MEMORY AS COMMUNIQUE:
IMPERIALIST AMNESIA AND THE ART OF REMEMBERING U.S. INTERVENTION IN CHILE

Philosophy, love of wisdom, asserts a distance between love and wisdom, and in this gap that tenuously joins what it separates, we shall attempt to set up our cables.


Arthur Creter, in Vina Del Mar [Chile], asks Charles, “Did you fight in Vietnam?”
“No. I was in the Air Force Reserve.”
“Well I was in Vietnam. It was quite an experience.” Creter paused as though on the verge of a great revelation. “Did you ever see pictures of the body piles in Saigon?”
“No that I recall,” Charles answered.
“Well, that’s what it’s like right now in Santiago...piles of bodies two- and three-hundred-people wide. It’s an incredible sight.”
Creter spread his arms to provide a sense of proportion.

"Guerrilla Theater at the 1972 Republican Convention"
Photo Credit Howie Epstein/Liberation News Service
Ed. Jonah Raskin (Union Square Press, 1974), pp. 48-55
In the early days of the U.S.-backed Chilean coup of September 11, 1973, a young white man named Frank Teruggi, a socialist and anti-war activist from Chicago, was tortured and executed in Santiago’s National Stadium (Estadio Nacional), together with hundreds of Chilean industrial workers, intellectuals, artists and political activists sympathetic to the three-year-old socialist government of Salvador Allende. Because he was a United States citizen with family who appealed to congressmen and the U.S. State Department, his body was ultimately identified, recovered and shipped home. The same would not be true for many of the more than 3000 Chilean desaparecidos (disappeared) among more than 30,000 arrested and tortured, who vanished into the concentration camps of el golpe, the ferocious anticommunist coup presided over by General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte with the direct and indirect support of United States government and military officials, intelligence services and corporate leaders. Coming near the conclusion of the United States’ long and all-but-failed counterinsurgency struggle in Vietnam, the coup in Chile represented, by contrast, a sudden victory of U.S. anticommunist military and intelligence strategies pursued at the highest levels of the U.S. government under then-President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Abruptly shattering, dispersing and humiliating Allende’s support, while violently abjecting the socialist imaginary of his three-year-old Popular Unity government, the coup sent more than 300,000 Chileans into permanent or semi-permanent exile across Europe and the Americas.

Although much of el golpe unfolded in isolated detention camps, filmmakers in Santiago produced iconic footage of the military bombing of the Moneda, the presidential palace where Allende was assassinated on September 11th. Patricio Guzman, for one, put the bombing of the Moneda by the Chilean air force at the narrative center of his film The Battle of Chile (1973), where it epitomizes the crushing of revolutionary aspirations in Chile documented elsewhere in the film by massive street rallies for Allende, factory scenes of labor organizing, and debates over strategy avidly pursued by workers’ collectives. Such displays of military violence were, however, comparatively rare during the coup. In the visual record of 9.11.73, the bombing of the
Moneda stands in the place of more dispersed, intimate and semi-covert techniques deployed to humiliate and terrorize Allende’s supporters, crushing the very thought of resistance through sudden detention, rape, unexplained disappearances, corpses dumped in city rivers or streets, extreme forms of solitary confinement and the notorious practice of electroshock torture known as la parrilla for the metal bed, or “meat grill,” on which victims were strapped, while electricity was applied to face, trunk, arms, legs, genitals. Like thousands of others arrested on suspicion of Marxist activities, socialist “sympathies” or possession of subversive literature during the coup, electroshock torture was administered to Frank Teruggi before he was shot in the early days of el golpe.

In Chile, the enduring effects of these anti-communist “shock” devices have been traced in testimonial genres – memoirs, letters, poetry, fiction, diaries – and in the layered memory-work of survivors. Studies of cultural memory in Chile during the sixteen-year state of emergency under Pinochet (1973-1990), and the country’s gradual transition to neoliberal democracy (1990-2017), have attended closely to the ways in which visual arts, literature and public memorials in Chile and Chilean exile communities perform the psycho-social and political work of engaging a legacy of world-shattering state violence.¹ Alongside such memory studies scholarship, this essay instead challenges the amnesiac condition of public memory within the U.S. regarding the participation of the United States (corporations, military, government, intelligence services) in 9.11.73, not only in abetting fascist violence, but also justifying it as one front in a global war on socialism and socialist sympathizers -- deemed “soft” on communism -- within the gendered binaries of U.S. Cold War ideology. It begins, therefore, by considering how Konstantin Costa Gavras’ award-winning commercial film Missing (1982) remembers the communications activism of socialist Teruggi in Santiago and, by extension, the wider communications environment from which Teruggi’s activism emerged. In order to recover the aesthetic and analytic diversity and specificity of this environment, and of Teruggi’s activism within it, I deploy the word communique

¹For cultural studies, the most important of these, in English, is Macarena Gomez-Barris, Where Memory Dwells: Culture and State Violence in Chile (University of California Press, 2009).
as a metonym for the North American underground understood as an expanded field: a transnational network of alternative communications media operating above-ground, at the discursive edges of multiple socialist, anti-colonial, feminist and anti-racist undergrounds.

Technically, in the early 1970s, *communiques* in the United States were explanations of illegal actions posted to alternative radio stations and underground newspapers (as well as outlets serviced by the UPI and AP) by groups “wanted” by the police and FBI, such as the New World Liberation Front, the Black Liberation Front and the underground collective known as the Weather Underground. In 1973 and 1975, the Weather Underground issued hand-illustrated *communiques* following their highly symbolic bombings (without casualties) of the U.S. offices of multinational corporations I.T.T. (International Telephone and Telegraph) and Kennecott Copper -- for their role in the Chilean coup, for years of documented collusion with the U.S. government and CIA in the economic sabotage of Allende’s government, and for directly profiting from the terror of *el golpe*. (FIG. 1) In the hands of the Weather Underground the *communique* was also embedded in a much longer tradition of anti-racist, anti-fascist and anticolonial undergrounds, both within and beyond North America. The Weather Underground repeatedly identified themselves, for instance, with U.S. antislavery undergrounds of the mid-19th Century represented by John Brown and the Underground Railroad, as well as with the socialist-feminist and labor activism of Emma Goldman in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. By the early 1970s, however, the genre of the communique had many, more recent antecedents in the anti-fascist French Resistance of World War II; in anti-colonial movements in former French, British, Portuguese and U.S. colonies (Vietnam, Algeria, South Africa, Angola, Puerto Rico); Marxist guerilla movements in the Americas (including MIR in Chile and the Tupamoro of Uruguay); and anti-colonial and anti-racist movements based within the United States: the Young Lords, Black Power and American Indian Movements.
In tandem with the “underground” newspapers which circulated *communiques* during the early 1970s — especially the Berkeley *Tribe*, the Berkeley *Barb*, the Madison *Kaleidoscope, The Liberated Guardian, The Rat*, and the Chicago *Seed* — the genre was at once a metaphor and a means of communications activism: an elaboration of available circuitry in a guerilla performance along the cracks dividing economic from political power, privatized from public interest, and visual or performance art from literary lines. In this essay, then, ‘communique’ embraces the illegal speech-acts of the Weather Underground in 1973 and 1975, but also goes further, to comprehend the North
American “underground” as an expanded field of communications activism embracing a variety of affective, aesthetic, print and performance practices, including alternative (i.e. above-ground underground) newspapers, poetry, film and guerilla street theater. This was the field in which Teruggi had been writing and performing in Chicago since 1968. As the memoirs of Chilean survivors make perfectly clear, and as Teruggi’s case demonstrates, the U.S.-backed coup aimed precisely at this circuitry of the *communique* defined as communications activism at the conjuncture of multiple (anti-Vietnam-War, socialist, anticolonial, feminist and anti-racist) movements within the United States. It was at this conjuncture that the arts of *communiqué* elaborated a tradition of U.S memory of U.S. intervention in Chile that counters the neoliberal and amnesiac “shock doctrine” (as Naomi Klein calls it) communicated by the U.S-supported coup. In the process, the artists of the *communiqué* as counter-memory call mass communications media themselves into view as the locus of imperialist amnesia -- the fields of “broken glass” as poet Martin Espada might say – where the world-shattering economic and human violence of 9.11.1973 has been reflected.

