

Georgetown University
Department of Government
School of Continuing Studies/Summer School

GOVT 2612-10 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA

Dr. Arie M. Kacowicz (Professor of International Relations; Aaron and Cecile Goldman Visiting Israeli Professor, Department of Government),
Summer I 2023, June 5- July 6, 2023
Lecture and Seminar (International Relations/ Middle East Politics and History),
Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, 830-1015
Office hours: TBA
Email: amk43@georgetown.edu; or arie.kacowicz@mail.huji.ac.il (permanent email in Israel).

Goals and Contents of the Course

This reading seminar/course provides a basic knowledge and analytical tools for the analysis of the international relations of Latin America (and in Latin America), since the independence of the Latin American countries at the beginning of the 19th century to our days, with an emphasis upon the South American regional sub-system since the end of World War II. The course is not designed to focus on the particular foreign policy of any given country in the region, but in more general terms looking at the regional context, and applying concepts from international relations theories such as conflicts, war, and peace; international cooperation and integration; and international political economy. In this sense, studying Latin America is a kind of empirical laboratory to make sense of international relations in a regional context.

We will start the course by examining the historical background of the International Relations of Latin America since the beginning of the 19th century throughout the aftermath of the Cold War. Then we will assess the role of different actors, states and non-state actors, and their interactions. Finally, we will focus upon the relations between Latin America and extra-regional actors, first and foremost (but not solely) the United States.

Students Assignments and grades

Students' assignments include the following:

- A. Active participation in the course, which is based upon an interactive dynamics and intensive reading of theoretical, historical, and “actuality” texts. The attendance policy includes attendance in 80% of the classes (sixteen sessions). Missing classes beyond the number of permitted absences will negatively affect the grade assigned to participation in class (which is 30% of the final grade).
- B. Submission of a paper of about 10 pages, from a list of topics that will be distributed the first week of class. Students will present the outline of their paper in the last week of classes. ***Papers are due on the last day of class, they***

should be submitted in a hard copy until noon on July 6th (by the end of the simulation), at the Department of Government, ICC, 6th Floor, and also emailed to amk43@georgetown.edu in Word format please.

The grade will be distributed as follows:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|-----|
| A. | Class participation | 30% |
| B. | Final paper | 70% |

Accommodation for students with disabilities

Students with disabilities are strongly encouraged to contact the Academic Resource Center (ARC, Leavey Center, Suite 335; 202-687-8354; arc@georgetown.edu) before the start of classes to allow that office time to review their documentation and to make recommendations for appropriate accommodations, including note takers, books on tape, extended time on the final exam, interpreting services, and enlarged texts among others. The procedure for requesting an accommodation can be found online at ldss.georgetown.edu/procedure.cfm, and a list of possible accommodations can be found at ldss.Georgetown.edu/services.cfm.

For further information, please consult the following website:
scs.Georgetown.edu/academic-affairs/students-with-disabilities

The Georgetown University Honor Code and Honor System

All students are required to abide by the Honor System regardless of whether or not they have been required to state or write it, or whether they are visiting students. The Honor System includes detailed provisions for investigating and adjudicating allegations of academic misconduct. The Honor Code and Honor System will be respected throughout the course, and especially with reference to the term paper, that should be an original piece of research immune of any attempt of copy or plagiarism.

For further information, please consult the following websites:

scs.georgetown.edu/academic-affairs/honor-code

<http://gervaseprograms.georgetown.edu/honor/system/>

(Title IX Syllabus Statement (endorsed by Faculty Senate

Georgetown University and its faculty are committed to supporting survivors and those impacted by sexual misconduct, which includes sexual assault, sexual harassment, relationship violence, and stalking. Georgetown requires faculty members, unless otherwise designated as confidential, to report all disclosures of sexual misconduct to the University Title IX Coordinator or a Deputy Title IX Coordinator. If you disclose an incident of sexual misconduct to a professor in or outside of the classroom (with the exception of disclosures in papers), that faculty member must report the incident to the Title IX Coordinator, or Deputy Title IX

