remaining unsupportive of the new authoritarian regime. In one such article in the *Charlotte Observer*, the writer argues that the coup was caused by dissatisfaction amongst the middle class coupled with an extremely polarized political climate. Furthermore, “poor planning, inept administration, and entrenched opposition spelled disaster” economically.<sup>59</sup> However, “Chile...is no banana republic. Its respect for the constitution and constitutional institutions is stronger perhaps than anywhere else in Latin America.”<sup>60</sup> Again press sources heavily emphasized that Chile stood out in Latin America as a stable democracy, making its loss more tragic.

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<sup>58</sup> Arthur Hoppe, “Forget it Private, Yanks Aren’t Coming,” *Charlotte Observer*, September 19, 1973, 21.

<sup>59</sup> William Montalbano, “Too Late, Allende Learns Middle Class Also Rises,” *Charlotte Observer*, September 12, 1973, 12.

<sup>60</sup> Montalbano, “Too Late, Allende Learns Middle Class Also Rises,” 12.

An article in Burlington's *Daily Times-News* expresses the widespread concern that, "Allende's failure may spur revolutionary violence in other countries."<sup>61</sup> There was fear that guerilla movements in Chile and elsewhere in Latin America would resort to violence following the death of Allende, who espoused peaceful means of instituting socialism.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, there also existed the fear that Allende's downfall would "bring charges that the United States had a role in the coup" and spread anti-American sentiment in Latin America.<sup>63</sup>

An editorial from the *Gastonia Gazette* remarked on September 15 that the United States quickly received blame from across the world for its suspected role in Allende's overthrow. For instance, more than 30,000 people marched past the Chilean embassy in Paris shouting, "Down with the murderers and the C.I.A."<sup>64</sup> This article is also demonstrative of the increasing distrust of the U.S. government by the public, stating that the United States may very well be to blame, given the Nixon administration's "official policy to lie deliberately to the American people."<sup>65</sup> The theme of mourning the fallen democracy appears once again as the article states that the failure of this elected government, "is disheartening to those who want stable South American governments that are both responsible and responsive to the public they are supposed to serve."<sup>66</sup>

The U.S. government maintained that it was uninvolved in response to accusations such as from Cuba that Nixon "and his collaborators...are guilty of having instigated and intellectually masterminded" the coup.<sup>67</sup> The official story held that the U.S. government learned

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<sup>61</sup> Louis Uchitelle (Associated Press), "Chile's Democratic Experiment Ends," *Daily Times-News*, September 12, 1973, 3.

<sup>62</sup> Associated Press, "Fall of Allende May Cause More Revolutionary Violence," *The Gastonia Gazette*, September 12, 1973, 4.

<sup>63</sup> Uchitelle, "Chile's Democratic Experiment Ends," 3.

<sup>64</sup> Editorial, "Stability Uncertain in Wake of President Allende's Death," *Gastonia Gazette*, September 15, 1973, 2.

<sup>65</sup> Editorial, "Stability Uncertain in Wake of President Allende's Death," 2.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, 2.

<sup>67</sup> Associated Press, "State Dept. Repeats Denial of Involvement," *Gastonia Gazette*, September 18, 1973, 1.

of the coup the night before it happened but decided to remain uninvolved.<sup>68</sup> Immediately after the coup the State Department stated that the United States played no part in it, “and expressed hope for return of democratic government there.”<sup>69</sup> Jack Kubisch, assistant secretary of state and coordinator for the Alliance for Progress, reported that there was no involvement by the U.S. government or American corporations, agencies, or citizens.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, critics argued that the United States was guilty of fomenting the coup through a strategy of “economic chaos.”<sup>71</sup> Kissinger testified in early October that there was “total confusion” among U.S. officials the morning after the coup, that he told the U.S. embassy in Santiago not to get involved directly or indirectly with plotters, and that the C.I.A. had no part in the coup.<sup>72</sup> The congressional investigation in 1975 would prove these statements to be misleading if not untrue.

Another *Charlotte Observer* editorial, “Behind Chile Coup: U.S. Policies,” from September 15 points out that from the time of Allende’s election, U.S. military and economic policies “put a slow squeeze on Allende,” even if the government did not directly participate in the coup.<sup>73</sup> According to the article, Latin American experts argued that the United States had essentially imposed an economic blockade on Chile in cutting economic assistance, cutting off credit, and limiting imports to Chile. Meanwhile, the United States “deliberately cultivated friends in the Chilean military, many of which helped stage the coup, and increased military aid when Allende took power.”<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Associated Press, “Nixon Said ‘Hands Off’ Chile Coup,” *Charlotte Observer*, September 13, 1973, 1.

<sup>69</sup> Associated Press, “Allende is Buried; Supporters Warned,” *News and Observer*, September 13, 1973, 6.

<sup>70</sup> Associated Press, “Nixon Said ‘Hands Off’ Chile Coup,” 1.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Associated Press, “Confusion on Chile,” *News and Observer*, October 5, 1973, 2.

<sup>73</sup> James McCartney, “Behind Chile Coup: U.S. Policies,” *Charlotte Observer*, September 15, 1973, 1.

<sup>74</sup> McCartney, “Behind Chile Coup: U.S. Policies,” 1.

On September 29, this editorial received a response in the *Charlotte Observer* reader forum that bashed it for being left-wing propaganda, unjust in its blaming of the United States for helping to generate the coup. This reader considered the coup a “cause for rejoicing” in the international fight against communism.<sup>75</sup> As examined later in this study, there were a number of anti-communist, anti-Allende responses to the coup. However, these Americans numbered fewer than those who took issue with U.S. action in Chile that resulted in replacing a democracy with a dictatorship, as evidenced by legislation and reform seeking to redress these concerns. In Congress, several Congressman rose to the defense of the C.I.A. but concerns of accountability ultimately prevailed in the push for investigation and oversight reform.