As pursued by white activists such as Frank Teruggi and the Weather Underground in the early 1970s, this alternative memory tradition responded to U.S. intervention in Chile by tracing multidirectional lines of economic, political and military operations connecting U.S. police actions in Chile (in defense of U.S. interests) to dispersed sites of U.S. policing operations around the world: from Vietnam and Southern Africa to Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and the streets of New York.² Thirty years after the coup, the socialist, anticolonial and transnational tradition of the *communique* as memory would be taken up again by New York poet Martin Espada in an extended sequence of poems *in memorium* to the shattering of socialism in Chile, the long-lived legacy of U.S. Cold War Interventions (in Chile, Puerto Rico and Vietnam) and the deaths during the coup of

²'Multidirectional memory' and 'alternative memory tradition' are Michael Rothberg’s terms for the pursuit of “non-competitive” memory scholarship that find connections between seemingly dislocated and farflung sites of historical atrocities, after World War II such as, for example, the legacy of the Jewish Holocaust and the Nazi-appeasing Vichy government in France, on one hand, and Algerian anticolonial resistance to French colonial repression in the 1960s (including torture) on the other. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford UP, 2009), 9-29; 227-266.

Since the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center towers in New York -- “the other 9.11” -- any public reckoning with open secret of the United States’ role in abetting atrocities in Chile (the first “9.11”) must address the structure of amnesia that continues to screen the human costs and the corporate interests driving U.S.-backed anticommunist operations during the Cold War. The word ‘screen’ here refers to the way in which military and police counterinsurgency operations of the 1970s were already shaped, as Michael Rogin puts it, “at the most secret levels of decision making” by mass fantasy and spectacle. 3 From this point of view, the act of challenging U.S. amnesia about the legacy of U.S. imperialism in Chile means defining U.S. counterinsurgency strategy itself as, among other things, a cultural imaginary and field of fantasy permeated with affect and desire. This is the point of the epigraph that opens this essay, in which Arthur Creter (a U.S. Navy officer, working with other Navy officers at Vina Del Mar in support of the coup) enthuses about the “incredible sight” of piles of bodies “now in Santiago” which precisely resemble “pictures” of comparably sublime

3 In Rogin’s account such spectacles included post-World War II-era combat films and westerns, as well as post-Vietnam military films or detective features like Rambo (1982) and Sudden Impact (1985). “Make My Day: Spectacle as Amnesia in Imperial Politics,” Representations, No. 29 (Winter, 1990), pp. 99-123.
piles “in Saigon,” opening his arms to embrace -- as an image -- the violence linking U.S. intervention in Chile with U.S. counterinsurgency warfare in Vietnam.⁴

Equally important, however, the challenge to U.S. amnesia about U.S. imperial adventures in Chile, requires an incursion into another hazy and shifting cultural field, likewise permeated with fantasy and desire (Salvador Allende called this “the half-light”), where international banking institutions, multinational corporations and communications media (I.T.T., Pepsi-Co, Anaconda and Kennecott corporations in 1973) were confluent, at many points, with U.S. government, military and intelligence bureaucracies.⁵ It was here that the communications activists of the communique tradition set up their wires and became themselves targets of the international police operations that constituted U.S. counterinsurgency policy during the Cold War. Finally, however, and perhaps most centrally, the challenge to imperialist amnesia requires contact with the gendered and racialized binary of “winners vs. losers” that both before and after 1990, the year of the self-declared U.S./capitalist “victory” in the Cold War, has structured resistance to remembering U.S. support for fascist atrocities in Chile. Ultimately, this essay insists on naming and recovering (the spectre of) “the socialist” as the “loser” -- among the most shamed (and buried) faces of the anticolonial, anti-war and anti-racist movements -- ferociously assaulted, inside and outside the United States, during the early 1970s.

The power of “losing” and shame in the cultural formation of U.S. imperialist amnesia was first called out in 1975 by black poet June Jordan, in her 1975 essay “Chile: A New Imperative.” “Where is the outcry,” she asks of U.S. intervention in Chile, “the movement from nausea, from shame, from silence into an act, a rising,” adequate to the deaths of “the tens of thousands more, all...catapulted into the loser status” by documented U.S. effort to “overthrow the Constitutional Government of Chile.” “Or,” she asks, referencing the hugely popular 1975 U.S. film ALIVE! -- about a Uruguayan rugby team who survives an airplane crash by resorting to cannibalism -- “are we limited

to a boundless capacity for backslapping the winner-types,” no matter what the horror involved? Crucially, in her plea, Jordan substitutes speech-acts for artifacts: “a rising,” a “penance” and “public mourning” for the monumental memorial landscapes that have historically commemorated military victories or sacrificial failure in the United States. But, of course, it was precisely against this kind of public “rising” that the U.S.-backed coup in Chile had been directed: “What do we see, instead?,” Jordan demands, “We see nothing. We hear nothing. We do nothing. The death of a democratic nation has left us dumb, inert.” In fact, however, as demonstrated by the existence of Jordan’s essay itself in Poetry magazine, under her regular column “A Black Poet Speaks,” the numbness of shame and disavowal at the heart of the U.S. imperialist project in Chile was already being countered by the (often joyous) performative arts of the communiqué.

SPECTRES OF NORTH AMERICAN SOCIALISM

We do not have to romanticize our past in order to be aware of how it seeds our present. We do not have to suffer the waste of an amnesia that robs us of the lessons of the past rather than permit us to read them with pride as well as deep understanding.

– Audre Lorde, Speech at Harvard, 1982

Watch out
for what they turn into news
and what they quietly forget.

---“For the Symbionese Liberation Army,” The Weather Eye, 1974

In his 2001 memoir Pinochet and Me, Marc Cooper remembers meeting Frank Teruggi in Santiago where he was part of “the American expatriate radical community” associated with a publication called “FIN.” An expatriate North American himself,
working as a translator for Allende, Cooper briefly participated in a study group with Teruggi, where he found himself disagreeing with the discussions that suggested an “uncritical attachment to the revolutionary Chilean guerilla group MIR” (*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolutionaria*), but warmly recalled the “witty Teruggi, who was clearly the brightest among his friends” (Cooper, 49-50). Teruggi’s sister, Janis Teruggi Page, recounts that her brother had enrolled in the University of Chile, and planned to return home sometime in the summer of 1973. However, while witnessing a first, early, failed coup attempt in the streets of Santiago in June, he had suffered a slight bullet wound to his ankle and “decided to stay in Santiago a little longer” in order to “help establish an anti-imperialism research center at the University of Chile.” (Teruggi Page, 9/21/2013). As revealed by FBI surveillance and Chilean police documents (together with Chilean trial evidence, made public in 2015), Teruggi was arrested and tortured in *Estadio Nacional* because of his “subversive” communications activism, first in Chicago – where the F.B.I. tracked his affiliations with a variety of anti-imperialist solidarity organizations -- and then in Santiago, where he worked for the Spanish-language, underground newspaper called *FIN* or *Fuentes Informacion Norteamericana* (Source of North American Information).

