

**University of Mississippi
Department of History**

History 343: Latin America and the Cold War

Instructor: **Oliver Dinius**
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Office Hours: T, 1:30-3pm; W 10-11:15am; and by appt.

Spring Semester 2013
M, W, Fr, 1:00-1:50 pm
Croft 107

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course examines the history of Latin America's place in the "Cold War". The course covers the origins of the Cold War, focuses on the impact of the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union on Latin America from 1947 and 1991, and briefly considers the legacy of the Cold War in Latin America in the 1990s and beyond. A central question is why the Cold War affected Latin America so profoundly even though the Soviet Union never posed a military threat in the region (outside the island of Cuba). The course will explore the motives and consequences of the U.S. government's actions to counter the perceived Communist threat, as successive administrations expanded intelligence gathering, increased military and economic aid, backed anti-communist governments in Latin America, and used U.S. troops in direct military interventions. We will focus on key conflicts that highlight the logic of overt and covert action: (1) the coup against the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954; (2) the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962; (3) the Dirty Wars under Latin American military regimes (1970s); (4) Cuba's military engagement in Africa (1960s to 1980s); and (5) the counterinsurgency wars in Central America (1980-1986).

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students will get an overview of the events and major interpretations of the Cold War in Latin America. Students will refine their analytical writing skills in the long papers, develop research skills for the research paper, and sharpen critical thinking skills in the short exercises (source analysis; summarizing an argument as outline; concise presentation of information).

PREREQUISITES

There are no prerequisites. No previous knowledge of Latin America history is assumed. All course materials are in English - knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese is not required.

GRADING

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| 1) Map Quiz | 80 points |
| 2) Short assignments | 120 points |
| 3) Two essays on books @ 100 pts. each | 200 points |
| 4) Research paper | 200 points |
| 5) Participation | 100 points |
| 6) Midterm Exam | 150 points |
| 7) Final exam | 150 points |
| TOTAL | 1,000 points |

For the final grade, 93 to 100% are an A, 90 to 92% an A-, 87 to 89% a B+, 83 to 86% a B, 80 to 82% a B-, 77 to 79 % a C+, 73 to 76% a C, 70 to 72% a C-, 60 to 69% a D, and less than 60% an F. History majors should take note that no grade lower than "C" may be counted toward the 33 hour requirement.

COURSE POLICIES

Quizzes/Exams

- 1) **Map Quiz:** A map quiz will be given on Wednesday, January 30. You will place geographic features in Latin America (from a pre-distributed list) on a blank map.
- 2) **Midterm Exam:** Covers the first half of the course. It will include essays and identifications.
- 3) **Final Exam:** Covers the second half of the course. It will include essays and identifications.

(NOTE: There will be no make-up quizzes or exams other than in cases of medical emergencies *documented with a doctor's note.*)

Short Assignments: Students will complete four short assignments such as source analyses, chapter summaries, or pop quizzes. I prefer not to give pop quizzes, but WILL do so if I notice that students are not doing the reading. The three best assignments will count, 40 points each.

Book Essays: Students will write essays on the books by Cullather (Week 5) and Gleijeses (Week 7). The instructor will hand out questions/topics for these papers. These book essays have to be between 1400 and 1600 words in length (about five pages of text in 12-font, double-spaced, with one-inch margins on all four sides). Late essays can be turned in until 48 hours after the due date at a penalty of one full grade (10 points).

Research Paper: You will write a research paper on an aspect of the Dirty Wars in Latin America. Instructions will be handed out on March 25. **You will sign up for a topic on March 27, and you will submit a bibliography on April 5.** The research paper will be due on the day of your presentation (Week 13/14). It **** cannot be submitted late ****. The paper has to have at least 2000 words of text, *not counting* the required references (footnotes or endnotes) and the works cited page.

Participation: Counts for 10% of the grade. Note: Simply being in class does not earn you participation credit. You do have to contribute to class discussion!!

Attendance: Class attendance is expected. Roll will be taken, and *students are responsible for signing the roll sheet*. Absences due to *documented* emergencies will be considered *excused* (i.e. do not count for attendance). Bonus and penalty points will be allocated as follows:

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| 0 absences | 25-point bonus (Note: No more than <i>two</i> excused absences.) |
| 1 absence | 10-point bonus (Note: No more than <i>two</i> excused absences.) |
| 2-3 absences | No bonus, no penalty. |
| 4-5 absences | 25-point penalty |
| 6-7 absences | 50-point penalty |
| 8-9 absences | 75-point penalty |
| 10-11 absences | 100-point penalty |

***** Students who miss more than 11 classes will receive an automatic F for the course. *****

READINGS

The required books are available for purchase at the Ole Miss Bookstore and on reserve at the Williams Library. Other readings will be available as course packet and/or as electronic reserves on BlackBoard.

