

A Challenge to Democratic Peace Theory:
U.S. Intervention in Chile, 1973

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I: EVERY THEORETICAL CHALLENGE REQUIRES A CATALYST

Abstract

This project examines covert action against Chilean President Salvador Allende during the 1970s and the interruption of democratic practices in the nation following United States interference. Through the efforts of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) under the authorization of President Nixon and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, the United States sought to impact a foreign election and later support a forceful change of power. In doing so, the United States had a hand in the perpetuation of violence and anti-democratic institutions in Chile throughout the 1970s and 80s in the interest of preventing a leftist democratic government from wielding power during the Cold War. In its devotion to the containment of Soviet power and communist ideology in Latin America, the United States intervened in a democratic nation and hence forsook one of its guiding principles: the promotion of democracy.

This study seeks to analyze how the United States has been able to justify its involvement in overthrowing Chilean democracy. Furthermore, this study examines the subsequent consequences of these actions in addition to the precedents established by the United States concerning foreign relations and democracy in Latin America. By examining the justifications and mechanisms of intervention utilized against the democratically elected government of Chile during the Cold War, this study challenges the notion that the United States consistently pursues policies that align with the goal of democratic promotion, and furthermore asserts that the United States has behaved contrary to the principles of Democratic Peace Theory. These questions will be addressed through examinations of declassified government communications and the rhetoric projected by United States leaders to gain support for the doctrine of containment of communism through any means necessary.

Introduction

As a student of both Latin American studies and global politics, the actions carried out against Chilean president Salvador Allende in the 1960s and 70s piqued my interest throughout my course of undergraduate study. Learning about Allende and the coup d'état of 1973 in the context of a Latin American history course merely initiated my fascination with the pattern of regime changes in Latin America in the 20th century. It was not until a later politics course where I studied covert action and United States' policy towards leftist leaders during the Cold War that I began to process the gravity of what had occurred in Chile and its connection to the political science theories which govern the norms of foreign relations.

The United States government has placed great emphasis on the power of democracy and how a global transition to democracy would result in a more peaceful and freer world. American leaders throughout history traditionally respected democratic processes abroad, even when such elections yielded displeasing results. Henry Kissinger himself asserted that:

“...international order is fostered by the spread of liberal democracy and that the international community has an obligation to bring this about... The United States may be able to adjust the application of its views on human rights in relation to strategic priorities. But in light of its history and the convictions of its people, America can never abandon these principles altogether” (Kissinger 229).

However, during the Cold War, such emphasis on respect for democratic processes took a secondary position when those democratically elected leaders were viewed as threats to the United States national interests and efforts to contain Soviet power and the spread of

communism (Forsythe 391). As a democratically elected socialist, Allende promoted leftist policies like the nationalization of industries and comprehensive agrarian reform, thus drawing the negative attention of the United States (Fagen 297). When I learned that Allende was a democratically elected leader, I was shocked and began to question why the United States had decided to pursue policies to interfere with another democracy. As a nation, the United States prides itself on the promotion of democratic principles abroad, but that ideal is in stark conflict with what occurred in Chile's democracy in the 1970s.

The declassification of official government documents concerning the development and deployment of covert operations in Chile under President Nixon and Henry Kissinger opens a window into what occurred in Chile, which had previously been closed to the American public. As I read, I began to wonder how leaders could defend the pursuit of election interference and support democratic breakdown in Chile's electoral democracy during the Cold War. Chile's tradition of democracy was placed on hold due to foreign interference from the United States. The United States government willfully interrupted democratic processes despite the notion that democracy brings peace. I was pulled to research how the United States and its leaders, and scholars, could support such a disruption in the process of democratization.

The United States has sought to maintain its image and domestic reputation as a great purveyor of democracy abroad. However, United States policies towards Chile carried out during the Cold War show evidence against this projected image. Such involvement in foreign democracies and government is not without consequences. Most significant is the interruption in the process of democratization through the end of the 20th century across Latin America due to the installation of many right-wing military authoritarian regimes. Democratic breakdowns and

forceful regime changes concluded with the rise of repressive dictatorships, including those of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, and Carlos Castillo Armas in Guatemala (Vanden and Prevost 305, 553). Latin American nations are still recovering from the violence and political upheaval contributed to by the United States and the use of covert actions during the late 20th century.

The consequences of democratic interruption go beyond the temporary sacrifice of democratic liberties under right-wing authoritarianism and continue to influence foreign policy and the current health of democracy in Latin America. The lack of direct opposition towards authoritarianism from the United States in cases where economic and national interests are being served, as in Chile under Pinochet's right-wing, free-market oriented regime, shows a malignment with the nation's professed guiding principles of liberty and democratic promotion. Without staunch opposition towards such authoritarian regimes, United States officials demonstrated that there was a limit to democratic promotion once it no longer benefited the United States' national interests.

The actions the United States undertook against democracies during the Cold War have led scholars like Sebastian Rosato and Jaechun Kim to question the level of devotion the United States has to the promotion of democracy and to developing a democratic peace. Election interference and forceful regime changes have long-term consequences. Through covert actions against foreign democracies, the United States has established a pattern of interruptions in global democratization, thus undermining the alleged peace-keeping properties of the process.

According to Democratic Peace Theory, conflict between democracies is not likely to occur due to international norms guiding the behavior of democracies, and structural features of democracy such as the role of public opinion. This project conducts an in-depth study of the

logic of the theory, and how theoretical loopholes, definitions, and technicalities have allowed for the exclusion of covert conflicts, like that against democratically elected Allende, as counter-examples to Democratic Peace Theory. Political scientists have made theoretical adjustments and refined definitions within the theoretical framework to expand the application of Democratic Peace Theory. As a result of these adjustments, scholars have debated the validity of the theory to explain and justify specific cases of CIA intervention during the Cold War. Political leaders and government officials in support of Democratic Peace Theory maintain that the United States does not engage in war with other democracies and consistently seeks to promote the spread of democracy with its policies. However, this perspective is contrary to the evidence provided by the case of widespread covert action and intervention in Chile's democracy at the end of the 20th century fueled by American officials' fear of the spread of Communism and devotion to preventing the rise of leftist leaders as potential Soviet allies. Regardless of the presence of democratic institutions and mechanisms, the threat of possible Soviet allies in power, particularly in Latin America following the Cuban Revolution, often eclipsed the goal of democratic promotion during the Cold War.

The United States has interfered in foreign governments around the world, exemplified by the cases of Chile and other Latin American countries during the Cold War. While covert action may advance and protect United States power in the short run, the decades that followed the fall of Allende prove that the United States cannot be relied upon to consistently promote democracy in times of international crisis. Such actions resulted in the forestalling of the process of democratization for decades.

Thesis

The United States was responsible for the interruption of democratic processes in Chile through election interference preceding Salvador Allende's electoral victory in 1970 and later through support of the opposition and the encouragement of regime-change by way of coup d'état in addition to economic pressure in 1973. The coup in 1973 installed a vicious right-wing military government, thus disrupting democracy in Chile until 1990. I argue that the actions and conflict pursued by the United States in Chile present evidence against the application of Democratic Peace Theory, which poses that democracies will not engage in conflicts with other democracies.¹ Political scientists in support of the theory have utilized ambiguity in definitions of components like "conflict" versus "war" and theoretical loopholes including the classification of liberal democracies to justify and defend the United States' actions in Chile (Russett 123; Kim 27). CIA operatives like Jack Devine and government officials including Nixon and Kissinger have used these same justifications and additional excuses to maintain that they operated in accordance with the goal of democratic promotion, as well as containment of Soviet power and influence (Devine 27-29, 33-35; Fagen 297-99)

The Nixon administration's refined intervention in Allende's Chile following a similar, although less polished, intervention in Guatemala against democratically-elected Jacobo Arbenz in 1954. This intervention set the precedent for the United States government to continue to engage in conflicts with other democratically elected governments. These conflicts among democracies present evidence against Democratic Peace Theory. However, these Latin American cases are not regarded as valid counter-examples through the employment of loopholes and

¹ Democratic Peace Theory generally operates with the definition of a liberal democracy including regular free and fair elections with a developed and organized opposition, protection of civil liberties like freedom of the press, and near-universal franchise (Owen, 89).

technicalities in the theory. These adjustments and loopholes include changes and restrictions to the definition of war to exclude covert action like what occurred in Chile. Scholars like Bruce Russett claim that the counter-examples of Guatemala and Chile, each a democracy at the time of intervention, were not democratic *enough* in their institutions to be treated in accordance with the international norms guiding democratic states.² By dismissing counter-examples through the application of theoretical loopholes, the United States government has been able to manipulate its justification of policies that run counter to its stated goals of democracy promotion, thereby appearing to uphold democratic peace theory while engaging in practices that run counter to the overall principles of the theory to better serve its interests and domestic reputation.

The principles behind Democratic Peace Theory were present in the works of political theorist Immanuel Kant, despite not resurfacing academically until the 1960s, and later the 80s through the work of theorists like Michael W. Doyle and Bruce Russett. Kant's *Perpetual Peace* argued the groundwork in 1795, but his work focused on constitutional republics as factors in perpetual global peace, not electoral democracies specifically (Rosato 587). Kant's work paved the way for the study of the correlations between regime-types and peace between states. However, it was not until 1983 (about a decade after United States intervention in Chile), when Doyle applied the principles of democratic peace to liberalism and foreign affairs, that Democratic Peace Theory began to gain notoriety among neoliberal scholars (Doyle 213). Doyle highlights the conventions of mutual respect and freedom from intervention by other countries enjoyed by liberal regimes in addition to the appearance that wars between liberal states are rare,

² Russett concludes that the status of Chilean democracy in 1970 and preceding the 1973 coup d'état was dubious due to pressure and intimidation of the opposition and opposition media outlets by Allende, stating that these developments were not in line with features of a liberal democracy, but he contends that Chile *was* still a democracy (Russet, 122)

ideas which are directly reflected in the principles of Democratic Peace Theory (Doyle 213, 217). While the refinement of Democratic Peace Theory occurred after the intervention in Chile concluded, it has been acceptable for the principles of the theory to be applied retroactively to explain behavior and conflicts between nations, including cases of international wars as early as 1817 (Doyle, 214).

If a mature democracy engages in conflict with other democracies without scrutiny through the lens of Democratic Peace Theory, democracies are no longer expected to consistently act peacefully with one another. Without recognition of the violations of democratic peace executed by a mature democracy like the United States, these examples of inter-democratic conflicts will continue, and the universal role of democratic governments in the avoidance of conflict among nations is undermined.

II: METHODOLOGY

In the subsequent pages, I will examine the ways in which the United States government interfered in the Chilean democratic process before and during Allende's term in office. I seek to answer the question, "How did the United States justify its involvement and manipulation in Chile domestically and internationally?" To answer it, I will carefully summarize and analyze declassified government documents which lay out the designations of funding for the CIA, methods of interference, and the discussions and opinions shared among high-level government officials, particularly focusing on Nixon and Kissinger. By analyzing the expression of anti-communist and anti-leftist rhetoric used by leaders in documented, private meetings and previously classified communications, I will discuss how the United States officials viewed the situation in Chile and how Allende won the attention of the United States.

I will discuss Allende as a politician and Marxist leader, the policies he supported, and his relationship with the Soviet Union. The combination of these factors impacted how Chilean policies were framed to officials and the American public during the Cold War. However, it is worth noting that American political discourse often employs oversimplified interpretations of Marxism and its connections to socialism and communism. Marxist beliefs and respect for democratic institutions are not mutually exclusive phenomena in political leaders, particularly when considering Allende, as discussed in the subsequent pages. Anti-communist fervor drove Americans and their leaders towards policies to prevent the consolidation of Soviet power in the Western hemisphere no matter the cost. While the efforts in Chile were largely covert and classified, general public opinion towards anti-communist efforts was overwhelmingly favorable. I will discuss how officials projected anti-leftist sentiments towards foreign governments during the Cold War to gain support for anti-communist efforts abroad, despite the secret, covert nature of most plans and actions, particularly in Chile.

Furthermore, I will analyze the connection of United States interference and the process of democratization to Democratic Peace Theory. According to the theory, democracies will not engage in conflict with other democracies. Both the United States and Chile were governed by democratic principles at the time of interference, and both nations operated under democratically elected governments. According to the logic of Democratic Peace Theory, these nations should have maintained peaceful relations as fellow democracies. Therefore, I will explore the normative and structural logics of the theory and how the United States has been able to maintain its reputation to the American public as a champion of global democratization despite having a hand in numerous democratic setbacks, like that of Chile following the coup d'état against Allende. I will examine how ambiguity in the language of the theory and how scholars have

interpreted its definitions and concepts have allowed the United States to claim that it does not engage in conflicts with other democracies. I will use the example of interference through covert actions in democratic Chile as an example of the United States acting against its role as a promoter of democracy.

I will examine the consequences of interference in democratic governments of Chile and other Latin American nations such as Guatemala in 1954 and Venezuela in 2002. The United States' decision to interfere in the democratic process of Chile resulted in the installment of the military authoritarian regime of General Augusto Pinochet. Pinochet's repressive regime falls in a pattern of right-wing authoritarian governments that came to power during the late 20th century in Latin America, which represented major setbacks in the process of democratization in the region. I will analyze the direct impacts that the military regime had on Chile and how the United States misread the intent of Pinochet's government, which resulted in an extended period of undemocratic governance and widespread human rights abuses. I will utilize academic journal articles and chapters analyzing Pinochet's regime and relationship with the United States.

Although there was an interruption in Chilean democracy following intervention from the United States, Chile's historically strong tradition of democracy has repaired since its transition back to democracy in 1990. However, the regional effects of the United States involvement in Latin American governments can still be seen in other countries and their ongoing struggle to maintain healthy democracies. Democratic backslide in countries like Venezuela emphasizes the difficulties of maintaining democracy in the region. I will analyze the other examples of United States interference with Latin American democratic governments, like Arbenz in Guatemala, and how they align with the justification used in favor of intervention in Chile through academic

articles and book chapters. The United States' approach to Chile is anomalous to the theoretical propositions of Democratic Peace Theory and I will use other examples to show the precedent set by United States-Latin American relations during the Cold War and the conflicts that have arisen because of covert actions carried out by the United States against democracies.

III: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Democratic Peace Theory

Democratic Peace Theory will serve as a theoretical lens applied to this study of United States-Chile relations and the pattern of covert actions during the Cold War. The theory posits that democracies are more peaceful in their foreign relations than states with other regime types. This conclusion implies that democracies will be more peaceful with other democracies through a dyadic analysis of the theory (Kim 25). Scholars began to study the behaviors of democracies as the liberal international order emerged following World War II and the theory has since been applied to the period of the Cold War. This project seeks to demonstrate how covert actions in Chile against Salvador Allende serve as a counter-example to challenge the application of the theory.

