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Class Meetings: Friday 9:00-13:00

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Inter-American Politics
11 May – 22 June 2018

Introduction

The Americas contain almost 1 billion people and 35 sovereign states. There is a rich history of political interaction between these people and states, and in the post-Cold War era, this interaction has become more intense and complex. This course explores some of the major episodes and themes in 20th and 21st century inter-American politics, largely but not exclusively from the vantage point of two of the most important countries in the region, Brazil and the USA. Combining comparative politics and international relations, the course is based on the premise that regional politics still matter in a globalizing world, and are increasingly important in both Brazil and the USA.

The course is divided into three parts. In the first part of the course, we will look at some regional political trends, inter-state dynamics, and Brazilian foreign policy. In Part II, we will examine four important moments in the history of the Americas: World War II, the Cuban revolution of 1959, the 1964 coup d'état in Brazil, and the 1973 military coup in Chile. These are episodes that created a ripple effect in the region, sparking processes of economic, social, and political change beyond the borders of the country in which they initially took place. In Part III, we will look at inter-American challenges in four important policy areas (trade, democracy, human rights, and drugs), examining how actors inside and outside states have tried to deal with these transnational issues, and how bilateral and multilateral policies have – and have not – changed developments on the ground.

Three themes will recur throughout the course. One is the difficulty of Latin American states, including Brazil, in dealing with the overweening power of the USA. The USA is an imperial power more interested in other parts of the world (such as East Asia, the Middle East, Central Asia, and Europe) than the Americas, but it still has unilateralist and interventionist impulses when it comes to its southern neighbours. Unilateralist – if not yet interventionist – tendencies have been heightened by the Trump administration in the USA. The second theme is the Latin American pursuit of a foreign policy autonomous of the USA. This involves a debate about Latin America's global and regional interests, and a search for the recognition of those interests on the part of its bilateral and multilateral partners. The third theme is how politics in the Americas are changing. This includes the extent of the USA's relative decline, the degree of convergence between the USA and Latin America, and the relevance and effectiveness of regional institutions and attempts at

problem solving in a globalizing world.

Educational Aims of the Course

The course will enable students to better understand some key historical moments that have shaped inter-American relations, as well as some of the most important contemporary public policy debates in the Western Hemisphere. The specific aims of the course are to:

- introduce the students to influential texts that interpret inter-American relations from different theoretical perspectives;
- illuminate the changes to inter-American relations that occurred during and after four key historical events;
- demonstrate basic features of inter-American political and economic institutions (such as the Organisation of American States, the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the North American Free Trade Agreement, Mercosur, Unasur, the South American Defence Council, Alba, Celac, and the UN's ECLAC and UNDP);
- enable students to critically engage with conflicting evaluations of political and policy outcomes in several key areas affecting countries in the Americas (including the commitment to democracy, the human rights system, trade policy and regional economic integration, and illicit drug production, trafficking and consumption);
- and provide students with the concepts, theoretical perspectives, empirical knowledge, and analytical skills required for evaluations of inter-American political and public policy debates.

Learning Outcomes of the Course

On successful completion of this course students will be able to:

- demonstrate a sound grasp of three key moments in 20th and 21st century inter-American political history;
- understand how these moments contributed to the development of the region's economic, political and social development;
- critically assess and evaluate different contemporary policies and their outcomes;

-and demonstrate the ability to compare and contrast various interpretations of contemporary inter-American politics from a variety of different theoretical perspectives.

Teaching Arrangements

Teaching will consist of six four-hour class meetings. The classes will involve a presentation by the tutor as well as discussion, student presentations and other forms of interaction. They will take place on Fridays from 9:00 to 13:00 starting on the 11th of May. Please note that there will be no class on Friday 25 May, because the instructor will be attending the Latin American Studies Association conference.

Assessment

Assessment will consist of: **1) one short essay** (1,500 words). This essay will be worth 30% of the course mark.

Choose one of the events covered in Part II (World War II, the Cuban revolution, the Brazilian or Chilean coups) and answer one of the following questions:

a) What are the principal causes of this event? In your answer, make sure to point out the relative balance between domestic and international factors.

b) How did the event affect inter-American politics?

c) Analyze the event in light of the foreign policy of the USA, Brazil, or another Latin American country. How did that policy attempt to respond to that event, and with what results?

2) the second essay (4,000 words). This essay is weighted 60% of the course mark.

Choose one of the policy areas in Part III, and answer one of the following questions:

a) Explain the origins and development of the contemporary inter-American outcome in this policy area. What were the principal factors in this development, and how might the system evolve in the medium term?

b) Examine inter-American policy in this area. What could be done by one or more regional multilateral organization (OAS, Inter-American Development Bank, etc.) or states to address current problems.

c) Explain the origins of Brazilian or US policy in this area. Is the policy responding to current problems adequately, and why or why not?

3) **in-class participation**. This will be worth 10% of the course mark.

