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First Summer Session, 2005
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HILA 118: SUBVERTING SOVEREIGNTY -- US AGGRESSION
IN LATIN AMERICA, 1898-PRESENT

COMMON COURTESY POLICY: I find recent changes in technology and student customs force me to add this note. Please put down all newspapers and items you are reading. Turn off all phones, beepers and other electronic devices. If you know you will need to leave the class, please notify me ahead of time. I will be here for the entire class period, so should you. I am not always entertaining but I still expect of modicum of respect -- for my age if not my skills.

This course is not a survey of U.S.-Latin American relations, a topic much broader in scope. It deals with only one aspect of those relations, instances in which the United States tried to alter the policies or change the governments of Latin America by military invasions, covert actions, and economic forms of coercion. Students in the class should have some background on either the history or politics of the United States or Latin America in the twentieth century, or be willing to pick up such background during the course. Most of the class will be devoted to discussion of key issues. **Class discussion will be required of every student.**

Given the disparity of interests within a course of this kind, you will be required to read two books: the texts by Peter Smith and Brian Loveman. You are free to choose any other three texts in Group B below or from the list of recommended reading. It is strongly suggested that you read one of the first three books listed in Group B. The works listed in Groups A and B have been ordered through Groundwork books (see below), others are readily available in the library. The mid-term will be an open book exam, in class on Wednesday of Week III. It will be based on class discussion as well as the assigned reading. The final exam will be a take-home essay. The final essay meets one of the writing requirements for Roosevelt College. You will be able to write on an assigned question, handed out in Week IV, or develop on essay that is either a case study of one United States' intervention in Latin America or discusses some

comparative issue about U.S. conduct in the region. The final essay is the final exam. The mid-term and final essays will require bibliographies.

Class discussion (35%) is crucial and you will be expected to participate in class in the following manner.

1. Before 1:00pm on Wednesday of the first week, you are to e-mail me an observation or two (not just a summary) of a part of the reading. In weeks 2-5, you will e-mail me your observations before Monday 1:00pm. Be certain to include your full name on the address of the e-mail. The observations are to be no fewer than 100 words and no more than 200 (in other words, one to two paragraphs). If you cannot e-mail for some reason, your observations can be handed in, typed or handwritten, to my history mailbox before that same date and time. The mailbox is on the fifth floor of HSS, Muir College. No exceptions; later observations will not be counted. During each class period, I will call upon people to elaborate on what they said in those observations and so, hopefully, trigger class discussion. If you are not called on, you still receive the equivalent of a card towards participation for that week. If you are called on and can elaborate you get two cards. Each instance of participation -- asking a question or making an observation in class or going to a TA-led section -- will get you a card. You need twelve cards to get an A in discussion.
2. Aside from the e-mails, when you contribute in class, you should write your complete name and the date of class on each card; write a short sentence on the card about what you said. Your e-mails will be credited automatically. I tend to be very easy on this aspect, I want you to get into the discussion; your comments will not be graded except to count cards. You can hand in two cards per class session.
3. For up to 9 cards, you may give a ten minute (or slightly longer) class presentation. It can be on any country or subject relevant to the class and may include such things as:
 - a. Participating in a US action in Latin America or having served as reporter, intern, soldier, etc. in a Latin American nation.
 - b. Summarizing one of the key theses in a work in Group B or from the list of recommended reading.
 - c. Finding and reporting on a key web site relating to our course matter.
 - d. Something of personal experience that pertains to the class.

4. Any class participation must be cleared by me first and I will then schedule a time. I limit presentations to three to a class and no presentation can be scheduled for the last class. It is better to give your presentation early – since almost everyone else waits until after the mid-term to try a topic and then people find the dates are completely booked.

The mid-term is an in-class examination (written in large blue books) given on Wednesday of Week III. We will devote the first hour of the class to any questions you may have and then devote hours 2-3 to the exam. The exam will be open-book, you may bring any notes or books you like. This will count for 25% of the grade. That's right, class discussion counts more than the mid-term.

