

Politics of Latin America Autumn 2019

Instructor: Professor Paul Haber

Political Science Department, course #325

email: paul.haber@umontana.edu

Meets: Tuesday and Thursday 2:00 – 3:20 in Liberal Arts 201

Office hours in LA 349: Tuesday and Thursday 11:00 – 12:30 and happily by appointment.

Course Overview

This course is designed to introduce students to contemporary politics in Latin America. No assumptions are made regarding students' familiarity with Latin America. I do, however, assume a willingness on the part of students to spend considerable time engaging the intricacies and nuances of the region by reading carefully, preparing in advance to participate in class discussions, and then following through with class participation.

All students are required to read, listen, or watch all the assigned before the morning we are scheduled to discuss them, and to come to class prepared to discuss them. It is not possible to do well in this class without a willingness to participate thoughtfully in our conversations. I am happy to help students to develop strategies to improve your class participation, and may come to you with suggestions. However, you are ultimately responsible for developing your voice.

All readings and other course materials to be studied outside of class are either available via links or will be emailed to students. I regularly communicate with students by email. Students are strongly advised to check their email regularly for messages from me. If you do not you are likely to miss important information.

Students are expected to attend all classes unless ill or in case of emergency. Make a serious effort to get to class on time. **If you are absent or late, send me an email explaining it. Do not explain it to me on the phone, in class, before class or after class.**

Grades

There will be two exams, each accounting for 1/3 of total grade. 1/3 of your grade will be based on your class attendance and participation and also homework assignments.

D: Poor performance on most if not all fronts.

C: demonstrates moderate understanding of the material and thus is unable to demonstrate quality analysis of the material in writing and/or oral argument.

B: demonstrates solid understanding of the material but does not demonstrate quality analysis on a regular basis.

A: demonstrates a high level of comprehension of the material on a regular basis and also demonstrates, at least on occasion, high quality analysis via comments and especially generative questions in oral and written argument.

Observations regarding grading:

1. My sense is that many students find me to be a “tougher” grader than many of my colleagues because I actually adhere to the standards above and in many instances, students are not required to actually demonstrate a high level of comprehension of challenging material let alone demonstrate critical thinking in their classes in order to earn a B or A in the class.

2. I appreciate that many students find it difficult to participate in class discussions. So, I allow students a variety of ways to demonstrate this to me. Of course, I appreciate students who are comfortable with speaking in class or muster the courage to participate in class despite it being scary, in part because it contributes to the quality of the

classroom learning environment (quality is valued over quantity). However, I allow students to raise their grade by having conversations with me in office hours, by email, or by the phone.

3. I expect students to participate in class discussions. Clarifying questions are welcome as are thoughtful comments and substantiated arguments. Perhaps most prized of all are probing questions that get us all thinking together in class. In addition, I allow students who make significant contributions outside of class or take on class projects that are presented to the class at the end of the semester and make a real contribution to our collective learning to elevate their grade. Individual and group projects welcome (see note below on Weeks 13-15).

Accessibility

The University of Montana assures equal access to instruction by supporting collaboration between students with disabilities, instructors, and Disability Services for Students. If you have a disability that requires an accommodation, contact me at the beginning of the semester so that proper accommodations can be provided. Please contact Disability Services for Students if you have questions, or call Disability Services for Students (DSS) for voice/text at 406.243.2243. You may also fax the Lommasson Center 154 for more information at 406.243.5330.

Schedule of readings and assignments (subject to change):

Week 1: Introduction and Day 1 of Historical Overview

August 27 Introduction to class. No reading, however you might want to begin the assignment for August 29, which includes reading and watching a film.

August 29 The First Encounter Between Europeans and Indigenous People in the Americas

Required Reading: John Charles Chasteen, Introduction and chapter 1 in *Born in Blood & Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*. Norton Books, 2011, pp. 1-46.

Required Viewing:

The 1.5 hour video, When Worlds Collide: https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=ietuPzq4N_o

Suggested: For those with time and inclination, take a look at these web sites and bring comments/questions to class. Many of you might find the second one, on US interventions over time, of particular interest. Seeing the large number can be helpful in understanding why so many Latin Americans are wary of US involvement in the region.

<https://www.yachana.org/teaching/resources/chron.html>

A chronology of historical events.

