

University of Mississippi
Department of History

History 343: Latin America and the Cold War

Instructor: **Oliver Dinius**
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Office Hours: **Mondays, 4:30-5:30pm;**
Fridays, 2:30-3:30pm

Fall Semester 2010
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

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, 900 to 1000 points are an 'A', 800-899 a 'B', 700-799 a 'C', 600-699 a 'D', and less than 600 points 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 **Friday, September 10**. You will place geographic features in Latin America (from a pre-distributed list) on a blank map.
- 2) **Midterm Exam:** Covers the first part of the course. It will include essays and identifications.
- 3) **Final Exam:** Covers the second part 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 three short assignments such as source analyses, fact sheets, chapter summaries, or pop quizzes (40 points each). I prefer not to give pop quizzes, but WILL do so if I notice that students are not doing the reading.

Book Essays: Students will write essays on the books by Cullather (Week 5) and Dinges (Week 9). 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 Central American Wars of the 1980s. A handout with instructions will be handed out on October 15. You will submit a **bibliography on October 29**. The research paper will be due on the day of your **presentation (Week 13)**. 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:

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 a course pack.

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) **John Dinges.** *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and his Allies brought Terrorism to three Continents.* New York/London: New Press, 2004.
- 3) **Piero Gleijeses.** *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976.* Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- 4) **William R. Meara.** *Contra Cross: Insurgency and Tyranny in Central America, 1979-1989.* Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2006.
- 5) **Course Pack:** Readings marked with “***”.

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

M 8/23 **Introduction to the Course & Latin American Geography**

W 8/25 **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 (ch. 3 and 4).

F 8/27 **The Origins of the Cold War**

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

WEEK 2: FORCES OF COMMUNISM AND ANTI-COMMUNISM

M 8/30 **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.

W 9/1 **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.

F 9/3 **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

WEEK 3: THE COLD WAR CONTEXT

M 9/6 **LABOR DAY HOLIDAY (no class)**

W 9/8 **Friends become Enemies**

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

F 9/10 **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.

*** **MAP QUIZ** ***

WEEK 4: HEMISPHERIC SECURITY

M 9/13 **The United States Rediscover the Hemisphere**

** Martha Huggins, “From Policing Espionage to Suppressing Communism”, in *Political Policing*, 66-78.

W 9/15 **Securing the Hemisphere (Class Discussion)**

(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), 185-192.

(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.

F 9/17 **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 9/20 **Democratization, Land Reform, and the United Fruit Company**

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

W 9/22 **The CIA in Action**

Cullather, *Secret History*, 38-104.

F 9/24 **The Lessons of the Coup in Guatemala (Class Discussion)**

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

BOOK ESSAY #1 DUE

WEEK 6: THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AND THE COLD WAR

M 9/27 **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 9/29 **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 and 1-7.

F 10/1 **The Cuban Missile Crisis II: The History in Documents (Class Discussion)**

** *The Cuban Missile Crisis. A National Security Archives Document Reader*, Introduction to Part II (“The Missile Crisis”), and select documents, 9-14, 27-37, 72-73, 87-94, 124-125, 154-155, 159-164, 166, 195-198, and 233-239.

SHORT ASSIGNMENT #2 DUE: PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

WEEK 7: EXPORTING THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

M 10/4 Revolution and Counterrevolution

- 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) ** John F. Kennedy, “On the Alliance for Progress.”

W 10/6 * MIDTERM EXAM *****

F 10/8 The Cuban Revolution goes to Africa

***** NO CLASS - Instructor at LASA Conference *****

Read: Gleijeses, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 12-29 and 57-100.

WEEK 8: CONTAINING THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

M 10/11 Defeat for the Guerilla: Che Guevara in Zaire (Class Discussion)

Gleijeses, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 101-159.