Required Texts

- 1) **Nick Cullather.** *Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-54.* Second Edition. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- 2) **Piero Gleijeses.** *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976.* Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- 3) **J. Patrice McSherry.** *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America.* Lanham (Maryland): Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.
- 4) **Peter Dale Scott and Jonathan Marshall.** *Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies, and the CIA in Central America.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- 5) **Course Packet/Electronic Reserves:** Readings marked with "***" are available as electronic reserves on BlackBoard (which you will need to print out).

You are expected to complete the assigned readings *before* the respective class period and come to class prepared to discuss them.

The SYLLABUS is subject to change. Lectures may be switched, readings may be added or substituted, and assignments may change. Any changes will be announced in class.

SCHEDULE

WEEK 1: BACKGROUND

W 1/23 **Introduction to the Course & Latin American Geography**

F 1/25 **The United States in Latin America before the Cold War**

** Peter H. Smith, "Latin America: Responses to Imperialism" and "Mr. Roosevelt's Neighborhood," in *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 63-113 (Chapters 3 and 4).

WEEK 2: FORCES OF COMMUNISM AND ANTI-COMMUNISM

M 1/28 **The Origins of the Cold War**

Video (in class): "Comrades, 1917-1945" (CNN Perspectives: Cold War, Part 1)

W 1/30 **Marxism, Soviet Influence, and Popular Fronts**

** Steven Clissold, "Soviet Relations with Latin America between the Wars," in J. Gregory Oswald and Anthony J. Strover, eds., *The Soviet Union and Latin America* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 15-23.
*** **MAP QUIZ** ***

F 2/1 **Forces of Anti-Communism I: The United States**

** Martha Huggins, "'Good Neighbor' Policing" and [part of] "From Policing Espionage to Suppressing Communism", in *Political Policing: The United States and Latin America*, 41-66.

WEEK 3: THE COLD WAR CONTEXT

M 2/4 Forces of Anti-Communism II: The Vatican

** Pope Pius XI, "Divini Redemptoris"- Encyclical of on Atheistic Communism (excerpts).

SHORT ASSIGNMENT #1 DUE: PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

W 2/6 Friends become Enemies

Video (in class): "The Iron Curtain, 1945-47" (CNN Perspectives: Cold War, Part 2)

F 2/8 The Cold War comes to Latin America

** Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough, "The Impact of the Cold War on Latin America," in Melvyn P. Leffler and David S. Painter, eds., *Origins of the Cold War: an International History* (London: Routledge, 1994), 293-316.

WEEK 4: HEMISPHERIC SECURITY

M 2/11 The United States Rediscover the Hemisphere

** Martha Huggins, "From Policing Espionage to Suppressing Communism" [rest of] chapter 4], in *Political Policing*, 66-78.

W 2/13 Securing the Hemisphere

(1) ** Documents #68 to #71, in Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov, eds., *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 185-194.

(2) ** George F. Kennan, "Latin America as a Problem in United States Foreign Policy," in Michael LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, eds., *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 177-188.

SHORT ASSIGNMENT #2 DUE: PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

F 2/15 A New Phase of the Cold War: From Containment to Roll-Back

** Martha Huggins, "Policing Containment", in *Political Policing*, 79-98.

WEEK 5: COUP IN GUATEMALA (1954)

M 2/18 Democratization, Land Reform, and the United Fruit Company

Cullather, *Secret History*, Introduction & 1-37.

W 2/20 The CIA in Action

Cullather, *Secret History*, 38-104.

F 2/22 Class Discussion based on Cullather, *Secret History*

Cullather, *Secret History*, 105-141 and Afterword.

BOOK ESSAY #1 DUE

WEEK 6: THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AND THE COLD WAR

M 2/25 Nationalist Revolution and the Road to Socialism

** Louis Pérez Jr., "Between the Old and the New," in *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 313-336 (Ch.11).

W 2/27 The Cuban Missile Crisis I: The History in Images

** *The Cuban Missile Crisis. A National Security Archives Document Reader*, ed. by Laurence Chang and Peter Kornbluh (New York: New Press, 1998), Introduction, Selected Glossary, and "Prelude to the Crisis," xiv-xxvii, 1-7, 9-14, 27-37, and 72-73.

- F 3/1 **The Cuban Missile Crisis II: The History in Documents**
 1) ** *The Cuban Missile Crisis. A National Security Archives Document Reader*, Introduction to Part II (“The Missile Crisis”), and select documents: 87-94, 124-125, 154-155, 159-164, 166, 195-198, and 233-239.
 2) ** "Memorandum of A. I. Mikoyan's Conversation with Comrades F. Castro, O. Dorticós, E. Guevara, E. Aragonés, and C. R. Rodriguez, November 22, 1962",

WEEK 7: EXPORTING THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- M 3/4 **The Theory of Guerilla Warfare**
 (1) ** Che Guevara, “The Foco Theory” and “Two, Three, Many Vietnams,” in Holden & Zolov, *Latin America and the United States*, 244-246 and 250-252.
 (2) Gleijeses, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 12-29.
- W 3/6 **Defeat for the Guerilla: Che Guevara in Zaire**
 Gleijeses, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 57-100.
- F 3/8 **Class Discussion based on Gleijeses, Conflicting Missions**
 Gleijeses, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 101-159.
BOOK ESSAY #2 DUE