<https://www.yachana.org/teaching/resources/interventions.html>

A chronology of 56 U.S. military and CIA interventions in Latin America.

Week 2: Day 2 of Historical Overview and Days 1 and 2 Neo-Modernization Lens on Latin American Development

September 3 The Colonial Period, Independence, and 19th Century Nation Building

Required Reading: Chapter 2 and 3 in Chasteen, pp. 49-80 and 87-114.

Supplemental Reading (meaning not required, only for those with time and inclination): Chapter 1 in Alexander Dawson, *Latin America Since Independence: A History with Primary Sources*. Routledge, Second Edition, 2015, pp. 11-42. Available from Professor upon request.

September 5 Latin American Development Through a Neo-Modernization Theory Lens Day 1

Required Reading: Michael Shifter and Bruno Binetti, eds. *Unfulfilled Promises: Latin America Today*. Washington D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, 2019, chapters 1-3. Here is the book in its entirety:

<https://www.thedialogue.org/analysis/unfulfilled-promises-latin-america-today/>

Week 3: Days 3 and 4 of Neo-Modernization Approach**September 10** Latin American Development Through a Neo-Modernization Theory Lens Day 2

Required Reading: Michael Shifter and Bruno Binetti, eds. *Unfulfilled Promises: Latin America Today*. Washington D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, 2019, chapters 4-5.

September 12 Latin American Development Through a Neo-Modernization Theory Lens Day 3

Required Reading: Michael Shifter and Bruno Binetti, eds. *Unfulfilled Promises: Latin America Today*. Washington D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, 2019, chapters 6-8. Note: Recently, I have learned of an opportunity to have a guest speaker for today. Ana Luisa Moran Ahern is the Executive Director of Ecoviva, which is an NGO working on sustainable development issues in El Salvador. <https://ecoviva.org/> So, assuming Ana Luisa's trip works out and she is able to be with us this day, we will cancel the readings previously assigned for today except for the short chapter 8 conclusion to the book, which we will discuss on September 17. Stay tuned.

Week 4: Days 1 and 2 of Pink Tide and U Turn**September 17** Pink Tide and U Turn. Day 1.

Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts, "Latin America's Left Turn: A Framework for Analysis," in Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts, eds., *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Johns Hopkins Press, 2011, pp. 1-26.

September 19 Pink Tide and U Turn. Day 2.

"Pink-Tide Governments: Pragmatic and Populist Responses to Challenges from the Right". Latin American Perspectives, Volume 46 Issue 1, January 2019. <https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/lap/46/1?etoc=>

Note: if you are accessing through a university computer, this url should work. If not, you can access this online through Mansfield Library. Read the introduction by Steve Ellner and the article by Megan Pickup, pp. 4-45.

Highly recommended (but not required): take a listen to this half hour interview:

http://hwcdn.libsyn.com/p/a/d/b/adb7c9d6114ec3cf/January_2019_Podcast.mp3.mp3?c_id=30149240&cs_id=30149240&expiration=1556982204&hwt=e529dcde30021d6ee0077b34ce12d1f9

Podcast interview with Steve Ellner, a radical scholar, who specializes in Venezuela, where he taught for many years and about which he has written much. In it, he introduces and discusses the January 2019 edition of Latin American Perspectives, that deals with various aspects of the Pink Tide phenomenon.

Week 5: Days 3 and 4 of Pink Tide and U Turn**September 24** Pink Tide and U Turn. Day 3. <https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/lap/46/1?etoc=>

Pink-Tide Governments: Pragmatic and Populist Responses to Challenges from the Right

Latin American Perspectives, Volume 46 Issue 1, January 2019. Read the article by Marcel Nelson, pp. 46-65.

September 26 Pink Tide and U Turn. Day 4. Continue Reading in the Latin American Perspectives volume.

Read the articles on Brazil, pp. 66-104.

Week 6: Days 5 and 6 of Pink Tide and U Turn

October 1 Current Events in Brazil. Students are required to locate at least one article on current events in Brazil, write a summary of it, and come to class prepared to present it in summary fashion and make a comment or pose a question concerning the article, in 2-3 minutes. This must be typed up and will be turned in at the end of class.

October 3 Continue Reading in the Latin American Perspectives volume. Read articles on Uruguay, pp. 122-166.