Jack Anderson of the *Washington Post* reported on September 24, 1973, that there was no evidence yet that the United States was involved in the coup, citing sources with access to the Forty Committee.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, the *Post* does note that the Pentagon had been supplying military supplies to the Chilean armed forces because their generals were known to be anti-Allende.<sup>77</sup> The Church Committee did not release its report on U.S. covert action in Chile until 1975, revealing the Nixon administration’s efforts to undermine the presidency of Allende, but not conclusively linking the United States to the actual plotting of the coup.

Local newspapers included many articles from such national sources as *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Indeed, these were the most frequently borrowed from, and both were opposed to the military junta and its human rights abuses. Dr. Hurtado-Torres’ research demonstrated that American newspapers were wary and mostly critical of Allende prior to the coup. However, these newspapers shifted their tone following Allende’s death. Two days after

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<sup>75</sup> Armistead Burwell, “Why Lament Allende’s Fall?,” *Charlotte Observer*, September 29, 1973, 14.

<sup>76</sup> Jack Anderson (*Washington Post*), “U.S. Clean in Chile,” *Daily Times-News*, September 24, 1973, 4.

<sup>77</sup> Anderson, “U.S. Clean in Chile,” 4.

the coup *The New York Times* published a very humanizing account of Allende, describing his lavish lifestyle, determination to become president, and desire to end exploitation in Chile.<sup>78</sup> The *Greensboro Record* included a similar article from the *Washington Post* that expresses concern with the damage the coup and a trend of political polarization has dealt to Chilean political culture, as the writer states that other Latin Americans looked to Chile for innovation and experimentation. *The New York Times* described Allende as a “victim of history’s whirlwind,” expressing admiration for his attempt to bring socialism through peaceful parliamentary means and lamenting the circumstances that led to his downfall.<sup>79</sup>

Articles in the weeks after coup included updates on the flight of Allende’s widow from the country, her praise for her husband as a martyr, and her calls for international intervention to prevent civil war.<sup>80</sup> The fact that the press presented her story and gave her a medium to denounce the junta is suggestive that they were not unsympathetic to her plight.<sup>81</sup> Such stories helped garner more international opposition to Pinochet and raise awareness to repression in the country. In late September, *The Greensboro Record* presented an article from *the Manchester Guardian* (now *the Guardian*) that expresses concern over the worsening repression in Chile, highlighting alleged massacres, executions, and mass detention.<sup>82</sup> The National Football Stadium was frequently referenced as the main detention center for thousands of political prisoners, and where many were reportedly executed. In one such report, American graduate students held

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<sup>78</sup> Linda Greenhouse (*The New York Times*), “A Dream is Ended,” *Greensboro Record*, September 13, 1973, 13.

<sup>79</sup> C.L. Sulzberger (*The New York Times*), “Salvador Allende: Victim of History’s Whirlwind,” *News and Observer*, September 20, 1973, 5.

<sup>80</sup> Associated Press, “Extremists Fueled Coup,” *Greensboro Record*, September 15, 1973; Associated Press, “Allende Widow Cites Sacrifice,” *Greensboro Record*, September 17, 1973, 2.

<sup>81</sup> Associated Press, “Widow Will Stay in Chile,” *Gastonia Gazette*, September 15, 1973, 17; Associated Press, “Mrs. Allende Believes Her Husband Sacrificed Himself,” *Gastonia Gazette*, September 17, 1973, 1.

<sup>82</sup> Richard Gott (*The Manchester Guardian*), “Worse Ahead: Repression in Chile,” *Greensboro Record*, September 21, 1973, 19.

prisoner there in Santiago claimed they were treated harshly and personally witnessed the execution of 400 to 500 people.<sup>83</sup> *The New York Times* reported on September 23 that thirty aides to Allende were being held prisoner alongside 7,000 others at the National Stadium.<sup>84</sup> The article also mentions that many people were waiting to hear news of disappeared family and friends. On October 7 the press reported that the junta had executed 16 more people.<sup>85</sup>

Clearly, human rights abuses were coming to the fore with articles expressing alarm over mass detentions and executions. An editorial in the *News and Observer* from September 26 criticized the United States for recognizing the junta so quickly despite the many reports of human rights abuse and argued that the United States should remain distant from the Chilean dictatorship until it provides assurance that the country will return to democratic governance.<sup>86</sup>

Other articles informed readers of human rights groups' calls for international help in offering asylum to political refugees and negotiating the release of political prisoners.<sup>87</sup> As demonstrated in the research of Goff and Power, it is evident that refugees were accepted in large numbers, which in turn led to increased opposition to the Pinochet regime as these refugees shared their perspective. The press also took note of the junta's authoritarian restricting of civil liberties, reporting on September 22, 1973, that the Junta outlawed Marxist political parties.<sup>88</sup> On September 30, the press reported that the junta was taking control over the Chilean university system, firing professors and detaining students it determined to be Marxist.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Associated Press, "Junta Denies Executions," *Greensboro Record*, September 24, 1973, 12.

<sup>84</sup> *The New York Times News Service*, "30 Aides to Allende Being Held Prisoner," *News and Observer*, September 23, 1973, 3.

<sup>85</sup> Associated Press, "Junta Executes 16 More," *Charlotte Observer*, October 7, 1973, 5.

<sup>86</sup> Editorial, "Recognition of Chilean Junta Premature," *News and Observer*, September 23, 1973, 4.

<sup>87</sup> Associated Press, "Help is Asked for Chilean Refugees," *Gastonia Gazette*, September 16, 1973, 1.

<sup>88</sup> Associated Press, "Junta in Chile Outlaws Marxist Party," *Gastonia Gazette*, September 22, 1973, 13.