*FIN* was the product of 8-10 person collective of young, white expatriate North Americans, who had arrived in Chile by separate routes to participate in la via chilena al socialism, Allende’s “Popular Unity” experiment in socialist revolution by democratic and constitutional means. While *FIN* is often referred to as a newsletter, it was, in fact, an underground newspaper. Each of seven issue relied upon the flexible, collage-style visual format, and the collective, often ad hoc, mode of production that shaped hundreds of underground papers in urban centers and college towns across the U.S in the early 1970s. From the summer of 1972 through the summer of 1973, the young North Americans who assembled *FIN* not only wrote their own analyses of socialist, anti-colonial, feminist and anti-racist movements in North America. They also clipped, translated and juxtaposed news articles, images and cartoons drawn from a variety of left-leaning, North American sources including, especially, the Liberation News Service
which, as an alternative to the UPI and AP, provided text, photographs and graphic art to underground papers like the Chicago Seed, the Berkeley Barb, and, as it turns out, like The Weather Eye, the collection of Weather Underground communiques issued by the group as a book in 1974. In Santiago, the U.S. izquierdas who assembled FIN believed they could best support the socialist revolution in Chile by translating, reprinting and synthesizing information from North America that was otherwise unavailable in leading Chilean papers, especially El Mercurio, the country’s leading right-wing (anti-Allende) paper. As each issue declared: “FIN constitutes a response to the lies and distortions published by news agencies such as UPI and AP. FIN publishes information about North American imperialism and about the movement of the Left in the United States.”

Like the Weather Underground in North America, FIN was highly conscious of its role as alternative media working to counter what the Weather Underground would call, in Communique #14, “the wall of misinformation” dominating “press coverage of the police-state measures in Chile.” In July of 1973, in the wake of a first, failed coup attempt in Santiago, the FIN collective produced a 25-pp. analysis of the political and economic situation in Chile in which it tied misinformation about Allende’s socialist government to U.S. (as well as Chilean) corporate investment in Chile’s right-wing papers. Under “Mass Media” FIN points out that El Mercurio, the leading anti-Allende news source in Chile was “owned by the wealthy Edwards family, whose publisher Agustin Edwards [Eastman] is now serving as a vice-president of Pepsi-Cola in Miami.”

Such reports were part of the FIN collective’s regular practice of researching, documenting and, when possible, lampooning the interests of U.S. banks and multinational corporations (or “conglomerates” as they were quaintly known in the 1970s) in supporting police and mass media assaults not only on Allende’s government but across the Americas.

According to FBI and Chilean intelligence documents declassified in 1999, and the findings of Chilean court Judge Jorge Zapeda in 2015, Teruggi was tortured and killed because he had been targeted for communications activism of precisely this sort – not

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only in Santiago, but in Chicago as well. For a year prior to Teruggi’s departure for Chile, the F.B.I. had been sporadically assembling a small archive of what Zapeda calls “secret investigations” and “clandestine data collection” regarding Teruggi, that was then communicated to “agents of the U.S. Military Intelligence Group for Americans in Chile, with regard to political extremism both inside and outside of the United States.” This (de-)classified archive includes F.B.I. memoranda about Teruggi’s communications activism in Chicago, including participation in Latin American activist organizations like CAGLA (Chicago Area Group for the Liberation of Latin America), that followed the progress of revolutionary guerilla movements, of U.S. training for Latin American military police, and of U.S. corporations’ support for anticommunist military governments across Latin America. The F.B.I. also documented Teruggi’s attendance at a Colorado conference of the anti-imperialist CRV or Committee of Returned Volunteers (composed partly of former Peace Corp volunteers), as well as one, fleeting, but perhaps particularly damning, contact with the editor of the West German underground paper ACT, published by RITA (Resistors In the Army) for anti-Vietnam-war resisters in the Army. Finally, the clandestine data collectors cite Teruggi’s work on “underground papers” which, in Chicago, included his research and writing, as a student of Latin America, for the Chicago Seed. (FIG 2)

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October 25, 1972

Another U. S. Government agency which conducts security type investigations advised that during the month of July 1972, [redacted] was in contact with [redacted] who is a known associate of [redacted]. At this time [redacted] provided her with the following address:

Frank Teruggi
Hernan Cortes 2575
Santiago, Chile.

According to information received by source, [redacted] is an American residing in Chile who is closely associated with the Chicago Area Group for the Liberation of the Americas.

According to sources who have furnished reliable information, [redacted] who resides in Heidelberg, West Germany, has engaged in activities designed to assist servicemen who were absent without leave from their units and in activities in support of inducing absence without leave by servicemen, as well as in activities in aiding and organizing dissident U. S. Armed Forces personnel in the areas of Heidelberg and Kaiserslautern, West Germany. Sources have further characterized [redacted] by advising that he is believed to be the covert European-wide leader of the deserter organizations known as Resisters Inside the Army and Friends of Resisters Inside the Army. He is the principal organizer and publisher of several anti-U. S. Military/Vietnam underground newspapers. He has a large following and a vast number of contacts with members of various leftist organizations throughout Europe and the Continental United States.
TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/28/72

FROM: LEGAT, BONN (100-2127) (P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

SM - SUBVERSIVE

The following information concerning the subject was furnished by the 66th Military Intelligence Group (66th MIGp) under "Confidential" classification and marked, "Warning Notice Sensitive Sources and Methods Involved." It originates from a source in Heidelberg, Germany. The nature of this source should be protected. (S) has been described by the Group as being engaged in activities designed to assist servicemen who were absent without leave from their unit and in activities in support of inducing absence without leave by servicemen, as well as in activities in aiding and organizing dissident U.S. Army personnel in Germany. (S) has wide contacts in Germany and in the United States.

(S) said he was not interested in distributing newspaper but was interested in helping to put it together by writing articles and assisting with editing.

Later in July, 1972, (S) an associate of (S) from London, England. (Previous information on (S) has been reported by Bonn under the title, (S) aka., SM - S.")

(S) told (S) that an important contact which she should pass on to (S) was:

FRANK TERUGGI,
Hernan Cortes 2575
Santiago, Chile
He described TERUGGI as an American then in Chile editing a newsletter "FIN" of Chilean information for the American left. He is closely associated with the Chicago Area Group for the Liberation of Americas (CGLA). said (s) should be told that he (s) would contact TERUGGI to tell him that (s) might be contacting him soon.

Request Bufiles check to the extent possible on subject.

Suggest that Washington Field attempt to locate passport record regarding subject to obtain identifying and background information.

Bonn is asking the Group to attempt to identify that subject through the Siegelhausen address.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
December 14, 1972

Frank TERUGGI

CRV is a national group composed primarily of returned Peace Corps volunteers who espouse support of Cuba and all Third World revolutionaries and oppose United States "Imperialism and Oppression" abroad.

A newsletter dated August, 1971, issued by the Chicago Area Group on Latin America : (CAGLA), 800 West Belden, Chicago, Illinois, set forth that FRANK TERUGGI, a member of the CAGLA, would be going to Santiago, Chile in October, 1971.

The Chicago Area Group on Latin America, also known as the Chicago Action Group for the Liberation of the Americas, acts as the Midwest Regional Center for the collection and distribution to the North American leftist press of material emphasizing the Latin American revolutionary struggle.

The December, 1971 issue of the NAAIC news letter, the official publication of the North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition (NAAIC), set forth the following position statement:
F.B.I surveillance focused especially on Teruggi’s activities in Chicago in 1972, before and shortly after he left for Santiago. In fact, however, his cultural work as a communications activist had begun at least four years earlier, in 1968, when he began performing in guerilla street theater in Chicago. Teruggi grew up in Des Plaines, IL, west of Chicago. His parents were working-class (his father a unionized typesetter), and Teruggi seems to have become interested in Latin American liberation theology as a high school student at Notre Dame Academy. Upon graduating, he received a
scholarship to the California Institute of Technology, where he pursued interests in ham radio and Latin American Studies – and founded the first S.D.S. (Students for a Democratic Society) chapter on campus. As Norman Stockwell reports, based on interviews with family and friends, Teruggi returned to Chicago in the summer of 1968 and began working with the anti-Vietnam-war street theater group Rapid Transit Guerrilla Communications, which mounted performances on and in the city’s subways, as well as outside the 1968 Democratic National Convention, and, in 1969, at “the Nixon Counter-Inauguration” in Washington D.C. “Remembered by one co-performer as “a very nonviolent activist, a theater person, artist, young, enthusiastic,” Teruggi also joined CADRE (Chicago Area Draft Resistors) in the summer of 1968 and “participated in a large Hiroshima Day Peace march,” with “students, professors and clergy members costumed as victims of war” (FIG 3). In yet another guerilla street performance that year, in Chicago’s northern suburbs, Teruggi re-enacted police brutality against demonstrators at the Democratic National Convention, and was arrested with a fellow actor for disturbing the peace, “although” Stockwell notes, “apparently no record of this arrest was found when the FBI checked Frank’s file with the Chicago Police in December 1972.8