Origin

Following World War II, liberalism and realism vied for influence in political thought as paradigms shifted on how political scientists viewed the world. Democratic Peace Theory presented itself as a viable liberal challenge to the realist view that the world is a constant struggle of wars and conquests (Elman 758). The development of the theory post-dates United States intervention in Chile, with Michael W. Doyle's 1983 article, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," providing an updated analysis and application of democratic peace and the

principles associated with the phenomenon. In the wave of democratization following the Cold War, it was believed that globalization and neoliberalism would not only benefit global economies, but also promote peace along with the spread of democracy (Doyle 220). This shift in political thought influenced policies of American presidents like Clinton at the end of the 20th century, and the American public also became familiar with the notion that democracies provided peace (Elman 759).³ Therefore, it was believed that by promoting democracy, the United States would promote a more peaceful world. The theory challenges the pessimism of realist political thought concerning peace, which centers on armed, mutual deterrence. Democratic peace challenges realism through the optimism that democracies will avoid conflict and violence as a result of their shared domestic values and norms (Rosato 585). Democratic Peace Theory became a cornerstone of liberal democratic promotion.

Democratic Peace Theory customarily refers to the actions of liberal democracies in the international sphere. This definition traditionally includes four components that a regime must possess to be classified as a liberal democracy. These include regular free and fair elections conducted with a developed and robust opposition, the protection of civil liberties like freedom of speech and the press, and near-universal suffrage (Owen 89). This largely restrictive definition allows theorists like Russett to exclude countries with electoral democracies on the basis that they are not democratic enough to be trusted and respected within the norms presented in the theory (Rosato 591). By restricting the definition of democracy to only include liberal, more Westernized conceptions of democracy, the theory can dismiss examples of conflict and

³ Nicknamed “the Clinton Doctrine”, President Bill Clinton pursued democratic expansion or “enlargement” abroad in the early 1990s in response to the post-Cold War order (Brinkley 111). Democratic promotion was one of three main policies included in the Clinton Doctrine in addition to restructuring American military capabilities and emphasizing economics and free-markets in international affairs (Brinkley 112). Clinton’s methods to expand democracy included mobilizing democratic bases abroad, encouraging democracy where possible, and containing regimes that opposed democracy (Brinkley 115).

intervention with developing liberal democracies, indicating that free and fair elections are not the only condition that demands respect of liberal democracies abroad.

The argument in favor of a democratic peace is empirical in nature, as it can be observed through behaviors of democracies in a system, instead of purely logic and reasoning in hypothetical conditions. Democratic peace is an observed pattern in international relations, and early theorists and supporters treated the theory as an empirical “law” of foreign relations for its application in real-world interstate relationships among democracies (Kim 26). As the theory became the subject of increased study and debate, theorists began to employ more rigid definitions of concepts like democracy and war and took on a more loosened claim of democracies being *less likely* to engage in conflict and war with other democracies in place of the initial observation that democracies *never* go to war with one another (Elman 760). Theorists aimed to limit the frequency of contradictions to the claim, otherwise citing them as one of the few occasions of wars between democracies.

Following the Cold War, the application of Democratic Peace Theory began to take modern elements of interstate conflict into consideration, which highlighted the “gray area” of covert actions and conflicts that did not yield the same casualties as wars in the past. This ambiguity surrounding covert tactics serves as a mechanism to question the effectiveness of the theory in its application to foreign relations during and post the Cold War system. As covert action and clandestine activities surrounding elections became a tool for engaging in interstate conflict and exerting control over a system, scholars are forced to reexamine the application of Democratic Peace Theory as conflicts shift from conventional warfare with high numbers of troops and casualties. Such debates continue today with the gradual release of declassified information concerning the use of covert action and interference by the CIA, which also included

and resulted in violence in countries like Chile, Guatemala, and Iran in the latter half of the 20th century.

Contents of the Theory

In its most basic dyadic form, Democratic Peace Theory states that democracies will not engage in conflict with other democracies. This claim has come to be widely accepted as democracies being *less likely* to enter into armed conflict with other democracies. The theory and how it has been observed throughout history make a case in favor of the promotion of liberal democracies, as these are considered to be more pacific states, and few wars have been observed between them. However, in the decades following the Cold War, there has been increased debate concerning this argument and its legitimacy when applied to covert action utilized by the United States to contain the spread of Soviet power, particularly in the Western hemisphere. Chile, in the years approaching the 1970 election of Salvador Allende and through the 1973 coup d'état, serves as a powerful counter to Democratic Peace Theory when applied to foreign policy strategies employed by the United States during the Cold War.

Normative vs Structural Logic

The base of Democratic Peace Theory relies on two tracks of logic to reinforce its findings. *Normative logic* refers to constraints like mutual respect among democracies and perceived common values as deterrence for entering an armed conflict with another democracy. *Structural logic* argues that the domestic features of democratic governance like free and fair elections (which initiate the change of power according to the will of the people), public opinion, and checks and balances serve as deterrence for entering wars and conflicts (Rosato 587). Both logics appear to reinforce the theory, although there is debate among scholars for which is the

most effective in explaining the pacific behavior of democracies (Russett 119). My research will analyze both elements of the logical underpinnings of Democratic Peace Theory and how they can be applied to the Nixon administration's decisions concerning covert action in Chile.

The normative model is founded upon socialized norms and how leaders will carry them out. According to Bruce Russett, democracies are unlikely to escalate diplomatic disputes beyond mediation and peaceful settlements, as democracies are more likely to reciprocate behavior (Russett 120). Democracies operate with mutual respect for other democracies and support a spirit of "live-and-let-live", which promotes decreased intervention in the affairs of democracies. Due to the commitment to these norms by democratic leaders, democracies will trust and respect one another in the event that a diplomatic dispute arises, and they will likely find a more peaceful resolution (Rosato 586).

There is evidence to suggest that the normative model is more powerful for the deterrence of war between democracies because of the influence of customs and norms over foreign relations between states in a system. The normative model relies on *norm externalization*, or the assumption that another democratic state adheres to the same norms, and therefore is equally worthy of respect and accommodation (Rosato 586). Perceived common values provide a sense of solidarity between democracies and increase the likelihood of respect and trust, particularly when democratic states are fighting a common threat as in the Cold War with the containment of the Soviet Union and communism. The combination of norm externalization and mutual respect and trust form the crux of the normative model's claims that democracies are less likely to engage in conflict with one another.

The structural model, comprised of five mechanisms, explains how features of democratic governance lend themselves to create more peaceful societies. Democratic

institutions make leaders more accountable to the public for their policy decisions, and the opposition will capitalize on unpopular decisions by the incumbent to provide opportunities for the people to remove leaders who do not act in their best interests (Rosato 587). Leaders risk being removed from power for engaging in an unpopular war due to society being averse to wars as a result of the high costs; a claim that can be traced back to Kant's *Perpetual Peace*. Leaders must mobilize interest groups and galvanize the public in support of war, and this support is not quickly gained in most diplomatic conflicts (Rosato 587). These institutional constraints mean that democracies will be largely unwilling to resort to force, and they believe that other democracies will be similarly constrained, increasing the likelihood of a negotiation and agreement.

The five mechanisms of the structural model create a combination of factors that will consistently yield peaceful resolutions to disputes. The *public constraint* and *group constraint* mechanisms are similar and rely on the general public's opposition to war, or a desire to carry out the wishes of powerful anti-war interest groups. (Rosato 587). These two mechanisms are predicated on facets of public opinion, a force in democracies that allows leaders to make decisions in accordance with the will of the people. The *slow mobilization* mechanism serves as a deterrence for war due to the inability of democracies to mobilize quickly without first gaining public support for an armed conflict. Similarly, the *surprise attack* mechanism utilizes this logic and additionally states that due to the requirement of public approval, mobilization occurs on a public basis, so democracies are unable to attack by surprise (Rosato 587). Without the threat of a surprise attack from another democracy, both participants in a dispute will have time to negotiate and come to a peaceful agreement and can trust that neither party will attack.

The final mechanism of the structural logic is *information*. Since democracies require favorable public opinion for engagement in an armed conflict, democracies will only enter in conflicts with high levels of faith in the outcome. Democracies seldom escalate without these features, so other states in a system can be assured that when a democracy enters a conflict, the nation is doing so out of confidence and resolve (Rosato 587). With these structural mechanisms present in democracies, the reason for reluctance to engage in war can be a combination of any of these factors, but because all five are present in democratic societies, it is understood that democracies will interpret these constraints similarly. The structural logic relies on the constraints present as a result of a democratic government, and democracies can confidently rely on these features to reinforce the democratic peace.

The importance of the normative model versus the structural model is widely debated. However, in the context of this project, my analysis will fall in-line with Russett's appraisal of the models. Russett asserts that the models are not completely separable or independent in theoretical conditions or in practice. Instead, the normative model reinforces the structural model, and vice versa (Russett 119). The two models are vital to reinforce each other and each model helps to produce the conclusions of Democratic Peace Theory. We can observe anomalies in United States-Chile relations during the Cold War through the lenses of both the normative model and the structural model. Along with other unresolved debates surrounding Democratic Peace Theory, the normative and structural logics will support that the United States' actions in Chile resulted in democratic setbacks and oppose the dyadic claim that democracies will not engage in conflicts with one another.

Debates of the Theory and Application to Chile

As time has progressed and the academic study of Democratic Peace Theory has continued, numerous debates have arisen among scholars. Scholars have most commonly questioned the effectiveness of the theory as an empirical law for the study of foreign relations (Russett, 120; Rosato). The debates have required theorists to harden definitions and loosen claims to make the theory more applicable to specific real-life examples. The debates cover questions of concept definitions like war and democracy, classification of states as democracies, and the importance of norms as a deterrence of conflict. With increased gray-areas and technicalities, it becomes easier to recategorize cases that would oppose the theory and absorb them in the loopholes. This project will closely analyze the aforementioned debates and how the loopholes and adjustments have been utilized to defend the actions of the United States government against Chilean democracy.

Notably, many scholars agree that the case of Chile and covert action by the United States is an anomaly in Democratic Peace Theory. Jaechun Kim points out that “Chile may be the ‘crucial case’ for DP theory” because of Chile’s widely regarded reputation as a democracy at the time of United States intervention (Kim 28). Interactions between the United States and Chile were framed by the Cold War and the national interests that the United States’ government felt it needed to protect and advance. The use of covert force in Chile creates a question of the extent to which Democratic Peace Theory provides a valid explanation for peace among democracies.

If the mature electoral democracy of the United States commits acts of covert war against other electoral democracies, does the United States act in accordance with the norms and constraints laid out in Democratic Peace Theory? Scholars like Russett point out that situations

of covert action like that in Chile do not serve as counter-examples to the theory (Russett 121). Russett disregards the examples due to the perception that the regimes subject to intervention did not qualify as mature liberal democracies due to either a lack of protections for civil liberties, or suppression of political opposition (Russett 121). These reasons are paired with the claim that covert war does not qualify under the definition of inter-state war employed by the theory (Russett 121-123). These claims are both examples of loopholes that I will examine and apply to the case of Chile. This project will discuss how covert force used by democracies, against democracies, is not sanctioned under Democratic Peace Theory, utilizing the covert war in Chile as a case study in counter-examples to the theory.

Democratization in Latin America

To further develop the theoretical background of this project, we must also examine the development of democracies across Latin America. The late 20th century saw a broad wave of democratization that birthed many democracies in Latin America. Prior to this wave of democratization, known as the third wave among scholars, authoritarian regimes were prevalent, and many Latin American nations had never experienced democratic government. Before 1973 and the establishment of Pinochet's authoritarian regime, Chile was classified as one of Latin America's most successful democratic governments, extending from 1925 to 1973 (Hagopian and Mainwaring 3). While Chile was at the forefront of the first wave of democratization in Latin America in the early 20th century, it lagged behind in its post-authoritarian return to democracy in 1990 during the third wave. Other Latin American nations with democratic breakdowns in the 1960s like Argentina and Brazil re-established democratic governments in the early 1980s after a period of authoritarianism (Hagopian and Mainwaring 3). Pinochet's military authoritarian regime interrupted the democratic tradition in Chile and the nation was unable to

return to democratic government until after the 1988 plebiscite rejecting Pinochet's bid to stay in power through 1997. After its reestablishment of democracy in 1990, Chile has remained a strong democratic force in the region.⁴

Democratization in Latin America can be attributed to many factors ranging from economic, structural, and demographic features. In accordance with modernization theory, the modernization of industry and the growth of capitalist development create conditions favorable for democratic governance (Rueschemeyer et al. 9). Additionally, class structure paired with the dynamics and size of the middle class impact the consolidation of power and establishment of democratic regimes, with the strength of the middle class and the working class creating favorable conditions for democracy. (Hagopian and Mainwaring 7). Along with economic and social factors, the international system and its support towards democratic promotion also encourages democratization. When the main actors abroad such as the United States and members of the European Union are committed to the establishment of democracies, the international political environment is favorable for the survival of democratic regimes (Hagopian and Mainwaring 7). The emergence of democracies in Latin America cannot be attributed to one pattern of development, but instead requires a combination of economic and social factors, which subsequently impact the development of political institutions.

It is important to note that the United States' role in the democratization of Latin America before and after the Cold War is characterized by friendly relations. The purpose of this project

⁴ It is worth noting the recent shifts towards authoritarian means utilized under right-wing President Sebastian Piñera over the last decade, including military force to suppress protests and mass (detentions of dissenters. While Chile has remained strong in its democracy for the past three decades following the reinstalment of democracy in 1990, Piñera's election and use of repression of the opposition and use of the military in violence against protestors indicate that strong democracies are still subject to moments of tension. Piñera's administration will be highlighted later in this project as an ongoing result of United States intervention and the legacy of Pinochet's authoritarian regime.

is not to disregard the beneficial impacts of the United States on democratic promotion in the region. Instead, this project seeks to emphasize how the decisions made by national leaders during the Cold War to protect United States' anti-communist interests created a hostile international political environment towards democracies in Latin America that had elected leftist leaders like Allende.

Modernization Theory and Economic Development

Understanding the link between economics and democracy clarifies the role of Chilean economic policies and their evolution through Allende's regime and the possible impacts of drastic economic reforms on democratic governments. Seymour Martin Lipset is best known for his work on industrial and social modernization and the positive structural effects that could lead to the establishment of democracy as societies modernized. According to Rueschemeyer et al.'s analysis, Lipset's central argument is that industrialization leads to increases in wealth, education, and equality, which in-turn moderates the lower classes while increasing the size of the middle class (Rueschemeyer et al. 14). Modernization theory argues that these effects on demographics and social class increase the probability of the establishment of a stable democracy. Economic development and growth alleviate financial pressures on citizens and improve ways of life for the middle and lower classes, thus allowing them to make moderate and thoughtful electoral decisions without turning to radical movements in favor of rapid, widespread change (Rueschemeyer et al. 14). Such conclusions concerning economic development argue in favor of modernization as a catalyst for conditions favoring democracy.

Modernization Theory can be tied to social developments and the political institutions that emerge as a result of economic growth. Evidence indicates that modernization may not directly result in the emergence of a democracy, but the process *does* create conditions more

conducive to democracy and advances them. The process of democratization, while not solely reliant on the economic structure of a nation, is stimulated through economic development and engagement with global markets (Rueschemeyer et al. 15). With urbanization leading to increased access to education, and greater levels of mass political participation, political institutions evolve and increase the likelihood of the establishment of democratic government as a nation develops (Inglehart and Welzel 34). Modernization is an important catalyst for the establishment of institutions and structures necessary for the emergence of a stable democracy, but it is not the only requirement for the consolidation of a democratic government.