<sup>89</sup> Associated Press, "Junta Firing Profs," *Gastonia Gazette*, September 30, 1973, 48.

The wave of sympathy for Allende did not go unnoticed at the time. Many articles held Allende as a martyr and quickly denounced Pinochet as a Marxist. They were also quick to include extreme reports such as that in some villages, “the heads of beheaded Allende supporters were raised high on stakes.”<sup>90</sup> An article from *The Sunday Times* of London stated that, “it is not necessary to join in the left-wing chorus of indiscriminate praise for the late Dr. Allende to say that his military successors are beginning to assume a needlessly unpleasant outlook.”<sup>91</sup> As discussed in this article, international concern was growing over political repression in Chile, as the nation’s Constitution and Congress were abolished, heavy censorship was imposed, and reports of executions continued.<sup>92</sup>

Naturally, there were still members of the American public who were staunchly anticommunist and therefore anti-Allende. Articles of this persuasion argued that the coup was inevitable due to the inherent flaws of Marxism, the incompetence of Allende, or some mixture of both. One such opinion article from September 19, 1973, in the *Gastonia Gazette*, once again relates the failure of this democratically elected socialist to the potential for communist parties across the world to become revolutionary due to the apparent impossibility of peacefully instituting their policies.<sup>93</sup> Stating that the Allende regime had “come to its perfectly predictable end,” the article asks if communist parties abroad are revolutionary or democratic, as “it seems clear they cannot be both.”<sup>94</sup> Another article from the opinion page in the following issue continues with this concern, stating that the lesson of the coup will be that, “Marxism or

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<sup>90</sup> David Streich, “Chile Tries Junta Tactics,” *The Daily Tar Heel*, October 11, 1973, 8.

<sup>91</sup> “Reaction in Chile,” (*The Sunday Times*, London) *Greensboro Record*, October 11, 1973, 14.

<sup>92</sup> “Reaction in Chile,” 14.

<sup>93</sup> Jeffrey Hart, “Chilean Way,” *Gastonia Gazette*, September 19, 1973, 2.

<sup>94</sup> Hart, “Chilean Way,” 2.

socialism or communism cannot achieve political power in a country peacefully or democratically or gradually but only violently, totally and suddenly.”<sup>95</sup>

In the *Charlotte Observer*, an opinion article states that the coup was an effort by hundreds of thousands of men and women demanding an end to the regime that had brought repression, poverty, inflation, chaos and fratricidal strife.<sup>96</sup> Another opinion article from the *Charlotte Observer* stated that Allende, “was...a demagogue who brazenly ordered Cinderella and Sleeping Beauty rewritten so as to give children Marxist indoctrination.”<sup>97</sup> The *Gastonia Gazette* included an article from Conservative Jeffrey Hart expressing suspicion of “the Allendist faction.” Hart claims that a new, radical leftist grouping formed in the United States following the coup. Hart also criticizes an article from *The New York Times*, arguing that it accepts “the Allendist view that the United States is responsible for the coup in Chile,” and “ignoring the facts...describes the coup as destroying the constitutional process-though Allende had been ruling by decree for over a year.”<sup>98</sup> He goes on to name lawmakers he feels are Allendist and wants to draw awareness to what he perceives as a leftist propaganda campaign against the new Chilean regime that saved the nation by intervening against Allende.<sup>99</sup> In articles such as these, support for Allende and opposition to the coup were met with backlash from strongly anticommunist Americans and conservatives who feared that a growth in the left was sparked by the fall of Allende.

The *Christian Science Monitor*'s coverage of the Chilean coup was also marked by lack of sympathy for Allende. In its initial reporting of the coup, the paper wrote that the majority of

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<sup>95</sup> “Formula for Marxism has to be Violence,” *Gastonia Gazette*, September 20, 1973, 2.

<sup>96</sup> William F. Buckley, Jr., “It was People Vs. Allende,” *Charlotte Observer*, September 17, 1973, 15.

<sup>97</sup> Rowan, “In Chile’s Coup: Latinos Suspect U.S.,” 15.

<sup>98</sup> Jeffrey Hart, “Allendist Americans Surfacing,” *Gastonia Gazette*, October 15, 1973, 2.

<sup>99</sup> Hart, “Allendist Americans Surfacing,” 2.

Chileans were probably not sorry to see the end of the Allende regime, as Allende was only elected because his opposition in the center and the right split the vote.<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, the article remarks that there are misgivings, at least among Chileans, about having a military coup in a country with such a strong democratic tradition.<sup>101</sup>

In the paper's reader write-in section in October of 1973, the submissions clashed in their perspectives on Allende and the coup. One reader wrote that Chile had found itself "betrayed, through an elected socialist government, to Marxism," and described the military coup as the nation gathering courage to discard its unjust government.<sup>102</sup> On the other hand, another reader expressed concern that the paper had mischaracterized the Allende government and failed to accurately describe the Chilean situation. This reader stated that Allende, described as a "minority president," had an overwhelming mandate from the poor. Furthermore, she writes, coverage has failed to mention the significant role of foreign corporations and the credit blockade placed on Chile by the United States in the economic misfortunes of Chile.<sup>103</sup>

The *Christian Science Monitor* also reported on increasing restrictions on freedom of the press under the junta. In an article from October 17, 1973, the paper notes that editors and publishers of the Inter-American Press Association found that censorship was strict under the junta, with the chairman remarking, "I don't remember any year being as bad as this."<sup>104</sup>

In conclusion, newspaper coverage in 1973, especially the first few months after the coup, served as a priming of the American public with reports and articles heavily focused on

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<sup>100</sup> Geoffrey Godsell, "Chilean Coup- Dramatic Setback for Left," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 15, 1973, 8.

<sup>101</sup> Godsell, "Chilean Coup," 8.

