

Political Science 146a
US & Latin America: Political and Economic Relations
Winter 2018
T, Th 6:30-7:50PM, WLH 2204

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SSB 366

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The course is a survey of U.S.-Latin American relations. To understand the international relationship, one must also look to domestic factors on both sides. Thus we begin with a brief historical overview, move to address the challenges of Latin American development and democracy, examine some key bilateral relationships and end with the two major factors influencing the US-Latin American relationship today: the rise of China and the Trump phenomenon. The key themes underlying the course are Latin American agency in the relationship, sovereignty and international commitments, conflict and cooperation, the U.S. as an enabler of various Latin American actors, and the relationships between government and society in both the U.S. and Latin America.

The U.S. and Latin America have a long relationship. Both faced similar challenges at their respective independence: all these nations were developed and socio-politically dominated by immigrant populations, and confronted violent experiences in consolidating their social, political and economic systems. While the U.S. is one country with a strong federal character that facilitates important regional variations, Latin America is a region, bringing together many countries, most under a centralized political system. The U.S. and Latin America now find themselves in a world that is moving in the direction of a new global order, the outlines of which are still murky, and this process will influence their relationship in as yet unforeseen ways.

Readings: All readings are available on our TritonED course website; you do not need to purchase any readings. Readings are expected to be read before the relevant class session. *Readings average 110-150 pages per week, so do not wait until the night before to begin.*

Course Requirements: TopHat software: We will use TopHat to evaluate class participation, which includes attendance as well as responses to in-class questions regarding course readings. Students are required to purchase a license for this software. A license can be purchased which is good for five years and useable across classes; alternatively, you may purchase a license for this quarter only. For an introduction to the software, please go to <https://support.tophat.com/s/article/Student-Top-Hat-Overview-and-Getting-Started-Guide> and to purchase your subscription, go to <https://support.tophat.com/s/article/Student-Purchasing-a-Top-Hat-Subscription>

Grading will be based on class participation (10% via TopHat in-class software) a midterm (40%) and final exam (50%). You are responsible for material in the readings and that which is presented in lecture. PowerPoints summarizing the lectures will be available on the course web site at TritonEd, but lectures are not PodCast. *Cheating on exams will result in failure of the entire course.*

SYLLABUS

Introduction to the Relationship 1776-2014

Week 1 Building Nations and Relationships: Domestic, Regional & International Challenges, 1776-1874

Tue: US

Bruce Ackerman, "INTRODUCTION: America on the Brink" in *The Failure of the Founding Fathers* Harvard University Press. (2005) pp. 3-15

Joseph Patrick Key, "Outcasts upon the World": The Louisiana Purchase and the Quapaws" *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 62, No. 3, (Autumn, 2003), pp. 272-288

William Nester, *The Age of Jackson and the Art of American Power, 1815-1848* (Chapter on The Monroe Doctrine) University of Nebraska Press, Potomac Books. (2013) pp. 83-87

Thur: Latin America

Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, "The Mexican Declaration of Independence" *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (Mar., 1999), pp. 1362-1369

Virginia Guedea, "The Process of Mexican Independence" *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 1 (Feb., 2000), pp. 116-130

Robert W. Delaney, "General Miller and the Confederación Perú-Boliviana" *The Americas*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Jan., 1962), pp. 213-242

Ronn Pineo, "From Colonies to Young Republics: Independence to the 1850s" in *Ecuador and the United States* University of Georgia Press. (2007) pp 12-37

Leandro Prados de la Escosura, "Lost Decades? Economic Performance in Post-Independence Latin America" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (May, 2009), pp. 279-307

Week 2 Consolidating US Influence: Latin American Weaknesses and Great Power Politics, 1891-1945

Tue: Latin America

George Athan Billias, "Second Echo: Latin America, 1811–1900" in *American Constitutionalism Heard Round the World, 1776-1989* NYU Press. (2009) pp. 105-141

Elliot A. Marcus, "Chile and Hispanic-American Solidarity, 1830-1865" *The Americas*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Oct., 1952), pp. 177-200

Leslie Bethell, "Brazil and 'Latin America'" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (August 2010), pp. 457-485 FOR THIS WEEK, END AFTER PARAGRAPH AT TOP OF PAGE 479;

Thur: US

Donald R. Shea, "The Origins of the Calvo Clause" in *The Calvo Clause: A Problem of Inter-American and International Law and Diplomacy* University of Minnesota Press. (1955) pp. 33-61