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From the beginning, however, Teruggi was also a researcher and writer in the field of Latin American studies: after 1971 (if not before) his activities included research and writing for the Chicago Seed. Sometime in 1970, he left California and returned to Chicago, where he got a job with the Postal Service, and found a place to live in the traditionally immigrant community of Pilsen. He had also found an intellectual and political home with the Industrial Workers of the World, the internationalist, anti-racist labor union with deep roots in Chicago, and, as his sister Janis remembers, hung “a poster of Chinese leader Mao Zedong” on his wall. (9) It was during this period that he began contributing to the Seed and frequenting the New World Resource Center, a major Midwestern center, Stockwell explains, “for books, literature, films and speakers
on liberation movements and anti-imperialist struggles for nearly four decades.”
Another writer for the Seed and fellow CAGLA member remembered Teruggi’s work for the paper: “Frank would come around and give us information on various topics – especially about Latin America... Sometimes he’d write stuff himself; other times he’d feed us some information:

People on the Seed would sometimes ask him for some particular information about some Latin American country, and if he didn’t have the information, he would go out of his way. He would research it. He’d talk to other people. He’d read stuff and he’d get back to you. It wasn’t an idle thing...” (Stockwell, 10)

Like FIN in Santiago, the Seed published articles about Latin American revolutionary developments and made transnational links among multinational corporate interests and U.S., anticommunist “police” actions in the Americas. Like most U.S. underground papers, the Seed also circulated and celebrated the cultural work (poetry, graphic art, street theater) that characterized U.S. socialist and anticolonial solidarity politics in the early 1970s. It was in Chicago that Teruggi’s communications activism (in its aesthetic and performative, as well a socialist and anti-colonialist dimensions) began following lines of development that aligned it with the communications activism of the white, socialist Weather Underground – minus the bombing of corporate and government property. Without going technically underground, in other words, Teruggi began pursuing transnational and socialist communications activism along the radical edges of the anti-Vietnam war movement that he would continue to pursue in Santiago. For instance, prior to or soon after leaving Chicago for Santiago, Teruggi published an informational article in the Chicago Seed about the Marxist guerillas in Uruguay called the Tupamoro. Drawing on a variety of sources, he analyzed recent setbacks experienced by the Tupamoro in Uruguay, where their ten-year-old struggle had suffered a series of well-orchestrated assaults on
hideouts and communications networks by the right-wing government of Juan Maria Bordaberry. Teruggi’s article ends by recounting protests in Uruguay against the use of torture by the Bordaberry government, which (in a case retrospectively resembling the detention and death of singer Victor Jaras in the Chilean coup) had detained and tortured Uruguayan musicians Daniel Viglietti, Alfredo Zitarrosa and Los Olimanados. The jails of Uruguay held, Teruggi concluded, over 600 political prisoners. In Santiago, FIN would likewise cover the Tupamoro -- in its first issue, with an article clipped from Las Noticias del Ultima Hora (FIN 1, 16).

FIN’s aim was not only to study and support socialist revolution in Chile, however, but to create solidarity between the socialist and anti-imperialist goals of Allende’s government and those of diverse, worker- and campesino-led, feminist and anti-racist struggles around the world – with special attention to socialist and anticolonial movements in the United States. In other words, while FIN reported on the operations of U.S. multinational conglomerates in Chile, like Pepsi-Co, I.T.T, Ford, and U.S. copper companies, it went further, to connect U.S. covert “police” operations against socialist revolution in Chile (and in North Vietnam) with police repression of allied movements within the United States during the early 1970s. It was here that FIN and Teruggi’s pursuit of underground journalism in Santiago was aesthetically and politically aligned not only with underground papers like the Chicago Seed, but also with the communiques deployed by the Weather Underground during the same years.

(FIN 7, 24)
FORD Corporation: “Which do you prefer?.. We have many flags!:
FIN 6, p. 2.
HERE IT IS FOLKS!
THE NEW SUPER DELUXE
AMERICAN IMPERIAL!

NOW BEFORE I MENTION THE
PRICE, LET ME TELL YOU
WHAT WENT INTO THE
MAKING OF THIS AUTOMOBILE.

ALUMINUM FOR THE ENGINE AND
TRANSMISSION FROM SURINAM, HAITI,
AND JAMAICA.

CHROME FOR ALLOYS AND TRIM FROM
TURKEY, SOUTH AFRICA AND PHILIPPINES.

TUNGSTEN FOR ALLOYS FROM BOLIVIA,
THAILAND, SOUTH KOREA, AND BURMA.

TIN FOR ALLOYS FROM INDONESIA,
MALAYA, BOLIVIA AND CONGO.

COPPER FOR THE ELECTRICAL SYSTEM
FROM RHODESIA, CANADA AND CONGO.

RUBBER FOR TIRES FROM MALAYA
AND INDONESIA.

OIL FOR LUBRICATION AND FUEL
FROM VENEZUELA AND THE MID EAST.

AND LOTS MORE!

WE USED TO
RIP-OFF LOTS
OF COPPER
FROM CHILE BEFORE THEY NATIONALIZED
IT. LATER FOR THEM.

IT TAKES AMERIKAN INGENUITY AND KNOW-HOW
TO ORGANIZE THIS GLOBAL RIP-OFF AND
TURN IT INTO A FINE LOOKING AUTOMOBILE.
SO WHEN YOU HEAR THE MELLOW SOUND
OF YOUR NEW AMERICAN IMPERIAL V-8,
YOU CAN FEEL A WARM SENSE OF
PRIDE IN KNOWING WHY YOUR SON
DIED IN VIETNAM.
FIN’s support for the socialist revolution in Chile extended to allied situations: the Black Panthers on trial with Angela Davis in California; the struggles of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in the U.S.; and position papers issued by the Puerto-Rican/U.S. Young Lords in New York. In turn, FIN’s style of juxtaposition and use of graphic art implicitly and explicitly connected police operations in both Latin America and the U.S. – at Wounded Knee, for instance, against the American Indian Movement – with policing technologies that included electronic, missile guidance systems provided by I.T.T. to the U.S. Air Force for bombing runs against socialist and anticolonial guerillas in North Vietnam. FIN also focused repeatedly on labor, linking the struggles of agricultural workers in California’s Central Valley, for example, with labor organizing among rural laborers in southern Chile -- and the second annual conference of primarily Black domestic workers (NCHE) in the United States.