Week 7: Days 7 and 8 of Pink Tide and U Turn**October 8** Read article on Venezuela by Ellner, pp. 167 – 189 and

<https://www.independent.org/news/article.asp?id=12862> This link takes you first to a short article by Alvaro Vargas Llosa, a well-known literary figure who is also has become prominent within the Latin American Right. At the bottom of it, you are linked to a summary of the report from the United Nations High Commissioner of Human

Rights, which then links you to the 16-page report itself. Read all of this. Come to class prepared to compare and contrast the contrasting perspectives, especially that of Ellner and the 16-page report.

October 10 Current Events in Venezuela. Students are required to locate at least one article on current events in Venezuela, write a summary of it, and come to class prepared to present it in summary fashion and make a comment or pose a question concerning the article, in 2-3 minutes. This must be typed up and will be turned in at the end of class.

Week 8: Day 9 Pink Tide and U Turn and Exam 1 workshop

October 15 Read the article on Ecuador by Clark and García and the article on local government in Lima by Dosh and Smith Coyoli, pp. 230-246, and 263-281.

October 17 Exam 1 Workshop

Supplemental Readings on Pink Tide and U Turn (not required: listed here for those with time and inclination) Jorge Castañeda, "Latin America's Left Turn" in *Foreign Affairs* 85(3):28-43. Haber note: Castañeda's widely read and much publicized article delineates talks two lefts, a good one (social democratic) and a bad one (authoritarian leanings, populist). This article unleashed a long-standing debate and continues to be referenced to today. In 2008, Castañeda teamed up with Marco Morales to edit *Leftovers: Tales of the Latin American Left*, which expanded on his thesis.

Kurt Weyland, "Why Latin America Is Becoming Less Democratic: For the first time in decades, democracy in the region is facing a sustained, coordinated authoritarian threat.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/07/why-latin-america-is-becoming-less-democratic/277803/> Note: critical of populist left. Highly recommended for those who would like to read something that counters the articles in Latin American Perspectives.

https://theintercept.com/2018/11/11/nicaragua-protests-terrorism-daniel-ortega/?utm_source=The+Intercept+Newsletter&utm_campaign=d0defc8a0d-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_11_17&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_e00a5122d3-d0defc8a0d-131635733
About Nicaragua and other countries passing counter-terrorism laws that are used to prosecute and persecute political dissenters.

Jean Grugel and Lorenza B. Fontana, "Human Rights and the Pink Tide in Latin America: Which Rights Matter?" mimeo, 2017. I have copy in folder. Happy to send to anyone who wants it.

Omar G. Encarnación, "The Rise and Fall of the Latin American Left: Conservatives now control Latin America's leading economies, but the region's leftists can still look to Uruguay for direction." *The Nation* May 9, 2018. Note: I have word document copy in folder and happy to send to anyone who wants it.

Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, "The Right in Contemporary Latin America: A Framework for Analysis" in Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds., *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*. Johns Hopkins Press, 2015, pp. 1-22. Can make copy available to students.

Kenneth M. Roberts, "Democracy, Free Markets, and the Rightist Dilemma in Latin America" in Luna and Rovira Kaltwasser, pp. 25-47. Can make copy available to students.

NACLA special edition, "Right Turn: The New and the Old in Latin America's Right-Wing Revival," vol. 48, no.4 (March 2017). Available through Mansfield Library.

Biglaiser, G., & McGauvran, R. J. (2018). Political Mandate and Clarity of Responsibility: Economic Policies under Rightist Governments in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, 53(2), 250-272.

DOI:<http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.327>

Note on Biglaiser and McGauvran article: this is a sophisticated article about an important issue for us in this class: how right governments actually govern - the policies they pursue when in power in Latin America and why, including the observation that they do not go as far to the right as might be expected, even when they have substantial mandates from voters and unified government.

Week 9 Exam 1 and Day 1 Introduction to Bolivia

October 22 Exam 1

October 24 Introduction to Bolivia. Day 1.

Required Reading:

Our reading for this section is a book by the well-known political anthropologist and Bolivianist, Nancy Postero. The book is open access and available at the link below. You can also purchase a hard copy if you prefer:

Postero, Nancy. *The Indigenous State: Race, Politics, and Performance in Plurinational Bolivia*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.1525/luminos.31> Assignment for today is pp. 1-40.

Week 10 Days 2 and 3 on Bolivia.