The Final will make up 40% of the grade. This will be a take-home assignment and should be typed or printed by computer. You will have an option of doing the final by long-hand if you must. It will be ten pages long and based on the readings, discussion and lectures throughout the entire class. The final is due at the date and time fixed by the registrar; the TA and I will collect it at Café Roma.

The Books are on sale at Groundwork Books (the old student center). They and the reader should also be available on the Reserve reading list of the Geisel Library -- the Main Library.

Required -- Group A:

1. Smith, Peter. Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations (New York: Oxford, 2nd ed., 2000)pb
2. Loveman, Brian. For la Patria: Politics and the Armed Forces in Latin America (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1999)pb

And Three of the following Books -- Group B: (You may also choose your books from a list of works, mostly out of print, that will be provided in the class.)pb

List B: Students must read three of the following titles (or from the Recommended Titles)

1. Trask, David F. The War With Spain in 1898 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996, orig. 1981) ISBN 0803294298
2. Lindsay-Poland, John. Emperors in the Jungle: The Hidden History of the U.S. in Panama (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) ISBN 0822330989 paperback

3. Schlesinger, Stephen and Stephen Kinzer. Bitter Fruit: The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999, orig. 1982) ISBN 0674075900 paperback
4. Striffler, Steve and Mark Moberg. Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) ISBN 0822331969
5. Constable, Pamela and Arturo Valenzuela. A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet (New York: WW Norton, 1993) ISBN 0393309851 paperback
6. Kirk, Robin. More Terrible than Death: Violence, Drugs, and America's War in Colombia (New York: Public Affairs, 2003) ISBN 1586482076 paperback

LECTURES

Week I: U.S. as a World Power and the American Lake, 1890-1922

A. Models of Power in the Age of Nationalism

B. Republican retreat from gunboats

Required Reading: Peter Smith, Talons of the Eagle, chaps. 1-3; Brian Loveman, For la Patria, chaps. 1-2. Choice of reading: David F. Trask, The War with Spain, entire book in next two weeks.

Suggested Reading: In longer list, check books on gunboat diplomacy and dollar diplomacy (Caribbean including Cuba and Central America); number of titles in the "General" list.

Week II: Capital Investments and Economic Influence

A. "Business imperialism?" and economic nationalism

B. The Cold War and Latin America

Required Reading: Smith, Talons of the Eagle, chaps. 4-8; Brian Loveman, For la Patria, chaps. 3-5. Choice of reading: Striffler and Moberg, eds., Banana Wars. In general list, check books on U.S. corporate interests in Latin America (see "General" list), the CIA, and Guatemala 1954.

Week III: The American Century, the first sixty years

A. Bolivia and Guatemala, and Cuba

B. MID-TERM EXAMINATION

Read: Be certain to have been reading at least one of the books from Group B or list of suggested readings that fit into the first sixty-five years of the twentieth century.

Choice of reading: Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, Bitter Fruit, entire book before mid-term if you can.

Suggested Reading: In the general list, check books on the Cuban Revolution, the CIA, Brazil 1964, Dominican Republic 1965 and Chile 1970-73 – try to read ahead of the lectures on these topics.

Week IV: The Golden Age of Spooks

A. Guerrilla Warfare and Counterinsurgency

B. Brazil and Chile

Required Reading: Smith, Talons of the Eagle, finish book; Brian Loveman, For la Patria, chaps. 6-7. Suggested Reading: John Lindsay-Poland, Emperors in the Jungle; Robin Kirk, More Terrible Than Death, next two weeks. In the general list, check books on Central America, see separate lists on El Salvador and Nicaragua, Panama and on drugs.

Week V: Capitalist Success and Latin America's Crisis

A. Nicaragua

B. "The Drug Problem"

Read: Brian Loveman, For la Patria, finish book.

RECOMMENDED TITLES

BRAZIL

Black, Jan Knippers. United States Penetration of Brazil (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1977).

Parker, Phyllis R. Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 1964 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979).