<sup>102</sup> Mary P. Moodie, "Readers Write: The Chilean Coup," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 16, 1973, 18.

<sup>103</sup> Nora Hamilton, "Readers Write: The Chilean Coup," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 16, 1973, 18.

<sup>104</sup> Robert Press, "Freedom of Press Loses Ground," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 17, 1973, 3.

violence, oppression, human rights abuses, and violations of civil liberties in Chile as a result of the military junta coming to power. Coverage in 1974 was marked by a shift in focus towards the U.S. role in the coup. Newspapers reported on U.S. covert action in Chile as documents and information leaked over the course of the year. As a result, momentum was generated for Congressional investigations into the matter, leading to 1975, “the year of intelligence,” when the Pyke and Church Committees of Congress conducted large investigations that produced reform of the U.S. Intelligence Community.<sup>105</sup>

From 1974 to 1975, press coverage focused on investigations into and testimony about covert action in Chile. A *New York Times* article on September 8, 1974, reported on the leaked testimony by C.I.A. Director William Colby that the Nixon administration authorized more than \$8 million for covert activities in Chile between 1970 and 1973 to destabilize the Chilean government.<sup>106</sup> Colby’s testimony revealed that State Department and White House officials “repeatedly and deliberately misled the public and Congress about the extent” of U.S. involvement in Chile.<sup>107</sup> In response to Colby’s testimony, members of Congress began calling for full scale hearings into the role of the intelligence community in foreign policy.<sup>108</sup> American policymakers and citizens realized there was virtually no oversight of the intelligence community and began seeking reform.

Despite these calls for investigation, defense for American interference in Chile did still exist. The *Charlotte Observer* featured an article of conservative writer William F. Buckley from September 15, 1974, questioning if the C.I.A.’s actions against Allende were actually unjustified.

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<sup>105</sup> “Year of Intelligence,” *The New York Times (1923-Current File)*, February 08, 1975, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/120481848?accountid=10639>.

<sup>106</sup> *The New York Times*, “Testimony Shows CIA’s Anti-Allende Efforts,” *News and Observer*, September 8, 1974, 3.

<sup>107</sup> *The New York Times*, “Testimony Shows CIA’s Anti-Allende Efforts,” 3.

<sup>108</sup> *The New York Times*, “Probe of CIA Chile Policy Urged,” *News and Observer*, September 9, 1974, 8.

Buckley characterizes Allende as a socialist tyrant. Providing no support to Allende's opponents would suggest that the United States was indifferent to the growth of a hostile government.<sup>109</sup>

Buckley goes on to argue that American action was acceptable because it sought to protect large American investments. Chile was becoming a base for revolutionaries and was being subsidized by the Soviet Union.<sup>110</sup> In mid-September, President Ford defended C.I.A. covert action in Chile but denied direct U.S. involvement in the coup.<sup>111</sup>

Despite efforts by the federal government to downplay American involvement in Chile, the intelligence community was feeling the blowback from the covert operations in Chile. The Senate Foreign Relation Committee accused Kissinger of deceiving the committee at his confirmation hearing in 1973 about C.I.A. activity in Chile, recommended perjury proceedings against former C.I.A. Director Richard Helms and former Assistant Secretary of State Charles A. Meyer, and recommended contempt proceedings against former Ambassador to Chile Edward Korry.<sup>112</sup> Policymakers were questioning what the role of the intelligence community should be. Chairman J. William Fulbright stated that, "it's very questionable practice (for the C.I.A.) to go beyond the collection of intelligence," meaning that the conducting of covert action in such forms as propaganda and assassination reached too far from the original purpose of the agency and were too likely to result in blowback for the United States.<sup>113</sup>

Another vocal critic emerged in Congress, Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota. Mondale expressed sharp criticism of covert action in Chile and vocalized key ideas that characterized the intelligence reform process. Through his comments, it is evident that the

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<sup>109</sup> William F. Buckley, "Against Allende in Chile," *Charlotte Observer*, September 15, 1974, 33.

<sup>110</sup> Buckley, "Against Allende in Chile," 33.

<sup>111</sup> Clar Khoyt, "Ford Defends Secret CIA Actions in Chile," *News and Observer*, September 17, 1974, 7.

<sup>112</sup> *The New York Times*, "Testimony on Chile to be Probed," *News and Observer*, September 18, 1974, 1.

<sup>113</sup> *The New York Times*, "Testimony on Chile to be Probed," 1.

official justifications for interfering in Chile were not convincing to all Americans. Mondale stated, “When will the leaders of the executive branch realize that the American people and the Congress and the press will no longer tolerate hogwash?”<sup>114</sup> In this statement, Mondale is referring to the justification presented publicly by President Ford that covert financial support in Chile was necessary during the Allende administration to give a voice to opposition groups. Mondale proceeds to point out the hypocrisy of this argument by questioning why, if the United States is so interested in preserving free speech and press in Chile, it has not lent support to politicians and journalists who have been “muzzled, banned and jailed (by the military junta).”<sup>115</sup> This viewpoint would become widespread enough to generate a push in Congress for reform preventing covert action against democratic regimes.

Also disapproving of involvement in Chile was Senator Frank Church, chairman of the senate subcommittee which overheard hearings in 1973 about ITT’s involvement. Church said publicly, “Our policy in Chile was unsavory and unprincipled,” and that “It can’t possibly be justified unless we take the view that our methods and objectives are the same as the Soviet Union.”<sup>116</sup> As more details of U.S. involvement were revealed, public support for Congressional investigations grew.