October 29 Introduction to Bolivia. Day 2 Postero, pp. 41-88

October 31 Introduction to Bolivia. Day 3 Postero, pp. 91-136

Week 11 Days 4 and 5 on Bolivia

November 5 Introduction to Bolivia. Day 4. Postero, pp. 137-177

November 7 Introduction to Bolivia. Day 5. Postero, pp. 178 – 188 and Linda Farthing's article on Bolivia in the Latin American Perspectives volume, pp. 212-229. Come to class prepared to contrast their two views.

Week 12 Day 6 on Bolivia and Exam 2

November 12 As we did for Brazil and Venezuela, everyone is responsible to bring in an article on recent events in Bolivia and to turn in a written statement.

November 14 Exam 2.

Note to students regarding Weeks 13 – 15.

As has become my custom, I intentionally leave the final weeks of the semester open so that we might decide together as group how to work together for the rest of the class. There are many options, including individual or group research presentations or keeping the structure essentially the same only deciding together which topics to cover (see list below for a list of candidates). Left to my own devices, I would probably suggest doing something on Mexico, something on Central American migration to the US, given my expertise on Mexico and the timeliness and importance of Central American migration in humanitarian terms and US electoral politics. I might also suggest considering Latin America and China relations. But, this is truly a time for you to weigh in if you wish.

November 19

November 21

November 26

November 28 Thanksgiving

December 3

December 5

Candidates for Remainder of the class (to be collectively decided upon)

--Future of Latin America and China

R. Evan Ellis, *The Future of Latin America and the Caribbean in the Context of the Rise of China*. Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, November 2018. https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/181119_FutureofLatinAmerica.pdf?fMECdCfwt7zdU7MyR9OFme08CFXWhti

--NAFTA and the Future of Trade Deals from a Progressive-Left Position

6

<https://fpif.org/what-kind-of-trade-policy-should-progressives-support/>

This link goes to a summary of the report. In the summary is the link to the 81-page report.

NAFTA 2.0 has been negotiated but has yet to be ratified. This report is highly critical of this particular trade agreement and other trade agreements that are characterized as neoliberal. The report includes a long discussion of what good trade agreements should look like going forward.

--Latin American Emigration to the United States: Implications for (historical overview and/or contemporary situation).

Here are some reading candidates:
Seth Homes, *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies: Migrant Farmworkers in the United States*. University of California Press, 2013, pp. 1-29.

Chapter one of Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. University of California Press, 4th edition, updated, and expanded. The chapter is entitled “The Three Phases of U.S.-Bound Immigration”

Selections from Judith Adler Hellman, *The World of Mexican Migrants: The Rock and the Hard Place*. The New Press, 2008. Prologue (pp. xiii – xxiv), Introduction (pp. 1- 14), Betó (pp. 17-22, from the section entitled “The Rock”), Tomás (pp. 65-75, from the section entitled “The Journey”), Sara (pp. 137-144, from the section entitled “The Hard Place”), and Patricia (pp. 191-209, from the section entitled “To Stay or Return Home”).

Hiskey, J. T., Córdova, A., Malone, M. F., & Orcés, D. M. (2018). Leaving the Devil You Know: Crime Victimization, US Deterrence Policy, and the Emigration Decision in Central America. *Latin American Research Review*, 53(3), 429–447. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.147> Note: I have pdf in folder.

<https://www.thedialogue.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/2018-NumbersRemittances.pdf>

2018 report on the 85 billion dollars of remittances from Latin Americans working abroad and sending money home to their families. Most of this is from the United States to Latin America but there exist also South-South transfers. This report can be quickly consulted for quick statistical introduction.

<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2019/03/07/migrant-caravan-made-in-usa/>

About the Central American caravan. (I have been working on this topic a lot recently and have a lot of articles. We could easily put together a broad selection if there is interest.)

Valeria Luiselli, *Tell Me How It Ends*. Coffeehouse Books, 2017.

Note: An intense volume written by a young writer born in South Africa, raised in Mexico, and now living and working out of New York City. This book is based on her work with children from Central America seeking asylum in the US. Here is a book review: <https://www.npr.org/2017/04/06/521791352/tell-me-how-it-ends-offers-a-moving-humane-portrait-of-child-migrants>

Beth Caldwell, *Deported Americans: Life After Deportation to Mexico*. Duke University Press, 2019.

