

Les Etats-Unis et l'Amérique latine de Franklin D. Roosevelt à Barack Obama (1933-2017)

Bibliographie sélective élaborée par Isabelle Vagnoux, Aix Marseille Université.

I. Arrière-plan

Toute relation régionale ou bilatérale s'inscrivant dans l'ensemble beaucoup plus vaste des relations internationales à l'échelle mondiale, il importe de connaître les grands moments de l'histoire diplomatique américaine sur la période étudiée. Tout ouvrage non polémique pourra fournir ce background indispensable à celles et ceux néophytes dans le domaine. On peut, par exemple, citer :

Ambrose, Stephen E. & Douglas G. Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism. American Foreign Policy since 1938*. Penguin, 2010.

Cohen, Warren I. *The New Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Volume 4, Challenges to American Primacy, 1945 to the present*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Kandel, Maya. *Les Etats-Unis et le monde*. Perrin, 2018.

De même, il importe de maîtriser la chronologie des grands moments de l'histoire intérieure des Etats-Unis sur la période car si les décisions de politique étrangère s'inscrivent dans un cadre international, elles dépendent également du cadre intérieur. La (re)lecture de tout ouvrage d'histoire américaine permettra de mieux contextualiser les décisions et les débats.

Enfin, il convient de connaître le fonctionnement de la prise de décision en politique étrangère ainsi que les prérogatives de l'exécutif et du législatif. Outre la relecture de la Constitution, on pourra parcourir avec intérêt, entre autres nombreux ouvrages :

David, Charles-Philippe. *La politique étrangère des Etats-Unis. Fondements, acteurs, formulation*. Presses de Sciences Po, 2015.

Jentleson, Bruce W. *American Foreign Policy. The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century*. New York: Norton, 2013. [Toute la première partie, soit 280 pages, est consacrée au background théorique et aux grands débats de la politique étrangère américaine dans une perspective historique.]

Wittkopf, Eugene R. & Christopher M. Jones. *American Foreign Policy : Pattern and Process*. Cengage Learning, 2007.

Sources primaires :

En plus des ouvrages et mémoires des acteurs états-uniens de la relation avec l'Amérique latine, listés dans les différentes rubriques, les textes des accords ou des traités, les débats et les prises de position peuvent être trouvés dans les références ci-dessous, mais il est impossible d'en dresser ici une liste précise et exhaustive.

Pour les discours présidentiels, les meilleures sources sont *Public Papers of the Presidents* et The American Presidency Project: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu>

Certains documents déclassifiés sont disponibles en ligne sur le site de la CIA (CIA Electronic Reading Room :

https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/search/site/?f%5B0%5D=im_field_taxonomy_nic_geograpy%3A12), de la National Security Archive (<https://nsarchive.gwu.edu> (avec notamment des dossiers de sources primaires sur le Brésil, le Chili, la Colombie, le Guatemala, le Mexique, et le Cône Sud), ou bien encore via U.S. Declassified Documents on Line.

Les volumes de *National Security Strategy of the United States* sont disponibles en ligne depuis 1987 (<https://history.defense.gov/Historical-Sources/National-Security-Strategy/>).

Certains discours ou interventions de membres du département d'Etat sont accessibles jusqu'en 1989 dans le *Department of State Bulletin*: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000598610> puis dans *Dispatch* (également accessible sur Hathitrust) jusqu'en 1999. Les publications papier sont ensuite remplacées par des textes en ligne sur le site du département d'Etat.

Même si cela relève sans doute plus de la recherche que de la préparation à l'Agrégation, les volumes des *Foreign Relations of the United States* (FRUS) dédiés à l'Amérique latine fourmillent d'archives déclassifiées et publiées : <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments>

S'agissant du Congrès, on pourra consulter les Senate ou House hearings ou reports (Subcommittees on Western Hemisphere Affairs surtout, mais pas exclusivement) pour trouver des points de vue politiques ou de la société civile sur les questions auxquelles le Congrès a pu s'intéresser. Le *Congressional Record* fournit également le texte des prises de position des membres du Congrès. Les références précises, trop nombreuses pour être toutes citées ici, pourront être trouvées sur <https://www.govinfo.gov> à l'aide des mots clés pertinents. Certaines références peuvent aussi être glanées dans les bibliographies des sources secondaires.

