

DRAFT – SUBJECT TO CHANGE

**Spies, Coups, and Democracies:
The United States and Covert Action for Regime Change**

History Seminar 506:401:03
Rutgers University, Fall 2017
Tuesdays 9:50 AM to 12:50 PM
Scott Hall, Room 215

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Course Description

In April 1917, when President Woodrow Wilson addressed Congress on the need to make the world “safe for democracy,” he declared that “self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies.” Only monarchies, he argued, maintained intelligence organizations to carry out cunning plans of “deception or aggression.” Such immoral practices, Wilson added, were “happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation’s affairs.”

During the century since Wilson’s idealistic address, U.S. intelligence agencies have engaged in a number of efforts to assassinate foreign leaders and undermine or destabilize foreign governments. When those efforts have been revealed to Congress and the American public they have sometimes provoked controversy, condemnation, and calls for closer congressional oversight of U.S. intelligence organizations. This seminar will focus on the issues raised by the relationships between spies, covert action, and American democratic institutions. Among the questions we will address are: To what extent have U.S. leaders seen covert action as a way to avoid public and congressional scrutiny? How decisive have U.S. attitudes and actions been in foreign coups? What have been the effects of U.S. covert actions on democratic institutions and processes in foreign countries?

In the first three weeks we will read and discuss scholarly accounts of U.S. intelligence agencies’ roles in the overthrow of democratically elected governments in Iran, Guatemala, and Chile. During the remainder of the semester each student will conduct independent research and write a paper based on both primary and secondary sources that will focus on a specific case concerning U.S. intelligence organizations, American democracy, and an attempt to alter a foreign government.

Warning

This is a research seminar! There will be no lectures. The quality of your experience in the course – and your grade – will depend upon your active participation in class discussions and your energetic research. If you are not prepared to work harder than you have before for any other course, do not take this seminar.

Course Requirements

1. Attendance at all seminar meetings. Each unexcused absence will result in a deduction of 3% from the course grade. Students will be expected to comply with the Classroom Etiquette Policy (<http://history.rutgers.edu/undergrad/policy>). **Cell phones must be switched off and meals must be eaten before the start of class.**

2. Active, informed participation in class discussions based on completion of the assigned reading by the dates specified and careful consideration of the research proposals, historiographic essays, and first drafts circulated by other students in the seminar. This will constitute 20% of the course grade.

3. Three essays in response to the common reading. These short essays (600 to 750 words) will summarize and develop critical perspectives on the arguments and interpretations presented in the reading. Each essay will account for 10% of the course grade. The essays will be due on the day of the class discussion of the reading.

4. One short essay (750 to 1000 words) that will discuss the strengths, weaknesses, limitations, and persuasiveness of at least two books or one book and three articles relevant to your research project. This essay will count for 10% of the course grade. Due: October 24.

5. Each student will write a research paper (18-25 pages) on a topic to be developed in consultation with the professor. This paper must: (1) develop a critical perspective on some of the most important scholarly studies relevant to the topic and (2) make extensive use of primary sources, such as government documents, memoirs, or newspaper editorials. It will account for 40% of the course grade. Each student will submit a prospectus that will define the topic, state the major questions to be investigated, and list the secondary and primary sources to be used in the research paper. The prospectus will be due on October 10. A first draft of the research paper will be due on November 14. Late submission of the prospectus or first draft will affect the grade for the final paper, which will be due on December 12.

Core Goals

This course is designed to fulfill five School of Arts and Sciences Core Writing and Communication Goals. At the end of the semester the professor will assess whether students are able to:

- (1) communicate complex ideas effectively in standard written English
- (2) respond effectively to editorial feedback from peers and the instructor through successive drafts and revision
- (3) communicate effectively in modes appropriate to historical inquiry
- (4) evaluate and critically assess secondary sources and use the conventions of attribution and citation correctly
- (5) analyze and synthesize information and ideas from multiple primary sources to generate new insights

Assigned Reading

The following books will be available at the Rutgers University Bookstore:

Ervand Abrahamian, The Coup: 1953, the CIA, and the Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations (2015)

Piero Gleijeses, Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954 (1991)

Tanya Harmer, Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War (2011)

The books will also be available on reserve at Alexander Library.

Additional required reading will be available online. Go to libraries.rutgers.edu, click on "Find Reserves," put "Foglesong" in search field, then select our course.

Schedule of Readings and Discussions

SEPTEMBER 5: INTRODUCTIONS

Recommended Reading:

R. Jeffreys-Jones, The CIA and American Democracy (1989)

Tony Smith, America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century (1994)

Stephen Kinzer, Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq (2006)

John Prados, Safe for Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA 2006)

Tim Weiner, Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA (2007)

Watch "Secret Intelligence" (PBS documentary, 1989)

SEPTEMBER 12: IRAN

Required Reading:

Ervand Abrahamian, The Coup: 1953, the CIA, and the Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations (2015)

Weiner, Legacy of Ashes, Chapter 9? Pp. 81-92

Supplemental Reading:

James F. Goode, The United States and Iran: In the Shadow of Musaddiq (1997)

Stephen Kinzer, All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror (2003)

Mark Gasiorowski and Malcolm Byrne, ed., Mohammed Mossadeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran (2004)

Andreas Etges, "All That Glitters is Not Gold: The 1953 Coup against Mohammed Mossadeq in Iran," Intelligence and National Security, Vol. 26, No. 4 (August 2011), 495-508.