Course Structure and Reading List

PART I: Global and Regional Issues, American States, and Foreign Policy

11 May: Unit 1: Enduring Dilemmas and the Contemporary Conjuncture

What are the most important issues in inter-American politics? How have inter-American politics shifted in the first part of the 21st century? What is the relationship between inter-American and global politics?

Required

Jorge Domínguez (2016) “The Changes During the International System During the 2000s” in Jorge Domínguez and Rafael Fernandez de Castro, eds., Contemporary US-Latin American Relations (New York: Routledge), pp. 1-29.

G. John Ikenberry (2018) “Why the Liberal Order Will Survive” in Ethics and International Affairs, Volume 32, Number 1, pp.17-29.

Andrew Hurrell (2018) “Beyond the BRICS: Power, Pluralism, and the Future of Global Order” in Ethics and International Affairs, Volume 32, Number 1, pp. 89-101.

Recommended

Greg Grandin (2010) Empire’s Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism (New York: Holt Paperbacks), introduction and afterward, pp. 1-9, 239-251.

Oliver Stuenkel (2016) Post-Western World: How Emerging Powers are Remaking Global Order. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 1-28.

Joshua Simon (2017) The Ideology of Creole Revolution: Imperialism and Independence in American and Latin American Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

11 May: Unit 2: Understanding Latin American Foreign Policy (The Case of Brazil)

What are the main principles of Brazilian foreign policy? How easy is it for policymakers to adhere to those principles in practice?

Required

Celso Lafer (2009) "Brazil and the World" in Ignacy Sachs, Jorge Wilhelm, and Paulo Sergio Pinheiro, eds. Brazil: A Century of Change (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), pp. 101-119.

Carlos Milani, Leticia Pinheiro, and Maria Regina Soares de Lima (2017) "Brazil's Foreign Policy and the 'Graduation Dilemma'" in International Affairs, Volume 93, Number 3, May, pp. 585-605.

Matias Spektor (2016) "Brazil: Shadows of the Past and Contested Ambitions" in William Hitchcock, Melvyn Leffler and Jeffrey Legro, eds. Shaper Nations: Strategies for a Changing World (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), pp. 17-35.

Recommended

Sean Burges (2017) Brazil in the World: The International Relations of a South American Giant (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

David Mares (2011) "Intra-Latin American Relations: The Challenge of Promoting Cooperation While Defending Sovereignty" in Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, eds. Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics (New York: Routledge), pp. 348-363.

Monica Hirst and Lia Baker Valls Pereira (2016) "The Unsettled Nature of US-Brazilian Relations" in Jorge Domínguez and Rafael Fernandez de Castro, eds., Contemporary US-Latin American Relations (New York: Routledge), pp. 106-127.

David Mares and Harold Trinkunas (2016) Aspirational Power: Brazil on the Long Road to Global Influence (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press), pp. 1-21.

Laurence Whitehead (2010) "Obama and the Americas: Old Hopes, New Risks" in Abraham Lowenthal, ed. Shifting the Balance: Obama and the Americas (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press), pp. 165-181.

PART II: KEY EVENTS AND PERIODS IN THE EVOLUTION OF INTER-AMERICAN POLITICS

18 May: Unit 3: World War II

How did World War II affect inter-American relations? Did Brazil's role in the conflict have an

influence on its international relations and/or domestic politics?

Required

Frank McCann, "Brazil's Options Narrow", chapter 4 of book manuscript.

Stanley Hilton, "Brazilian Diplomacy and the Washington-Rio de Janeiro 'Axis' during the World War II Era" in The Hispanic American Historical Review, Volume 59, Number 2, May 1979, pp. 201-231.

Recommended

Frank McCann, "Post World War Disappointment", chapter 7 of book manuscript.

18 May: Unit 4: Guest lecture: Matias Spektor (FGV-SP) "Corruption and Foreign Policy"

1 June: Unit 5: The Cuban Revolution

How did the 1959 Cuban revolution change inter-American politics?

Required

Jorge Castañeda (1993) Utopia Unarmed (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), pp. 51-89.

Richard Welch (1985) Response to Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), chapters 1 and 10, pp. 3-26, 185-193.

Recommended

Lars Schoultz (2011) That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), chapters 5 and 6, pp. 109-169.

1 June: Unit 6: The 1964 Coup in Brazil

What were the long-term and immediate causes of the military coup in Brazil? What did it mean for inter-American politics and Brazilian foreign policy?

Required

Stanley Hilton, "The United States, Brazil and the Cold War, 1945-1960: End of the Special

Relationship” in The Journal of American History, Volume 68, Number 3, December 1981, pp. 599-624.

Felipe Loureiro (2017) “The Alliance for Progress and President João Goulart’s Three-Year Plan: The Deterioration of US-Brazilian Relations in Cold War Brazil” in Cold War History, pp. 1-19.

Matias Spektor (2018) “The United States and the 1964 Military Coup” in Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History, pp. 1-19.