(‘La rebellion de las empleadas domésticas’), FIN 1, 13)
FIN 6. SPECIAL ISSUE ON VIETNAM, Fragging and War Resistance within the U.S. Military

However, the radical and “underground” edge of FIN’s project is perhaps best exemplified by its coverage of fragging in the U.S. army and its research into – and detailed publication of – the curriculum of the U.S. International Police Academy (IPA) in Washington D.C. In an 11-page article, rich with graphics, FIN documented the U.S. policy Cold War policy of training of Latin American police forces at a variety of locations but especially at the International Police Academy (IPA) in Washington D.C. The program graduated 3,500 police in 1970, most of whom assumed leading positions in Latin American police forces after training by instructors recruited from the F.B.I and CIA. Such IPA instructors, FIN notes, included not only familiar figures like Richmond, Indiana Chief of Police and F.B.I. agent Dan Mitrione, executed by the Tupamaros in 1970, but also F.B.I. agent Michael McCann, the IPA’s present director. The curriculum offered two tracks: a general, thirteen-week course, and another specialized for officers above the rank of Lt. Colonel. As FIN points out, one recent graduate of IPA was General Vicente Huerta Colis, the former director of Chilean Carabineros (police forces),
who participated in the failed Chilean military coup led by Chilean Generals Viaux and Valenzuela in 1969. (FIN 7, 17).⁹

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⁹ *FIN* includes chart listing numbers by country of Latin American graduates from U.S. police training schools who served in South and Central American police forces -- many in charge of U.S. supported military governments -- between 1961 and 1968.
FIN also attended closely and approvingly to the practice of fragging, or grenade attacks mounted against U.S. military officers by their own U.S. troops in Vietnam. It reported in detail the case against a Black Vietnam war resister in the U.S. Army named Billy Dean Smith -- the first soldier tried for fragging in the U.S. -- as he was forced to combat both racism and the War from within the military. Significantly, given the extent of anti-war activism within the U.S. military in 1972-1973, FIN offered a detailed analysis of “fragging,” or grenade attacks on U.S. military officers by their troops in Vietnam. From the point of view of globalized state violence, in which the U.S. government and U.S. corporate investment colluded in U.S. counterinsurgency operations in Vietnam, as in Chile, FIN found that it could write approvingly of fragging. Here FIN’s communications activism comes closest to that of the Weather Underground, at a time when the Weatherpeople were responding with the art of communique to U.S. interventions in Chile, Vietnam, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and well beyond.
On Trial for Fragging --Billy Dean Smith, “Struggling against military injustice” (FIN 6, 41)

In October of 1974, the Weather Underground would publish *The Weather Eye*, a collection of twenty communiqués (and several letters and poems) issued between June 1969 and July 1974. In this collection, each communiqué – “published first in underground newspapers, the *Tribe, the Kaleidoscope, Liberated Guardian* and Chicago *Seed*” – is given a new format that included a photograph on the right side of each page. With this published book, twenty, ephemeral communiques were reconstituted as, in effect, a horizontal “flip book,” illustrated with a series of still photographs meant to be viewed sequentially, as moving (still) frames, apart from but alongside communiqués #1 through #20 -- from the 1970 “Declaration of a State of War” through the 1974 bombing
of Gulf Oil headquarters in Pittsburgh, to protest the corporation’s support for Portuguese colonial policies in Angola. The whole is dedicated to Amilcar Cabral, the anticolonial revolutionary (killed in 1973), who fought Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau: the dedication is accompanied by a photograph of Cabral reading a book by flashlight – a representation of the kind of revolutionary reading *The Weather Eye* hoped to inspire.

The sequential, “flip book” photographs in *The Weather Eye* do not merely illustrate the *communiques* which they accompany; they follow their own mobile messaging, by violating and connecting the beginning or end pages of individual communiques. Further, the photographs connect images of poverty and struggle across far flung geographic sites and at different scales, from the close-up faces of individuals, to the mass movement of crowds. Moreover, the images are selected to communicate the leadership of women in socialist and social movements, as well as instances of joy in work, love and happiness in work or struggle, as represented by photographs of, for instance, Puerto Rican schoolgirl friends, lesbian mothers and children at a “gay demonstration,” or guerilla theater at the 1972 Republican Convention. These also include photographs of a Tunisian woman weaver and Mapuche peasants of Chile in the September 1973 communique announcing the bombing of I.T.T. for Chile. Overall, through the oscillation between close-up and distant shots from one photograph to the next, *The Weather Eye* challenges the eye of the reader to look harder, or more carefully at faces and identities, rethinking or finding connections between highly diverse human groups and struggles, while reimagining social relationship, cultural work and everyday life apart from the part/whole binaries of capitalist nationalism.
"Guerrilla Theater at the 1972 Republican Convention"
Photo Credit Howie Epstein/Liberation News Service
Tunisian Woman Weaving, p. 81. Photo Credit: Minton Brooks
Mapuche Peasants in Chile, p. 87. Photo Credit: Liberation News Service
Chilean Mother and Children, p. 89. Photo Credit: Liberation News Service

Symbionese Liberation Army, p 97. no photo credit


Apart from the sequence of Republican Convention guerilla theater photographs, the photographs selected above from The Weather Eye refer specifically Chile, and accompany Communiqué #14. At the same time, in keeping with the sequential and partly autonomous visual logic of the photographs – with their playful disorientation of the reader/viewer’s visual frame -- the images “for Chile” also continue beyond the communique’s end to “illustrate” the subsequent communique, “Letter from Howard Machtinger,” which in turn translate into photographs of Black children living in poverty in the U.S. These last accompany a Weather Underground statement and poem in support of the Symbionese Liberation Army. The “Letter from Howard Machtinger” was written in October 16, 1973 after “jumping bail and going underground again.” It explains his decision to return to the underground in terms that equally apply to the socialist imaginary, the intellectual work and
aesthetic practices of the FIN collective in Santiago – prior to the coup. Machtinger writes,

“There need to be bases beyond the reach of the state power – so that people can have alternatives to going to jail, so that we can as much as possible meet, think, plot, study, work things out without the interference of our enemies (without being harassed, infiltrated or bugged). So that we have a place to hid ourselves, our weapons, so that we can act without depending so much on imperially controlled methods of communication... 10

Before they were transformed into The Weather Eye, with its flip-book variation on a motion (or social movement) picture, the transmission of individual Weather communiques had followed a very different, very regular procedure -- of which the bombing of I.T.T.’s Latin American offices on Park Avenue is exemplary. At 2:00am, on September 28th, 1973, the night telephone operator at the New York Times received a call announcing that, in 15 minutes, the Park Avenue headquarters of the media and hotel conglomerate I.T.T. would be bombed by the Weather Underground in retaliation for I.T.T.’s involvement in the overthrow of Allende’s government. Fifteen minutes later (as the Times duly reported) the bomb went off, destroying four rooms of I.T.T.’s Latin American department on the “virtually deserted” 9th floor...so that no one was hurt.”11

Left unreported by the Times – and, more so by papers like the Chicago Tribune, who

10 p. 90-91. The letter continues with a reference to the kind of communications activism that convinced him to return to the underground, while qualifying his decision with that, while he was awaiting trial l and facing prison, it was “important to note that I was not confronting what Black and other Third World freedom fighters face.” In his decision, it was the larger environment of the underground as communiqué that he found instructing and, in particular, the centrality of women within it: “During the time I was figuring out my decision I saw a slide show of women in prison, went to a benefit to help relieve the drought in six countries in West Africa, visited a day-care center, saw a play about women written and performed by women, signed a petition about political prisoner ins South Vietnam, met new friends.”

11 Afterwards, the F.B.I. and police led an investigation into possible relationships between the I.T.T. bombing in New York and two other, similarly symbolic attacks on “private property” undertaken that same day – at I.T.T.’s Italian subsidiary in Rome and San Francisco’s Federal Office Building.
purposely garbled both phone call and communique\(^\text{12}\) -- was the fact that, in addition to the use of the telephone, the Weather Underground had also circulated a carefully considered 4-page document, with hand-drawn cover-art and their sign: a rainbow crossed by a flash of lightning (fig 1). Copies were left for designated reporters, some in city telephone booths – where they were taped beneath the metal panel used to hold a telephone book. This mode of messaging was accompanied by simultaneous distribution to selected underground papers like the Chicago *Seed*, which could be depended on to reprint the *communique* “whether they agreed with it or not.”\(^\text{13}\) Moreover, like the *Seed*, Communique #14 was designed with hand-drawn graphics and the inclusion of poetry-- two verses by Chilean poet Neruda -- alongside drawing, information and critique.