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| *** MARCH 11-15 – SPRING BREAK *** |
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WEEK 8: CONTAINING THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- M 3/18 **Economic Development and Counterinsurgency**
 ** John F. Kennedy, “On the Alliance for Progress.”
- W 3/20 **Review and Preview: The U.S. and its Backyard**
 Video (in class): “Backyard, 1954-1990” (CNN Perspectives: Cold War, Part 18)
- F 3/22 ***** MIDTERM EXAM *****

WEEK 9: MILITARY REGIMES - DOMESTIC REPRESSION

- M 3/25 **Military Coups and National Security Doctrine(s)**
 ** Huggins, “Policing Brazil’s Clean-Up, 1964-1968”, in *Political Policing*, 119-140.
- W 3/27 **The Height of Violent Repression**
 ** Archdiocese of São Paulo, “Torture in Brazil” (excerpts).
 *** SIGN-UP for RESEARCH PAPER TOPIC ***
- F 3/29 ***** GOOD FRIDAY – No Class *****

WEEK 10: MILITARY REGIMES - INTERNATIONAL COUNTERINSURGENCY

- M 4/1 **International Security Cooperation and the Operation Condor**
J. Patrice McSherry, *Predatory States*, 1-67 (Chapters 1 and 2).
- W 4/3 **International Counterinsurgency Networks**
Video (in class): “Death Squadrons: The French School”, by Marie-Monique Robin, 2003.
McSherry, *Predatory States*, 69-138 (Chapters 3 and 4).
SHORT ASSIGNMENT #3 DUE: CHAPTER SUMMARY
- F 4/5 **Class Discussion on “Operation Condor” and the U.S. Role**
McSherry, *Predatory States*, 241-256 (Conclusion).
BIBLIOGRAPHY for RESEARCH PAPER due

WEEK 11: PROXY-WAR IN AFRICA

- M 4/8 **The Foreign Policy of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger**
Glejises, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 214-272
- W 4/10 **Angola, Soviets, Cubans, and Mr. Kissinger**
Glejises, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 273-327.
- F 4/12 **Cuba as Leader of the Third World.**
Glejises, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 328-398.
SHORT ASSIGNMENT #4 DUE: CHAPTER SUMMARY

WEEK 12: PROXY WARS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

- M 4/15 **U.S. Foreign Policy in Central America in the 1980s**
Scott & Marshall, *Cocaine Politics*, 21-78 (chapters 2 to 4)
- W 4/17 **Financing Proxy Wars with Drug Money**
Scott & Marshall, *Cocaine Politics*, 79-121 (chapters 5 and 6)
- F 4/19 **Class Discussion: The Cover-Up of Iran-Contra**
Scott & Marshall, *Cocaine Politics*, Preface, 1-19 (Introduction) and 125-192 (chapters 7 to 12).

WEEK 13: DIRTY WARS

***** RESEARCH PAPER DUE ON DAY OF YOUR PRESENTATION *****

- M 4/22 **Student Presentations on Dirty Wars: Part I**
- W 4/24 **Student Presentations on Dirty Wars: Part II**
- F 4/26 **Student Presentations on Dirty Wars: Part III**

WEEK 14: LEGACIES OF THE COLD WAR

- M 4/29 **Student Presentations on Dirty Wars: Part IV**
- W 5/1 **(C)Old Warriors fighting New Wars**

** Julia Sweig, “Cold War History and the Latin American Laboratory”, “Latin America: the One-Fingered Wave”, and “Epilogue”, in *Friendly Fire: Losing Friends and Making Enemies in the Anti-American Century* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006), 2-17, 148-169, and 219-222.

F 5/3 **Review: Questions & Answers in Preparation for Final Exam**

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| *** FINAL EXAM: WEDNESDAY, MAY 8 @ 12 NOON *** |
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BEWARE of PLAGIARISM !!

PLAGIARISM means **representing the writings or ideas of another person as your own**. It is always unethical, frequently illegal, and raises serious doubts about the personal integrity of the offender.

PLAGIARISM includes:

- a) **Copying** or **paraphrasing** information from a book, article, website, or other source without acknowledging the source of the quote or original idea. (Minor alterations to the copied or paraphrased text will not resolve the problem; it is still plagiarism.)
- b) Letting **someone else** write even part of your paper for you

Avoid PLAGIARISM by:

- a) Using quotation marks ***every time*** you use words from a source.
- b) Providing citations after quotes and paraphrased ideas.

PENALTY for PLAGIARISM: A plagiarized assignment will automatically receive 0 points. The student will also forfeit any extra credit opportunity (including the attendance bonus) for the entire course. I reserve the right to impose further penalties (e.g. an automatic ‘F’ for the course) and/or report cases of plagiarism to the college.

USE the WRITING CENTER !!

If you encounter difficulties writing papers, take your draft to the WRITING CENTER (Suite 310 of the J. D. Williams Library). The staff will also be able to address any concerns about plagiarism.