Class Structure and Democratization

In the study of economic development and democracy, the evolution of social class relations also impacts the likelihood for the emergence of democracy. There is a close relationship between economic development and power distribution among social classes. Rueschemeyer et al. highlight the importance of social class and the organization of society on democratic development, emphasizing how the inherent inequalities between classes can fuel the process of democratization. (Rueschemeyer et al. 48). The pressures for democracy in Latin America often resulted from unmet needs, primarily economic, of the middle and working classes (Rueschemeyer et al. 14). Social class has been a powerful explanatory tool for the development of political institutions; and shifts in class-based political power are particularly worth noting in Latin American development and democratization.

In addition to the conceptualization of modernization and its effects on the process of democratization, Rueschemeyer et al. highlight that the pro-democratic social force can be found in a strong middle class (Rueschemeyer et al. 8). Other scholars have also studied the importance of the bourgeoisie, or middle class, to political development and social mobilization

(Rueschemeyer et al. 61). Rueschemeyer et al. expand this claim concerning Latin America, highlighting how the middle class *and* the working class emerged as pro-democratic forces across the region (Rueschemeyer et al. 155). The importance of the middle class or bourgeoisie versus the working class in the process of democratization depended on a range of economic and societal features, but the middle class is most commonly credited with the power to ultimately sway a nation towards democracy.

Although Rueschemeyer et al. highlight the role of the middle class in democratization, they also claim that the middle class served as the determining factor in democratization across Latin America mainly through the alliances it made to serve their own interests. The economic interests of the bourgeoisie directly impact its pro-democratic tendencies. (Rueschemeyer et al. 61). In Latin America, the pressure to open a political system came from the lower classes, and the middle aided in democratic consolidation when it benefited their own interests, thus creating class coalitions. (Rueschemeyer et al. 157). The middle class cannot always be counted on for pro-democratic tendencies, and for every instance of the bourgeoisie promoting democracy, there is also a counter-example where it supported non-democratic governance or a democratic backslide. This is most acutely highlighted in the middle class support of Pinochet's authoritarian regime in Chile (Rueschemeyer et al. 58). Middle class support for democracy primarily depends on whether it views the working class and their interests as a threat, or as a beneficial ally or tool to ensure that the needs of the middle class are met through increased political representation (Rueschemeyer et al. 59-61). The middle class is instrumental in democratization across Latin America largely as a result of its role in forming class coalitions to wield political power in favor of a set of interests.

It is worth noting that in the case of Latin American economic and social class development, the effects on democratization varied depending on whether nations relied on agrarian exports or mineral exports. These variances resulted in crucial differences on the paths to democracy (Rueschemeyer et al. 165). Different methods of achieving economic growth impacted the structure of social classes that emerged from economic development, which impacted the composition of lower class pro-democratic forces. In the case of agrarian export economies, economic growth tied to such exports strengthened the land-owning upper classes and elite (Rueschemeyer et al. 9). Rueschemeyer concludes that democratic development in agrarian economies is more difficult due to the political and economic power and anti-democratic nature of land-owning elites, particularly those who relied on and controlled labor (Rueschemeyer et al. 173). However, in mineral-export economies, due to international interests and foreign ownership in the industry, the elites were less powerful and homogenous when compared to the agrarian export elites. Even though these elites still held power, the potential for middle class and working class coalitions or alliances to form increased (Rueschemeyer et al. 175). These middle and working class alliances meant that demands for democracy emerged earlier in mineral-export economies but tended to be more radical in their demands (Rueschemeyer et al. 175). These social class developments resulting from economic factors determined the process of democratization across the region and varied from state to state.

International Attitudes and Democratization

Scholars like Rueschemeyer et al. and Hagopian et al. briefly discuss how the external influences of international actors like the United States and EU may influence the global process of democratization through the support and encouragement or promotion of democratic regimes. A state's involvement in transnational power structures, both political and economic, influences

the development of national economies and domestic societal structures, and thus the potential for democratic consolidation (Rueschemeyer et al. 69). In addition to international integration if the larger powers like the United States are actively committed to democracy and create an international political environment that is favorable, “democracy can survive – at least for an extended time – despite widespread poverty, inequalities, and bad performance (Hagopian and Mainwaring 7). However, this dynamic becomes more complex during the Cold War given the differences between the outward projection of democratic promotion versus the covert action against democracies undertaken by the United States.

IV: CHILE’S DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS

To accurately capture the extent of democratic breakdown in Chile after United States intervention following Allende’s election in 1970, we must first address the well-established history of Chilean democracy. Chile has long been considered one of Latin America’s prime examples of democratic governance to the rest of the region (Hagopian and Mainwaring, 9). Before the coup d’état in 1973, Chile was one of the regions longest standing democracies, beginning to conduct elections with expanded suffrage following reforms and the establishment of a new national constitution in 1925 (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 20). The 1925 constitution codified Chile’s government as a democratic republic with a president as the head of state. The 1925 reforms of the democratic republic also included proportional representation in Congress (Gamboa and Morales 43). It is important to highlight that with the 1925 reforms, Chile was one of only a handful of Latin American nations to democratize during the first wave from 1828-1926, and the establishment of these democracies coincided with democratization of many European countries as well (Vanden and Prevost 196).

This period in Chile's history lasted from 1925 until 1973, with the exception of the administration of Carlos Ibáñez from 1927 to 1931. After taking his place as vice president due to the line of succession, and calling for an election to confirm his legitimacy, Ibáñez began to exercise dictatorial powers (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 21). Such abuses included the restriction of freedom of the press, repression of the labor movement, and naming politicians to Congress himself without elections (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 21). After the anomaly of the Ibáñez administration, Chile continued to conduct free and fair national elections for decades approaching the election of Salvador Allende in 1970.

Establishment of Chile's Democratic Republic

Following a period of disillusionment with the parliamentary system in Chile, in place since 1891, and instability with executive power frequently shifting hands between juntas, calls for constitutional reforms grew. Under the leadership of Arturo Alessandri, who had returned from a previous exile, a new constitution was drafted. This constitution, adopted September 18, 1925 following a plebiscite in August, asserted Chile's status as a democratic republic which protected civil liberties such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press (Chilean Constitution, 1925). The president was to be elected by direct ballots, with the winner gaining an absolute majority. Elections at the time of the adoption of the 1925 Constitution were not widely accessible. Suffrage was not yet universal, as women were unable to vote until 1949 and voted in the 1952 presidential election for the first time (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 56). As Chilean political party identities developed and solidified throughout the 20th century, most presidential elections included more than two candidates, which resulted in the winner gaining a plurality, with victory later to be confirmed by Congress if the candidate did not receive 50% of the vote (Forsythe 389). Allende's own electoral success in 1970 was to be confirmed by

Congress in this way, as was customary for Chilean democracy at the time. Despite falling in-line with norms of Chilean politics, the conditions surrounding Allende's confirmation were utilized in a track of United States' covert intervention meant to prevent Allende's confirmation through the coercion of members of Congress to vote against Allende (Church Committee 11).

Following the establishment of Chile's democratic republic there were moments of chaos in the first decade as power changed hands, but Chilean politics eventually settled into the democratic norms. With the exception of Ibáñez's first dictatorial government and the military coup d'état under Marmaduke Grove in 1931 to establish the "socialist republic", Chile had a period of free and fair elections and the expansion of suffrage until 1973. Ibáñez ran officially for office and later defeated Allende, among other leftist and centrist candidates, in the 1952 presidential election, with Ibáñez once again gaining power as an independent (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 56). Ibáñez's second regime was gained through the traditional democratic channels, and the campaign capitalized on the unrest and instability surrounding Chilean socialists and communists and the disillusionment of the electorate towards the left following an unsuccessful Radical Party government (Grugel 176). At this time, the left had struggled to regain ground following severe repression from the right and Allende's 1952 electoral defeat was a manifestation of the weakness of a fractured and fearful left against "populist simplicity" (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 56). Despite the moments of fractured coalitions and unrest surrounding Chile's communist party, Chilean presidential elections generally skewed left-of-center, with Allende and the Popular Unity's 1970 victory marking a decisive leftist victory.

Leftist Leadership until the 1950s

The history of the Chilean left is characterized by the establishment of broad coalitions among parties that were subject to disagreements, but able to compromise in order to unify the

voters under one front. The relationship between the Chilean Socialist Party and Communist Party was rife with conflict, including the communists in party coalitions at times, and then excluding or breaking with the communists at others (Drake 626). This tension between the Socialist Party and Communist Party defines the development of Chilean political parties and leftist coalitions throughout the 20th century.

The Socialist Party (PS), established in 1933, has played a major role in Chilean politics since its founding. Salvador Allende himself was part of the initial installation of the party in his youth and an avid member throughout his entire political career (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 27). The congress that birthed the party “imposed a unified party structure on a bewildering kaleidoscope of microparties, factions, and splinter groups” (Corkill 261). The Socialist Party was an amalgamation of ideologies and covered relatively broad swaths of the political left and was the largest party for the lower classes in Chile for this reason (Drake 619). The early PS members and founders believed themselves to be a revolutionary party focused on drastic social and economic reform but were willing to participate in the traditional political system and compete for seats in the legislature at the local and national level.

While socialist ideology was already present in Chile, the PS emerged as a result of dissatisfaction with the Communist Party (PC) and the influence of the Soviet Union over them (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 31). However, despite a more nationalist approach free of Soviet influence, through which they “sought a Chilean solution to Chilean problems,” the PS still recognized that the Communist Party also sought solutions that were unique for Chile’s social and economic system (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 31). Chilean problems were characterized by the involvement of the United States in Chile’s economy as a regional power, and the problems of wealth inequality plaguing its society (Hove 627-28). The Chilean solutions

were characterized by a sense of nationalism and freedom from the influence of international interests, where Chileans had autonomy over their own politics and autonomy (Fagen 308). This recognition and respect of differences between the parties created the basis for Allende's politics and the history of cooperation between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, even in moments of ideological tension and debates surrounding policy implementation.

In addition to the Communist Party and Socialist Party, the Radical Party contributed to the leftist coalitions as well, representing a more center-left voting bloc. Due to the composition of the Radical Party largely originating from the middle sector of society, this gave a thin link to the land-owning elites that made the more conservative wing of the party, allowing a left-wing coalition to appeal more broadly when the Radicals combined with the PS and PC (Drake 627). Coalition politics became deeply important to Chilean democracy because such alliances between parties and fragmented groups allowed these disparate segments to be unified into a large voting base. This tripartite alliance created the base for the Popular Front, a leftist coalition that emerged in 1937 and lasted until 1941. The Popular Front gained presidential victory with 50.3% of the vote in 1938 with a centrist Radical Party candidate, Pedro Aguirre Cerda (Drake 629). However, by 1940, the ineffectiveness and inability of the Radical government to enact meaningful and effective reforms in-line with campaign promises (particularly concerning agrarian reform and land redistribution) cast doubt among the more staunchly leftist members of the Popular Front. With the withdrawal of the PS after advocating for a Popular Front without the Communist Party, once again citing wariness of the PC's connections to Moscow, the existing Popular Front fell apart (Corkill 271).

The end of Popular Front was followed by the fracturing of the Socialist Party, and it did not reestablish itself until 1946, after the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold

War. The second World War and the onset of the Cold War altered the social and economic issues under which the Socialist Party had to rebuild itself (Drake 637). With the Communist Party outlawed in 1948, the Socialists were forced reconsider their approach, thus solidifying the “Chilean Road” to socialism, in which a peaceful revolution carried out within the legal framework of Chile’s democracy was the most effective path to success with Chilean socialism (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 50). However, the new leftist alliance led by Allende, the People’s Front, lost power in the 1952 presidential election to the second Ibáñez administration. The left had suffered decreases in support and membership as a result of aggressive repression from the right and ineffectiveness against Ibáñez’s simple, populist campaign (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 54).

It was only after Ibáñez’s unsuccessful administration that the left was able to mobilize again, this time taking form as the Popular Action Front (FRAP) in 1956. The FRAP was largely composed of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, as well as other micro parties with ideological similarities, and the Popular Socialist Party, which had separated itself from Ibáñez’s center-right government (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 60). The FRAP combined anti-elitist and anti-imperialism ideologies, asserting the importance of the role of the workers in politics and the need for Chilean economic independence from the United States’ corporate interests in the exportation of minerals like copper and iodine (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 60-61). The FRAP put Allende forth as its presidential candidate twice, in 1958 and 1964. Allende subsequently lost to right-wing candidate Jorge Alessandri in ’58 and to Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei in ’64, but each campaign brought Allende closer to his electoral success in the 1970 election.

The Christian Democrats

The Christian Democrats (PDC) gained power in 1964 under President Eduardo Frei, who defeated Salvador Allende, who ran as the FRAP's candidate. Frei and the PDC won by a large enough majority to govern without a coalition thanks to financial and media support from the United States in both the presidential election and the 1965 congressional elections (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 76). The Christian Democrats were largely centrist and pushed for a "Christian value system rooted in individual dignity, in the uniqueness of the human being, in economic pluralism, and in social and political democracy" (Grayson 147). The PDC contained both conservative and Marxist-leaning factions on either end of the spectrum. It was within these factions that criticisms of Frei's government originated; some of which were also voiced by Allende after Frei's first year in office.

Frei had promised agrarian reform, banking reform, economic growth (each left largely unfulfilled, although not completely abandoned), and supported Chile gaining control over its copper industry (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 76). While such reforms were supported by the left-wing faction of the PDC, Frei risked the potential alienation of the middle-to-upper class conservatives of the party. Frei's agrarian reform passed with support of the parties on the left and brought over 28,000 families into agricultural projects to boost production, although the goal was to incorporate over 100,000 families, thus leaving the project under-developed (Francis and Vera-Godoy 326). Additionally, Frei passed education reform to expand the length of compulsory education from six to eight years, which resulted in increased enrollment, although numbers remained low (Francis and Vera-Godoy 325-26). Frei also focused on increased trade unionization and labor organization, with most of his policies falling under social reform (Francis and Vera-Godoy 326). However, as Frei's government progressed, popular pressures

grew as he was unable to fully resolve many of Chile's structural problems with his attempts at reform (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 76).

Imperialism was a concern and issue highly valued on the left in Chile. Allende criticized Frei and his administration for appearing to subordinate Chile's interests to benefit from a political campaign supported by the United States (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 77). As economic instability grew and the pressures of imperialism continued to weigh on Latin America as whole, factions of the PDC moved leftwards and eventually split from the party in 1969, creating an even greater opening for another left-wing coalition to emerge and come into power as dissatisfaction with Frei and the PDC grew leading into the 1970 presidential election.

The Election of Allende

Spread over four separate presidential campaigns, Allende's road to victory in 1970 was not easy. Through the earlier campaigns, Allende learned how to succinctly express his ideology and plans for Chile's path towards democratic socialism and how to target voting populations where he struggled with community outreach. Allende won as the candidate for the Popular Unity (UP), an updated coalition on the left consisting of the Radical Party, the MAPU (resulted from the split in the PDC in 1969), and a small party called the Independent Progressive Alliance in addition to the Socialist Party and the Communist Party (Figuroa-Clark 86). The Popular Unity represents the culmination of decades of work on the Chilean left to create the broadest alliance across social sectors of society. With such wide reach and membership in addition to a well-known figurehead in Allende, the UP saw success.

