

POLS 4555 Latin American Development
Spring 2020
Tuesday 11:30
Department of Politics, York University
Professor: Jeffery R. Webber

This is a four-part survey course of Latin American Development. The first part, divided over two weeks, provides an overarching introduction to political and economic matters of the *longue durée*, beginning with the “paradigms of conquest” and the legacies of colonization. The second part moves forward in time, to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, examining the complexities of “dependent capitalist development” and Latin American state formation through the entirety of a seminal text by Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, and a path-breaking article by Óscar Oszlak. The third part then shifts our attention to themes of revolution and violence during Latin America’s “long Cold War,” with a look at both regional trends and the specificities of Chile, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. We conclude, in part four, with an analysis of select topics in late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century Latin American political economy – neoliberalism and inequality, the political economy of the Latin American Left, extractivism, migration and borders, feminism, and the emergence of a new hard Right, as exemplified by Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil.

Required Texts:

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Gilbert M. Joseph and Greg Grandin, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America’s Long Cold War*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Jeffery R. Webber, *The Last Day of Oppression, and the First Day of the Same: The Politics and Economics of the New Latin American Left*, Chicago: Haymarket, 2017.

Grading Scheme:

Short essay (2,000 words) – 25%
Five-minute presentation – 10%
Seminar participation – 25%
Final essay (4,000 words) – 40%

COURSE SCHEDULE

PART I – Historical Backdrop

Week 1: Introduction

Optional background reading (no required reading this week):

Jeffery R. Webber, "From Nuestra América to Abya Yala: Notes on Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism in Latin America Across the Centuries," *Viewpoint Magazine*, February 1, 2018. Available online.

Peter H. Smith, James N. Green, and Thomas E. Skidmore, *Modern Latin America*, ninth edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018 (chapter 12).

Ernesto Laclau, "Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America," *New Left Review*, I, 67, 1971: 19-38.

Week 2: Legacies of Conquest

Required reading:

Steven J. Stern, "Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24, S1, 1992: 1-34.

Florencia E. Mallon, "Indian Communities, Political Cultures, and the State in Latin America, 1780-1990," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24, S1, 1992: 35-53.

Further reading:

John Tutino, ed., *New Countries: Capitalism, Revolutions, and Nations in the Americas, 1750-1870*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Nils Jacobsen and Aljovín de Losada, eds., *Political Cultures in the Andes, 1750-1950*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Forrest Hylton, "'The sole owners of the land': Empire, war, and authority in the Guajira Peninsula, 1761-1779," *Atlantic Studies*, 13, 3, 2016: 315-344.

Sinclair Thomson, "Sovereignty Disavowed: The Tupac Amaru Revolution in the Atlantic World," *Atlantic Studies*, 13, 3, 2016: 407-431.

PART II – DEPENDENT CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT AND STATE FORMATION

Week 3: Latin American State Formation

Required reading:

Óscar Oszlak, "The Historical Formation of the State in Latin America: Some Theoretical and Methodological Guidelines for Its Study," *Latin American Research Review*, 16, 2 (1981): 3-32.

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. (Chapter three).

Further reading:

Miguel Angel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*, University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.

Miguel A. Centeno and Agustin E. Ferraro, eds., *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Mara Loveman, *National Colors: Racial Classification And The State In Latin America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

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

Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.

Week 4: Dependency and Development in Latin America (Part I)

Required reading:

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. (Preface, Chapters one and two).

Further reading:

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," *Comparative Politics*, 10, 4, 1978: 535-557.

Ronald Chilcote, ed., *Dependency and Marxism: Toward a Resolution of the Debate*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982.

Ronald Chilcote, ed., *Development in Theory and Practice*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

Barbara Stallings, *Dependency in the Twenty-First Century? The Political Economy of China-Latin America Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Week 5: (Dependency and Development in Latin America (Part II))

Required reading:

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. (Chapters four, five, six, and conclusions – not including post-scriptum).

Further reading:

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, “Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment,” *Comparative Politics*, 10, 4, 1978: 535-557.

Ronald Chilcote, ed., *Dependency and Marxism: Toward a Resolution of the Debate*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982.