Pour une analyse factuelle des politiques états-uniennes et des relations avec l'Amérique latine en général ou certains pays en particulier, avec un accent mis sur les enjeux et les positions du Congrès, voir, pour les années récentes (un rappel historique est toujours inclus), les rapports du Congressional Research Service rédigés pour les membres du Congrès : <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/index.html> ; <https://www.everycrsreport.com> ; <https://crsreports.congress.gov>. Certains rapports plus anciens peuvent être trouvés sur HeinOnline, Hathitrust, Wikileaks. S'ils donnent d'excellents éléments pour mieux appréhender une politique donnée et les débats qui l'entourent, ces rapports techniques ne peuvent être utilisés pour des commentaires de texte. Il en est de même pour les rapports du Government Accountability Office (GAO) <https://www.gao.gov> .

Pour une anthologie de textes primaires, voir :

Holden, Robert & Eric Zolov. *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Sources secondaires:

Outre les ouvrages et articles mentionnés dans cette bibliographie, on pourra consulter les ressources suivantes.

Le site du Council on Foreign Relations (<https://www.cfr.org>) et la revue *Foreign Affairs*, où s'expriment de nombreux praticiens des relations internationales, offrent de multiples articles sur les relations entre les Etats-Unis et l'Amérique latine.

Les think tanks (The American Enterprise Institute, par exemple, côté conservateur, ou bien The Woodrow Wilson Center, The Brookings Institution, centristes, ou bien encore le Center for Strategic and International Studies), mettent en ligne des contributions relatives à l'Amérique latine. Deux think tanks lui dédient l'ensemble de leurs travaux : The Inter-American Dialogue (<https://www.thedialogue.org>), qui s'intéresse surtout aux questions économiques et à l'expansion de la Chine, et the Washington Office on Latin America (<https://www.wola.org>) dont les travaux portent sur la dimension des droits humains dans toutes les questions relatives à l'Amérique latine et aux relations avec les Etats-Unis.

Pour une lecture critique de la politique états-unienne envers l'Amérique latine, on pourra consulter les articles de la revue du North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) à partir de 1967 (<https://nacla.org> & <https://nacla.org/nacla-report-americas>).

Dans la bibliographie (très) sélective qui suit, les références les plus importantes sont surlignées en gris et apparaissent au début de la rubrique. Les auteurs suivants : C. Arnsperg, H. Brands, R. Crandall, R. Pastor ont tous occupé des fonctions gouvernementales, au sein de l'exécutif ou du Congrès, à un moment ou l'autre de leur carrière.

NB : La crise des missiles de Cuba (1962), comme la guerre des Malouines (1982) ne font pas partie intégrante du programme, même si la première peut s'expliquer par la tentative d'invasion américaine de 1961 et justifie, pour Washington, toutes les mesures prises à l'encontre de Cuba et dans toute l'Amérique latine pendant la suite de la guerre froide. Pour la guerre des Malouines, seuls les débats au sein de l'exécutif américain sur la question de savoir si Washington devait rester neutre, soutenir l'Argentine, Etat des Amériques (cf doctrine de Monroe), ou bien la Grande-Bretagne, pilier de l'OTAN, présentent un intérêt.

II Ouvrages et articles généralistes :

La période 1933-2017 s'inscrivant dans une relation historique beaucoup plus longue, il importe également de connaître à grands traits les étapes importantes qui ont marqué la relation bilatérale : la doctrine de Monroe (1823), la guerre contre le Mexique (1846-48), la guerre hispano-américaine (1898) et ses conséquences pour Cuba notamment, les interventions américaines en Amérique centrale et dans les Caraïbes, la prise de contrôle de l'isthme de Panama (1903), le corollaire Roosevelt à la doctrine de Monroe (1904), l'intervention au Mexique pendant la révolution, la diplomatie du dollar.

Smith, Peter H. & Ana Covarrubias. *Talons of the Eagle. Latin America, the United States and the World*. OUP, 2022 (5th edition). Ouvrage complet écrit par des politistes. L'édition de 2000 est plus dense et plus orientée vers les Etats-Unis.

Langley, Lester D. *America and the Americas. The United States in the Western Hemisphere*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2010 (2^e édition) [pages 132-295 pour la période du programme ; quelques pages ont été ajoutées à la 1^{ère} édition de 1989. Une synthèse très claire par l'un des meilleurs spécialiste de la question].