Note: as is true of all Duke titles, first chapter available open access at the press’s webpage.

<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2019/05/23/trump-different-emergency/>

Critical assessment of Trump’s Wall.

--U.S. – Latin American Relations. Reading candidates include:

Selections from Gilbert Joseph et al, editors. *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations*. Duke University Press, 1998. Haber note: these are conceptually rich histories. The book is 550 pages long. Lots to choose from.

Brian Loveman, *No Higher Law: American Foreign Policy and the Western Hemisphere Since 1776*. University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Haber note: This is an excellent history book. We could potentially do selections but this might be more difficult than doing so from the Gilbert Joseph volume.

Michael LaRosa and Frank Mora, editors. *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations*. Rowman & Littlefield, Third Edition, 2015. This anthology runs the gamut, from the Monroe Doctrine (1823) to 21st Century. We could pick and choose, perhaps combining with selections from Joseph anthology.

Mark Eric Williams, *Understanding U.S.-Latin American Relations: Theory and History*. Routledge, 2012. The primary advantage I see of selections from this volume is that those interested in international relations theory could look at the relationship through prominent IR theory lens such as realism and liberalism.

Robert Holden and Eric Zolov, editors. *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*. Oxford University Press, 2000. In case we want to consult original documents such as The Monroe Doctrine, The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, The Good Neighbor Policy, The Alliance for Progress, The North American Free Trade Agreement, etc.

--**Mexico**. In addition to this being an important country in Latin America, with particular relevance to the United States, it is the country I know best in the region, having begun to conduct research there in 1979 and having lived in different parts of Mexico numerous times for between seven weeks and a year at a time. Here is one mix of readings for Mexico:

Nora Hamilton, "Mexico" in Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. Oxford University Press, Fifth Edition, 2015, pp. 315-340.

Neil Harvey, "Practicing autonomy: Zapatismo and decolonial liberation" in *Latin American & Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2016. Note: This article could also be integrated into a social movement theme.

Ley, S., Mattiace, S., & Trejo, G. (2019). "Indigenous Resistance to Criminal Governance: Why Regional Ethnic Autonomy Institutions Protect Communities from Narco Rule in Mexico." *Latin American Research Review*, 54(1), 181-200. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.377>

--Susana Draper, 1968 Mexico: Constellations of Freedom and Democracy. Duke, August 2018. Could just do the free first chapter, which is long and interesting (and open access): https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0143-0_601.pdf

--More on Bolivia.

María J. Paz and Juan M. Ramírez-Cendrero, "Foreign Direct Investment Policy and Development in Bolivia under Morales" *LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES*, Issue 222, Vol. 45 No. 5, September 2018, 18-34 DOI: 10.1177/0094582X16683373. Note: I have pdf copy in folder.

Fontana, L. B., & Grugel, J. (2016). "The Politics of Indigenous Participation Through "Free Prior Informed Consent": Reflections from the Bolivian Case". *World Development*, 77, 249- 261. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2015.08.023>

Thomas Grisaffi, *Coca Yes, Cocaine No: How Bolivia's Coca Growers Reshaped Democracy*. Duke, 2019. First chapter: https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0297-0_601.pdf

Forrest Hylton, *Revolutionary Horizons: Past and Present in Bolivian Politics*. Verso, 2007. Note: The movement history leading into 2005.

Penelope Anthias, *Limits to Decolonization: Indigeneity, Territory, and Hydrocarbon Politics in the Bolivian Chaco*. Cornell University Press, 2018. Haber note: probably not.

--Aaron Augsburger and Paul Haber (2018) Constructing Indigenous Autonomy in Plurinational Bolivia: Possibilities and Ambiguities, *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue XXX, Vol. XX No. XXX, 1–15 DOI: 10.1177/0094582X18791970. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0094582X18791970>

--Aaron Augsburger and Paul Haber (2018) Visions in conflict: state hegemony versus plurinationality in the construction of indigenous autonomy in Bolivia, *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, 13:2, 135-156, DOI: 10.1080/17442222.2018.1440511
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/17442222.2018.1440511?needAccess=true>

--Social Movements. Comparative Studies of Mexico and Bolivia.

Oikonomakis, Leonidas (2018). *Political Strategies and Social Movements in Latin America: The Zapatistas and Bolivian Cocleros*. Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN 978-3-319-90203-6.

