

**BOSTON UNIVERSITY**

**Spring 2016 IR/HI 524: The Cold War in Latin America**

**T/Th 9:30-11am**

**Location: KCB 102**

**Professor Renata Keller**

**Pardee School of Global Studies**

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**Office Hours: W 2-4, Th 2-3, and by appointment**

**Course Description and Learning Objectives:**

In this class we will analyze the Cold War in Latin America. The term “Cold War” usually refers to a period of forty-five years following World War II in which the United States faced off against the Soviet Union in a battle of economies and political ideologies. Both sides recognized the danger of directly attacking the other superpower in the nuclear age and consequently adopted alternative strategies. The United States settled for “containing” communist movements elsewhere throughout the world, a policy that had especially significant consequences in Latin America. At the same time, nations and groups within Latin America were fighting their own Cold War battles, independent of U.S. and Soviet influence. Conflicts over political participation and economic welfare drove men and women across the region to take up arms against their neighbors.

After providing a general introduction to the theme, the course will focus on one country at a time in a roughly chronological examination of Cold War “hot-spots.” This approach provides geographical breadth while offering opportunities for comparative analysis. At the end of the semester we will discuss the ways in which the Cold War has influenced current debates and challenges within the Americas.

Throughout the course, we will examine government policies, social movements, economic conditions and power struggles. We will compare episodes of direct and indirect intervention by the United States as well as efforts of Latin Americans to resist or exploit intervention. We will consider issues of ideology, national security, and hegemony in our effort to understand the meanings of the Cold War for Latin America.

A number of overarching questions will guide our readings, debates, and assignments. Why and how was Latin America involved in the Cold War? How did the Cold War change the relationship between the United States and Latin America? In what ways did the international context influence the Cold War in Latin America? In what ways did local factors influence it? Why did some revolutions and social movements fail and others succeed? How do we decide whether to consider a revolution or social movement a success or a failure? What are the long-term consequences of the Cold War for Latin America? Ultimately, we will use our in-depth understanding of the recent past to inform our view of the present and future.

### **Learning Outcomes:**

- Students will develop a broad and substantial understanding of the Cold War in Latin America.
- Students will develop the ability to discuss complex issues in a nuanced manner.
- Students will develop research and writing skills that will allow them to present sophisticated arguments in a clear, convincing manner.

### **Assignments and Grading:**

#### 1. Attendance and Participation: 20%

- Active participation will account for a large proportion of the final grade. This means not only coming to classes and actively participating in class discussions, but also turning in a daily file card (directions below). If you do not turn in a file card, you will be marked as absent for that class session. I will subtract 5% from your attendance and participation grade for each unexcused absence after the first. If you are sick, **DO NOT COME TO CLASS**. Let me know, and I will mark your absence as excused.
- File-Card Requirement
  - At the beginning of each class (except on days when assignments are due) please turn in, in person, a 3 x 5 white file card with your name and the date on one side. On the other side of the file card, please include from the day's readings (1) a quotation, noting the author and page number, and (2) a comment on why your quotation raises an important issue. Make sure that your writing is legible and that your quotation and comment fits on one side of a single file card.
  - You may not turn in a file card if you do not attend class, or turn in a file card for anyone else, under any circumstances.
  - File cards will not be returned to you, but each will be recorded as satisfactory (check) or good (check plus) according to how carefully and thoughtfully it was done. At the end of the semester each student will get a class participation grade that will be based in part on the file card marks.

#### 2. Archive Presentation: 15%

- Give a 10-minute presentation on one archive (local or digital) that contains collections that could be of use for research papers for this class. Describe the archive and its collections and analyze one sample source from that archive.

#### 3. Debate Paper: 20%

- (5 pages) Compose a debate in dialogue form about Guatemala's Decade of Spring and the coup of 1954. For example, the debate could be between two historians: your "Historian A" could argue that local pressures caused the downfall of Arbenz's government, while "Historian B" could argue that international opposition was more important. Or you could write a

debate between Jacobo Arbenz and Carlos Castillo Armas over the merits of the Decade of Spring. Use evidence from *Shattered Hope* and at least one other book to defend both sides of the debate. **Due Tuesday, March 1.**

4. Annotated Bibliography: 10%
  - Write one paragraph describing your idea for your research paper. What is the topic? What “how” or “why” question are you trying to answer? What argument do you expect to make in response to that question? Attach a preliminary bibliography, in which you identify and describe (1-2 sentences each) at least 10 scholarly sources (primary sources and books/journal articles) that you will use to answer your research question. **Due Tuesday, March 15.**
5. Research Paper: 35%
  - (10 pages for undergraduate students, 15 for graduate students) Your paper must make an analytical argument about an aspect of the Cold War in Latin America. **First draft due Tuesday April 19, final draft due Thursday, April 28.**

All assignments should be double-spaced in Times New Roman size 12 font with a one-inch margin on all sides. Use Chicago Style footnote citations for primary and secondary sources (for guidelines on proper citation format, see guide on Blackboard under Content and [http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide.html](http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html)). Turn in your assignments on time—there will be a penalty of 5% for each day that an assignment is late. You will only be allowed to turn in an assignment late without penalty if you have a documented emergency.