As was customary in Chilean elections with multiple candidates, no one won the necessary 50% to avoid a congressional confirmation run-off. A run-off required that each representative in both houses of Congress cast a vote for one of the two candidates with the most

votes in the election (Fagen 297). Traditionally, congress voted for the candidate who received a plurality in the public vote (Fagen 297). Allende had secured 36.6% of the vote, and congress was called to ratify the results on September 4, 1970 (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 88; *Memorandum... Chilean*, 1-2). Despite involvement of the CIA with a propaganda campaign against the UP through support of the opposition in media, and the distribution of anti-UP materials like pamphlets, and efforts to sway senators from voting for Allende, Congress ratified the results and Allende took office (Church Committee 8). Unfortunately, his one-time friend and now predecessor, Eduardo Frei, was displeased with Allende's victory and his alliance with Chilean communists, and even lied about the compilation of a transition team (Frei told Allende that a transition team would be installed, but this never occurred according to sources in the Allende administration), leaving Allende and the incoming administration to their own devices (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 91). Thus, began Allende's long road as president, with staunch and even violent opposition to be found domestically and abroad as he paved the road to Chilean democratic socialism.

Allende's Policy Pursuits and Political Character

Allende's leftist tendencies began in his youth from the influence of his father and grandfather, whose support of the Chilean left predated the establishment of the democratic republic in 1925 (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 13). Allende's family also had ties to champion of the left and socialism, Marmaduke Grove, who helped Allende critically shape his worldview and grow under his leftist mentorship (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 30). It is evident that Allende's political identity was very constant throughout his life as a student of medicine and later in his political career, serving in offices ranging from ministerial positions, senator, and finally, President of Chile. The central question to answer is what about Allende and

his political pursuits caught the negative attention of the United States government? What made Allende seem dangerous to the Nixon administration, when his political goals and respect for democratic processes had been made clear throughout his political career? Outlining the development and refinement of Allende's ideology and policies is necessary to answer these questions and to later discern how the United States government had been able to justify its active intervention in a foreign democracy's affairs.

The passion for social welfare and accommodation of the lower classes that developed in Allende's youth was greatly shaped by his medical work. Allende had been directly exposed to the social inequality in Chilean society throughout his time treating patients in impoverished areas and seeing the damage firsthand that came from inequality (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 30). In concert with his medical education, Allende began his political career, notably establishing a branch of the Socialist Party in Valparaiso (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 33). Allende's time in Valparaiso allowed him to begin his development of scientific and practical solutions to fight poverty and the negative health effects associated with it. This approach also characterized his later process of creating structural reforms for Chile in his campaigns where he "sought to examine the full spectrum of problems facing the nation using scientific data and internationally recognized indices" (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 56). Allende felt that socialism was the solution to hunger, poverty, and other problems associated with over-exploitation of the lower classes and the structural socio-economic problems across Chile (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 29). This systematic approach to Chile's unique problems helped Allende create what he called "Chilean solutions" to Chile's problems. He recognized this same goal in the Communist Party, which formed the basis of his alliance with the communists.

Although he participated in numerous alliances with Chilean communists and even developed diplomatic ties with Cuba that grew into a friendship with Fidel Castro, Allende truly saw Chile's path to socialism as a different kind of revolution from that of Cuba. Allende consistently pushed and advocated for the "Chilean road to socialism" through a peaceful revolution within the framework of the existing democratic process (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 50). Allende deeply respected the democratic institutions of Chile and frequently expressed such respect and deference, although he did not idealize the system. Allende preferred a gradual revolutionary reformism and firmly opposed the subversion of democratic elections, even in 1958 when Ibáñez offered to overturn Alessandri's victory against Allende (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 64). Allende recognized that the Cuban Revolution both invigorated and frightened the members of the leftist coalitions and due to his prominence in congress, he always ensured his fellow statesmen that armed revolutions only took place when civic competition and agency was no longer possible in a society. Allende opposed the more violent and militant left-wing factions and hoped to avoid the social costs of violent revolutionary methods (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 141). While he aimed to eventually do away with capitalism in favor of democratic socialism, Allende wanted to create the conditions necessary in a gradual way to promote socio-economic development for the fulfilment of Chile's people and their needs.

Allende's evolution into a target of the United States government can be attributed to a combination of factors ranging from his personal ties and friendships with Cuban communists, to his Marxist ideology, but it would be naive to minimize the effects of his mineral export and agrarian reform plans. Allende had always believed that economic self-determination was imperative for the liberation of Latin American nations from poverty and underdevelopment (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 51). The copper industry was controlled by foreign

companies, mostly American, that exploited Chilean workers and kept the majority of the profit. Allende believed that with United States businesses pushing their own economic interests, Chilean interests were subordinated to the international interests and Chile could not maximize its national benefits and profits from its primary export: copper (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 25). It is worth noting that in the application of Democratic Peace Theory, specifically concerning United States-Chile relations, nowhere in the theory are the individual political beliefs of leaders, nor the policy reforms (social, agrarian, or economic) that they pursue while in power, considered to be evidence in favor of intervention or armed conflict between democracies. Such policies are only of interest in DPT when the democratic institutions of the nation are undermined or threatened by the leader in power.

Allende firmly believed that the nationalization of the copper industry in addition to Chile's other mineral exports would help pull Chile from underdevelopment. This long-standing goal raised red flags in the United States once Allende took office and began the process of nationalization. However, nationalization of the copper industry, like Allende's agrarian reforms, involved the Chilean government buying private property instead of expropriation by force, as in Cuba. Copper accounted for over 65% of Chile's national income, but the entire industry was in the hands of six American copper magnates, which Allende characterized as an example of imperialism (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 57). With the process of nationalization of the mineral export industry under Allende's government, not only was socialism taking root in Latin America, but it also meant that the United States would lose access to valuable natural resources and the revenue from the industry. This development was unacceptable for the Nixon administration, and once Allende began officially implementing such reforms, President Nixon

and Kissinger began to apply extraordinary pressure to Allende's government and economy (Church Committee 33).

Allende's agrarian reform plans also caught the attention of Washington due to an increased anxiety about the loss of personal property with the fear that Soviet-style communism was spreading. Allende's goal was to redistribute the power and money from the land-owning elites of Chile and funnel it into the workers and peasants (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 95). Allende believed in the inclusion of workers in the decision-making of government. Unfortunately, the timing of such reforms disrupted the flow of food during a time of increased consumption due to higher wages (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 104). Additionally, the United States encouraged frustrated transportation workers to strike against the nationalization of industries (Church Committee 61) When paired with the transportation strikes supported by the CIA, the increased state-spending to repair the damaged mines and tools of the now-nationalized copper industry, and the congressional stalemate, these reforms were not as effective as Allende had hoped (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 117). Tensions were reaching boiling point by late 1972, exacerbated by the intervention and manipulation of the CIA in multiple spheres of Chilean economy and politics through support of the opposition, media manipulation, and the tightening of economic restrictions on trade and loans from international organizations to Chile (Church Committee 61-62). The specifics of this intervention will be addressed in the following pages, as Washington continued to apply pressure to Allende's government through 1973.

It is evident throughout his political career, that Allende believed that freedom of speech, pluralism, and individual civil liberties were important parts of socialism. He even supported and respected the long-standing democratic traditions in Chile and passed his socialist reforms without resorting to authoritarian measures (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 98-99). Allende

was a believer in gradual reform to ensure that socio-economic developments included the fulfillment of Chile's citizens' and workers' needs, and firmly pushed for Chile's peaceful, legal channel to democratic socialism (Figuroa-Clark 140). The hostile and often violent intervention tactics utilized by the United States against a fellow democracy stand in stark contrast to the methods of governance, reform, and change promoted by Allende. With the framework of Allende's policies, it is necessary to analyze the approach and motives of the United States government for its interruption of democratic processes in Chile against Allende, and the inherent violation of Democratic Peace Theory that occurred in Chile as a result of Washington's perceptions of democracy and reforms under Allende. Were the policies and ideologies of Allende laid out above sufficient evidence to violate a norm that is promoted to traditionally guide international relations? The following chapters seek to understand the methods and ideology behind the covert action by the United States, and how the officials within the government analyzed and interpreted Allende's moves as a democratically-elected president to justify such intervention.

V: UNITED STATES INTERVENTION IN CHILE

Overview

American intervention in Chilean politics against Salvador Allende during the Cold War existed before the 1970 presidential election that gave Allende his long sought-after victory as a Democratic Socialist. As Allende and the FRAP alliance with the Communist Party gained popularity and influence in the 1964 presidential election against Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei, the United States government became invested in preventing a leftist president from taking power in Chile. Washington feared disruption in Western hemispheric relations if Chile were to catalyze a wider regional shift towards leftist governments in Latin America. These fears of

losing the United States' hemispheric influence to communism bolstered the argument of government officials in favor of interference (Fagen 300). Support for the Christian Democrats and Eduardo Frei initiated United States interference in 1962 (Church Committee 58). Washington's measures to support Allende's opposition remained a constant force throughout the decade approaching the 1973 coup.

With the declassification of internal communications and committee reports of congressional investigations into the Nixon administration including the Senate Church Committee Report, the Hinchey Report, and various memorandums cited throughout this project, the scope of covert action pursued in Chile in the 1960s and 70s is more accessible to the public, although not entirely available. Historian Peter Kornbluh has initiated a project with the National Security Archives to compile all declassified resources to better construct the narrative of covert action in Chile. These primary source documents will be used to outline the methods of covert action used by the CIA through the authorization of President Nixon and other committees of Cabinet officials leading to the 1973 coup d'état.

It is understood that the Nixon administration utilized the State Department and CIA to complete two different, but simultaneous tracks of covert action meant to impact Chilean politics. United States involvement began ahead of the 1964 election and primarily included a propaganda campaign and manipulation of the media designed to prevent Allende and the Left's victory (Church Committee 58). Track I was found to be effective for preventing Allende's victory in 1964 and remained a mechanism for interference with the media and economy until 1973. Track II did not begin in earnest until September 1970 to prevent Allende's assumption of office between September and October following his victory at the national polls (Church Committee 25).

It is vital to note that both Tracks I and II aimed to instigate a coup d'état after Allende's successful election in 1970. The chief difference between approaches lies in the reliance on connections with the opposition and acquiescence of Frei for Track I, and the direct association with military officials in Track II (Church Committee 26). Both tracks were intended to prevent Allende's assumption of office, but each failed in achieving this goal. Thus, the aims of the United States shifted to create a hostile environment towards Allende's government while publicly maintaining a "cool but correct" posture towards Chile's new government (Church Committee 28). Each track of covert action evolved and expanded as officials in Washington interpreted potential threats posed by Allende before and during his time in office. For a visual timeline of actions undertaken with committee approval in Chile, see Figure 1.1, located in the appendix.

Beginnings and Track I

The United States' wide-reaching diplomatic and covert policy of Track I had origins in the early 1960s to influence the outcome of the 1964 presidential election and was later expanded under the Nixon administration with the chief aim to change the outcome of the congressional runoff in 1970 that ultimately granted Allende the Chilean presidency. Covert action in Chile began with the 1962 establishment of the 5412 Special Panel Group, a sub-cabinet body created to review proposed plans for covert actions (Hinchey Report 3). The 5412 Group initiated involvement in Chilean politics with an approved a plan for covert financial support of the Christian Democrat Party and spent nearly \$3M on propaganda and media manipulation including newspaper critiques and anti-FRAP radio broadcasts to increase fear of the far-left for the 1964 election to ensure the election of Eduardo Frei (Church Committee 57). After Allende was successfully blocked from victory in 1964, the United States continued

financial support for manipulation of the media and direct support for the campaigns of Christian Democrat candidates for the congressional elections between the 1964 and 1970 presidential elections. The 5412 Group evolved into the 303 Committee and later the 40 Committee at the height of Nixon's administration, each body charged with the same task of approving proposed covert actions (Church Committee 2).

Track I expanded through the involvement of the 40 Committee and the approval of Nixon and Kissinger's plans beginning in March 1970. These plans ranged from diplomatic endeavors and covert actions with the Chilean media primarily through the State Department. The 40 Committee approved multiple rounds of financial support for "spoiling operations" in Congress and anti-Allende propaganda operations in 1970, totaling \$425,000 before Allende's victory in September 1970 (Church Committee 58). In addition to the manipulation of the media through harsh newspaper critiques of Allende in CIA asset *El Mercurio* and radio broadcasts, Track I also included a diplomatic approach.⁵ Ambassador Edward Korry utilized connections to the Chilean Senate in an attempt to influence the October 24, 1970 congressional confirmation vote with over \$250,000 in financial support approved by the 40 Committee (Church Committee 58). The goal for this special project was to influence Chilean senators to vote for conservative runner-up Jorge Alessandri through the influence and cooperation of outgoing President Eduardo Frei. Alessandri in turn, would resign from office immediately, thus requiring a new election to be held in which Frei could run against Allende (Hinchey Report 7). Once it was evident to Washington that a Frei reelection carried out within the framework of the Chilean Constitution

⁵ *El Mercurio* served as the major daily newspaper in Chile at the time of intervention (and remains one of the largest daily news publications to this day). The newspaper was considered to be the most important opposition publication against Allende's government, publishing daily editorials inspired by the CIA after it began receiving funds from the agency (Church Committee 8, 19).

would not come to fruition, Track I had to shift towards creating tense conditions favorable for a coup against Allende after he assumed office.

As time progressed, Track I expanded to include the diplomatic approach with the State Department and Ambassador Korry, media manipulation and propaganda, and financial support of the opposition, primarily the Christian Democrats. Track I was primarily executed through the State Department and funds allocated by the 40 Committee without the influence of the CIA (Church Committee 25). The exclusion of the CIA in Track I is a common thread of tension in the progression of covert actions in Chile (Gustafson 2002). The policy disagreements between the CIA and the State Department increased until Allende's overthrow in 1973, which may have contributed to the simultaneous two track approach with differing means to achieve the end of Allende's administration.

Track II (Project FUBELT)

Track II was authorized primarily by President Nixon and Henry Kissinger in 1970. These extreme methods of covert action included more direct involvement in the encouragement of a coup d'état, particularly in the six weeks between Allende's election and inauguration (Church Committee 14). Track II, otherwise known as Project FUBELT, relied on the CIA in an attempt to initiate political change and began after Nixon's September 15, 1970 order to the CIA to play a direct role in the organization of a coup d'état (Church Committee 23). Although the 40 Committee previously discussed instigation of a coup, the committee did not discuss the direct role of the CIA utilized in Track II (Church Committee 26). Once it became clear that Frei would not act in line with the Track I plan for political action, planning for a military coup d'état intensified to prevent Allende from taking office (Hinchey Report 8). Track II served as a

parallel and secret approach to involvement in Chilean politics known only to White House officials and upper-level cabinet members (excluding Ambassador Korry) in addition to Track I.