Leacock, Ruth. Requiem for revolution: the United States and Brazil, 1961-1969 (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990)

Topik, Steven. Trade and Gunboats: the United States and Brazil in the Age of Empire (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1996)

Huggins, Martha Knisely, Mika Haritas-Fatouros, Philip G. Zumbardo, Violence Workers: Police Torturers and Murderers Reconstruct Brazilian Atrocities (Berkeley: University of California, 2002).

CARIBBEAN (not concentrated on Cuba or Dominican Republic)

Hybel, Alex Roberto. How Leaders Reason: U.S. Intervention in the Caribbean Basin and Latin America (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

Black, George. The Good Neighbor: How the United States Wrote the History of Central America and the Caribbean (NY: Pantheon, 1988)

Langley, Lester D. The Banana Wars: United States Intervention in the Caribbean, 1898-1934 (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky, 1983)

Munro, Dana G. Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean, 1900-1921 (classic muckraking, reprinted Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1964), or The United States and the Caribbean Republics, 1921-1933 (reprinted Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1973).

CENTRAL AMERICA (not concentrated on Nicaragua, Guatemala, or Panama)

Langley, Lester D. The Banana Men: American Mercenaries and Entrepreneurs in Central America, 1880-1930 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

Scott, Peter Dale and Jonathan Marshall. Cocaine Politics: drugs, Armies, and the CIA in Central America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991)

Black, George. The Good Neighbor: How the United States Wrote the History of Central America and the Caribbean (NY: Pantheon, 1988)

Danner, Mark. The Massacre at El Mozote (Vintage, 1993)pb

Enloe, Cynthia. Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics (University of California Press, 1989)pb

Holden, Robert H. Armies Without Nations: Public Violence and State Formation in Central America, 1821-1960 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

CHILE

Cavallo, Ascanio. La historia oculta del regimen military: Chile 1973-1988 (Santiago: Editorial Antártica, 1989).

Cooper, Marc, Pinochet and me. (NY: Verso, 2000) ISBN 1859847854

Jensen, Poul. The Garotte: The United States and Chile, 1970-1973 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1988), 2 vols.

Kaufman, Edy. Crisis in Allende's Chile: New Perspectives (New York: Praeger, 1988).

Monteón, Michael. Chile and the Great Depression: The Politics of Underdevelopment, 1927-1948 (Tempe: Center for Latin American Studies Press, Arizona State University, 1998)pb

Oxhorn, Philip D. Organizing Civil Society: The Popular Sectors and the Struggle for Democracy in Chile (Penn State, 1996).

United States Senate. Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. Covert Action in Chile, 1963-1973 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing POffice, 1975) title page and entire report.

Boorstein, Edward. Allende's Chile: An Inside View (New York: International Publishers, 1977)

Constable, Pamela and Arturo Valenzuela. Chile under Pinochet: A Nation of Enemies (New York: Norton, 1991)

Aguilera, Pilar and Ricardo Freres, Chile, the Other September 11 (Ocean Press, 2002).

Uribe, Armando. The Black Book of American Intervention in Chile (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975).

CIA

Scott, Peter Dale. Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies, and the CIA in Central America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, 2nd ed.)

Kornbluth, Peter, ed. Bay of Pigs declassified: the secret CIA report on the invasion of Cuba (New York: The New Press, 1998)

McAuliffe, Mary S., ed. CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962 (Washington, D.C.: History Staff, Central Intelligence Agency, 1992)

Scott, Peter Dale and Jonathan Marshall. Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies, and the CIA in Central America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991)

Agee, Philip. Inside the Company: CIA Diary (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1975)

Higgins, Trumbull. The Perfect Failure: Kennedy, Eisenhower, and the CIA at the Bay of Pigs (New York: Norton, 1987).

Immerman, Richard H. The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1982).

Ranelagh, John. The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA (NY: Simon and Shuster, 1986).

Schlesinger, Stephen and Stephen Kinzer. Bitter Fruit: the Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1982)pb

Corson, William R. The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire (NY: The Dial Press, 1977).