The *Raleigh News and Observer* published an editorial entitled, “Shorter Leash Needed for the C.I.A.,” calling for investigation into the matter, stating that, “the C.I.A. is simply too dangerous a tool not to be held to a closer accounting by the Congress.”<sup>117</sup> Echoing Senators Mondale and Church, the article criticizes C.I.A. action in Chile as blatant, unjustified

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<sup>114</sup> *The New York Times*, “Testimony on Chile to be Probed,” 1.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>116</sup> *The New York Times*, “Testimony on Chile to be Probed,” 2.

<sup>117</sup> Editorial, “Shorter Leash Needed for CIA,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, September 19, 1974, 4.

interference that mimics Soviet tactics in a manner not conducive to world peace.<sup>118</sup> The editorial also condemns the perjury and misleading statements made by former C.I.A. Director Richard Helms and Secretary of State Kissinger. The C.I.A. had grown to take on many activities that it was not originally tasked with when it was established in 1947, and Americans grew troubled with the aftermath of C.I.A. covert actions, such as engaging in propaganda, selling arms, and coordinating assassinations. Many were beginning to argue for the C.I.A. to return to being solely an intelligence gathering agency. As this editorial argues, the C.I.A. should not engage in subverting countries not at war with or posing a military threat to the United States, and the legislative branch should do more in “holding the executive branch accountable for C.I.A. operations.”<sup>119</sup>

In response to growing criticism of the C.I.A., conservative Americans vocalized their support of the intelligence agency. The *Charlotte Observer* included an article by William F. Buckley entitled, “It Was the C.I.A.’s Job to Work against Allende in Chile.” Buckley explains that in testimonies before Congress such as that of Richard Helms, State Department and intelligence officials are placed in a difficult position where they risk disclosing sensitive information by being completely forthcoming. Regarding covert action against Allende, Buckley argues that the C.I.A. was justified in acting against Allende because, although democratically elected, he was a “friend of socialist tyranny.”<sup>120</sup> According to Buckley, action was also necessary to prevent hundreds of millions of dollars of American investments from being confiscated and Chile from becoming a base for revolutionary activities against its neighbors.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Editorial, “Shorter Leash Needed for CIA,” 4.

<sup>119</sup> Editorial, “Shorter Leash Needed for CIA,” 4.

<sup>120</sup> William F. Buckley, “It Was the CIA’s Job to Work against Allende in Chile,” *Charlotte Observer*, September 15, 1974, 33.

<sup>121</sup> Buckley, “It Was the CIA’s Job to Work against Allende in Chile,” 33.

In many press articles, blame falls heavily upon the C.I.A. The *News and Observer* published in its readers' forum an article sent by Former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Rufus L. Taylor criticizing an editorial from September 14, 1974. In this article, Taylor presents a defense for the C.I.A., who he argues should not take blame for action in Chile. In accordance with standard procedure, the agency was following orders handed down from the President and the core of the National Security Council. Thus, Taylor argues, Americans offended by covert action in Chile should seek change in their elected representative body rather than the C.I.A.<sup>122</sup> This article is an indication that questions remained about how and if reform of American intelligence agencies and foreign policy should be carried out. As the Church Committee did conclude, the Executive branch and other superior government officials making demands of the C.I.A. were also very much to blame for abuse and overreach.

An editorial published on September 25, 1974 in the *News and Observer* addresses three major questions raised by revelations of U.S. action in Chile: "Was the C.I.A. responsible for the overthrow and death of Marxist President Salvador Allende? Should the United States get out of covert activities? How much candor can be expected from officials testifying before congressional committees?"<sup>123</sup> The answers that the author, Smith Hempstone, provides reflects a Cold War-based rationale that embraces American exceptionalism and strong anti-communist sentiment. Hempstone argues that if a government can be toppled by \$11 million dollars' worth of covert action, it must not have had much popular support to begin with. He also argues that the United States has an obligation to intervene in subverting a regime "whose apparent ultimate objective was the subversion of democratic institutions."<sup>124</sup> He also argues that it would be

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<sup>122</sup> Rufus L. Taylor, "Former CIA Man Defends the Agency," *News and Observer*, September 23, 1974, 4.

<sup>123</sup> Smith Hempstone, "An Unnecessary Furor," *News and Observer*, September 25, 1974, 5.

<sup>124</sup> Hempstone, "An Unnecessary Furor," 5.

inefficient for the United States to wait for a democratic government to become authoritarian before implementing covert action. In this way, subversion of the democratically elected Allende was justified.

These claims are problematic, at least in the specific case of Chile. No valid, compelling evidence is presented to prove that Chile was acting to subvert other democratic regimes in South America. It appears that Allende was largely concerned with domestic and economic reform, which was made even more difficult by to American covert action and Nixon's economic blockade preventing Chilean access to international loans. The writer also fails to state how it was known that Chile was becoming an authoritarian state. Is it the United States' role to subvert democratic regimes if there is a risk of them becoming undemocratic? Given that the coup resulted in the imposition of an undemocratic regime, should the United States not intervene once more to support democratic opposition to the military junta? The writer's statements reflect thought rooted in Domino Theory and anticommunism. With the Church Committee and subsequent intelligence reform, it would appear that an increasing number of Americans and their representatives were moving away from this world view at a time of heightened public mistrust of the government and intelligence community.

As the Congressional investigations continued, details about C.I.A. covert action in Chile came to light, such as providing financial support to political candidates, anti-Allende opposition groups, and anti-Allende media. Americans became aware that the C.I.A. was involved in coordinating the botched kidnapping of Chilean general Rene Schneider and helped financially sustain striking labor unions and labor groups for more than a year and half until the coup.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Seymour M. Hersh (*The New York Times*), "CIA Reportedly Aided Chile Unions," *News and Observer*, September 20, 1974, 3.

These strikes were significant because they seriously disrupted the Chilean economy and led to other labor crises that paralyzed the Allende government.<sup>126</sup> This is not to say that C.I.A. funding alone sustained the strikes, nor that the goal in providing this funding was necessarily to cause a coup. On the other hand, regardless of the exact impact or the precise objective, this action was one of several others that is difficult to construe as being anything other than subversion.