Recommended

Robert Holden and Eric Zolov, eds. Latin America and the United States (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), *Confronting the Fascist Threat*, pp. 155-158; *the Rio Treaty, the Charter of the OAS, The Menace of Communism, and A Realist Views Latin America*, pp. 179-189; *Operation Pan-America*, pp. 205-206; *The Alliance for Progress*, pp. 221-223; *The US and the Brazilian Coup*, pp. 243-247; and *Operation Condor*, pp. 292-293.

Anthony Pereira (2016) “The U.S. Role in the 1964 Coup in Brazil: A Reassessment” in Bulletin of Latin American Research, Volume 37, Issue 1, January 2018, pp. 5-17.

8 June: Unit 7: The Chilean Coup

What was the significance of the coup d’état in Chile on 11 September 1973?

Required

Paul Sigmund (1993) The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), preface and chapters 1, 10, and 13, pp. xi-xiii; 3-13; 202-230; and 275-292.

Abraham Lowenthal (1976) “The United States and Latin America: Ending the Hegemonic Presumption” in Foreign Affairs, Volume 55, Number 1, pp. 199-213.

Recommended

Naomi Klein (2007) The Shock Doctrine (London: Allen Lane) chapters 3-4, pp. 75-115.

Peter Kornbluh, ed. (2004) The Pinochet File (New York: The New Press), introduction and chapters 3-4, pp. xi-xx and 161-273.

PART III: CONTEMPORARY POLICY ISSUES

8 June: Unit 8: Trade and Economic Integration

What are the most significant recent changes in patterns of trade in the region? What policy options in trade and regional integration do countries in the region face?

Required

Grigore Pop-Eleches (2011) "International Economic Relations/International Development Institutions" in Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, eds. Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics (New York: Routledge), pp. 364-379.

Li Xing and Steen Christensen (2012) "The Rise of China and the Myth of a China-Led Semi Periphery Destabilization" in Li Xing and Steen Christensen, eds. The Rise of China: The Impact on Semi-Periphery and Periphery Countries (Aalborg: Aalborg University Press), pp. 31-58.

Recommended

Olivier Dabène (2014) The Politics of Regional Integration in Latin America: Theoretical and Comparative Explorations (London: Palgrave Macmillan), chapters 1, 9 and conclusion, pp. 3-36, 195-220.

15 June: Unit 9: The Defence of Democracy

What is the track record of regional institutions and states in defending democracy in the post-Cold War period? How robust is the contemporary system of democracy protection?

Required

Craig Arcenaux and David Pion-Berlin (2007) "Issues, Threats and Institutions: Explaining OAS Responses to Democratic Dilemmas in Latin America" In Latin American Politics and Society, Volume 49, Number 2, Summer, pp. 1-31.

Russell C. Crandall (2008) The United States and Latin America After the Cold War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), chapter 3, pp. 27-37.

Recommended

Thomas Legler, Sharon Lean, and Dexter Boniface, eds. (2007) Promoting Democracy in the

Americas (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), chapters 1-3, 6 pp. 1-62, 107-129.

15 June: Unit 10: Human Rights

How has the inter-American human rights system evolved, and how effective is it?

Required

Victor Abramovitch (2009) "From Massive Violations to Structural Patterns: New Approaches and Classic Tensions in the Inter-American Human Rights System" in Sur Volume 6 Number 11, December, pp. 7-37.

Par Engstrom (2017) "Reconceptualizing the Impact of the Inter-American Human Rights System" in Direito e Praxis, pp. 1-27.

Par Engstrom and Andrew Hurrell (2010) "Why the Human Rights Regime in the Americas Matters", in Mónica Serrano and Vesselin Popovski (eds.) Human Rights Regimes in the Americas, (New York: United Nations University Press), chapter 2, pp. 29-55.

Recommended

Robert K. Goldman (2009) "History and Action – the Inter-American Human Rights System and the Role of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights" in Human Rights Quarterly, Volume 31, pp. 856-887.

Inter-American Human Rights Network (2016) Reflective Report: Strengthening the Impact of the Inter-American Human Rights System Through Scholarly Research (London: April), pp. 1-11.

22 June: Unit 11: Drugs

Does contemporary drug policy make sense? Is there a viable alternative to the status quo?

Required

Paulo Abramovay (2012) "Drug Policy and the March of Folly" in Sur Volume 9, Number 16, June, pp. 191-199.

Peter Andreas and Angelica Duran Martínez (2011) "The Politics of Drugs and Illicit Trade in the Americas" in Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, eds. Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics (New York: Routledge), pp. 380-392.

Recommended

Guzman Castro (2014) From Punishment to Markets: Social Movements, the State and Legal Marijuana in Uruguay, unpublished paper online.

John Collins et al (2012) Governing the Global Drug Wars (London: LSE IDEAS Report), online.

Thiago Rodrigues (2015) Drug Trafficking and Security in Contemporary Brazil (Rio: XII Forte de Copacabana Conference on International Security), online.

22 June: Summary and conclusions/Presentations of outlines of final essays.