Note: a major drawback with this book is the price. It is not available in paperback and the kindle price and hard cover price is over 70 dollars.

Erica Simmons, *Meaningful Resistance: Market Reforms and the Roots of Social Protest in Latin America* (Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics). Cambridge University Press, 2016. Note: this book draws empirically from Bolivia and Mexico.

--Social Movements. Landless workers movement in Brazil (the largest social movement in Latin America). Selections from Miguel Carter, ed., *The Landless Rural Workers Movement and Agrarian Reform in Brazil*. Duke University Press, 2015. We could do selections.

--Social Movements. Unemployed Movement in Argentina. Perez, M. E. (2018). Institutional Strengthening in a Receding Movement: The Trajectory of *Piquetero* Organizations between 2003 and 2015. *Latin American Research Review*, 53(2), 287–302. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.336>

Note: this is a sophisticated article about an important Latin American social movement, thus its value is both in its conceptual and methodological approach to movements as well as educating about a particular movement history. It might well mix nicely with the article by Neil Harvey on autonomy and the Zapatistas, also put forward as a required reading candidate on this syllabus which also has these values.

--Social Movements. Indigenous Movement in Ecuador. Rachel Soper, “Livelihood interests, organizational discipline, and grassroots participation in Ecuadorian indigenous movement protests” in LACES, 2019, Pages 24-47. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17442222.2019.1560610>
Could be combined with article by Quick and Spartz listed elsewhere in the syllabus.

--Focus on one or more nations other than Mexico or Bolivia. We could do one or more countries together or we could do individual or group projects. Let’s discuss in class.

One candidate of course is Venezuela, which is much in the news these days. Here is a brief 10 page report that outlines possible scenarios, written from a perspective quite critical of the existing government: <https://www.thedialogue.org/analysis/transition-interrupted/> but also warning about extreme actions by the US government, including military intervention. We could combine this “moderate view” with a reading or readings that are more supportive of the existing regime and much more critical of the opposition and US foreign policy towards Venezuela. Here is but one brief example of those alleging media right leaning distortion of current events in Venezuela: Michael Fox, “Once Again, Mainstream Media Get It Wrong on Venezuela: Foreign outlets, dutifully supporting Trump administration calls for regime change, reported that a widespread uprising was

underway, even though Juan Guaidó's coup attempt had little support" in *The Nation*, May 2, 2019. I have copy in folder.

--**The "New Extractivism"**. <https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/lap/46/2?etoc=>
Open Veins Revisited: The New Extractivism in Latin America Part 2
Latin American Perspectives, Volume 46 Issue 2, March 2019. Open access.

--**Radical alternatives to neomodernization thinking in Latin America:**

Arturo Escobar. 2010. "Latin America at a Crossroads," *Cultural Studies*, 24:1, 1-65.
Haber note on Escobar reading: A deep and theoretically rich look at radical alternatives.

Eduardo Gudynas. 2013. "Development alternatives in Bolivia: the impulse, the resistance, and the restoration," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 46.1 (Spring): p22.

Quick, J., & Spartz, J. T. (2018). On the Pursuit of Good Living in Highland Ecuador: Critical Indigenous Discourses of Sumak Kawsay. *Latin American Research Review*, 53(4), 757-769. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.132>

Sturtevant, C. (2018). Missions, Unions, and Indigenous Organization in the Bolivian Amazon: Placing the Formation of an Indigenous Organization in Its Context. *Latin American Research Review*, 53(4), 770-784. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.391>

This reading could also fit within a Bolivia country theme.

--**More neomodernization thinking**

Francis Fukuyama, ed., *Falling Behind: Explaining the Development Gap Between Latin America and the United States*. Oxford University Press, 2008. Haber note: Important conservative thinker.

--**Inequality**. Special Issue: Enduring and/or New Forms of Inequality in a Globalizing World - Volume 52 - Issue 2 - 2017 of LARR. <https://larrlasa.org/2/volume/52/issue/2/>

Note: The issue of inequality is big in Latin America. We could pick and choose from this special issue or we could divide it up amongst ourselves and come prepared to share collectively. There are a range of perspectives here, from Marxist (Webber) to much more moderate and established (Lustig). Just reading those two approaches would make for an interesting discussion.