Hugh Wilford, America's Great Game: The CIA's Secret Arabists and the Shaping of the Modern Middle East (2013)

Mark Gasiorowski, "The CIA's TPBEDAMN Operation and the 1953 Coup in Iran," Journal of Cold War Studies, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Fall 2013), 227-260.

Primary Sources:

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954. Vol. 10: Iran, 1952-1954 (1989)

John Foster Dulles Papers, Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, NJ

Donald Wilber, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran," nytimes.com (2000)

SEPTEMBER 19: GUATEMALA

Required Reading:

Piero Gleijeses, Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954 (1991), Prologue and Chapters 7, 11, 13, 14, and 15.

Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, Bitter Fruit (1982), Introduction. [*Reserve*]

Frederick Marks, "The CIA and Castillo Armas in Guatemala, 1954," and commentary by Stephen Rabe, Diplomatic History, Vol. 14, No. 1 (January 1990), 67-85. [Access article via Rutgers Libraries electronic subscription to journal.]

Supplemental Reading:

Richard Immerman, The CIA in Guatemala (1982)

Stephen Streeter, "The Failure of 'Liberal Developmentalism': The United States's Anti-Communist Showcase in Guatemala, 1954-1960," International History Review, Vol. 21, No. 2 (June 1999), 386-413.

Stephen Streeter, Managing the Counterrevolution: The United States and Guatemala, 1954-1961 (2000)

Greg Grandin, The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War (2004)

Stephen Rabe, The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America (2012), Chapter 3: "Guatemala – The Mother of Interventions"

Primary Sources:

Nicholas Cullather, ed., Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954 (1999)

Foreign Relations of the United States (2003) volume on Guatemala, available at www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/ike/guat/

CIA documents: www.foia.cia.gov/guatemala.asp

Allen W. Dulles Papers, Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, NJ

SEPTEMBER 26: CHILE

Required Reading:

Tanya Harmer, Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War (2011), Introduction, Chapters 1 and 7, and Conclusion

R. Jeffreys-Jones, The CIA and American Democracy (1989), Chapter 11: "Democracy's Intelligence Flap" [*RESERVE*]

Supplemental Reading:

Jonathan Haslam, The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende's Chile: A Case of Assisted Suicide (2005)

Kristian Gustafson, Hostile Intent: U.S. Covert Operations in Chile, 1964-1974 (2007)

Michael Grow, U.S. Presidents and Latin American Interventions: Pursuing Regime Change in the Cold War (2008), Chapter 5

Lubna Qureshi, Nixon, Kissinger, and Allende: U.S. Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile (2009)

Primary Sources:

United States Senate, Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973 (1975)

Peter Kornbluh, The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability (2004)

CIA records: foia.state.gov/SearchColls/CIA.asp

Recommended Viewing: "Missing" (1982)

OCTOBER 3: ORIENTATION TO RESEARCH IN PRIMARY SOURCES

We will meet at Alexander Library. Tom Glynn will provide an introduction to the library's collections relevant to U.S. covert actions in foreign countries and their ramifications for American democratic processes.

OCTOBER 10: **PROSPECTUS DUE.** E-MAIL IT TO INSTRUCTOR AND OTHER STUDENTS IN SEMINAR.

OCTOBER 17: DISCUSSION OF PLANS FOR RESEARCH PAPERS.

OCTOBER 24: **ESSAY ON KEY SECONDARY SOURCES DUE.**

E-MAIL IT TO INSTRUCTOR AND OTHER STUDENTS IN SEMINAR.

OCTOBER 31: DISCUSSION OF ESSAYS ON SECONDARY SOURCES.

NOVEMBER 7: INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS IN FOGLESONG OFFICE, VAN DYCK HALL 215, TO DISCUSS PROGRESS IN RESEARCH.

NOVEMBER 14: **FIRST DRAFT DUE.** E-MAIL IT TO INSTRUCTOR AND OTHER STUDENTS IN SEMINAR.

NOVEMBER 21: DISCUSSION OF FIRST DRAFTS.
Each student will be responsible for initiating discussion of one other student's first draft.

NOVEMBER 28: DISCUSSION OF FIRST DRAFTS.

DECEMBER 5: INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS IN FOGLESONG OFFICE, VAN DYCK HALL 215, TO DISCUSS REVISIONS OF PAPERS.

DECEMBER 12: **FINAL PAPERS DUE.**