Track II was dependent on the establishment of contacts and CIA assets in the Chilean military and plans for an early military-led coup were made around retired General Roberto Viaux. General Viaux still maintained support in the military ranks despite no longer possessing an active role in the forces (Gustafson 2002). Since the existing leadership of the Chilean armed forces valued and respected the Constitution deeply, Washington looked to retired Viaux to serve as inspiration for a military coup within the forces (Gustafson 2002). Unfortunately, as time progressed, Nixon and Kissinger feared that Viaux was the only military connection prepared and willing to make a move in the beginning of Allende's administration (Gustafson 2002). There was not widespread popular support for, nor expectation of a coup among the Chilean people given the respect for Chile's long-standing democratic traditions, and Allende's victory through free and fair election results (Church Committee 45). Viaux's plans would only be effective with the military behind the retired general (Gustafson 2002).

The primary plan for Track II in 1970 included provisions for the kidnapping of General Renee Schneider. Schneider firmly opposed undertaking a military coup against Allende and served as a barrier to the CIA and its goals (Devine and Kornbluh 168). Peter Kornbluh asserts that the kidnapping plot was pushed in Santiago by the CIA to remove Schneider and that the CIA met with co-conspirators Viaux and Camilo Valenzuela (another connection in the armed forces) in the organization of the plot (Devine and Kornbluh 168). The CIA even gave weapons and financial support to the plotters in early October (Church Committee 58). Despite Washington's efforts to defuse the Viaux plot after the realization that there was little military-wide support, two initial abduction attempts failed (Gustafson 2002). After these two initial

failures, the CIA began to consider the need for new methods of propaganda and manipulation to further encourage a coup among members of the military and its leadership, even possibly relying on the promotion of pro-coup officers like Pinochet to positions of power.

The volatile and unpredictable nature of covert action and involvement with foreign governments and radicals became evident in Chile with the third and successful attempt to kidnap Rene Schneider. This third plot bore numerous similarities to the plans laid out by Viaux with the influence of the CIA but was carried out by militant radicals (allegedly hired with CIA funds, although acting independent of the agency at the time) who shot Schneider in the process of the kidnapping on October 22 (Devine and Kornbluh 169). It is important to note that there is no evidence to suggest that Track II under the CIA's orders called for the assassination of Schneider, and this result of interference was unintended on the part of Washington (Hinchey Report 8). However unintentional the death, the CIA was pleased that Schneider no longer stood as a barrier to a military coup d'état and believed that the station in Santiago had "done [an] excellent job of guiding [the] Chileans to [the] point today where a military solution"—that is, an anti-Allende coup—"is at least an option for them" (Devine and Kornbluh 169). Two days later, Congress confirmed Allende's victory in a vote 153-35 (Church Committee 58). With Allende's confirmation and imminent inauguration, the initial coup plotting under Track II collapsed. However, the CIA maintained many of its Chilean military contacts to gather intelligence and paid \$35,000 in "hush money" to some conspirators in Schneider's abduction and assassination in the interest of keeping previous American contact concealed (Hinchey Report 9). Whether the interactions with these remaining military contacts strayed from intelligence collection and towards encouragement for another coup remains unclear. These moments of ambiguity in the

United States-Chile covert action plots fuel the notion that the CIA maintained its influence and advocacy for a coup d'état in Chile throughout Allende's administration.

Extent of United States Involvement In 1973

The death knell of Allende's regime came on September 11, 1973 in the form of a military coup d'état following a period of intense external political and economic pressures from the United States. There is debate concerning the extent of the United States' role in this successful coup. There is no question, however, that foreign policy choices towards Allende's government under Nixon and Kissinger contributed to the unrest and tension felt in Chile in the lead up to 1973. Congressional investigations by the Church Committee maintain that there is no evidence supporting direct, covert involvement in the coup, although the United States did spend approximately \$7M (projects with and without approval of the 40 Committee) on covert actions between 1970 and 1973 (Church Committee 27). The United States sought to prevent Allende from implementing leftist policies (like the nationalization of the copper industry) that operated against the United States' economic and political interests while maintaining its "cool but correct" public posture to deny Allende the ability to use the United States' meddling as a national rallying point (Church Committee 27). The United States applied persistent pressure to Allende's government to simultaneously prevent implementation of successful leftist reforms that were perceived to be on the "slippery slope" to communism, and to maintain American hemispheric dominance.

The triad of action utilized by the United States during Allende's presidency included the continuation of extensive clandestine activities through the CIA and the maintenance of the United States' cool outward appearance towards Chile in addition to economic pressures. All three elements were used in concert to "squeeze" and destabilize Allende's government without

drawing attention to the United States and its involvement (Church Committee 28). The Church Committee concluded that

“Rather, the United States by its previous actions during Track II, its existing general posture of opposition to Allende, and the nature of its contacts with the Chilean military- probably gave the impression that it would not look with disfavor on a military coup. And U.S. officials ...may not always have succeeded in walking the thin line between monitoring coup plotting and actually stimulating it” (Church Committee 28).

While the United States may not have actively participated in the coup when it came time, there is still discussion and skepticism surrounding the CIA’s role. Jack Devine, who was stationed with the CIA in Santiago, maintains that “It is important to set this straight for the sake of history: the CIA should not be blamed for bad outcomes it did not produce” (Devine 27).

However, it can be argued that the extensive presence of the CIA for nearly a decade in Chilean politics set the nation on a course different from its original trajectory with Allende’s victory, and that the CIA helped to create the conditions for democratic backslide in the nation through the instigation and stimulation of a coup.

The covert and clandestine actions sanctioned by Washington under the façade of a cool but correct public image are the source of great debates in the analysis of American foreign policy during the Cold War, particularly concerning Chile and Allende’s democratically elected government. Such debates aim to answer why the Nixon administration placed such weight on the political environment of a comparatively small nation with a rich history of strong democratic traditions. Additionally, was the scope and intensity of interference by the CIA proportional to the threat posed by Allende’s government? This project seeks to provide multifaceted answers to these questions through evidence presented by the above analysis of

Allende's political career and ideology in addition to the motives of United States officials in the Nixon administration expressed in internal communications as Tracks I and II unfolded. Answers to such questions within the framework of Democratic Peace Theory during the Cold War allow us to analyze the precedent set in United States-Chile relations for justifying and framing comprehensive covert action, even against another democracy.

VI: THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION AND THE ART OF FRAMING

Given the scope and intensity of the covert action and interference undertaken by the United States government and the CIA from 1962 through 1973, it is worth analyzing how the Nixon administration justified such heavy involvement in the domestic politics of another democracy. As one of the few stable democracies of Latin America at the time of interference, Chile presents an interesting case for explaining the power of framing ideologies and perceived threats in the context of foreign relations during the Cold War. Anti-communist sentiments and the fear of a "slippery slope" following the Cuban Revolution loomed in the minds of policy makers and the American public alike. The tense conditions created by the Cold War resulted in a preoccupation with containing Soviet power and communist ideology that eclipsed the additional motives and interests operating.

The Nixon administration primarily justified its pursuit of covert action due to the fear that Allende would push Chile towards communism and set a precedent for other Latin American nations to follow, and the risk of losing Chile to Soviet influence, which could potentially initiate a global ripple-effect. By amplifying existing fears and anti-communist fervor, the Nixon administration portrayed involvement in Chile as a necessary action to prevent the loss of Latin America to communism and the spread of Soviet power in close proximity to the United States (Fagen 301). However, it is widely accepted that the threats were exaggerated and

sensationalized by Nixon and Kissinger (Church Committee 28). The following pages seek to analyze the specific perspectives amplified by the upper level officials in the United States government to justify such heavy involvement and manipulation of Chilean politics and economy despite its history and status as a democracy.

It Starts at the Head: Nixon's Perspective

President Nixon was determined to prevent Allende's ascension to power in the 1970 election and despite combined efforts with Ambassador Korry and the Department of State, this goal failed with Allende's victory and confirmation in September 1970. Nixon was extremely displeased with the results of the 1970 election and failure of the United States' work to influence the results, thus, Project FUBELT or Track II, was born at the explicit request of Nixon (Church Committee 2). Nixon himself viewed the election of 1970s results as a serious problem, stating "No impression should be permitted in Latin America that they can get away with this, that it's safe to go this way" (Kornbluh *The Pinochet File* 79). From this quote, it is evident that Nixon feared the effect of Allende's election on other Latin American nations and the threat of a shift to the left and closer to Soviet influence following the Cuban Revolution and Allende's success. Following the folly with the Bay of Pigs attempted military intervention in Cuba, Nixon was weary of repeating history and recognized that if found out, a military intervention posed great risk to the United States' international image (Fontenot 15). Therefore, Nixon decided that covert actions pursued secretly through the CIA were the most effective option, thus avoiding risking the reputation of the United States on the world stage.

Nixon's intent to ensure that Allende's government did not succeed in Chile was clear with the initiation of Track II in 1970. Nixon's famous line urging the actions to "make the economy scream" serves as an indictment of the role that the United States played in the

destabilization of Chile's economy (Church Committee 33). Nixon was convinced that an Allende government would spell trouble and that the United States needed to take every possible measure to either prevent Allende's ascension to power, or to prevent the success of Allende's proposed reforms (Fagen 304). By making the economy "scream," Nixon showed that he was determined to undermine Allende through any means necessary and spoke candidly about such plans among top officials.

Henry Kissinger

While Nixon operated as the head of state, Henry Kissinger's role as National Security Advisor proved instrumental in the portrayal of Allende's victory and government and the policies that resulted from his characterization of the threat. Kissinger's staunch opposition and weariness of Allende's potential plans for the future of Chile's democratic traditions fueled the discussions within the administration. In a particularly revealing quote, Kissinger states "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people . . . The issues are much too important for the Chilean voters to be left to decide for themselves" (Kim 20; Fagen 304). In this statement, it is evident that to Kissinger, Allende's victory was won democratically and that the Chilean voters had made their own decision. However, it also emphasizes the perceived threat of a shift towards communism. It is important to highlight that Kissinger, representing the United States, did not perceive Chilean democracy equal to that of the United States, thus informing his lack of hesitation to disregard and act against democratic norms. Kissinger's own perspectives on Chilean democracy paired with the threat of communism were commonly cited as motivation for the United States to intervene. Kissinger very clearly saw the trajectory of Chile heading towards communism in the future, and thus deemed it unacceptable.

Kissinger frequently warned of a “slippery slope” phenomenon when discussing the shifts to the left in Latin America, citing the regional and global impacts if nations were to embrace communism and the Soviet Union. In a background briefing following the September 4 victory of Allende at the polls, Kissinger spoke at length about what he felt the effects of an Allende victory will be. He asserted that “in a major Latin American country you would have a Communist government, joining, for example, Argentina, which is already deeply divided, along a long frontier, joining Peru, which has already been heading in directions that have been difficult to deal with, and joining Bolivia, which has also gone in a more leftist, anti-United States direction, even without any of these developments” (Fagen 297). This quote clearly highlights Kissinger’s tendency to emphasize the ripple effects of an Allende victory on the rest of Latin America, even before Allende had even set foot in office. The warnings of a “slippery slope” and the threats of “massive problems” for the United States are proven to be effective motivators to call the officials of the administration into action (Fagen 298). Given Kissinger’s warnings, it is reasonable to assume that he also saw potential dangers with the French and Italian socialists and further wanted to prevent a shift left in Latin America that would serve as an example for a European shift to the left through electoral means (Fagen 302). The anti-communist Cold War rhetoric made Kissinger’s warnings more powerful and convincing to those within the administration.

It is evident that the decisions surrounding covert action in Chile were being made by President Nixon with Kissinger serving as the chief officer. This small, isolated team of officials and the projection of a rhetoric built on a fear of a global ripple effect and what could happen if Chile was *permitted* to make such an electoral decision permeate the documented briefings and meetings. In the eyes of Nixon and Kissinger, Chile could not get away with the results of the

1970 election for fear of the future in Chile itself, the spread of such ideas across Latin America, and the potential example of a path to legitimacy for Marxist governments if Chile was not stopped. The Nixon administration effectively portrayed the potential effects of an Allende victory as a dire situation for the United States and its anti-communist interests. By framing the situation in Chile as a dire, massive threat to the United States, Nixon and Kissinger effectively capitalized on existing fears and secured a perspective that would likely gain public support if covert involvement was to be revealed.

“Cool but Correct”, a Study in Appearances

There is no question that the framing of a perceived threat is vital to combatting an adversary. By consistently characterizing Allende's victory as a definite step towards communism on the Latin American continent, Nixon and Kissinger could justify any action taken as an anti-communist endeavor. In the United States, anti-communist fervor in the public sphere would likely support any action, overt or covert, against a Marxist regime that was portrayed as a threat to the United States interests (Downes and Lilley 28). This, however, was not the case for international actors at the time, given Chile's widely regarded status as a democracy. Nixon coined the “cool but correct” appearance in the United States' public policy towards Chile (Devine and Kornbluh 169). This appearance was necessary to give the United States plausible deniability if the international stage saw fit to accuse the United States of hostility or overt aggression towards a fellow democracy.

By publicly taking a “cool but correct” stance on the United States' relationship with Chile, Nixon ensured that the covert actions could be taken without suspicions from international actors. If the United States were accused of anti-communist aggression, its officials would be able to point to its public stance on Chile to absolve itself. The Church Committee report

emphasizes that “The “cool but correct” overt posture denied the Allende government a handy foreign enemy to use as a domestic and international rallying point” (Church Committee 27).

Without an **overt** act of aggression from the United States, Allende would be unable to gain international and domestic support for his fight against intervention from the United States. Not only was the “cool but correct” appearance essential for the secrecy of the **covert** action, but it also was essential for keeping anti-American and anti-intervention sentiments at bay.

The “cool but correct” diplomatic posture asserted by the Nixon administration is a case study in the importance of appearances in foreign relations. Without this image of a country displeased with, but not overtly hostile to the Allende government, it is possible that the United States would not have seen such covert success for the period of 1970 to 1973 (Church Committee 27). The triad of official actions included covert aid to opposition forces, “cool but correct” diplomatic posture, and economic pressure (Church Committee 51). The effectiveness of the Nixon and Kissinger anti-communist rhetoric paired with the correct public image provided a damaging combination of forces used to justify intervention in Chile. Without strong domestic anti-communist sentiments and the international perception of correct positions taken by the United States towards a fellow democracy, intervention in Chile would likely not have played out as effectively (Harmer 71). Framing on the domestic and international scales proved essential to the successful justification of the Nixon administration’s use of covert actions against Chile.

VII: LOOPHOLES AND ADJUSTMENT FOR DISMISSAL OF CONTRADICTIONS

With the above analysis of the covert action and intervention pursued by the United States between the years of 1963 and 1973, it is evident that the United States played an active role as a catalyst for democratic backslide in Chile following the 1973 coup. Given the scope and detrimental effects of United States’ intervention against another democracy, it is necessary to

assess the actions of the United States under the lens of Democratic Peace Theory (DPT). Scholars and policy-makers alike advocate for the theory's prediction of pacific behavior among democracies, however, the relationship between the United States and Chile provides evidence for a circumstance in which the United States did not operate according to the expectations of the theory (Kim 41-42). However, the case of Chile is not accepted as an anomaly of the theory among some scholars (Kim 42). This project seeks to answer why United States-Chile relations during the Cold War are not widely considered a contradiction of the goal of democratic promotion, which additionally coincide with contradictions of the predictions made by Democratic Peace Theory.