Longley, Kyle. *In the Eagle's Shadow: The United States and Latin America..* Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2009, 2nd ed.

Bemis, Samuel F. *The Latin American Policy of the United States: An Historical Interpretation*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1944. [Le chantre de l'interprétation « positive » de la politique des Etats-Unis]

Crandall, Britta H. and Russell C. Crandall. *"Our Hemisphere"? The United States in Latin America, from 1776 to the Twenty-First Century*. Yale University Press, 2021. [Synthèse vivante par d'éminents spécialistes de la question, ouvrage grand public (absence de notes et de références pour les citations)].

Dent, David W. *Historical Dictionary of U.S.-Latin American Relations*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

Friedman, Max Paul. "Retiring the Puppets, Bringing Latin America Back In: Recent Scholarship on United States-Latin American Relations." *Diplomatic History* 27.5 (November 2003): 621-636. [Sur le rôle des Latino-Américains dans la relation avec les Etats-Unis]

Long, Tom. *Latin America Confronts the United States. Asymmetry and Influence*. Cambridge UP, 2017.

McPherson, Alan L. *Intimate Ties, Bitter Struggles : The United States and Latin America since 1945*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2006.

--- *Yankee, No! Anti-Americanism in U.S.-Latin American Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2006.

Mecham, J. Lloyd. *The United States and Inter-American Security, 1889-1960*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961.

Pastor, Robert A. Whirlpool. *U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. (2nd édition augmentée: *Exiting the Whirlpool*. Westview: 2001) [Ancien membre de l'Administration Carter, couvre cette dernière ainsi que les Administrations Reagan, Clinton et Bush]

Ronning, C. Neale & Albert P. Vannucci, ed. *Ambassadors in Foreign Policy. The Influence of Individuals on U.S.-Latin American Policy*. New York: Praeger, 1987.

Scarfi, Juan Pablo & Andrew R. Tillman, ed. *Cooperation and Hegemony in U.S.-Latin America Relations: revisiting the Western Hemisphere Idea*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016 (pour une analyse récente du concept, pages 1-110).

Schmitz, David F. *Thank God, They're on Our Side. The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1921-1965*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. [Plusieurs chapitres sur l'Amérique latine.]

Schoultz, Lars. *Beneath the United States. A History of U.S. Policy toward Latin America*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1998.

Schoultz, Lars. *In Their Own Best Interest: A History of the U.S. Effort to Improve Latin Americans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018.

Sewell, Bevan & Maria Ryan, eds. *Foreign Policy at the Periphery. The Shifting Margins of US International Relations Since World War II*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2017.

Weeks, Gregory B. & Michael E. Allison. *U.S. and Latin American relations*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2022, 3e edition.

Whitaker, Arthur P. *The Western Hemisphere Idea: Its Rise and Decline*. Ithaca: Cornell, 1954.

Williams, Mark Eric. *Understanding U.S.-Latin American Relations. Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Williams, William A. *Empire as a Way of Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. [le père du courant radical/révisionniste interprétant les relations internationales au prisme des relations économiques].

III Enjeux sécuritaires et politiques

III.1. Les années Roosevelt:

Mémoires, sources primaires (hors discours présidentiels) :

Hull, Cordell. *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*. New York: Macmillan, 1948.

Welles, Sumner. *The Time for Decision*. New York: Harper, 1944. [notamment p 185-241 sur Good Neighbor Policy.]

Sources secondaires:

Gellman, Irwin F. *Good Neighbor Diplomacy : United States Policy in Latin America, 1933-1945*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979.

Wood, Bryce. *The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy*. New York : Columbia University Press, 1961.

--- *The Dismantling of the Good Neighbor Policy*. Austin : University of Texas Press, 1985.

Dur, Philip & Christophe Gilcrease. "US Diplomacy and the Downfall of a Cuban Dictator: Machado in 1933." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 34 (2002): 255-282.

Friedman, Max Paul. "There Goes the Neighborhood: Blacklisting Germans in Latin America and the Evanescence of the Good Neighbor Policy." *Diplomatic History* 27. 4 (September 2003):569-597.

Friedman, Max Paul. "Specter of a Nazi Threat: United States-Colombian Relations, 1939-1945." *The Americas* 56.4 (April 2000): 563-589.

Gellman, Irwin F. *Roosevelt and Batista: Good Neighbor Diplomacy in Cuba, 1933-1945*. University of New Mexico Press, 1973.