--**Corruption**

Hummel, C. (2018). Bribery Cartels: Collusive Corruption in Bolivian Street Markets. *Latin American Research Review*, 53(2), 217-230. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.342>

Note: Corruption is a real problem in polities. There are different forms of corruption and we should perhaps take time to think about the concept in class before assuming any one of the competing definitions. One of the common pitfalls, in my view, when viewed at from the vantage point of the United States, is to assume, absent critical analysis, that Latin Americans or at least their governments are corrupt while the United States - inhabitants and/or government - are not or are less so. At the very least, this assumption should be interrogated. I could provide context regarding competing explanations of Latin American corruption and how the "undue/anti-democratic use of money in politics" in Latin America compares and contrasts with the US.

This article could also be integrated into a Bolivia country theme.

--Review Essays.

Donaghy, M. (2018). Reforming the Relationship between the State and Civil Society in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, 53(2), 388–393. DOI:<http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.620>

Note: The value in reading this short article is that it would introduce or perhaps further the knowledge of “the art of the review essay” as well as to seed a conversation regarding participatory democracy in general and in Latin America in particular, perhaps suggesting to the class that we might want to delve further into the topic with more readings and/or other materials.

Vaughan, M. K. (2018). Mexico, 1940–1968 and Beyond: Perfect Dictatorship? Dictablanda? or PRI State Hegemony?. *Latin American Research Review*, 53(1), 167–176. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.294>

Note: The value of this essay would be to introduce students to the art of the “review essay” and also review some excellent Mexican historiography, as well as help set up Clary to speak to 1968.

Film

We could watch some films. Here are some that I am pretty sure we could gain access to and watch in class:

-- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5WOYeGpGSqs>

Hour long doc on the gangs of Central America. Looks really good but I have not watched it yet.

Los olvidados

Orfeu negro

Memorias del subdesarrollo

La batalla de Chile

La última cena

Pixote: a lei do mais fraco

El Norte

Camila

La historia oficial

Yo, la peor de todas

La frontera

Fresa y chocolate

Como agua para chocolate

Central do Brasil

Amores perros

Y tu mamá también

Cidade de Deus

When Worlds Collide. PBS Special (assigned above)

Which Way Home

“Eyes Wide Open” narrated by Eduardo Galeano;

“South of the Border” by Oliver Stone;

“Megalopolis” about the women workers in Maquilas,

“Narcocultura” about the narcocorridos in northern Mexico;

“Crude” about the work of Chevron in Ecuador;

“The take” by Naomi Klein and her husband (don’t remember his name) about “fabricas recuperadas” in Argentina;

“Memoria del saqueo” by Pino Solanas about the 2001 economic crisis in Argentina. There is a newer one by Pino Solanas about mega-mining (la megaminería) in Argentina, I can’t recall the name but it is on You Tube.

“Black in Latin America” by Henry Louis Gates of 4 videos on the Afro-American presence in Latin America: Cuba/Dominican Republic and Haiti/Brazil/Peru and Mexico.

Vice.com has good videos but one has to get to the site and look for complete documentaries.

One can search for Latin America, and for example, find https://video.vice.com/en_us/video/punta-de-rieles-most-humane-prison-south-america/5bfd9159be4077378919e734 which is about a prison in Uruguay. My view is that one of the hallmarks of a social democracy is a criminal justice system that focuses on rehabilitation as opposed to punishment and warehousing. This film suggests that Uruguay is at least partially on this path.

<https://roarmag.org/films/>

This is a cool site, if you are interested in short left progressive documentary films and essays. You can go in, search for Latin America, and locate a number of good docs, many of them short. For example, if you are interested in the cultural survival approach (which is the left embracing a set of conservative preservationist values, check out:

<https://roarmag.org/films/all-of-this-we-have-to-defend/>

And/or check out these April 2019 essays on Venezuela from a number of left leaning scholars:

<https://roarmag.org/essays/bolivarian-revolution-venezuela-crisis/> or this sympathetic take on the Zapatistas:

<https://roarmag.org/essays/a-community-in-arms-the-indigenous-roots-of-the-ezln/> or this essay about self-defense community efforts by the well-known Uruguayan activist scholar, Raúl Zibechi:

<https://roarmag.org/essays/raul-zibechi-counterpower-self-defense/>

And/or this film on an indigenous congress held in Chiapas: <https://roarmag.org/films/think-heart-mexicos-indigenous-congress/?play=true>