W 10/13 Military Coups and National Security Doctrine(s)

** Huggins, “Policing Brazil’s Clean-Up, 1964-1968”, in *Political Policing*, 119-140.

F 10/15 Violent Repression in the Southern Cone (Class Discussion)

** Archdiocese of São Paulo, “Torture in Brazil” (excerpts).

WEEK 9: DIRTY WARS AND THE OPERATION CONDOR

M 10/18 The Origins of Operation Condor

Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 1-62.

***** T 10/19 @ 7pm Presentation by John Dinges on "Secrets of the Past, Accountability in the Present: The Challenge for Journalism in Latin America."**

*(This is the week we'll be reading John Dinges's book, so you'll get a chance to see the author in person. Bonus: Attending this event will cancel one unexcused absence.) ****

W 10/20 International Security Cooperation and the Operation Condor

Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 63-155.

F 10/22 “Operation Condor” and the U.S. Role (Class Discussion)

Dinges, *The Condor Years*, 156-253.

BOOK ESSAY #2 DUE

WEEK 10: MILITARY REGIMES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

M 10/25 Tracing the Origins of Latin American Counterinsurgency Strategies

Video (in class): “Death Squadrons: The French School”, by Marie-Monique Robin, 2003.

W 10/27 Human Rights after the End of the Military Regime: Argentina

** Thomas C. Wright, "The Sinuous Path of Transitional Justice", in *State Terrorism in Latin America*, pp. 141-178.

F 10/29 **Human Rights after the End of the Military Regime: Chile**

** Thomas C. Wright, "Chile: Impunity, Truth, and Justice in a Protected Democracy", in *State Terrorism in Latin America*, pp. 179-224.

BIBLIOGRAPHY for RESEARCH PAPER due

WEEK 11: ANGOLA - A PROXY-WAR IN AFRICA

M 11/1 **The Foreign Policy of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger**

Gleijeses, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 214-272

W 11/3 **Angola, Soviets, Cubans, and Mr. Kissinger**

Gleijeses, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 273-327.

F 11/5 **Cuba as Leader of the Third World (Class Discussion)**

Gleijeses, *Havana, Washington, and Africa*, 328-398.

SHORT ASSIGNMENT #3 DUE: CHAPTER SUMMARY

WEEK 12: THE CENTRAL AMERICAN WARS OF THE 1980s - THE OFFICIAL VIEW

M 11/8 **U.S. Foreign Policy in Central America in the 1980s**

(1) ** Odd Arne Westad, "The 1980s: the Reagan Offensive," in *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, pp. 331-363.

(2) ** Documents: "Saving the New World from Communism"; "Central America in Revolt: A Reagan Administration View"; "The Fear of Communism in Central America," pp. 289-296.

W 11/10 **Civil War in El Salvador**

(1) ** Document: "Teaching Sabotage: The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency", pp.297-299

(2) Meara, *Contra Cross*, pp.1-86 (ch. 1-5).

F 11/12 **Civil War in Nicaragua (Class Discussion)**

Meara, *Contra Cross*, pp. 87-155 (ch. 6-14).

WEEK 13: THE CENTRAL AMERICAN WARS OF THE 1980s - THE CRITICAL VIEW

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

M 11/15 **Student Presentations on Central American Wars: Part I**

W 11/17 **Student Presentations on Central American Wars: Part II**

F 11/19 **Student Presentations on Central American Wars: Part III**

***** NOVEMBER 22-26 THANKSGIVING BREAK *****

WEEK 14: LEGACIES OF THE COLD WAR

M 11/29 **The US and Latin America in the Cold War: What Lessons to Learn?**

** Lars Schoultz, "U.S. Values and Approaches to Hemispheric Security Issues," in Schoultz, William C. Smith, and Augusto Varas, eds., *Security, Democracy, and Development in U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Miami: North-South Center Press, 1994), 33-56.

W 12/1 (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 12/3 Review: Questions & Answers in Preparation for Final Exam

***** FINAL EXAM: MONDAY, DECEMBER 6 @ 4 PM *****

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 to report cases of plagiarism to the college.

USE the WRITING CENTER !!

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