The Plus/Minus system of grading applies in this course.

93-100	A	80-82	B-	67-69	D+
92-90	A-	77-79	C+	63-66	D
87-89	B+	73-76	C	62-60	D-
83-86	B	70-72	C-	59-0	F

### **Expectations:**

1. Participation. I expect you to do the readings, bring the readings to class, and participate in discussions. You can improve your participation grade by attending Latin American Studies Program events and emailing me a short, 1-paragraph description of each event.
2. Punctuality. I do not tolerate tardiness. If you are late, you will be counted as absent.
3. Communication.
  - a. If you have a question, don't hesitate to raise your hand and ask or contact me privately. If you have a problem or an emergency arises, let me know and I will be very willing to work with you.
  - b. If you need an accommodation for any type of physical or learning disability, medical needs, or any other reason, you should meet with

the student disability services office and then meet with me privately to discuss the modifications necessary to ensure your full participation in the course.

4. Proper Academic Conduct. It is your responsibility to know and understand the provisions of the College of Arts and Science's Academic Conduct Code, available at: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>. I will refer cases of suspected academic misconduct to the Dean's Office.

### **Office Hours Policy**

I strongly encourage you to come to office hours if you have any questions about the course—or if you would just like to talk! In order to avoid lines outside my office door, please reserve a time to meet me at <https://renatakeller.youcanbook.me/>. If you have classes or other conflicts during my normally scheduled office hours, let me know and we can set up another time to meet.

### **Required Books:**

- Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). Available at BU Barnes and Noble Bookstore and at the BU Library as an e-book and in Course Reserves (listed in syllabus as Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*)
- Lillian Guerra, *Visions of Power in Cuba: Revolution, Redemption, and Resistance* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). Available at BU Barnes and Noble Bookstore and at the BU Library as an e-book and in Course Reserves (listed in syllabus as Guerra, *Visions of Power*)
- Stephen Rabe, *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). Available at BU Barnes and Noble Bookstore (listed in syllabus as Rabe, *Killing Zone*)
- **In addition**, there are a number of articles and book chapters assigned for specific classes. These may be found on the class Blackboard web site under Content.

### **Classes, Topics, and Reading Assignments (subject to change with advance notice)**

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|-----------|---|
| T 19 Jan  | <u>Introduction</u><br>Course overview, details, expectations   |
| Th 21 Jan | <u>The Global Origins of the Cold War</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Rabe, <i>Killing Zone</i>, xxxi-35</li></ul>  |
| T 26 Jan  | <u>Latin America's Post-WWII Democratic Opening</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Bethell, Leslie and Roxborough, Ian, "The Postwar Conjunction in Latin America: Democracy, Labor, and the Left" in Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough, eds., <i>Latin America Between the Second</i></li></ul> |

*World War and the Cold War, 1944-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-32 (Blackboard)

- Grandin, Greg, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), preface and introduction (Blackboard)

- Th 28 Jan Guatemala's Decade of Spring
- Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, 1-85
- T 2 Feb Reform or Revolution?
- Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, 85-207
- Th 4 Feb Mounting Opposition
- Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, 208-318
- T 9 Feb The Cold War Comes to Latin America: Operation Success
- Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, 319-394
  - Rabe, *Killing Zone*, 36-58
- Th 11 Feb The Cuban Revolution
- Rabe, *Killing Zone*, 59-85
  - Guerra, *Visions of Power*, 1-36
- T 16 Feb **NO CLASS—SUBSTITUTE MONDAY SCHEDULE**
- Th 18 Feb The Cuban Revolution
- Guerra, *Visions of Power*, 37-255
- T 23 Feb The Cuban Revolution
- Guerra, *Visions of Power*, 256-369
- Th 25 Feb The Kennedy and Johnson Doctrines
- Rabe, *Killing Zone*, 86-118
- T 1 Mar The Cuban Missile Crisis
- **DEBATE PAPER DUE**
  - Wilson Center Cold War International History Project Bulletin, *The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50*, Introductions p1-21 ([https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/CWIHP\\_Cuban\\_Missile\\_Crisis\\_Bulletin\\_17-18.pdf](https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/CWIHP_Cuban_Missile_Crisis_Bulletin_17-18.pdf))
- Th 3 Mar The Cold War in Mexico
- Keller, Renata, *Mexico's Cold War: Cuba, the United States, and the Legacy of the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 1-12 and 196-231 (Blackboard)