Ronald Chilcote, ed., *Development in Theory and Practice*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

Barbara Stallings, *Dependency in the Twenty-First Century? The Political Economy of China-Latin America Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

PART III – REVOLUTION AND VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA’S LONG COLD WAR

Week 6: Revolution and Violence in the Long Cold War (Part I – The region as a whole, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala)

Required reading:

Greg Grandin, “Living in Revolutionary Time: Coming to Terms with the Violence of Latin America’s Long Cold War,” in Gilbert M. Joseph and Greg Grandin, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America’s Long Cold War*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Jeffrey Gould, “On the Road to ‘El Porvenir’: Revolutionary and Counterrevolutionary Violence in El Salvador and Nicaragua,” in Gilbert M. Joseph and Greg Grandin, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America’s Long Cold War*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Carlotta Mcallister, “A Headlong Rush into the Future: Violence and Revolution in a Guatemalan Indigenous Village,” in Gilbert M. Joseph and Greg Grandin, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America’s Long Cold War*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Further reading:

Kevin A. Young, ed., *Making the Revolution: Histories of the Latin American Left*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser, eds., *In From the Cold: Latin America’s New Encounter with the Cold War*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Stephen G. Rabe, *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America*, the second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements," in Susan Eckstein, ed., *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989: 132-181.

Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Richard Gott, *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War*, second edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Deborah Levenson-Estrada, *Trade Unionists Against Terror: Guatemala City, 1954-1985*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Peter Winn, *Weavers of the Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Peter Winn, ed., *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973-2002*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Week 7: Revolution and Violence in the Long Cold War the Long Cold War (Part II – Cuba, Chile, and Colombia)

Required reading:

Michelle Chase, "The Trials: Violence and Justice in the Aftermath of the Cuban Revolution," in Gilbert M. Joseph and Greg Grandin, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America's Long Cold War*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Peter Winn, "The Furies of the Andes: Violence and Terror in the Chilean Revolution and Counterrevolution," in Gilbert M. Joseph and Greg Grandin, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America's Long Cold War*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Forrest Hylton, "The Cold War that Didn't End: Paramilitary Modernization in Medellín, Colombia," in Gilbert M. Joseph and Greg Grandin, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America's Long Cold War*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Further reading:

Kevin A. Young, ed., *Making the Revolution: Histories of the Latin American Left*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser, eds., *In From the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Stephen G. Rabe, *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America*, the second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements," in Susan Eckstein, ed., *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989: 132-181.

Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Richard Gott, *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War*, second edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Deborah Levenson-Estrada, *Trade Unionists Against Terror: Guatemala City, 1954-1985*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Peter Winn, *Weavers of the Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Peter Winn, ed., *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973-2002*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

PART IV – THEMES IN LATE-TWENTIETH AND EARLY-TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

Week 8: Neoliberalism and Inequality

Required reading:

Alejandro Portes and Kelly Hoffman, "Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change During the Neoliberal Era," *Latin American Research Review*, 38, 1: 41-82.

Further reading:

Jeffery R. Webber, *The Last Day of Oppression, and the First Day of the Same: The Politics and Economics of the New Latin American Left*, Chicago: Haymarket, 2017 (chapter 3).

William I. Robinson, *Latin America and Global Capitalism: A Critical Globalization Perspective*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.

Kenneth M. Roberts, "Social Inequalities Without Class Cleavages in Latin America's Neoliberal Era," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 36, 4, 2002: 3-33.

Susan C. Stokes, *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Susan Spronk and Jeffery R. Webber, eds., *Crisis and Contradiction: Marxist Perspectives on Latin America in the Global Political Economy*, Chicago: Haymarket, 2015.

Alfredo Saad-Filho, "The Political Economy of Neoliberalism in Latin America," in Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston, eds., *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, London: Pluto, 2005: 222-229.

Evelyn Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John D. Stephens, "The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory, and Social Dimensions," *Comparative Politics*, 29, 3, 1997: 323-342.

Duncan Green, *Silent Revolution: The Rise and Crisis of Market Economics in Latin America*, second edition, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2003.

Week 8: The Twenty-First Century Latin American Left

Required reading:

Jeffery R. Webber, *The Last Day of Oppression, and the First Day of the Same: The Politics and Economics of the New Latin American Left*, Chicago: Haymarket. (Chapters 2, 9).

Katy Fox-Hoddes, "Worker Power, Trade Union Strategy, and International Connections: Dockworker Unionism in Colombia and Chile," *Latin American Politics and Society*, 61, 3, 2019: 29-54.

Further reading:

René Rojas, "The Latin American Left's Shifting Tides," *Catalyst*, 2, 2, 2018.

Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds., *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

Evelyn Huber and John D. Stephens, *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Barry Cannon and Peadar Kirby eds., *Civil Society and the State in Left-Led Latin America*, London: Zed, 2012.

Garry Prevost, Carlos Oliva Campos, and Harry E. Vanden, eds., *Social Movements and Leftist Governments in Latin America*, London: Zed, 2012.