Furthermore, there were calls for investigation against former C.I.A. Director Helms for perjury and revelations of other notable instances of intelligence and state department officials lying or omitting relevant information in Congressional testimony. For instance, on September 22, 1974, *The New York Times* reported that Kissinger withheld data on the C.I.A.'s role in Chile. He downplayed U.S. involvement and neglected to mention funding for striking labor groups during a classified testimony held after the coup in 1973.<sup>127</sup>

Articles penned by Jack Anderson of the *Washington Post* also raised suspicion of collusion between the C.I.A., and ITT. Articles such as "ITT and C.I.A. Unusually Close on Chile" pointed out links between ITT and the C.I.A., including a 1970 report to ITT director John McCone, a former C.I.A. director, that the corporation was making unsuccessful efforts to get the Chilean armed forces to lead an uprising.<sup>128</sup> The article also claims that ambassador Edward Korry operated the U.S. embassy "virtually as a branch office for ITT."<sup>129</sup> These articles surely raised suspicions and concerns over the influence of multinational corporations on the C.I.A. and American foreign policy. A pattern in U.S. covert action was becoming apparent, as

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<sup>126</sup> Hersh, "CIA Reportedly Aided Chile Unions," 3.

<sup>127</sup> *The New York Times*, "Kissinger Reportedly Held Back Data on CIA Chile Role," *News and Observer*, September 22, 1974.

<sup>128</sup> Jack Anderson (*Washington Post*), "ITT and CIA Unusually Close on Chile," *News and Observer*, September 26, 1974, 4.

<sup>129</sup> Anderson, "ITT and CIA Unusually Close on Chile," 4.

anti-communist justifications were used for covert action against Mohammad Mosaddegh of Iran in 1953 and Jacobo Árbenz of Guatemala in 1954. Both were democratically elected leaders, and in both instances, there were substantial corporate interests in having these leaders removed from power. In Guatemala, United Fruit Company lobbied for the United States to take action so that its \$548 million worth of assets might be saved from the socialist land redistributive policies of Arbenz.<sup>130</sup> In Iran, the nationalization of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company prompted British calls for U.S. covert action against Prime Minister Mossadegh.<sup>131</sup> Accordingly, it was reasonable to expect that corporate interests were a significant motivating factor for covert action in Chile.

It is also important to understand that these revelations about C.I.A. activities in Chile were also part of a large public scandal involving the agency, as it had come to light that the C.I.A. had conducted an extensive illegal domestic surveillance operation during the Nixon administration against the antiwar movement and other groups considered to be dissidents or potential subversives.<sup>132</sup> Beginning in 1969, "Operation CHAOS," as it came to be known, compiled thousands of files on American citizens with the intent of pursuing foreign subversive agents.<sup>133</sup> This operation was an alarming and illegal overreach by the C.I.A.; how did an intelligence agency with the mission of gathering intelligence abroad come to be wielded by the Executive to conduct domestic surveillance without warrant or approval from the other branches of government? Internal security is the jurisdiction of the FBI, not the C.I.A. Thus, Americans

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<sup>130</sup> David M. Barrett, "Congress, the CIA, and Guatemala, 1954," Central Intelligence Agency, August 3, 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol44no5/html/v44i5a03p.htm>.

<sup>131</sup> Louis Fawcett, *International Relations of the Middle East*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), 108. Lawrence Wu and Michelle Lanz, "How the CIA Overthrew Iran's Democracy In 4 Days," NPR, February 7, 2019. <https://www.npr.org/2019/01/31/690363402/how-the-cia-overthrew-irans-democracy-in-four-days>.

<sup>132</sup> Seymour M. Hersh (*The New York Times*), "CIA Conducted Massive Illegal Operation," *Charlotte Observer*, December 22, 1974, 1.

<sup>133</sup> "Special Operations Group: Operation CHAOS," AARC Library, Assassination Archives and Research Center, n.d., [https://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/rockcomm/pdf/RockComm\\_Chap11\\_CHAOS.pdf](https://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/rockcomm/pdf/RockComm_Chap11_CHAOS.pdf).

were exposed to numerous reports that the C.I.A. was engaging in various activities domestically and abroad indicating that the agency was overstepping its bounds. News stories of the Watergate Scandal, Operation CHAOS, and covert action in countries such as Chile created an image of the C.I.A. as being unaccountable and destructive, perhaps not undeservedly.

Increasing suspicion of the C.I.A. led to increased Congressional scrutiny. As the *Charlotte Observer* reported in an editorial on December 22, 1974, “Congress is beginning to grapple with the sticky business of overseeing the Central Intelligence Agency.”<sup>134</sup> Representatives were realizing that since the C.I.A.’s inception, it was largely left to regulate itself and that few in Congress ever knew much of what the agency was doing. How important was Chile for prompting these realizations? As this editorial states, “The main impetus for that change has come because of disclosures of C.I.A. intrusions in the internal affairs of Chile...”<sup>135</sup> A key concern was that the C.I.A. sometimes “worked at odds with our own foreign policy, since few congressmen involved in foreign affairs knew much at all about what it did.”<sup>136</sup> Few representatives wanted to strip the C.I.A. of all its powers besides being able to gather intelligence. Instead, most wanted to limit its undercover activities abroad and know more about its operations, including what it spends and some estimate of its employees.

From 1973 to 1974, coverage of the coup revealing alleged abuses by the Pinochet regime and C.I.A. involvement in subverting the Allende administration contributed significantly to suspicion of the federal government. At the same time, many other events were occurring that increased public mistrust. In 1973, the Senate Watergate Committee revealed that the President had used national intelligence agencies like the C.I.A. to carry out “constitutionally questionable

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<sup>134</sup> Editorial, “CIA Scrutiny,” *Charlotte Observer*, December 22, 1974, 34.