David C. Gompert, Hans Binnendijk and Bonny Lin, "The American Decision to Go to War with Spain, 1898) in their book *Blinders, Blunders, and Wars* RAND Corporation. (2014) pp. 53-61

Noel Maurer, "Introduction" in *The Empire Trap Book Subtitle: The Rise and Fall of U.S. Intervention to Protect American Property Overseas, 1893-2013* Princeton University Press, 2013 pp 1-24

Week 3 The Cold War, 1948-1989

Tue: Cold War Dynamics

David R. Mares, "The National Security State" in Thomas H. Holloway, ed., *Blackwell Companion to Latin American History*

Carlos Marighella, *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marighella-carlos/1969/06/minimanual-urban-guerrilla/index.htm>

THIS READING NEEDS TO BE ACCESSED DIRECTLY ONLINE

Michael Reid, "Cold War and Revolution: The United States and the Left Reject Democracy" in *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul* Yale University Press. (2007) pp 81-105

Thur: Getting Past the Cold War

Jorge G. Castañeda, "Latin America and the End of the Cold War" *Transition*, No. 59 (1993), pp. 45-64

The Challenge of Development

Week 4

Tue: Globalization I: Export-led Growth and Foreign Investment 19th C

John H. Coatsworth, "Inequality, Institutions and Economic Growth in Latin America" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Aug., 2008), pp. 545-569

Roberto Cortes Conde, "Export-Led Growth in Latin America: 1870-1930" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 24, Quincentenary Supplement: The Colonial and Post Colonial Experience. Five Centuries of Spanish and Portuguese America (1992), pp. 163-179

Aurora Gómez-Galvarriato and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Was It Prices, Productivity or Policy? Latin American Industrialisation after 1870" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Nov., 2009), pp. 663-694

Thur: Import Substitution Industrialization

Werner Baer, "Industrialization in Latin America: Successes and Failures" *The Journal of Economic Education*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring, 1984), pp. 124-135

Albert O. Hirschman, "The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America" in Jeremy Adelman, ed., *The Essential Hirschman* Princeton University Press. (2013) pp 102-136

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Reflections on the Patterns of Change in the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State" *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1978), pp. 3-38

Week 5 Globalization II: Economics & Politics in the 1980s/1990s

Tue: The "Lost Decade"

Laurence Whitehead, "Latin American Debt: An International Bargaining Perspective" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Jul., 1989), pp. 231-249

Kurt Weyland, "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record" *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Spring, 2004), pp. 135-157

Paul D. Almeida, "Defensive Mobilization: Popular Movements against Economic Adjustment Policies in Latin America" *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Contested Transformation (May, 2007), pp. 123-139

Thur: Commodity Booms

José Antonio Ocampo, "Commodity-led Development in Latin America" in Gilles Carbonnier, Humberto Campodónico, and Sergio Tezanos Vázquez, eds., *Alternative Pathways to Sustainable Development: Lessons from Latin America* Brill. (2017) pp. 51-76

Karen L. Remmer, "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s" *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 85, No. 3 (Sep., 1991), pp. 777-800

David R. Mares, "The Parameters of Resource Nationalism and Energy Policy" MS

******Week 6 TUE MIDTERM******

The Challenge of Democracy

Week 6 Electoral democracy, military coups and military governments

Thur: Democratic Instabilities

Maxwell A. Cameron, "Democracy and the Separation Of Powers: Threats, Dilemmas, and Opportunities in Latin America" *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revue canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes*, Vol. 27, No. 53, Special Issue on Democracy in Latin America (2002), pp. 133-159

David Pion-Berlin and Harold Trinkunas, "Civilian Praetorianism and Military Shirking During Constitutional Crises in Latin America" *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (July 2010), pp. 395-411

Kevin Casas-Zamora, "The Honduran Crisis and the Obama Administration" in Abraham F. Lowenthal, Theodore J. Piccone, and Laurence Whitehead. Eds., *Shifting the Balance: Obama and the Americas* Brookings Institution Press. (2011) pp 114-131

Thomas Legler, "Learning the hard way: Defending democracy in Honduras" *International Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 3, Democracy assistance (Summer 2010), pp. 601- 618

Week 7 Democracies in Latin America's Third Wave

Tue: Contextualizing Democracy

Arturo Santa-Cruz, "Monitoring Elections, Redefining Sovereignty: The 2000 Peruvian Electoral Process as an International Event" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Nov., 2005), pp. 739-767

Inter-American Democracy Charter, available at www.oas.org

OAS Sec. Gen. Luis Almagro, "The Challenges of Democracy and Human Rights in the Americas," April 7, 2017.