There are loopholes, debated technicalities, and adjustments to operating definitions under the theory that have allowed cases like the covert action against democratic Chile in 1973 to seemingly exist below the threshold for an outright contradiction of democratic peace. Scholars like Russett adopt restrictive definitions of terms like war and democracy to exclude covert action from being accepted as a form of war under the theory, and to prevent nations like Chile from classification as truly democratic governments that would warrant pacificism from the United States (Russett 23-24). Additionally, there is evidence against the effectiveness of the normative and structural models of DPT themselves when applied to covert action in Chile. While such theoretical adjustments may be effective to eliminate other cases with evidence against the theory on the part of the United States, when applied to Chile, there are effective arguments to support that the United States did, in fact, act in opposition to the principles of Democratic Peace Theory.

Is Covert War... War?

When defining war in the scope of Democratic Peace Theory, the decision to include covert action or not in the analysis and application of the theory creates great debate among scholars. Covert action serves as a third option in foreign policy in addition to traditional paths of diplomacy or combat (Radsan 488). While recent trends in foreign policy and the use of covert action aim for increased transparency concerning the process for covert action, this was not the case during the Cold War (Radsan 487). Due to the frequent use the United States made of covert action during the Cold War, it is evident that this period of increased global tension presents a shift from traditional norms of foreign relations and conflict (Forsythe 394). Periods of history that heavily relied on traditional armed conflict do not require such consideration of covert action as a classification of war, but because the Cold War was conducted without military conflict between the United States and the U.S.S.R, this period presents a unique case for the consideration of covert action and its consequences (Forsythe). Particular consideration for the scope and resulting damages of covert action is necessary in its application to Chile.

For the application of Democratic Peace Theory throughout history, scholars have generally applied a definition of war that excludes covert action. This widely accepted definition of *interstate war* is provided by the Correlates of War Project and states that “only military conflicts between independent states producing at least 1,000 battle deaths [of soldiers] will count as an interstate war” (Kim 28). Russett doubles down on this definition and asserts that United States covert wars were comparatively low cost and not openly fought in organized combat by United States military units, and thus, are not wars (Russett 123). With these claims and restricted definitions, proponents of the DPT emphasize that even though the targets of United States covert wars were democratic, the United States’ engagement does not contradict

the dyadic form of Democratic Peace Theory (Kim 28). Scholars including Russett and Forsythe are then able to dismiss cases of covert action as contradictions of democratic peace on purely definitional grounds with regards to the definition of war used.

While the restricted definition of war eliminates cases of covert engagement of the United States from acting counter to the theory, the covert war in Chile does provide a possible anomaly for the consideration of particularly damaging covert actions as a contradiction of Democratic Peace Theory. The covert action taken in Chile is widely considered one of the most “multifarious and extensive covert intervention undertaken by a democratic power,” and covert economic and military support for opposition forces can “develop to a point where the distinction between such activities and open war becomes fairly academic” (Kim 28). The magnitude of the covert action program in Chile is expansive and well-documented.

Kim even goes as far as to assert that the consequences of United States covert action in Chile on the domestic political climate, institutions of democracy, and the presence of human rights violations under Pinochet’s regime with the killing of over 60,000 Chileans are as damaging as the consequences of overt warfare (Kim 44). Forsythe additionally concedes that United States covert wars against elected governments during the Cold War are unique cases to be carefully considered (Forsythe 394). Due to the severity of the impacts of United States covert action in Chile, and the scope and intensity of the program, it is reasonable to consider the case in Chile as an anomaly in favor of the inclusion of extreme cases of covert action waged against democracies with particularly damaging and lasting effects as evidence against Democratic Peace Theory.

If It Looks Like a Democracy and Quacks Like a Democracy...

Democracy is traditionally a complex concept to explicitly define, and such definitions create debates among scholars as to what constitutes a democracy. It is generally accepted that qualifications for consideration as a democracy extend beyond an electoral government, as there are structural mechanisms in democracies that are as vital to the form of government as the ability to vote (Owen 89). In terms of Democratic Peace Theory, scholars highlight the importance of the classification of regimes as liberal democracies for the claims of the theory to apply, wherein the democracies have regular free and fair elections with a developed and organized opposition, near-universal franchise, and ensure the protection of civil liberties like freedom of the press (Owen 89). These qualities are vital for a regime to be classified as a democracy and for other democracies to regard it as such in foreign relations.

The case of United States-Chile relations in the Cold War is often dismissed on the claim that Chile was not sufficiently democratic to be treated as such under the expectations of DPT. This claim, unfortunately, is unsubstantiated in the minds of many scholars who agree that before Allende's election *and* during his time in office, "the democratic state apparatus remained virtually intact... The democratic social order, the political parties, the armed forces, and the capitalist economy all remained intact" (Kim 37). At the time of intervention, Chile was widely regarded as a democracy until the coup that resulted in Pinochet's rise to power (Russett 123). Chile's acceptance as a liberal democracy at the time of United States intervention is essential for the application of DPT to this particular case during the Cold War.

By expanding the requirements for democratic classification to include the features of liberal democracies, this adjustment allows scholars to dismiss cases of United States armed conflicts and covert actions waged against elected governments. Cases of intervention against

elected governments such as Guatemala in 1954, Brazil in 1961, and Nicaragua in 1981 are not considered counters of the theory since the targeted regimes were not regarded as fully democratic by the criteria for late twentieth-century regimes (Russett 121). For scholars like Russett, the predictions and expectations of DPT are only effectively applicable to foreign relations between liberal democracies. While a government may have been elected through democratic means, it must exhibit the qualities of a liberal democracy and cannot fall more closely in-line with the characteristics of anocracies, or semi-democracies (Russett 122). The definition of a democracy under the application of Democratic Peace Theory relies on the presence of institutions and structures beyond regular, free and fair elections.

When considering Democratic Peace Theory with regards to Chile in the 1970s, it is incorrect to assert that Chile was not sufficiently democratic at the time of intervention. For the continuation of intervention following Allende's election, it is plausible that Allende's Chile was seen as "unstably democratic" as Allende faced pressure to enact reforms and did not shy away from considering authoritarian means of enforcement (Russett 123). Such means included proposing the ability for the president to dissolve Congress and call elections once during a Presidential term to circumnavigate the existing opposition-led bicameral Congress (Figuroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 101).⁶ Suspicions concerning Allende's commitment to democratic processes initially arose given his Marxist background, although these fears were aimed, without concrete evidence, at the future of Chile and where a leftist government may lead (Forsythe 389; Kim 36-38). Allende's Marxist identity paired with his proposed socialist reforms for the

⁶To clarify, the ability to dissolve Congress once in a President's term would come from Constitutional reform deemed appropriate for the transition towards socialism. (Figuroa-Clark *40 Years On* 15). The proposal for Constitutional reform, drafted by Allende and his allies in Congress, created the legal framework to give the President this power if gridlock in Congress persisted in addition to creating a unicameral Congress and updated judiciary to instill a sense of "collective justice" (Figuroa-Clark *40 Years On* 16).

nationalization of industries like copper, and his willingness to cooperate with communist forces and militant leftists in Chile contributed to American suspicions surrounding Allende's commitment to upholding democracy (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende* 93-95). Such weariness for the *future* of Chile's democracy under leftist leadership does not erase its status as a democracy at the time of intervention. Chile was, in fact, a democracy under the criteria used in Democratic Peace Theory before and during Allende's presidency.

Loopholes in Action Under the Normative and Structural Models

The refinement of the definitions and adjustments above allows for plausible cases of Democratic Peace Theory contradictions to be dismissed under the assumption that the United States *was* still acting in accordance with the norms guiding democracies. The definitions and loopholes dictate that the targeted regimes were not technically full democracies, and covert action or war is not the same as interstate war or armed military combat. Therefore, by including these loopholes and limited definitions, the United States was not expected to treat the targeted regimes as international democratic norms dictated, and the domestic institutions had effectively prevented the outbreak of an armed military conflict. However, in the case of Chile in the 1970s, these loopholes are not sufficient to uphold the claims of the theory under the normative and structural models of Democratic Peace Theory.

With the progression of covert action in Chile, an accepted democracy, it is evident that the United States was not acting in line with the norms that are said to guide democracies in relationships with fellow democracies. The Normative model predicts that democracies should be able to avoid escalation of conflicts through more peaceful channels of diplomacy with negotiations and concessions (Downes and Lilley 5). Additionally, norm externalization, or the expectation that other democracies operate under and treat fellow democracies with the same set

of principles, is essential to the United States and its pursuit of foreign policy (Rosato 586). Given these mechanisms for the normative model, by pursuing covert action against Chile, the United States was not treating Chile as a fellow democracy worthy of mutual respect and non-violent conflict resolution.

Scholars emphasize that the pursuit of covert action does not undermine the normative model of Democratic Peace Theory when the targeted regime is non-democratic or only semi-democratic (Rosato 586). When a democracy is engaged in a conflict with a non-democracy, the democratic country is not restricted by the norms for dealing with other democracies, and the non-democratic nature of the targeted regime negates the requirements of mutual trust and respect (Rosato 586). When applied to Chile, the normative model does *not* hold, as Chile was widely accepted as a historically stable, liberal democracy at the time of intervention (Rosato 591; Russett 123). The loophole used to dismiss potential contradictions of Democratic Peace Theory due to the non-democratic nature of the targeted regime does not uphold the normative model since it did not apply to Chile, thus the normative model was indeed violated by the United States in this case.

The structural model relies on the domestic features of democratic government to place checks on the decisions of the executive in deciding which foreign policies to pursue. With respect to interstate wars and armed military combat, the executive is subject to public opinion when deciding to engage in a war given the domestic costs (Rosato 587). These checks on the executive make mobilization for war a difficult and extensive process that requires public support and is not secret to other nations (Downes and Lilley 8; Forsythe 393). When a government decides to engage covertly in the domestic politics of another nation, the decision-making process is no longer accessible to the public as it is when engaging in armed conflict.

The decision to use covert action often arises from a desire to keep policies secret to decrease the risk of public backlash (Rosato, 591). Even though the public itself is unaware of the covert action being undertaken by their government, the executive is still held accountable in the structural model because the power of public opinion and popular support still plays a role in checking the decisions of the executive (Downes and Lilley 9). The use of covert action highlights how an open military conflict against another democracy would not have been approved by the public, so the executive made the best decision with the knowledge and caution that war would not be an option with widespread support (Downes and Lilley 27). Despite the secretive nature, covert action still can be subject to the mechanisms of the structural model.

However, in the case of intervention in Chile, the motives to operate covertly do not fall within the domestic, structural mechanisms, nor the normative model. Russett claims that “the normative restraints of democracy were sufficient to drive the operations underground amid circumstances when the administration might otherwise have undertaken an overt intervention” (Russett 124). Although, in Chile, it appears that normative mechanisms were not responsible for the decision to operate covertly since the United States was not acting in-line with the norms for conflict between democracies and thus would not have seen a reason to hide its aggression against another democracy.

Instead, the decision to operate covertly appears to stem from a concern for how the global audience would interpret the United States’ intervention in Chile (Downes and Lilley 28). The structural model of Democratic Peace Theory encompasses the domestic restraints and checks on decision-making but does not include international pressures (Rosato 587). It is additionally reasonable to assume that given the intense nationalism and anti-communism felt in the United States at the time, the public may have gone so far as to suggest openly overt tactics

for dealing with a foreign Marxist regime as in Chile (Downes and Lilley 28). Therefore, the use of covert action instead of interstate war or armed military combat has no impact on the Nixon administration's adherence to the structural model and its predictions for the behavior of democracies. In the case study of United States-Chile relations, the debate of covert war and its inclusion in the structural model cannot effectively be applied since the motives to act covertly were largely international and not domestic. Thus, the structural model was also violated by the United States in its decision to act covertly in Chile.

This project has shown that despite the efforts to dismiss cases of potential contradictions of Democratic Peace Theory, the loopholes and theoretical adjustments supported and defended by the proponents of the theory cannot be applied in the case of Chile. By addressing each loophole in the context of Chile and the covert action of the United States, this project highlights how such adjustments amplify the Chilean case as an anomaly. It is reasonable to say that the covert policy pursued by the United States *did* provide evidence against Democratic Peace Theory when it began intervention in Chile's democracy. Despite the refinement of the theory in attempts to eliminate cases of evidence contrary to its principles, United States intervention in Chile went against democratic promotion. While the loopholes and adjustments justify other cases of intervention, they are ineffective in the justification of the United States' role in Chile. In its treatment of Chile, the United States violated its own foreign policy goals of democratic promotion. The behavior of the United States against Chile analyzed above creates a theoretical challenge to the idea that democracies do not engage in conflict with other democracies, the central principle of Democratic Peace Theory.

VIII: A PRECEDENT FOR INTERVENTION AND ITS LEGACY IN LATIN AMERICA

The legacy of American intervention is complex and has contributed to the ongoing struggle in Latin American nations for self-determination and independence from foreign interests in domestic politics. In addition to the damage from democratic backslide and the installment of multiple authoritarian regimes following United States intervention at the end of the 20th century, it is evident that frequent, often forceful regime changes have contributed to ongoing regional patterns of socio-economic instability. The consequences of intervention can persist for years, even after the reestablishment of democratic regimes. As the two primary examples of United States intervention against Latin American democracies in the 20th century, Guatemala and Chile are engaged in an ongoing process of reconciliation following intervention with tragic, and often unintended consequences.

Interventionist Precedent: From the Monroe Doctrine to the Alliance for Progress

Beginning with the adoption of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, then the Alliance for Progress in 1961-62, a pervasive and long-standing pattern of United States influence over Latin American nations and hemispheric affairs has characterized United States foreign policy. The Monroe Doctrine set a precedent for the role of the United States as a hemispheric hegemon, condemning the previous influence and involvement of European powers and allowing the United States to solidify its interests in its Latin American neighbors without competing with European interests (Gilderhus, 6). The Monroe Doctrine created the framework for encouraging United States intervention in Latin American affairs that continued to define relationships in the region through the Cold War. The Monroe Doctrine and subsequent Roosevelt Corollary established the United States as a regional hegemon and policing force, thus adopting a paternalistic and correctional approach in policies also present in the patterns of intervention

during the Cold War (Gilderhus,6). The legacy of the Monroe Doctrine and the precedent that it set for intervention can be seen in the covert action pursued by the United States in Chile against Allende.

The global context of the Cold War and the implications of the Cuban Revolution marked the start of a resurgence in interventionist policies in Latin America carried out by the United States as the global threat of the Soviet Union and communism moved into the Western Hemisphere (Gilderhus, 14). While the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary were not explicitly evoked in the United States' decisions to intervene in the domestic politics of nations like Guatemala in 1954, the Dominican Republic in 1965, and Chile in 1973, these interventions served implicit Monroe Doctrine interests of hemispheric power and oversight (Gilderhus, 15). Such interventions sought to "prevent another Cuba" by maintaining the United States' power in the region and policing the rise of leftist ideologies and governments that seemingly did not align with United States' economic and political interests during the Cold War (Gilderhus, 15). Once the Cuban Revolution occurred, the United States began to reapply its role granted by the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary as a regional hegemon and police force to combat the threat of hemispheric destabilization under the rise of communism.

The Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary not only set the precedent for a pronounced United States presence and involvement in the region, but additionally helped to establish the rhetoric applied to justify the heavy use of intervention in Latin America during the Cold War. The Monroe Doctrine highlights the defense of liberty and democracy to frame instances where intervention is justified, and these same ideas have been applied to the United States' decision to intervene in Latin America during the Cold War (Gilderhus, 16). As discussed in this project, the Nixon administration justified its actions on the very same grounds, citing the

protection of Chilean democracy from Allende's plans for a socialist future and defending the United States interests in the containment of communism. Gilderhus articulates this point, stating "the invocation of the Monroe Doctrine and the assumptions underlying it provided policy makers with a justification for acting on behalf of what they defined as the strategic and economic interests of the United States" (Gilderhus, 16). The Monroe Doctrine has given government officials and policy-makers a framework for justification of intervention that has been used throughout history to defend the United States' involvement as a regional authority and policing power in the affairs of Latin American nations.

Carried on throughout subsequent administrations, the paternalistic and interventionist ideas of the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary characterized American foreign policy in Latin America throughout the Cold War. The establishment of the Alliance for Progress under President Kennedy in 1961-62 perpetuated the paternalistic influence of the United States and the role of foreign aid in Latin America in an attempt to prevent the rise of leftist governments that would potentially be open to Soviet influence (Gilderhus, 15). Chile received the greatest amount of aid, in-part due to the example of its well-established democratic traditions to incentivize other nations to democratize with the promise of aid in reward. Also, because it appeared to be the United States' best counter to the growing influence of the Soviets (Falcoff, 185). The Alliance for Progress is an expansion of the principles from the Monroe Doctrine within the Cold War context, using the United States as a paternalistic and guiding influence on Latin American nations so that communism could not take root.

Although the Monroe Doctrine is not explicitly referenced in policy decisions such as the Alliance for Progress or the motives for intervention in democracies like Guatemala and Chile, the interventionist principles and patterns remained features of United States-Latin America

foreign policy. Kissinger's famous quote, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people" captures the essence of the responsibility that the United States felt it had under the principles established in the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary to intervene in Chilean politics (Kim, 20). The legacy of the Monroe Doctrine has continued the subjugation of the region to frequent oversight and policing from the United States when Latin American nations attempted to exercise sovereignty and self-determination in policies and elections.

Pinochet: Destruction That the United States Did Not See Coming

In addition to the consequences that emerged from the continuation of interventionist principles originating from the Monroe Doctrine, the United States must face its role in the interruption of democratic institutions for nearly two decades in Chile, one of Latin America's previously strongest democracies. Jack Devine admits that the CIA did not expect Pinochet to seize control and hold on in the manner which unfolded after the coup in 1973 and maintains that "The CIA should not be blamed for bad outcomes it did not produce" (Devine, 27). It is necessary to note that the United States government and the CIA expected Pinochet's Military Junta to serve as a provisional, temporary government until a new election could be organized, or other means of government could be established after Allende's downfall (Devine, 33). However, the United States committed a grave miscalculation concerning its expectations for Pinochet's government.

As shown in previous sections of this project, the role that the United States played in encouraging the democratic breakdown that occurred in Chile in 1973 was extensive. The Church Committee concluded that the United States government was not involved in the active plotting and execution of the coup on September 11th, however, the CIA did contribute greatly to

the political and economic destabilization of Allende's regime (Church Committee, 2). This role implicates the United States in encouraging the overthrow of another democracy, which is not in line with the expectations of mutual trust and respect afforded to democracies according to the normative logic of Democratic Peace Theory. Not only has the United States acted contrary to Democratic Peace Theory in the case of Chile, but it also remained complacent towards the consolidation of Pinochet's authoritarian regime (Devine, Kornbluh, 172).

After a mere three months under Pinochet's regime, evidence of alleged human rights violations against those opposed to the Military Junta reached the CIA (Devine and Kornbluh, 171). The United States government refrained from actively and vehemently voicing human rights concerns until the establishment of the Carter administration in 1977, which sought to focus on human rights as an issue requiring international action (Schenoni and Mainwaring, 277). Carter consistently opposed arms sales to Chile and loans and credits to the Chilean government (Falcoff, 185). With the advent of the Carter administration, the use of the United States' hegemonic influence on domestic human rights concerns became a norm in Latin American relations, particularly with the ongoing repressive violence under right-wing authoritarian regimes (Schenoni and Mainwaring 274). Unfortunately, by the time the Carter administration provided a shift in-favor of international outrage concerning human rights violations, Pinochet's dictatorship had committed frequent violent acts to suppress any opposition, which included kidnapping, torturing, and killing those who spoke out (Falcoff, 185). The United States government had taken measures to distance itself from Pinochet as allegations of human rights violations emerged, but a lack of outright condemnation of Pinochet had allowed the junta to continue such abuses without punishment.

After the investigations of the Church Committee determining the extent of the United States' role in interrupting democratic processes in Chile and allowing the consolidation of Pinochet's government, new rules and regulations were placed on the use of covert action abroad. These rules sought to limit the power of the United States to manipulate other democracies (Falcoff, 185). The changes are beneficial to prevent another case of intervention in another democracy in contradiction of Democratic Peace Theory like Chile in 1973. However, under Pinochet's repressive government, the Chilean people were acutely aware of the United States' previous power to determine domestic political outcomes and looked to the United States to again assert its will (Falcoff, 189). The Chilean opposition looked to the United States to force the nation back to democracy by undermining Pinochet's government as they did Allende's (Falcoff, 189).

However, with the limits on covert action in-place after the disastrous consequences following the September 11th coup, the United States could not simply reverse the process and level its power against Pinochet and in support of the opposition (Falcoff, 191). Another factor contributing to the United States' inability to destabilize Pinochet through support of the opposition was that, as of 1987, the opposition had not yet consolidated into a unified force (Falcoff, 191). Without an unambiguous opposition, the United States could not give support beyond frequent and public denunciations of Pinochet's regime under Reagan's administration (Falcoff 191). However, it is evident that the most effective cases of re-democratization relied on foreign aid from the United States and diplomats in support of pro-democratic forces in the nation (Walker, 280). To reverse the damage, the United States had to openly show support for groups in Chile that shared democratic values, and some considered this to be too little, too late

in the scheme of United States-Chile relations and the role that the United States had played in the interruption of democracy in the first-place.

The United States feared the establishment of a Marxist government under Allende in which democratic institutions would no longer function. Yet they remained complicit for years as Pinochet's authoritarian government stripped the opposition of political power and censored the media. These contradictions in American foreign policy towards the left versus the right across Latin America during the Cold War expose a level of hypocrisy that is inexcusable. In fearing democratic breakdown under a leftist government, the United States government permitted a right-wing authoritarian regime to seize power in Chile, thus allowing the end of one of Latin America's strongest democracies (Devine and Kornbluh, 172). The justification for intervention hinged on the fear that Allende would end democracy in Chile, but the product of the United States' intervention was the end of democracy in the country (Devine and Kornbluh, 168). Although it is worth noting that the severity of repression under Pinochet's government could not have been foreseen, this project has shown that the United States contributed heavily to the creation of the conditions necessary for Pinochet to take power, and in turn did not publicly and clearly denounce the Military Junta for years. The violence under Pinochet's regime remains a stain on the conscience of Chilean society, and the United States' role in permitting such widespread human rights violations through inaction is undeniable and incongruent with the principles of promotion of democracy and the protection of liberty.

Guatemala and the Legacies of Intervention

The case of intervention in Chile from 1970 to 1973 is not the first occurrence of covert action against a democracy in Latin America. Covert action in Guatemala in 1954 against democratically elected Jacobo Arbenz began the shift towards the extremely interventionist

policies of the Cold War (Fontenot, 15). This shift formally ended the Good Neighbor period of anti-intervention under Franklin D. Roosevelt as Cold War imperatives came in conflict with the policy of anti-intervention (Gilderhus, 14). The use of intervention in Guatemala established the framework for intervening in the government of another democracy on the basis of concern for future breakdown and alleged communist connections.

Conflicting portrayals of the events in Guatemala circulated across the United States and Latin America. In the Latin American perspective, the Eisenhower administration and its economic relationship with the United Fruit Company (UFCO) played a role in the decision to remove democratically elected Arbenz (Streeter, 61). With Arbenz's implementation of agrarian reform that would negatively impact UFCO's influence, the policy was perceived to have heavy associations with communism, thus branding Arbenz's government as a communist influence (Streeter, 62). Following the armed victory of Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, which forced Arbenz to resign, Castillo Armas and the Eisenhower administration portrayed the conflict as a popular revolution against a communist dictator (Streeter, 63). The use of propaganda campaigns and media manipulation in Guatemala, and later Chile, furthered the portrayals of these leaders as communists that had infiltrated the United States' sphere of influence (Streeter, 64). By labeling Arbenz and Allende as communists, the United States government could pursue more aggressive policies and covert actions against them. More intense policies fell in-line with the anti-communist fervor of the Cold War with little consideration for the democratic means by which these men came into power.

Guatemala serves as the precursor to Chile in many ways, setting a precedent to be improved upon for future interventions. According to Russett, interventions in both Guatemala and Chile were framed as last defenses of democracy in those nations, given the presence of

openly Marxist leaders (Russett, 121). Many of the same methods and reasons for intervention were utilized between the two cases, including propaganda campaigns and support of the opposition. Forsythe states that in Guatemala “What drove US policy were the same suspicions that were to arise about Salvador Allende in Chile in the 1970s - namely, that commitment to democratic processes and values might lead to eventual implementation of communist values and policies” (Forsythe, 387). Intervention in Guatemala served as the catalyst for questions about perceptions of leftist governments in Latin America that became relevant again with the intervention in Chile and “encouraged investigations into how psychology, bureaucratic politics, and cultural bias shaped Washington's conception of the Communist threat in Guatemala and elsewhere” (Streeter, 66).

Unfortunately, as in Chile, the results of United States intervention in Guatemala's democracy proved to be far more violent and deadly than anticipated. The ousting of Arbenz inadvertently initiated a nearly 40-year civil war that resulted in the deaths of over 100,000 Guatemalans (Gilderhus, 14). Castillo Armas immediately assumed dictatorial powers and banned opposition parties, reversed the Arbenz agrarian reforms, and relied heavily on the military to handle rural insurrectionists from the left who opposed the overthrow of Arbenz (Gordon, 147). The United States' subversion of Guatemalan democracy shocked the world and resulted in an increase in anti-United States fervor among Latin American nations, particularly in Chile (Gordon, 148). Additionally, from 1955 to 1960 following Castillo Armas' rise to power, the United States continued to provide over \$110B in direct aid to the now-authoritarian government, which ensured its survival (Gordon, 151). Thus, given the experience of Guatemala and later Chile, the legacy of United States intervention in Latin America is often associated with

the interruption of democratic institutions and their replacement with harsh anti-communist authoritarian regimes.

Venezuela and the Influence of the United States

Venezuela and the political disarray that has characterized the nation in recent years has a close link to the ongoing influence of the United States in the region that stems from the legacies of the Monroe Doctrine and interventionist policies. Venezuela's relationship with the United States is complex and intertwined with the oil industry and opposition to the governments of Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro (Gonzalez, 42). The relationship between Chávez and the United States strained when Chávez utilized emergency powers granted by the National Assembly to enact reforms including land and education (Vanden and Prevost, 473). As a result of the use of such blatantly authoritarian measures, the United States supported a coup in addition to a propaganda campaign with the private media and the provocation of protests (Vanden and Prevost, 474). With the failed attempt to oust Chávez in 2002, the relationship and foreign policy decisions between the United States can be divided into periods before and after the 2002 coup attempt (Gonzalez, 46).

Given the United States' international reputation for intervention with dire, albeit unintended, consequences, its relationship with Venezuela and Chávez deteriorated after the failed coup. With evidence that the United States had attempted to intervene and held meetings with plotters, Chávez capitalized on the rising anti-United States sentiment in the country and region (Gonzalez, 46, Vanden and Prevost, 475). Gonzalez explains that Chávez utilized the "confrontational nature of the relationship as a cover to accelerate his Bolivarian project at home and to divide the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean into pro- and anti-U.S. blocs" (Gonzalez, 46). When intervening in Guatemala and Chile, the United States sought to avoid

exposure of its role to prevent Arbenz and Allende from further mobilizing their base, as Chávez did following the 2002 intervention attempt. One pervasive legacy or consequence of intervention is that the United States' pattern of covert action against leftist governments, democratic and authoritarian alike, has inspired anti-United States sentiments across Latin America, which leaders like Chávez and now Maduro can use to create a hostile environment towards United States' presence in moments of tension.

The ongoing crisis in Venezuela is the culmination of economic downturn, unsustainable government spending and fiscal policies, paired with rising opposition to the authoritarian nature of Maduro's government (Vanden and Prevost, 481-82) The United States' role in Venezuela has shifted since the 2002 coup attempt, with the Obama administration seeking greater international emphasis on human rights and democracy in the region. Gonzalez highlights that the Obama administration worked towards "strengthening and broadening the base of the region's democracies by helping those countries working to bolster transparent and accountable institutions, regardless of their political ideology" (Gonzalez, 47). These shifts sought to repair relations in the region and continue to reconcile the United States' past role and interventionist policies while bolstering democracies in Latin America. However, despite these positive regional changes, the Obama administration is criticized for doing little to prevent the rapid decline of Venezuela's democracy once Maduro came into power and consolidated his authority (Gonzalez, 47).

The United States saw another shift in policy as Maduro remained in power and the Trump administration took over in the United States and escalated pressure on Venezuela through sanctions and even consideration of military intervention (Gonzalez, 49). During Trump's term in office, the opposition-led Venezuelan legislature approved a series of

resolutions outlining the legal framework to remove Maduro as he assumed office following a fraudulent election in 2018 that has not been legitimized by the opposition and international community (Gonzalez, 50). The United States has recognized Juan Guaidó as the interim president in the absence of new elections to overturn those in 2018, and this challenge to Maduro's legitimacy indicates a unified action carried out by the Venezuelan opposition, allegedly without the influence of the United States weighing on their decisions (Gonzalez, 50)

Had the United States again pursued military intervention in the region against Maduro, it risked fracturing the coalition with other Latin American nations that has been exerting pressure on Venezuela for its economic and humanitarian crisis (Gonzalez,51). By allowing the Venezuelan opposition to act on its own, the United States appears to have stepped back, however briefly, from reaffirming its position as an interventionist hegemon. The legacy of the United States and intervention in Latin America is present in the minds of many, and with the growing antagonism between the United States and Maduro's government, it is unclear where the path for Venezuela leads (Bull, Rosales, 8). By recognizing Guaidó, the United States has joined other members of the international community in opposition to Maduro, yet as the humanitarian crisis grows, intervention remains an option.

Gonzalez suggests that if the United States and other international actors were to intervene in Venezuela now, they should do so with humanitarian guiding principles and the responsibility to protect the Venezuelan population harmed by the instability (Gonzalez, 52). This shift in favor of humanitarian principles motivating intervention and accounting for the rebuilding and regional reconciliation is a positive change from the anti-communist and pessimistic worldview of the Cold War. However, it is necessary to highlight that this humanitarian form of intervention perpetuates the paternalism that has characterized United

States-Latin American relations since the inception of the Monroe Doctrine. Thus, the motives for United States intervention may change, but the legacy of regional power and influence of the United States over Latin American affairs does not.