Communique #14 offered a 4-point justification of the Weather bombing of I.T.T. for the corporation’s documented collusion, for years, with U.S. government, military and intelligence agencies in the overthrow of socialism in Chile: “In 1970, I.T.T. financed Allende’s opponent and cooperated with the CIA to try to create economic chaos in Chile and instigate a military coup.... I.T.T. offered the White House a million dollars” to finance anti-Allende activities,” and sent “an eighteen- point plan to General Alexander Haig,” to urge that “everything should be done...to see that Allende does not get through the crucial next six months.” Enumerating I.T.T.’s assets in Chile, the communiqué insists further upon “seeing” the “invisible” economic blockade produced by U.S. manipulations of the World Bank (to deprive Chile of loans) and by Kennecott and Anaconda Corporations in forcing down the world price of copper. HereCommunique #14 quotes Allende’s own words in a speech to the United Nations, a year and a half before his murder in the Moneda:

> We are aware that when we denounce the financial and economic blockade applied against us, it is somewhat difficult ...to understand what we mean. This aggression is not overt and has not been openly

\(^{12}\) Quotation from tribune that purposely and transparently garbled the communique

\(^{13}\) Jonah Raskin, editor. *Introduction to the The Weather Eye*
declared to the world; on the contrary, it is an oblique underhanded form of aggression, although this does not make it any more damaging to Chile.

We are having to face forces that operate in the half-light, that fight with powerful weapons, but that fly no identifying flag and are entrenched in the most varied centers of influence.”

Allende alludes here to the globalizing (neoliberal) capitalism of multinational corporations like I.T.T. that, already in 1973, had investments so diversified and longstanding that, in complexity and self-sufficiency, the corporation constituted a virtual “polity” unto itself, with foreign and military policies. While capitalism is notoriously mobile, and nations have “fixed” territorial borders, in fact, longstanding investments such as I.T.T.’s in the telephone companies of Chile and Puerto Rico– or ExxonMobile’s interests in African oil or gas fields today – can presuppose “a productive life span of forty or more years” during which, as Matthew Frye Jacobson points out, they “see governments come and go” and “a nation like the US “might change its president and its foreign and energy policies at least a half dozen times.”

It is in this context of this confluence of state and corporate power that underground “papers” like FIN of Weather Communique #14 communicate awareness of their own status and function as media in a world where communications systems have been militarized. In this regard I.T.T.’s investments in the U.S. war effort in Vietnam – where I.T.T. provided the communications systems required for aerial bombing – becomes fully relevant. In September of 1973, Weather Communique #14 for Chile did not explicitly connect I.T.T.’s efforts to overthrow socialism in Chile with the corporation’s ongoing work for the U.S. military in Vietnam. FIN, however, had made that connection crystal

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14In 1999, an US embassy official in Chad cabled the State Department that “Exxon has been an operator in Chad for almost 30 years now and is self-sufficient working in this environment...It is our impression that on a number of fronts, they would probably prefer to keep a certain distance from the [US] embassy.” Quoted in Matthew Frye Jacobson, “Where We Stand: U.S. Empire at Street Level and in the Archive,” American Quarterly, p. 280
clear, in six separate articles on I.T.T. across 8 issues, including one focused specifically on “Imperialism y la Tecnologia del Terror.” This article details I.T.T.’s provisioning of infra-red, night-vision, and electronic communications technology for aircraft in Vietnam, with special attention to the corporation’s development of the target-tracking television cameras installed in the noses of *Maverick* air-to-ground missiles (effective against armored vehicles) deployed by U.S. B-52s, F-4 and A-7s. The analysis is typical of FIN’s research into corporate investments, describing in detail, for instance, the receptors developed for LORAN systems that, setting “coordinates for a bombing operation” would “automatically guide the F-4 to its target without needing a pilot (“sin que sea necesario el pilot”). In an example of the pointed juxtaposition so typical of underground newspaper formatting, the history of I.T.T.’s development of military electronics is accompanied by a separate, but related, discussion of electric and electronic, crowd control devices newly developed for police use by private laboratories in the U.S. These include intense lights to temporarily blind and disorient (*desorientandola*), sound devices like shotguns to shoot irritating sounds at high intensity (*“sonidos muy irritantes de alta intensidad”*), “cattle prod” devices for producing electric shock (*aquijones de alambre que producen choques eletricos*) and “taser guns” that enable police to paralyze individuals from a distance of 150 meters. In Issue 7, FIN notes that these include *la picana electrica*, a device used in torture. (7,5)

In the case of I.T.T., Weather Communiqué #14, in fact, moves in a different direction, to counter U.S. “press coverage of the police state measures in Chile” that accepts the version of the military junta now in power” by “letting the Chilean people themselves speak through our media.” In specific terms, this means including the words of Salvador Allende and poet Pablo Neruda; it also entails condemning I.T.T. for its role in the “massive financial and technological support to strengthen the Chilean police and

15 In short, “La I.T.T dirige el sistema que coordina todas las comunicaciones entre los militares en el Vietnam.”
16 The article concludes by quoting Jack Anderson’s investigation 1972 investigation of the Harry Diamond Army Research Lab in Adelphi, Maryland, where experiments were being performed on “the short-time-span control of human behavior” through lasers, communications systems, and electro-magnetic technologies.
military”; and it means pointing out that the U.S. brings “the most reactionary members of Latin American military forces to the U.S. for training -- while buttressing right-wing military governments with both international credit and financing in Chile as in Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay.” Then, twice, at the beginning and the end of the “indictment,” the Weather Underground quotes Pablo Neruda’s “They Receive Orders Against Chile,” from *Canto General* (1950), to characterize what Allende described in his last radio broadcast as “those whose force knows no humanity”:

“but we have to see behind all them, there is something
behind the traitors and the gnawing rats,
an empire which sets the table
and serves up the nourishment and the bullets.

*Pablo Neruda (The Weather Eye, 84)*

**DESAPARECIDO 1972/1982**

In the United States, Costa Gavras’ 1982 award-winning film *Missing* is arguably the best known and most widely distributed memorial to the entwined complicities of U.S. corporations, government, military and intelligence services in the atrocities of 9.11.1973. However, in addition to its revelations of U.S involvement in the coup, the film also critiques the visual structure of U.S. imperialist amnesia as it “disappears” the state violence attendant upon protecting U.S. interests at home and abroad. In fact, the central project of Costa Gavras’ film is to display the frozen dialectic of “seeing without seeing” that structures U.S. imperialist amnesia regarding U.S. involvement in the Chilean coup. And yet, at the same time, dialectically speaking, there is also something missing from *Missing*. Even as the film critiques the visual framework of U.S. imperialist amnesia, it displays its own disavowed underbelly in the form of a highly
ambivalent, condescending representation of the socialist and anti-colonial communications networks in which 24-year old Frank Teruggi was active.

In Missing, produced ten years after Teruggi’s death, director Costa Gavras collapses Teruggi’s story into that of much older Charles Horman, together with the differences of age, media, economic class and city of origin that shaped Teruggi’s communications activism. For all its significance, Missing dialectically disavows the communications activism of FIN and Terrugi and, with it, the radical edge of the memory tradition represented by what I have called communiqué. The film’s central character is another, white, expatriate North American: a married, 31-year old Manhattan native and Harvard graduate named Charles Horman -- who had also worked on FIN, and who was also detained and murdered in Estadio Nacional at about the same time as Teruggi. While, for a variety of reasons, Horman’s case received more attention, his background and interests were different from Teruggi’s. Nevertheless, on the screen, for purposes of narrative and visual coherence, and because of the Hollywood plot lines Horman’s story evoked, Costa Gavras displaces Teruggi, by simply assimilating his character to Horman’s, making Teruggi (played by Joe Regalbuto) a much older New Yorker -- like Horman -- while visually substituting Terrugi’s arrest and detention in Estadio Nacional for Horman’s, whose disappearance remains the film’s central, structuring absence. Indeed, ultimately, it is Teruggi’s arrest and detention in Estadio Nacional that we “witness” in scenes of discovery, and Teruggi’s body (instead of Charles’) that Joyce Harmon ultimately finds in place of Charles, when she hunts for her husband in the stadium morgue. Above all, the “witty” character of Teruggi is converted into a sort of brash, fast-talking New Yorker who makes upbeat claims about “meeting up after the coup” in a famous New York restaurant, or at Washington Square in Greenwich Village.