Thur: "Pink Tide" dynamics

Steve Ellner, "Leftist Goals and the Debate over Anti-Neoliberal Strategy in Latin America" *Science & Society*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Spring, 2004), pp. 10-32

Jorge G. Castañeda and Marco A. Morales, "The Left Turn Continues" *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (SPRING/SUMMER 2007), pp.201-210

Donna Lee Van Cott, "Latin America's Indigenous Peoples" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 18, Number 4, October 2007, pp. 127-142

Country Experiences

Week 8 Cuba and Venezuela

Tue: Cuba

María Cristina García, "Hardliners v. "Dialogueros": Cuban Exile Political Groups and United States-Cuba Policy" *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Summer, 1998), pp. 3-28

Council on Foreign Relations, "Timeline: U.S.-Cuba Relations"

"National Security Presidential Decision Memorandum on Strengthening the Policy of the United States Toward Cuba," June 16, 2017. <http://www.cubatrade.org/blog/2017/6/17/national-security-presidential-memorandum-on-strengthening-the-policy-of-the-united-states-toward-cuba> NOTE THAT THIS IS NOT ON OUR COURSE WEB SITE; YOU NEED TO ACCESS IT DIRECTLY VIA THE WEB

Brookings, "Reactions to Trump's Policy on Cuba" June 20, 2017

Thur: Venezuela

Jennifer McCoy, "The Chávez Challenge for Obama: An Inconvenient Marriage or Frosty Separation?" in Abraham F. Lowenthal, Theodore J. Piccone, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Shifting the Balance Book Subtitle: Obama and the Americas* Brookings Institution Press. (2011) pp 69-85

International Crisis Group, "Power with the People: Averting Venezuela's Breakdown."
<https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/andes/venezuela/b036power-without-people-averting-venezuelas-breakdown> ACCESS IT DIRECTLY VIA THE WEB

Week 9 Regional Rivals: Brazil and Mexico

Tue: Brazil

Leslie Elliott Armijo, "The Brics Countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) as Analytical Category: Mirage Or Insight?" *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 31, No. 4, 2007, pp. 7-42.

Center for Strategic and International Studies, "Beyond the Headlines: The U.S.-Brazil Relationship"

Harold Trinkunas and Ian Wallace, *Converging on the Future of Global Internet Governance: The United States and Brazil* Brookings Foreign Policy, July 2015

Thur: Mexico

Arturo Santa Cruz, "Domestic Politics and International Negotiations: Nafta's Two-Level Games" *Journal of International and Area Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (December 1997), pp. 1-16

Dan Restrepo, Michael Werz, and Joel Martinez, "Preserving and Strengthening the US-Mexico Relationship" *American Progress*, January 30, 2017

Shannon K. O'Neil, "The Mexican Standoff: Trump and the Art of the Workaround," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2017.

New Paths?

Week 10

Tue: China in the US-Latin American Relationship

Antonio Hsiang, "Trump Makes China Great in Latin America" *The Diplomat* April 21, 2017

Evan R. Ellis, "The United States, Latin America and China: A "Triangular Relationship?" Inter-American Dialogue, 2012.

Jaime Ortiz, "DÉJÀ VU: Latin America and Its New Trade Dependency... This Time with China" *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (2012), pp. 175-190

Thur: Trump – Old Wine in New Bottles?

Inter-American Dialogue, "Remaking the Relationship: The United States and Latin America" (April 2012)

Peter Schechter and Jason Marczak, with Rachel DeLevie-Orey, *Beyond the Headlines: A Strategy for US Engagement with Latin America in the Trump Era* Atlantic Council Strategy Paper #9 2017

Tom Long and Max Paul Friedman, "Trump and Latin America: Asymmetry and the Problem of Influence" *America and the World—2017 and Beyond* H-Diplo | ISSF POLICY Series

Andrew J. Kirkendall, "U.S.-Latin American Relations in the Age of Donald Trump" POLICY Series *America and the World - 2017 and Beyond* 16 February 2017 H-Diplo | ISSF