Will Piñera Reverse Chilean Democratic Progress?

With the recent developments in 2019 and 2020 in Chilean democracy under President Sebastián Piñera, it is evident that even the strongest regional democracies are not immune to moments of intense struggle. After democratizing again in 1990 following the plebiscite where citizens voted to end the Pinochet dictatorship, Chile has seen a pattern of center-left leaders with successful democratic records for nearly three decades (Larrabure, 224). However, as the country faced economic downturn and severe income inequality, weak social structures exposed themselves and paved the way for conservative Piñera's first 2010 victory and subsequent re-election in 2018 (Posner, 2019).

Piñera's right-wing victory represents a shift in Chilean domestic politics, as he led the first right-wing government in 2010 "since the return of democracy, raising the question of whether a right-wing government, formed by a coalition of parties with well-known historic ties to the Pinochet regime, could be expected to rule with sufficient democratic sensibility" (Larrabure, 233). These fears were soon realized as Piñera isolated the opposition in Congress and doubled down on repression of student-led protests by banning marches and employing other authoritarian measures such as blocking students from the use of public transit and mass detentions shortly after his victory (Larrabure, 233). Through redefining the Chilean right by focusing primarily on the economic policies from Pinochet's regime and distancing themselves from the dictatorship's human rights abuses, leaders like Piñera have been able to find a place in Chile's democratic government (Posner, 2019). Piñera represents a potentially dangerous shift in

Chilean politics, as he does not shy away from the use of authoritarian measures and represents a continuation of Pinochet's legacy, which is itself, a legacy of United States intervention.

With Piñera securing a second term in 2018, the shift to the right in Chile continued. Larrabure notes that "initially Piñera appeared to take a more democratic and cooperative approach to governance," but by October 2019, Piñera's tactics had fully reverted to his initial forms of repression, hitherto unseen since Pinochet's dictatorship. (Larrabure, 236-37). After a student-led uprising following a public transportation fare increase in 2019, Piñera declared a state of emergency with units of military personnel patrolling almost the entire country, a military enforced curfew, and many neighborhoods falling under direct military control (Larrabure, 237). Prior to Pinochet's military government, the armed forces were rarely used in such a manner, due to the apolitical nature of the military before 1973 (Fontenot, 16). Today's inflated police force and increased military strength is a direct result of Pinochet's government and has allowed Piñera to utilize the military in a heavily politicized manner to fight the lower and middle-class opposition (Larrabure 237). Following civilian deaths and thousands of injuries, Piñera's government is now the subject of human rights investigations for the repressive, authoritarian use of force against the opposition (Larrabue, 237). With these shifts in Chile and the appearance of civil freedoms on paper but not in practice under Piñera, it is evident that even historically strong democracies are subject to periods of strife and tension.

Today's tension is a direct result of the widening gap between classes due to the continuation of Pinochet's economic policies without an adequate social safety net. Additionally, the use of the military in fighting recent protests against Piñera is a legacy of Pinochet's repressive military government. Chile is engaged in an ongoing process of enduring the legacy of United States intervention from 1973, nearly fifty years later.

IX: CONCLUSIONS

The study of the United States intervention in Chile against Salvador Allende has uncovered how the United States government explains and justifies its interventionist policies, particularly in moments of widespread global tension and conflict. The Cold War represented a shift away from the post-WWII established world order and the return to realist policies that framed intervention in Latin America as a last effort to preserve democracy in a region perceived to be vulnerable to the spread of communism (Russett 126). It is important to study the justifications and motives for intervention in this period of United States-Latin American relations during the Cold War due to the United States' reputation as an interventionist hegemon.

The precedent set by the 1954 intervention in Guatemala's democracy extended throughout the Cold War and was refined in the 1973 coup against democratically elected Salvador Allende. The fear of communism in Latin America that drove Eisenhower to overthrow Arbenz in Guatemala also drove Nixon and Kissinger's pursuit of covert action against Allende. It has been concluded that "Arbenz was, to use the language of the Cold War, at least a communist sympathizer in 1954 if not a full communist, even if true, does not negate the fact...that in 1954 Guatemala had an elected, non-communist government" (Forsythe, 387). The evidence from intervention in Guatemala and Chile as discussed in this project highlights that the United States has a track record of interventions against democratically elected leftist governments out of fear for a *future* shift towards communism, not an existing clear and present threat.

Through the analysis of declassified documents, internal communications relevant to cases of intervention, and the work of other scholars, this project has shown how perceptions and assumptions of the future of democratic regimes abroad are subject to the judgement of the

United States' administration in power. There is a stark contrast between the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations' interventionist perspectives and the Carter administration's push for the responsibility to protect from human rights violations that came about as a result of intervention. Such differences emphasize how the paradigms of the United States' government officials impact the administration's approach to foreign policies. The greater context of the Cold War and the perceived growth of the threat of communism in Latin America following the Cuban Revolution may have skewed the judgement of Eisenhower and Nixon officials to exaggerate the threats posed by Arbenz and Allende (Church Committee, 28). By portraying Arbenz, and later Allende as leaders of communist strongholds in Latin America, Eisenhower, Nixon, and Kissinger demonstrated how anti-communism could heavily supplement other reasons for intervention, including economic interests, thus justifying intervention to prevent the "loss" of Latin American democracies to communism.

In addition to the dynamics of framing and perceptions of threats posed by Allende in the minds of government officials, further academic justification for intervention in Chile emerged in the framework of Democratic Peace Theory. However, after extensive research and analysis of the basis of the theory, this project concludes that United States intervention in Chile *does* serve as a counter example in the application of Democratic Peace Theory. While scholars agree that Chile was a democracy before and at the time of intervention, it is seldom referred to as an anomaly due to the debates surrounding the application of the loopholes and definitions analyzed in this project. The loopholes and definition-based technicalities surrounding covert action and the classification of democracies create ambiguity that helps to absorb potential examples of cases where the United States may have acted in opposition to Democratic Peace Theory.

While these loopholes are effective in absorbing other cases of intervention against democratically elected governments, this project has singled out Chile in 1973 as a case where the United States acted contrary to Democratic Peace Theory. First, the research in this project confirms that at the time of intervention, Chile was a liberal democracy which included frequent free and fair elections with near-total franchise in the 1970 election of Allende, and a functioning opposition with freedom of the press and other civil liberties (Russett, 123). Therefore, the theoretical loophole which has deemed other elected regimes as insufficiently democratic to be treated as liberal democracies in the context of foreign relations does not hold in the case of Chile. Chilean democratic institutions remained intact before and after Allende's election (Kim, 37). Additionally, extensive research of Allende's political background and identity throughout his life and career has revealed an intense respect for democratic institutions and devotion to the pursuit of socialist reforms within the framework of Chile's democracy (Figueroa-Clark *Salvador Allende*, 49) Allende's career was characterized by respect for democracy and its long-standing role in Chilean politics, which indicates that Allende would likely have maintained the democratic institutions in Chile throughout his time in office with the cooperation of the opposition-led Congress. All elements considered, Chile was a liberal democracy and should have been treated as such according to the normative model of Democratic Peace Theory. That Chile was not treated as such is evidence in favor of the claim of this project: that the United States violated the principles of non-intervention against a fellow democracy.

The second loophole or definitional technicality is whether covert war may be included in the application of Democratic Peace Theory. Traditionally, covert action was used as a secondary mechanism in foreign relations after diplomacy and combat (Radsan, 488). However, during the Cold War, covert action became a more frequent and primary approach to policy for

the United States, thus creating a period which lacked traditional combat but relied heavily on covert action to achieve similar levels of destabilization or regime-change (Fontenot, 17, Rosato, 590, Harmer, 57). Scholars agree that during this period, and in Chile specifically, the distinction between covert war and interstate combat becomes fairly academic given the damage to democracy and destabilization brought about by the Nixon administration's covert action plan (Kim, 28). Thus, given the extent of covert war pursued against Chile in the largely combat-free framework of the Cold War, it is viable to include the Chilean case as an anomaly that defies this definitional technicality as well.

Despite the inclusion of theoretical adjustments and refinement of definitions in Democratic Peace Theory, the Chilean case still emerges an anomalous example of intervention in another democracy. This project concludes that Democratic Peace Theory (with the loopholes and definitional technicalities included) is not supported by the United States' actions in the case of Chile in 1973. It is worth noting that United States government did *not* aid plotters directly with the planning and execution of the coup that ultimately ousted Allende in 1973, according to the report of the Church Committee, as addressed in this project. However, as more documents are declassified and uncovered from this project, these revelations are subject to change, which may further implicate the United States in the interruption of democracy in Chile for nearly two decades. While the American public may never know explicitly the relationship and extent of knowledge possessed by the Nixon administration about the imminent coup in Chile in 1973, it is necessary to conclude that the United States government did encourage and justify the interruption and subversion of democratic processes in a fellow liberal democratic regime.

The actions taken in Chile by the United States in violation of the principles of Democratic Peace Theory resulted in the interruption of Latin America's most stable democracy

at the time. It is evident that these actions, in both Guatemala in 1954, and particularly Chile in 1973 do not align with the principles of promoting democracy and protecting liberty, as both countries fell into periods of repressive authoritarian governance following United States intervention. However, it is necessary to note that the United States was not the sole, direct reason for the wave of authoritarianism that took root prior to the Third Wave of democratization in Latin America beginning in 1977. The domestic political and economic environments in Guatemala and Chile contributed to the complex situations surrounding the effects of intervention in practice, but the United States' attitude towards democratically-elected leftist governments did serve as a contributing factor that weighed heavily when deciding to pursue intervention out of fear of the future.

This project has confirmed that the case of covert action against Allende violated not only broader United States objectives of democratic promotion, but also the principles of Democratic Peace Theory by the United States. By dismissing other possible cases of evidence against the United States' cooperation with the theory through the application of the theoretical loopholes discussed in this project, the United States government has been able to manipulate how its policies align with the predictions of Democratic Peace Theory to better serve its domestic reputation as a nation driven by the promotion and respect of democracy abroad.

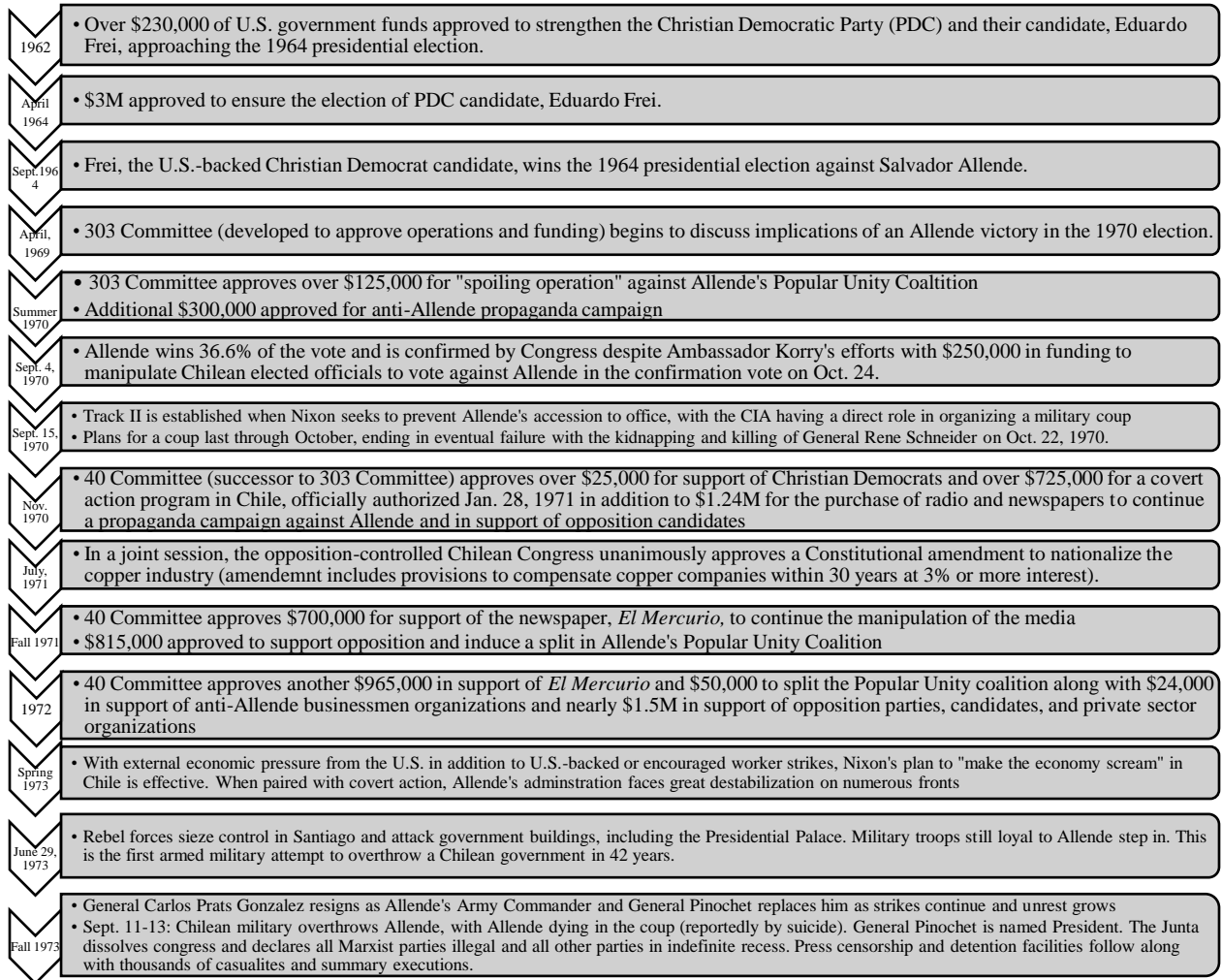
The United States' legacy of intervention persists in Latin America today, and the results of Pinochet's repressive dictatorship are emerging again in the current right-wing government of Piñera, emphasizing the power that the United States holds through intervention in the region. By highlighting the complex domestic and international factors in Chile, it is evident that there is a limit to the respect given to leftist democracies by the United States, particularly during the Cold

War. Yet, repressive right-wing authoritarian regimes that contradict American principles have been permitted to survive without intervention.

The exposure and analysis of the patterns of intervention against democratically elected leftist leaders in Latin America during the Cold War highlights the hypocrisy of the United States through the contrasts between action taken against leftist democracies versus non-intervention with right-wing dictatorships. This project allows us to hold the United States accountable for its role in democratic breakdowns and shifts to authoritarianism. This project clarifies the status of intervention against Allende as a true violation of the principles of Democratic Peace Theory by the United States. By analyzing the mechanisms employed by academics and government officials to justify such a violation of the principles of non-intervention between democracies, this project allows us to recognize the mechanisms that may be applied to future cases of aggressive intervention against other democracies. In recognizing such patterns as they emerge, we can more effectively hold the United States accountable for the promotion of the principles of non-intervention in other democracies before “another Chile” occurs.

Appendix

Figure 1.1
Timeline of Election Interference and Committee-Approved Machinations in Chile 1962-1973



*Information retrieved from Church Committee (57-62)

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