Based on Thomas Hauser’s carefully researched account of Horman’ disappearance, The Execution of Charles Horman: An American Sacrifice (1978), Missing narrates the story of Horman’s disappearance from the point of view of his wife Joyce and, more centrally, his father Ed (played by Jack Lemmon) who join forces to search for him in Santiago. Unlike Costa Gavras’s earlier films about state terror, especially State of Siege
(1972), which scrutinizes power relations on display during the torture of CIA agent Dan Mitrione by the Tupamaro, *Missing* avoids visually depicting either torture or assassination. It focuses, instead, on a structural blindness at the heart of U.S. cultural memory of U.S. corporate and military intervention in Chile -- as that blindness is represented by Ed Harmon: the white, politically naïve, economically privileged, English-speaking visitor who arrives in Chile to find his son, but instead finds himself at sea in a “foreign” environment riddled with opacity. In a nod to Hollywood narrative conventions, *Missing* is at once a love story (with Sissy Spacek as Charles Horman’s grieving wife) and a murder mystery -- organized around Ed Horman’s slow awakening to the fact that his son has been killed by the Chilean police or military, with the knowing support of U.S. government and military officials.

Through the lens of Ed Horman’s dogged investigation in the company of Joyce Harmon, the film patiently unpacks the tangled network of US. officials semi-covertly involved in the coup: State Department and embassy representatives, Ford Foundation employees, and a variety of U.S. military and intelligence officers in Santiago and in Vina Del Mar. The latter include three U.S Navy men whose names are changed by the movie, but used in Hauser’s book and in, the case of Cpt. Ray Davis, in U.S. government documents declassified in 1999. These names include Arthur Creter and Creter’s boss, the fiercely anticommunist Lt. Col Patrick Ryan, as well as dangerous Navy Captain Ray E. Davis, the head of the U.S. Military Group (U.S. Milgroup) in Chile. In 2015, more than thirty years after *Missing*, Chilean courts under Judge Jorge Zapeda would indict Davis and two Chilean military officers in the killings of Horman and Teruggi. Zapeda’s 200+pp. document links their indictments not only to U.S. Milgroup surveillance of Horman, but to the longer paper trail associated with Teruggi – not only in Santiago but before that, in Chicago, where, for his work with CAGLA and his predilection for “underground papers” Teruggi was subject to “secret investigations and “clandestine data collection” – which continued in Santiago – “with regard to political extremism.
both inside and outside of the United States.”¹⁷ Zapeda’s findings (like Pinochet’s eventual arrest in 1998) are crucial from an international human rights perspective. However, the court’s indictment of individuals does not address the amnesiac fantasies, ideological operations or corporate interests whose involvement in fascist atrocities cannot be juridically captured.

Neither Charles nor Ed Harmon is particularly good at seeing things in Missing. While Ed’s view is obscured by his naïve faith in his government, and by his class position as a wealthy, well-connected New Yorker, while Charles’ perspective on Chilean “realities” are figured as child-centered or childish – as well as hopelessly mired, from the film’s point of view, in print and paper media. Books, prints and papers are scattered everywhere in the film as markers, or remnants, of the (unspecified) cultural activities pursued by Horman and by extension Teruggi and their friends. Specifically, these scattered documents stand in for the the reading, writing and drawing activities that, until 9.11.73, had shaped the daily lives of North living as artists, students and intellectuals in Santiago. More generally, however, in the eye of the camera, the paper fragments (their content obscured) function as a synecdoche for a failed or “weak media” dispersed by state violence. The paper-and-ink pursuits of Charles Horman, in particular, are represented by Costa Gavras as naïve and childlike. The film’s opening shot is iconic in this regard.

Opening shot, Costa Gavras *Missing*, 1972

*Missing* opens with Horman’s face, filmed through the glass window of a car as he looks out, from the passenger side. Rolled half-way down, the car glass also functions as a screen upon which we see what Charles is watching: the reflected image of young children playing soccer outside the car on a dusty landscape. As he watches, we also watch the children, reflected in the glass, until the reflection suddenly changes, and they are dispersed by the (reflected) appearance, behind them, of enormous military tanks, rolling through the street and into view. The sequence summarizes both Charles’ focus on children and his political naïveté, features of his character that will be subsequently elaborated in scenes with Joyce in their Santiago apartment – which is domesticated by toys, cartoon drawings, the visits of a neighbor boy, and semi-comic dialogue about a resident duck, the object of joking and drawings by Charles. Once Charles goes missing, furthermore, the film’s ambivalent identification of him -- and, by extension, the cultural activities of Teruggi and *FIN* -- as childish or naïve is reinforced by Ed Horman’s condescension, throughout the first half of the film towards his adult son’s “unproductive” cultural and political activities in Santiago. Charles’ mysterious disappearance is repeatedly represented, through Ed’s eyes, as being, in effect, his own
fault. Ed views his white, highly educated and economically privileged son as a casualty of a misbegotten generation gap. From Ed’s perspective, his son’s adult identity, including his marriage, has been radically compromised by his dilettantish wanderings as a would-be filmmaker, part-time journalist, and a kind of revolutionary tourist, which have brought him almost by accident to Chile.

Ultimately, by the end of the film, it is Ed’s own economically privileged and “naïve” point of view that becomes the central locus of Missing’s critique of the amnesiac visual structure of the secret “hidden in plain sight” that screens U.S. memory of US. intervention in Chile on 9.11.73. But, in the process, Missing also reinforces Ed’s dismissal of Charles Horman’s cultural activities with pen and paper. While critiquing, Missing replicates Ed’s initial, condescending reading of Charles and, by extension, Teruggi as well -- whose body, and whose comparatively lively (fake)“New York” personality, substitute, in scenes of discovery, for Charles Horman’s more central absence.

At the same time, however, Missing also works hard, but indirectly, to connect U.S. corporate investments in Chile to the frozen dialectic of imperialist amnesia as the visual structure of looking without seeing. While the film’s foreground is dominated by Ed Horman’s detective-like pursuit of his son’s murderers, the film’s background is filled with the silent presence of U.S. multinational investments in Chile in the form of billboard advertising and store-front signsbearing the names of Ford, Pepsi-Co, Coca-Cola, and I.T.T. (represented by AVIS), which appear in virtually every major outdoor scene in the film. During the second year of Allende’s presidency, Allende’s socialist government would outrage U.S. corporate leaders of I.T.T. as well as Anaconda and Kennecott copper corporations, by nationalizing Chile’s telephone company -- an I.T.T. subsidiary -- and threatening the same of U.S. copper companies, who controlled and profited from Chile’s leading export. The interests of U.S. multinational corporations in supporting a right-wing military coup in Chile was widely documented by 1972; moreover, in 1982, at the beginning of the U.S-funded proxy or Contra war against the revolutionary Sandinistas, the role of U.S. corporations in supporting right-wing military
rule in South and Central America was, if anything, even more widely acknowledged. These corporate interests are clearly indicated by Costa Gavras in the background of the street scenes in Missing, where the logos of U.S. multinational firms appear again and again on city walls, with the implied directive to “read the signs.”

As the counterpart to silent signage along the streets of Santiago, however, the film more centrally uses the character of Ed Harmon to frame (as centrally empty) the North American visual dynamic of looking without seeing that dislocates U.S. recognition of U.S. participation in the fascist coup. The crucial scene in this regard comes at the film’s climax, after Ed learns conclusively from a Ford Foundation employee that his son has been murdered. He immediately pays a visit to the U.S. embassy, where U.S. Milgroup Cpt. Ray Davis ("Ray Tower") meets him along with the ambassador, and Ed accuses them both of involvement in his son’s death. His accusations are detailed and specific:

“I have reason to believe my son was killed by the military... I do not think that they would date to do a thing like that unless an American official co-signed a kill order...”

--“Why would we do such a thing?”