CUBA

Halperin, Maurice. Return to Havana: the Decline of Cuban Society Under Castro (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1994)

Lechuga Hevia, Carlos. Cuba and the Missile Crisis (New York: Ocean Press, 2001). Castro's version.

McAvoy, Muriel. Sugar Baron: Manuel Rionda and the Fortunes of Pre-Castro Cuba (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

Pérez, Lous A. Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997) ISBN 0820319368 paperback

Kornbluth, Peter, ed. Bay of Pigs declassified: the secret CIA report on the invasion of Cuba (New York: The New Press, 1998)

McAuliffe, Mary S., ed. CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962 (Washington, D.C.: History Staff, Central Intelligence Agency, 1992)
Benjamin, Jules R. The United States and the origins of the Cuban Revolution: an empire of liberty in an age of national liberation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Eckstein, Susan. Back from the Future: Cuba under Castro (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)pb

Guevara, Ernesto (Che). Guerrilla Warfare, with an introduction and Case Studies by Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies, Jr. (Nebraska, 1985).

Offner, John. An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain over Cuba, 1895-1998 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1992).

Pérez, Jr., Louis A. Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934 (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1986).

Higgins, Trumbull. The Perfect Failure: Kennedy, Eisenhower, and the CIA at the Bay of Pigs (New York: Norton, 1987).

Castañeda, Jorge G. Companero: La Vida y Muerte de Che Guevara (Random House, 1997-98).

Cirules, Enrique. The Mafia in Havana: a Caribbean Mob Story (New York: Ocean Press, 2003)

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Peguero, Valentina. The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic, from Captains General to General Trujillo (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

Brennan, Denise. What's Love Got to Do with It?: Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

Guinn, David El and Elissa Steglich, eds., In Modern Bondage: Sex Trafficking in the Americas. (Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers, 2003).

Turits, Richard Lee. Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

Moya Pons, Frank. The Dominican Republic: A National History (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2nd. Ed., 1998)

Diederich, Bernard. Trujillo: The Death of the Dictator (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998)

Calder, Bruce J. The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic during the U.S. Occupation of 1916-1924 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984).

Gleijeses, Piero. The Dominican Crisis: The 1965 Constitutionalist Revolt and American Intervention trans. by Lawrence Lipson (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

Palmer, Jr., [General] Bruce. Intervention in the Caribbean: The Dominican Crisis of 1965 (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989).

Slater, Jerome. Intervention and Negotiation: The United States and the Dominican Revolution (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

Yates, Lawrence A. Power Pack: U.S. Intervention in the Dominican Republic, 1965-1966 (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Leavenworth Papers, no. 15, 1988).

Goldwert, Marvin. The Constabulary in the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua: Progeny and Legacy of United States Intervention (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962).

GUATEMALA

Immerman, Richard H. The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1982).

Schlesinger, Stephen and Stephen Kinzer. Bitter Fruit: the Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1982)pb

Falla, Ricardo. Massacres in the Jungle: Ixcan, Guatemala, 1975-1982 (Boulder: Westview, 1994).

Gleijeses, Piero. Shattered hope: the Guatemalan revolution and the United States, 1944-1954 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Cullather, Nick. Secret History: the CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

Jonas, Susanne. The Battle for Guatemala: Rebels, Death Squads, and U.S. Power (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991).

NICARAGUA

Malta Luna, Juan Joseph. Memorias, la inflación Sandinista: contrarevolución económica, revolución social. (Tegucigalpa, 2003).

Prevost, Gary and Harry E. Vanden. The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

Martí, I Puig, Salvador. The Origins of the Peasant-Contra Rebellion in Nicaragua, 1979-1987 (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2001).

Brentlinger, John. The Best of What We Are: Reflections on the Nicaraguan Revolution (University of Massachusetts Press, 1995) ISBN 0870239856 paperback

Stimson, Henry L. American Policy in Nicaragua ((Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), memoirs of 1920s.