Haines, Gerald K. "Under the Eagle's Wing: The Franklin Roosevelt Administration Forges an American Hemisphere." *Diplomatic History* 1.4 (October 1977): 373-388.

McCann, Frank D. "Brazil, the United States, and World War II: A Commentary." *Diplomatic History* 3.1 (Winter 1979): 59-76.

-----, *Brazil and the United States during World War II and Its Aftermath: Negotiating Alliance and Balancing Giants*. Palgrave, 2018.

Pike, Frederick B. *FDR's Good Neighbor Policy: Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

Valim, Alexandre Busco. *Brazil, the United States, and the Good Neighbor Policy: The Triumph of Persuasion during World War II*. Lexington Books, 2019. [étude sur les aspects culturels, notamment l'influence du cinéma et des documentaires américains]

III.2. Guerre froide:

Mémoires, sources primaires:

Carter, Jimmy. *Keeping Faith. Memoirs of a President*. New York: Bantam Books, 1983. (pp.141-151 sur les droits humains; 152-185 sur le canal de Panama ; et passim)

Commission on United States-Latin American Relations. *The Americas in a Changing World : a Report of the Commission on United States-Latin American Relations / with a pref. by Sol M. Linowitz ; selected papers by Kalman H. Silvert [and others]*. New York: Quadrangle Books, 1975.

Eisenhower, Milton S. *The Wine is Bitter: United States and Latin America*. Doubleday, 1963.

Goodwin, Richard N. *Remembering America : A Voice from the Sixties*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1988. [p. 146-208]

Haig, Alexander M. Jr. *Caveat. Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1984.

Hershberg, James G. & Peter Kornbluh, ed. "Brazil Marks 50th Anniversary of Military Coup." The National Security Archive, 2014. <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB465/>

Kennan, George F. "Memorandum by the Counselor of the Department (Kennan) to the Secretary of State". *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, The United Nations; the Western Hemisphere, Vol. II <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v02/d330> [pour une analyse de ce rapport, voir Roger R. Trask, "George F. Kennan's Report on Latin America." *Diplomatic History* 2. 3 (Summer 1978): 307-311.]

Kirkpatrick, Jeane. "Dictatorships and Double Standards." *Commentary*, November 1979. <https://www.aei.org/articles/dictatorships-and-double-standards-2/>

Kissinger, Henry. *White House Years*. New York: Little, Brown & Company, 1979, 653-683 (Chili)

-----*Years of Upheaval*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1982. 374-413 (Chili)

-----*Years of Renewal*. New York: Touchstone, 1999. 703-790.

Kornbluh, Peter, ed. "Brazil Marks 40th Anniversary of Military Coup." The National Security Archive, 2004. <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB118/index.htm>

Kornbluh, Peter, ed. *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba*. New York: The New Press, 1998.

Menges, Constantine C. *Inside the National Security Council. The True Story of the Making and Unmaking of Reagan's Foreign Policy*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988. [p. 54-231]

Nixon, Richard M. *Six Crises*. NY: Simon & Schuster, 1990. (p. 183-234 on trip to South America, Caracas stopover, 1958).

Rockefeller, Nelson A. *The Rockefeller Report on the Americas. The Official Report of a United States Presidential Mission for the Western Hemisphere*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969.

Shultz, George P. *Turmoil and Triumph. My Years as Secretary of State*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1993.

U.S. Congress. House. *Governor Rockefeller Report on Latin America*. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. 91st Congress, 1st session. November 12, 1969. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951p007813586&view=1up&seq=8>

U.S. Congress. Senate. *Covert action in Chile. 1963-1973*. Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1975. <https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/94chile.pdf>

U.S. Congress. Senate. *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*. Interim Report of the select Committee to Study Governmental Operations. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1975. (trois parties concernent des tentatives d'assassinat contre des Latino-Américains, F. Castro, R. Trujillo et R. Schneider). <https://history-matters.com/archive/church/reports/ir/contents.htm>

Weinberger, Caspar. *Fighting for Peace. Seven Critical Years in the Pentagon*. Warner Books, 1991, p. 23-35, 101-133, 203-217, 374-381.