March 7-11 **SPRING BREAK**

T 15 Mar The Cold War in Brazil and Argentina

- **ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE**
- Rabe, *Killing Zone*, 119-149
- Langland, Victoria, “Birth Control Pills and Molotov Cocktails: Reading Sex and Revolution in 1968 Brazil” in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser, eds., *In From the Cold: Latin America’s New Encounter With the Cold War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 308-349 (Blackboard)

Th 17 Mar Chile: A Nonviolent Alternative?

- Winn, Peter, “The Furies of the Andes: Violence and Terror in the Chilean Revolution and Counterrevolution” in Grandin and Joseph, *A Century of Revolution*, 239-275 (Blackboard)
- Kissinger, Henry A. and Augusto Pinochet, “The United States and Human Rights in Chile,” in Holden and Zolov, *Latin America and the United States*, 284-287 (Blackboard)

T 22 Mar International and Transnational Anti-Communism

- McSherry, J. Patrice, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 1-34 (Blackboard)
- Armony, Ariel C., “Transnationalizing the Dirty War: Argentina in Central America” in Joseph and Spenser, *In From the Cold*, 134-168 (Blackboard)

Th 24 Mar A Culture of Protest

- The First Protest Song Conference, “Songs of Protest from Latin America” in Holden and Zolov, *Latin America and the United States*, 261-262 (Blackboard)
- Zolov, Eric, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 1-16 and 93-166 (Blackboard)

T 29 Mar The Power of Protest: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo

- Guzman Bouvard, Marguerite, *Revolutionizing Motherhood: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo* (Wilmington: SR Books, 1994), 1-17 and 47-113 (Blackboard)

Th 31 Mar A Religious Revolution: The Rise of Liberation Theology

- Berryman, Phillip, *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts About the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America—And Beyond* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 1-28 and 179-200 (Blackboard)

- T 5 Apr Nicaragua and the Sandinistas
- Rabe, *The Killing Zone*, 150-180
  - Kinzer, Stephen, *Blood of Brothers: Life and War in Nicaragua*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) 13-68 (Blackboard)
  - Brown, Timothy C., *The Real Contra War: Highlander Peasant Resistance in Nicaragua* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001) 3-12 (Blackboard)
- Th 7 Apr Human Rights
- Menchú, Rigoberta and Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, ed., *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (London: Verso, 1984), 1-6, and 172-182 (Blackboard)
  - Stoll, David, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of all Poor Guatemalans* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2008), 1-14 (Blackboard)
- T 12 Apr The Cold War Comes Full Circle: We Return to Guatemala
- Film, “Granito: How to Nail a Dictator”
- Th 14 Apr: Guatemala Continued
- Finish and discuss “Granito”
- T 19 Apr Peru’s Shining Path and Research Paper Workshop
- Smith, Michael L., “Taking the High Ground: Shining Path and the Andes” in David Scott Palmer, ed., *The Shining Path of Peru* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), 15-32 (Blackboard)
  - Degregori, Carlos Iván, de Wit, Ton, and Vera Gianotten, “The Origins and Logic of Shining Path: Two Views” in Palmer, *The Shining Path of Peru*, 33-57 (Blackboard)
  - **Bring two drafts of your research paper to class**
- Th 21 Apr From Cold War to Drug War
- Hylton, Forrest, “The Cold War That Didn’t End: Paramilitary Modernization in Medellín, Colombia” in Grandin and Joseph, *A Century of Revolution*, 338-370 (Blackboard)
  - Michelle Denise Reeves, “The Evolution of Narcoterrorism: From the Cold War to the War on Drugs,” in *Beyond the Eagle’s Shadow: New Histories of Latin America’s Cold War*, edited by Virginia Garrard-Burnett, Mark Lawrence, and Julio Moreno (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 281-306 (Blackboard)
- T 26 Apr The Politics of Memory
- Stern, Steve J. *Remembering Pinochet’s Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*. Book One of the Trilogy *The Memory Box of*

*Pinochet's Chile* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), xix-67  
(Blackboard)

- Th 28 Apr Moving Beyond the Cold War
- Rabe, *Killing Zone*, 181-205
  - **RESEARCH PAPER DUE**