Marshall, Jonathan, et. al., The Iran-Contra Connection: secret teams and covert operations in the Reagan Era (Boston: South End press, 1987)

Noriega, Manuel and Peter Eisner, America's Prisoner: the Memoirs of Manuel Noriega (NY: Random House, 1997).

Millet, Richard. Guardians of the Dynasty: A History of the U.S. Created Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua and the Somoza Family (NY: Orbis Books, 1977).

Kinzer, Stephen. Blood of Brothers: Life and War in Nicaragua (NY: Putnam, 1991).

Guttman, Roy. Banana Diplomacy: The Making of American Policy in Nicaragua, 1981-1987 (Touchstone, 1988)

Albert, Steve. The Case Against the General: Manuel Noriega and the Politics of American Justice (NY: Scribners, 1993)

Dickey, Christopher. With the Contras: A Reporter in the Wilds of Nicaragua (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1987).

Lake, Anthony. Somoza Falling: A Case Study of Washington at Work (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989)

Everingham, Mark. Revolution and the Multiclass Coalition in Nicaragua (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1996)pb

Walter, Knut, The Regime of Anastasio Somoza, 1936-1956 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993)

Walker, Thomas. Nicaragua Without Illusions: Regime Transition and Structural Adjustment in the 1990s (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Press, 1997), pb., ISBN 0812025790

PANAMA

Conniff, Michael L. Panama and the United States: the Forced Alliance (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001).

Pearcy, Thomas L. We Answer Only to God: Politics and the Military in Panama, 1903-1947. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

Johns, Christina Jacqueline. State Crime, the Media, and the Invasion of Panama (Wesport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994).

Scranton, Margaret E. The Noriega Years: U.S.-Panamania Relations, 1981-1990 (Boulder, Col.: L. Rienner Publishers, 1991).

Dinbges, John. Our Man In Panama: How General Noriega Used the United States and Made Millions in Drugs and Arms (New York: Random House, 1990).

LaRosa, Michael. The United States Discovers Panama: the Writings of Soldiers, Scholars, Scientists, and Scoundrels, 1850-1905 (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004).

McCullough, David. The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914 (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1978)

Koster, R.M. and Guillermo Sánchez Borbón, In the Time of the Tyrants: Panama, 1968-1989 (New York, Norton, 1990) pb.

LaFeber, Walter. The Panama Canal: The Crisis in Historical Perspective (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978) pb

Kempe, Frederick. Divorcing the Dictator: America's bungled affair with Noriega (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1990).

GENERAL (or other)

Osterhammel, Jurgen. Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998)

Calhoun, Frederick S. Uses of Force and Wilsonian Foreign Policy (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1993).

Castaneda, Jorge G. Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left After the Cold War (New York, 1994).

Chehabi, H. E. and Juan L. Linz (eds.), Sultanistic Regimes (Johns Hopkins, 1998).

Cingranelli, David Louis. Ethics, American Foreign Policy, and the Third World (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1989).

Huggins, Martha K. Political Policing: The United States and Latin America (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998)

Kenworthy, Eldon. America/ Américas: Myth in the Making of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America (Penn State, 1996)

Rabe, Stephen G. Eisenhower and Latin America: The Foreign Policy of Anti-communism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1988)pb

Rockefeller, Nelson A. The Rockefeller report on the Americas (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969).

Schraeder, ed., Peter J. Intervention into the 1990s: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Third World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992, 2nd. ed.).

Shalom, Stephen Rosskamm. Imperial Alibis: Rationalizing U.S. Intervention After the Cold War (Boston: South End Press, 1993)

Smith, Robert Freeman, The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico, 1916-1922 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

Swansbrough, Robert. The Embattled Colossus: Economic Nationalism and the United States in Latin America (Gainesville: Univ. of Florida, 1976).

U.S. Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities [the so-called "Church Committee"], Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders (NY: Norton, 1976).

Boot, Max. The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power (New York: Basic Books, 2002). Argues American empire is good for world.

Grandin, Greg. The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

Huchthausen, Peter A. America's "Splendid" Little Wars: A Short History of U.S. Military Engagements: 1975-1999 (New York: Viking, 2003).