Sources secondaires:

Brands, Hal. *Latin America's Cold War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Crandall, Russell. *Gunboat Democracy: U.S. Interventions in the Dominican Republic, Grenada, and Panama*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

Grow, Michael. *U.S. Presidents and Latin American Interventions: Pursuing Regime Change in the Cold War*. Lawrence, KS : University Press of Kansas, 2008.

Rabe, Stephen. *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America*. New York : Oxford University Press, 2015. [Les administrations Eisenhower, Kennedy, ainsi que Kissinger sont déclinés plus en détail dans des ouvrages cités plus bas mais *The Killing Zone* présente une analyse globale fort bien documentée]

Allcock, Thomas Tunstall. "Becoming 'Mr Latin America': Thomas C. Mann Reconsidered." *Diplomatic History* 38. 5 (November 2014): 1017-1045.

----- *Thomas C. Mann: President Johnson, the Cold War, and the Restructuring of Latin American Foreign Policy*. Lexington : University Press of Kentucky, 2018.

Arnson, Cynthia, ed. *Argentina-United States Bilateral Relations*. Woodrow Wilson Center, 2003. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/publication/LAP_argentina.pdf [plusieurs chapitres sur la guerre froide, mais aussi sur les relations économiques dans les années 1990 et le début du 21^e siècle]

Black, Jan Knippers. *United States Penetration of Brazil*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.

Blasier, Cole. *The Giant's Rival. The USSR and Latin America*. Pittsburgh University Press, 1987.

Brands, H.W. Jr. "Decisions on American Armed Intervention: Lebanon, Dominican Republic, and Grenada." *Political Science Quarterly* 102. 4 (Winter 1987-88): 607-624.

Brands, Hal. "Third World Politics in an age of Global Turmoil: The Latin American Challenge to U.S. and Western hegemony, 1965-1975." *Diplomatic History* 32. 1 (January 2008): 105-138.

Cohen, Warren I. & Nancy Bernkopf Tucker. *Lyndon Johnson Confronts the World: American Foreign Policy, 1963-1968*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. (chapitre 7)

Draper, Theodore. "The Dominican Intervention Reconsidered." *Political Science Quarterly* 86.1 (March 1971): 1-36.

Field, Thomas C. Jr, Stella Krepp, Vanni Pettina. *Latin America and the Global Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

Fitch, J. Samuel. "The decline of US military influence in Latin America." *Journal of Interamerican Studies & World Affairs* 35.2 (Summer 1993): 1-49.

Gill, Lesley. *School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence in the Americas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

McMahon, Robert J. "Eisenhower and Third World Nationalism: A Critique of the Revisionists." *Political Science Quarterly* 101.3 (1986): 453-73.

Pach, Chester J. Jr. "The Containment of U.S. Military Aid to Latin America, 1944-1949." *Diplomatic History* 6 (Summer 1982): 225-244.

Rabe, Stephen G. *The Most Dangerous Area in the World: John F. Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Rabe, Stephen G. *Kissinger and Latin America: Intervention, Human Rights, and Diplomacy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020.

Rabe, Stephen G. *Eisenhower and Latin America: The Foreign Policy of Anticommunism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Rubner, Michael. "The Reagan Administration, the 1973 War Powers Resolution, and the Invasion of Grenada." *Political Science Quarterly* 100.4 (Winter 1985-86): 627-649

Schmitz, David F. *The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1965-1989*. Cambridge UP, 2006.

Smith, Gaddis. *The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine, 1945-1993*. New York : Hill & Wang, 1995. [contient 2 chapitres de rappels historiques].

Trask, Roger R. "Spruille Braden versus George Messersmith : World War II, the Cold War, and Argentine Policy, 1945-1947." *Journal of InterAmerican Studies and World Affairs* 26 (February 1984): 69-95.

Treverton, Gregory. *Covert Action. The Limits of Intervention in the Postwar World*. New York: Basic Books, 1987.

Vagnoux, Isabelle. "Washington et les régimes militaires sud-américains (1964-1989). Des alliances encombrantes." *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 105 (janvier-mars 2010) : 17-32.

Woods, Randall B. "Conflicted Hegemon: LBJ and the Dominican Republic." *Diplomatic History* 32.5 (November 2008): 105-138.