Tulia G. Falletti and Emilio A. Parrado, eds., *Latin America Since the Left Turn*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

Steve Ellner, ed., *Latin America's Pink Tide: Breakthroughs and Shortcomings*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019.

Week 9: Extractivism

Required reading:

Mariestella Svampa, "Commodities Consensus: Neoextractivism and Enclosure in Latin America," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 114, 1, 2015: 65-82.

Thea Riofrancos, "Extractivismo Unearthed: A Genealogy of a Radical Discourse," *Cultural Studies*, 32, 2-3, 2017: 277-306.

Further reading:

Claudio Katz, "Dualities of Latin America," *Latin American Perspectives*, 42, 4, 2015: 10-42.

Mariestella Svampa, *Neo-extractivism in Latin America: Socio-environmental Conflicts, The Territorial Turn, and New Political Narratives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Anthony Bebbington and Jeffrey Bury, eds., *Subterranean Struggles: New Dynamics of Mining, Oil, and Gas in Latin America*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014.

Todd Gordon and Jeffery R. Webber, *Blood of Extraction: Canadian Imperialism in Latin America*, Halifax: Fernwood, 2016.

Week 10: Migration and Borders

Required reading:

Susan Ferguson and David McNally, "Precarious Migrants: Gender, Race, and the Social Reproduction of a Global Working Class," in Leo Panitch and Greg Albo, eds., *Socialist Register 2015: Transforming Classes*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014.

Todd Miller and Joseph Nevins, "Beyond Trump's Big, Beautiful Wall," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 49, 2, 2017: 145-151.

Laura Carlsen, "As Honduras Collapses, Its People are Forced to Flee," *Americas Program*, November 22, 2019. Available online at <https://www.americas.org/as-honduras-collapses-its-people-are-forced-to-flee/>

Laura Carlsen, "The Wall from the Other Side," *Americas Program*, March 27, 2019. Available online at <https://www.americas.org/the-wall-from-the-other-side/>

Further reading:

Adam Hanieh, "The Contradictions of Global Migration," in Leo Panitch and Greg Albo, eds., *Socialist Register 2019: A World Turned Upside Down?*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2018.

Raúl Delgado Wise, "The Migration and Labor Question Today: Imperialism, Unequal Development, and Forced Migration," *Monthly Review*, 64, 9, 2013. Available online at <https://monthlyreview.org/2013/02/01/the-migration-and-labor-question-today-imperialism-unequal-development-and-forced-migration/>

Week 11: The New Feminism

Required reading:

Amy Hite and Jocelyn S. Viterna, "Gendering Class in Latin America: How Women Effect and Experience Change in the Class Structure," *Latin American Research Review*, 40, 2, 2005: 50–82.

Verónica Gago and Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar, "Women Rising in Defense of Life: Tracing the Revolutionary Flows of Latin American Women's Many Uprisings," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 50, 4, 2018: 364-368.

Alejandra Santillana Ortíz and Tobias Boos, "Graffiti and Glitter Bombs: An Interview with Alejandra Santillana Ortíz on Mexico's Movement Against Rape," *Viewpoint Magazine*, October 1, 2009. Available online.

Further reading:

Elisabeth Jay Friedman, ed., *Seeking Rights from the Left: Gender, Sexuality, and the Latin American Pink Tide*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.

Cinzia Arruzza, Tithi Bhattacharya, and Nancy Fraser, *Feminism for the 99%: A Manifesto*, London: Verso, 2019.

Week 12: The New Hard Right: The Case of Brazil**Required reading:**

Alfredo Saad-Filho and Armando Boito Jr., "Brazil: The Failure of the PT and the Rise of the 'New Right'," in Leo Panitch and Greg Albo, eds., *Socialist Register 2016: The Politics of the Right*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2015.

Jeffery R. Webber, "A Great Little Man: The Shadow of Jair Bolsonaro," *Historical Materialism*, August 28, 2019.

Further reading:

Perry Anderson, "Crisis in Brazil," *London Review of Books*, 38, 8, April 21, 2016.

Perry Anderson, *Brazil Apart, 1964-2019*, London: Verso, 2019.

Peter Kingstone and Timothy J. Power, eds., *Democratic Brazil Divided*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017.

Pedro Mendes Loureiro and Alfredo Saad-Filho, "The Limits of Pragmatism: The Rise and Fall of the Brazilian Workers' Party (2002-2016)," *Latin American Perspectives*, 46, 1, 2019: 66-84.