“Probably because he knew of our involvement in the coup...he encountered [U.S.] army colonels, navy engineers all over Vina del Mar.

At this juncture the ambassador and Davis/Tower acknowledge the truth of Ed’s accusations by comparing the U.S military in Chile with the NY mafia, and scoffing, “You play with fire you get burned.” But Davis/Tower also turns the accusation back on Ed, as he stands looking in grief out the embassy window, onto an empty, manicured, green yard. Here, Davis infantilizes both Ed and Charles as “snoops” who have dared to enter an environment they did not understand, declaring

--“Let’s level with each other, sir, If you hadn’t been personally involved in this unfortunate incident, you’d be sitting home complacent and more
or less oblivious to all this.” “Our mission is to protect American interests.”

--- “Well, they’re not mine.”

--- There are over 3000 firms doing business down here. And those are American interests, which are your interests. I am concerned with the preservation of a way of life.”

---[Ed Horman] AND A DAMNED GOOD ONE.

At this point, Ed’s back is turned to the camera, and his dubbed-in line ‘AND A DAMNED GOOD ONE’ is a pointedly awkward voice-over, in which the soundtrack crudely replays a line he had used earlier in the film, when, in dialogue with Joyce, he harshly criticized his son’s lack of appreciation for the North America “good life” -- wealth, education and privilege -- that had enabled his social and cultural experimentation in Chile. While this episode ironizes Ed’s earlier critique of Charles, it goes further. By calling attention to itself through the echo-effect of the crudely dubbed line, it evokes the echo chamber of hearing/not hearing and knowing/not knowing that enables U.S. intervention in Chile at the very point where public interests meet private benefits, and U.S. embassy staff meet corporate investment in counterinsurgency (“anti-terrorist”) operations. The echo chamber is further ramified by the visual dialectics of seeing/not seeing which follows in the subsequent shot -- introduced by another line, spoken by Ed, as he stands looking out the window frame at the empty, green zone of the embassy yard, his back to the camera. He says, seemingly to no purpose, “Maybe that’s why there is nobody out there.” While the line partly refers to Ed’s earlier visit to the Italian embassy, chaotically crowded with refugees not admitted to the pristine U.S. embassy, it goes further to capture the visual structure of an empty frame with an empty center that screens U.S. interests, filling the place of U.S. memory of the coup with the face of the corporate commodity.

If the film’s climax reflects upon the visual and sonic media that frame imperialist amnesia, the film’s denouement returns to its ambivalence about the weakness of
paper media in the face of state violence. As Ed and Horman’s widow prepare to return to New York, they return first to Charles and Joyce’s apartment to gather up Charles’ belongings. Joyce concentrates on toys and knickknacks collected in a cigar box, while Ed gathers the ephemeral papers and cartoons – primarily drawings for a children’s animated film – scattered through the wreckage. Unpinning papers from the walls, collecting them from tables and desk, he creates a small archive. Until this moment, he had been dismissive of his son’s efforts as a sometimes journalist and would-be filmmaker, viewing his son’s scattered activities as amateurism that had generated only negligible accomplishment. Now Ed’s re-collection of his son’s paper remains figures his acceptance of Charles’ death and a previously unimaginable possibility – that he has been the object of state terrorism supported and abetted at the highest levels of the U.S. government. By archiving his son’s scattered pages, in other words, Ed performs his own political awakening, however circumscribed, to an atrocity of the Cold War: the United States’ participation in the torture and mass death unfolding in the dispersed concentration camps of Pinochet’s Chile. With its attention to paper ephemera, the scene also fleetingly and comprehensively brings into view the paper media of the *communique* as a transnational form of socialist and anticolonial communications activism. At the same time, however, by assimilating the archive of the *communique* to the family centered plot-line of the Hormans’ search, *Missing* distances the cultural imaginary of North American socialists whose anticolonial, solidarity activism was directed to the socialization and redistribution of wealth.

This is especially clear in *Missing*’s fleeting representation of the collective enterprise of *FIN*, of which Teruggi and Horman were a part. Planted deep with the film, as Ed and Joyce search for Charles, is a shot of (fictional) found footage: a (falsified) home movie (with actors) within the movie. Presumably shot, rather like a cell-phone video, by Harmon’s wife, the footage shows *FIN* as a group of happy young people at a cook-out, eating and drinking around a picnic table. The group looks like nothing more than a group of friends on a lark. This visual fragment is the counterpart to scattered papers of Charles Harmon: as a sentimental frame, this “home” movie, not only captures *FIN*
ambivalently as a futile and childish paper chase, it also disavows the larger and vibrant field of transnational communications activism that not only connected Chicago to Santiago, but made Frank Teruggi not only a socialist but an artist of memory as *communique*.

**POETRY AND THE GODS OF ELECTRICITY**

In the republic of poetry, poets rent a helicopter
to bombard the national palace
with poems on bookmarks,
and everyone in the courtyard
rushes to grab a poem
fluttering from the sky,
blinded by weeping.

___Martin Espada, “The Republic of Poetry: for Chile” 2004

Martin Espada’s 2004 *The Republic of Poetry* -- written on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the coup in Chile and the death of Pablo Neruda – connects U.S. intervention in Chile 9/11/1973 with the (ongoing) U.S. military response to the attack on the World Trade Center towers in New York on 9/11/2001. Espada’s *Republic* remembers U.S. complicity in the fascist coup by way of the alternative memory tradition of the transnational, anti-colonial, socialist and anti-racist solidarity movement furthered in the early 1970s by the *FIN* collective and, by the communications activism of Chicago socialist Frank Teruggi, for which he was tortured and killed. 30 years later, in his poem “Not Here,” the second in his *Republic of Poetry*, Martin Espada narrates the long-lived social and political effects of torture from the point of view of Chilean poet Raul Zurita (himself a survivor of electroshock torture), who recalls the collective
abasement of passersby on the streets of Santiago after the coup. Their defeat is psycho-physical as well as political: “heads down,” they dare only to steal a glimpse of the shattered Moneda, with its “blackened balcony” where Allende once stood:

Zurita says: After the bombing, after the coup, no one could stand here to look at the ruins. If you did, you were suspect. Did you grieve for Allende? They grieved, heads down, hands in pockets, moving along, Glancing up, a blackened balcony in the corner of the eye.

Electroshock torture was a counterinsurgency technique, specific to the 1970s. Imported from French colonial struggles against urban guerillas in North Africa, and disseminated in the Americas during the U.S. war in Vietnam, the deployment of electroshock torture in the U.S. backed coup in Chile was not only a violation of international human rights law but also as a mode of communications and a counterinsurgency strategy designed, as shock, to deliver a shaming and silencing message to critics of capitalism and their sympathizers (“soft” on communism) anywhere on the sociopolitical spectrum, be they communist party members, socialists, socialist-democrats, liberal-left activists, or their friends, fingered for possession of subversive literature.

As memory studies scholars have shown, one sociopolitical outcome of torture is extreme isolation through a shattering of individual identity together with collective solidarity and, in the case of the Chilean coup in Chile, a socialist imaginary of transnational communications activism. Memoirs of the coup since the 1970s have documented the affective and political effects of torture in the form of public silence, humiliation, fear and interpersonal disconnection induced by state violence -- effects that endure long after, and at multiple levels of social life. In a letter to her friend, the poet Marjorie Agosin twenty-year-old Emma Sepulveda succinctly captures these effects
on a crowd of students gathered for interrogation at the University of Chile in October of 1973:

I also asked [my friends] why they hadn’t called me, and they answered that nobody could rely on privacy while on the telephone now. Nobody knew who was who and nobody spoke, nobody dared to look at or recognize a face that might connect them to the past, or may condemn them to an uncertain future filled with interrogations. All were separated and disconnected, one from another, but closely united through the shock and torture of our fear.  

Sepulveda’s allusion to the telephone system in Chile marks the communicative and dimensions of the coup’s technologies of social dis-connection, as these operated at the most intimate of scales.