III.3. Post Guerre froide:

Mémoires, documents primaires :

Baker, James A. III. *The Politics of Diplomacy. Revolution, War and Peace, 1989-1992*. NY: Putnam, 1995, p.48-60, 177-194, 603-609, passim

Stavridis, James G. *Partnership for the Americas. Western Hemisphere Strategy and U.S. Southern Command*. Independent Publishing Platform, 2010. Voir également le site du Southern Command, pour les enjeux de l'après-guerre froide <https://www.southcom.mil>

Sources secondaires:

Crandall, Russell C. *The United States and Latin America After the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Dominguez, Jorge I. & Rafael Fernández de Castro, eds. *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations : Cooperation or Conflict in the 21st Century ?* New York: Routledge, 2016 (2e édition)

Fishlow, Albert & James Jones, eds. *The United States and the Americas. A Twenty First Century View*. New York: Norton, 1999.

Hartlyn, Jonathan, Lars Schoultz & Augusto Varas. *The United States and Latin America in the 1990s. Beyond the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992. [contient plusieurs chapitres sur les relations économiques, les droits humains et le trafic de drogues]

Mace, Gordon & Andrew Cooper & Timothy Shaw. *Inter-American Cooperation at a Crossroads*. Palgrave, 2011.

Palmer, David Scott. *U.S. Relations With Latin America During the Clinton Years: Opportunities Lost or Opportunities Squandered?* University Press of Florida, 2006.

Lowenthal, Abraham, Ted Piccone, et al. *Shifting the Balance: Obama and the Americas*. Washington, D.C. : Brookings Institution, 2011.

Morley, Morris & Chris McGillion. “‘Disobedient’ Generals and the Politics of Redemocratization: The Clinton Administration and Haiti.” *Political Science Quarterly* 112. 3 (Fall 1997): 363-384.

III.4. Chili :

Sources primaires:

Davis, Nathaniel. *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985. (ambassadeur)

Kornbluh, Peter, ed. *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*. New York: The New Press, 2003.

Sources secondaires:

Harmer, Tanya. *Allende's Chile and the Interamerican Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

----- . “Fractious Allies: Chile, the United States, and the Cold War, 1973-1976.” *Diplomatic History* 37.1 (January 2013): 109-143.

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

Hove, Mark T. "The Arbenz Factor: Salvador Allende, U.S. Chilean Relations, and the 1954 U.S. Intervention in Guatemala." *Diplomatic History* 31. 4 (September 2007): 623-663.

Hurtado Torres, Sebastián. *The Gathering Storm: Eduardo Frei's Revolution in Liberty and Chile's Cold War*. New York: Cornell UP, 2020. (relations Etats-Unis/Chili entre 1964 et 1970).

Merom, Gil. "Democracy, Dependency, and Destabilization: The Shaking of Allende's Regime." *Political Science Quarterly* 105.1 (Spring 1990): 75-96

Morley, Morris & Chris McGilliom. *Reagan and Pinochet: The Struggle over US Policy toward Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Qureshi, Lubna Z. *Nixon, Kissinger, and Allende: U.S. Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile*. Lexington Books, 2009.

III.5. Amérique centrale:

Sources primaires:

Cullather, Nick, ed. *Secret History: The CIA's Account of its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999, 2006. [Source primaire avec introduction]

Report of the President's National Bipartisan Commission on Central America. 1984. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112105133950&view=1up&seq=9>

The Tower Commission Report: The Full Text of the President's Special Review Board. New York: Bantam Books, 1987. <https://ia600301.us.archive.org/10/items/towercommission00unit/towercommission00unit.pdf>

U.S. Congress. House. *Regional Security Cooperation: An examination of the Central American Regional Security Initiative (CARSI) and the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI)*. Hearing before the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. June 19, 2013. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-113hhr81568/pdf/CHRG-113hhr81568.pdf>

White House. *U.S. Strategy for Engagement in Central America*. 2015. https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/central_america_strategy.pdf

Sources secondaires:

Arnsion, Cynthia J. *Crossroads. Congress, the President, and Central America, 1976-1993*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993. [L'auteure travaillait au Congrès en tant qu'assistante sur les questions de politique étrangère pendant les présidences Carter et Reagan].

Immerman, Richard H. *The CIA in Guatemala. The Foreign Policy of Intervention*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982.

LeoGrande, William M. *Our Own Backyard. The United States in Central America, 1977-1992*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Arnson, Cynthia & Eric Olson, eds. *Organized Crime in Central America: The Northern Triangle*. Woodrow Wilson Center, 2011.
https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/publication/LAP_single_page.pdf

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