<sup>135</sup> Editorial, “CIA Scrutiny,” 34.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

domestic security operations.”<sup>137</sup> Then, in 1974, journalist Seymour Hersh’s front-page article on *The New York Times* reported that the C.I.A. had been illegally spying on anti-war activists for over a decade.<sup>138</sup>

Calls amongst the public and Congress for an investigation into abuses by national intelligence agencies rose until the Senate approved a resolution in January of 1975 to establish a select committee to investigate illegal intelligence operations.<sup>139</sup> The Committee, referred to as the “Church Committee” after its Chairman, Senator Frank Church, was tasked with examining “the extent to which the agencies’ actions had been ‘illegal, improper, or unethical,’ and oversight.”<sup>140</sup> The Church Committee sought to answer numerous important questions that applied to both foreign and domestic intelligence. Had excessive secrecy facilitated abuse and mistakes harmful to the national interest? Did the executive exercise proper control? Did Congress have and exercise appropriate oversight? Should the United States adopt the tactics of its enemies in times of crisis?<sup>141</sup>

The Church Committee’s investigations into these questions lasted sixteen months, during which time they uncovered numerous illegal operations and misdeeds carried about by the C.I.A., FBI, NSA, and other agencies. Notable operations in domestic surveillance include the NSA’s “Project SHAMROCK,” where the agency illegally obtained copies of every

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<sup>137</sup> “Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Agencies,” Notable Senate Investigations, U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C., October 18, 2019, <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/investigations/ChurchCommittee.htm>.

<sup>138</sup> “Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Agencies,” <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/investigations/ChurchCommittee.htm>; Seymour Hersh, “Huge C.I.A. Operation Reported in U.S. Against Antiwar Forces, Other Dissidents,” *New York Times*, December 22, 1974, 1.

<sup>139</sup> “Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Agencies,” <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/investigations/ChurchCommittee.htm>, 1.

<sup>140</sup> Frederick A.O. Schwarz, “The Church Committee and a New Era of Intelligence Oversight,” *Intelligence and National Security* 22, no. 2 (August 7, 2007): 271-272.

<sup>141</sup> Schwarz, “The Church Committee and a New Era of Intelligence Oversight,” 274.

telegram/wire communication sent from the United States to other countries.<sup>142</sup> Under FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the Bureau conducted a program of covert action, “COINTELPRO,” intended to “disrupt and discredit the activities of groups and individuals deemed a threat to the social order.”<sup>143</sup> Those targeted were law-abiding citizens and included notable groups such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the anti-Vietnam War movement, and individuals such as Martin Luther King.<sup>144</sup> COINTELPRO tactics included attempting to break up marriages of civil rights workers, get teachers fired, destroy lawyers’ reputations, and sabotage political campaigns.<sup>145</sup> Over the course of the program, the FBI amassed over 500,000 domestic intelligence files.<sup>146</sup>

The Committee also revealed that the C.I.A. had been engaged in an illegal mail opening program which ultimately produced a computerized index of almost 1.5 million names.<sup>147</sup> The C.I.A., a foreign intelligence service, also conducted a domestic surveillance program called Operation Chaos that collected information on over 7000 Americans suspected of being dissidents from 1967 to 1973.<sup>148</sup> Another important finding of the Committee was political abuse, particularly by Johnson and Nixon, in using intelligence agencies to gather information on their political rivals.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Schwarz, “The Church Committee and a New Era of Intelligence Oversight,” 281.

<sup>143</sup> “Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Agencies,” <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/investigations/ChurchCommittee.htm>, 3.; U.S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans*, 94 Cong., 2d sess., 1976, 1.

<sup>144</sup> “Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Agencies,” <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/investigations/ChurchCommittee.htm>, 3.

<sup>145</sup> Schwarz, “The Church Committee and a New Era of Intelligence Oversight,” 283.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

<sup>148</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, “Intelligence Reform in the Mid-1970s,” Central Intelligence Agency, August 4, 2011, [https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol20no2/html/v20i2a01p\\_0001.htm](https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol20no2/html/v20i2a01p_0001.htm).

<sup>149</sup> Schwarz, “The Church Committee and a New Era of Intelligence Oversight,” 284.

Through these findings, the issue of oversight came into question. Prior to the Church Committee, congressional oversight of the C.I.A. and other foreign intelligence agencies was poor. The existing Senate and House intelligence oversight subcommittees lacked written records and rarely asked questions about intelligence activities, opting to turn a blind eye. Former White House Counsel and political advisor Clark Clifford remarked that, “Congress chose not to be involved and preferred to be uninformed.”<sup>150</sup> As one C.I.A. general counsel stated, this lack of oversight led agencies to feel, “a little cocky about what we could do.”<sup>151</sup> The C.I.A. director during most of the Church Committee, William Colby felt that the investigation’s findings, “had made clear that the rule of law applies to all parts of the American Government,” and that they would “strengthen American intelligence.”<sup>152</sup> Rather than tying America’s intelligence agencies’ hands behind their back, the Church Committee was an opportunity for clearer guidelines and more accountable action.

Addressing the question of if the United States should adopt its enemies’ tactics in times of crisis, the Church Committee concluded in its publicly released assassinations report that, “the acts which it (the Committee) has examined...do not reflect the ideals which have given the people of this country and of the world hope for a better, fuller, fairer life...Means are as important as ends.”<sup>153</sup> The Church Committee released its final report on April 29, 1976, determining that intelligence agencies had “undermined the constitutional rights of citizens, primarily because checks and balances designed by the framers...have not been applied.”<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Schwarz, “The Church Committee and a New Era of Intelligence Oversight,” 287.

<sup>151</sup> Schwarz, “The Church Committee and a New Era of Intelligence Oversight,” 287.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

<sup>153</sup> Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office 1975), epilogue, p. 285.

<sup>154</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans*, 94 Cong., 2d sess., 1976, 289.

Another important conclusion of the Church Committee was that the intelligence agencies were not the sole bearers of blame for the abuses and excesses revealed during the investigation. Leaders in the executive branch were also at fault for pressuring the agencies for results without proper legal, constitutional, and ethical consideration.<sup>155</sup> Furthermore, the minimal Congressional oversight was a significant contributor to the problem.

The Church Committee's investigation ultimately led to efforts to reform the intelligence community, while its final report presented 96 recommendations for better oversight and safeguards from abuse.<sup>156</sup> In 1976 the Senate approved Resolution 400, establishing the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) to perform oversight and ensure U.S. intelligence activities are constitutional and legal.<sup>157</sup> In 1977, the House of Representatives created a counterpart to the SSCI, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI).<sup>158</sup> In 1978, Congress passed the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), requiring warrants for wiretapping and surveillance from a FISA Court established for this purpose.

Within the Executive branch, President Ford established the Intelligence Oversight Board in 1976, which was tasked with overseeing "the intelligence community's compliance with the Constitution and all applicable laws, Executive Orders, and Presidential Directives," complimenting and supplementing the Congressional Oversight Committees.<sup>159</sup> Executive Order 12036 imposed new restrictions and guidelines for intelligence services, though the Executive

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<sup>155</sup> Schwarz, "The Church Committee and a New Era of Intelligence Oversight," 290.

<sup>156</sup> "Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Agencies," <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/investigations/ChurchCommittee.htm>, 3.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>158</sup> "The CIA and Congress: The Creation of HPSCI," Central Intelligence Agency, Central Intelligence Agency, April 30, 2013, <https://www.cia.gov/news-information/featured-story-archive/2011-featured-story-archive/cia-and-congress-hpisci.html>.

<sup>159</sup> "The President's Intelligence Advisory Board," The White House, The United States Government, Accessed February 7, 2020. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/piab/>.

Order was revoked in 1981 when President Reagan issued another Executive Order expanding the powers of U.S. intelligence agencies.<sup>160</sup>

As this study has endeavored to show, coverage of the Chilean coup from 1973 to the Church Committee's commencement was one of several important contributors to the public mistrust of the U.S. government that led to Congressional investigation and significant reform in the U.S. Intelligence Community. Coverage of Chile in 1973 primarily focused on violence, censorship, and oppression carried out by the military junta against Allende supporters and other suspected dissidents. These reports of human abuse, violations of civil liberties, and authoritarianism in a country considered to have a strong democratic tradition generally distressed readers in the West. Within the context of the Cold War, some Americans felt little sympathy for the fall of a socialist administration, even if it were democratically elected. On the other hand, many others lamented the overthrow of a democracy by a military dictatorship. Allende had generated a measure of sympathy and support from citizens in other nations who saw him as an advocate for the poor of Chile fighting against neocolonialism.

In this way, 1973 set the stage for American interest in leaks of U.S. covert action. In other words, for the American people to be seriously bothered that the United States had undermined another nation's democracy, they had to feel that the loss was indeed regrettable and that the covert action was reprehensible for what it may have helped to cause. Coverage in 1973 therefore served as a primer for these sentiments. 1974 on the other hand, was fraught with leaks and revelations of U.S. intelligence agency abuses and covert actions. Americans learned that millions were spent on covert action in Chile to prevent Allende from assuming office and, upon

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<sup>160</sup> "Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Agencies," <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/investigations/ChurchCommittee.htm>, 3.

failure of this objective, undermining his presidency. Simultaneously, other disconcerting reports were surfacing about expansive domestic surveillance being perpetrated by the FBI and C.I.A. In this atmosphere, many in the public feared that the United States was close to becoming a police state.

By 1975, Congress began to realize that they were hardly informed of intelligence activities. These covert operations were suffering much blowback, harming both national interests and public image. Another issue was imbalance in the checks and balances system between the legislative and executive branches. To Congress, it appeared that the Executive was using intelligence agencies at home and abroad to great extent with little Congressional influence over their use. As the Watergate investigation and Church Committee ultimately proved, the Executive had also been using these agencies for political gain, employing them to spy on political opposition. Fraught with these suspicions and concerns, Congress was able to gather the political will to conduct a thorough investigation into these matters.

After almost a year and half, the Church Committee had brought public attention to overreach by the Intelligence Community and the Executive Branch while highlighting the critical shortcomings of Congressional oversight. The Committee's many recommendations served as a basis for reform through legislation, executive order, and internal reorganization. Furthermore, the investigation also brought about a serious reevaluation of the relationship between American interests and values. The foundation for reform lie with the agreement that the means do not necessarily justify the ends. Action, even in times of crisis, must remain within legal, Constitutional, and ethical bounds. Otherwise, the United States risks becoming like the enemies it fights and causing unnecessary harm to its own citizens and those of other nations.

Press coverage of the Chilean story played a significant role in the bringing about reforms to prevent its reoccurrence by informing the public and reporting on events in such a way that generated sufficient response for action to be taken. Thus, it is evident that the press has the ability to influence the public in such a way that can lead to major changes in public policy, both domestic and foreign. News coverage in the early 1970s was primarily in the form of newspapers, and readership was expectedly much higher than it is today. However, regardless of the medium, news reporting is nonetheless responsible for informing citizens of events in the world and actions taken by their government. With attention to the biases and larger narratives behind each article, this study of press coverage of Chile is therefore relevant and demonstrative of the process by which the public learns of its government's activities abroad and responds with calls for change.

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