Coordinator. The coordinator will, in turn, reach out to the student to provide support, resources, and the option to meet. [Please note that the student is not required to meet with the Title IX coordinator.]. More information about reporting options and resources can be found on the Sexual Misconduct Website:

<https://sexualassault.georgetown.edu/resourcecenter>

If you would prefer to speak to someone confidentially, Georgetown has a number of fully confidential professional resources that can provide support and assistance. These resources include

Health Education Services for Sexual Assault Response and Prevention: confidential email sarp@georgetown.edu

Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS): 202.687.6985 or after hours, call (833) 960-3006 to reach Fonemed, a telehealth service; individuals may ask for the on-call CAPS clinician

More information about reporting options and resources can be found on the [Sexual Misconduct Website](#)

Above statement and TIX faculty resources found at:

<https://sexualassault.georgetown.edu/get-help/guidance-for-faculty-and-staff-on-how-to-support-students>

Title IX Pregnancy Modifications and Adjustments

Georgetown University is committed to creating an accessible and inclusive environment for pregnant students. At any point throughout their pregnancy students may request adjustments/modifications based on general pregnancy needs or accommodations based on a pregnancy-related complication or medical need. Students may also request accommodations following labor and delivery based on a complication or medical need

SCS students must complete the [Pregnancy Adjustment Request Form](#) (<https://titleix.georgetown.edu/title-ix-pregnancy/student-pregnancy/>) and submit it to the SCS Deputy Title IX Coordinator at titleixscs@georgetown.edu. Upon receiving the completed form, the Deputy Title IX Coordinator will schedule a meeting with the student to discuss the requested adjustments and implementation process

More information about pregnancy modifications can be found on the [Title IX at Georgetown University Website](#)

Topics and Schedule of Classes

1. Mon	June 5:	Introduction and LA subsystem
2. Tue	June 6:	The 19 th century
3. Wed	June 7:	The 20 th century
4. Thu	June 8:	After the Cold War
5. Mon	June 12:	Foreign policy and the state in LA
6. Tue	June 13:	Other actors, IGOs and NGOs
7. Wed	June 14:	Conflicts, war, and peace in Latin America
8. Thu	June 15:	Cooperation and integration
9. Mon	June 19 :	Realism and geopolitics
10. Tue	June 20:	IPE and political economy
11. Wed	June 21:	Development and <i>dependency</i> approach
12. Thu	June 22:	Democracy and international norms
13. Mon	June 26:	Transnational crime and violence
14. Tue	June 27:	The US-China-Latin American triangle
15. Wed	June 28:	Latin American relations with Europe and Israel
16. Thu	June 29:	Where is Latin America heading?

A. Empirical Applications and Extrapolations

17. Mon	July 3:	Students' presentations
18. Tue	July 4:	Students' presentations
19. Wed	July 5:	Students' presentations
20. Thu	July 6:	Students' presentations

Course Outline and Readings
(* required; all the required readings will be available in Canvas)

1. Introduction (June 5)

John Ward, *Latin America: Development and Conflict since 1945* (London: Routledge, 1997) HC 125.W 37 1997 (1155214)

Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, "The Latin American Tradition and Process of Development," in Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, eds., *Latin American Politics and Development*, 3rd edition (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1990), pp. 3-19.

Jan Knippers Black, "Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Latin America," in J.K. Black, ed., *Latin America: Its Problems and Its Promise* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991), pp. 1-15. (*)

G. Pope Atkins, *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999), Chapter 3, pp. 58-80.

Arie M. Kacowicz (2005), *The Impact of Norms in International Society: The Latin American Experience, 1881-2001*, Chapter 3, pp. 43-70. (*)

Andrew F. Cooper and Jorge Heine, "Introduction: The Effect of National and Global Forces on the Americas: Tsunami, Tornado or Just a Mild Breeze?", in Andrew F. Cooper and Jorge Heine, eds., *Which Way Latin America? Hemispheric Politics Meets Globalization* (New York: United Nations University Press, 2009), pp. 1-24.

Arie M. Kacowicz and David R. Mares (2015), "Security Studies and Security in Latin America: The First Two Hundred Years," in David R. Mares and Arie M. Kacowicz (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security* (New York: Routledge), pp. 11-29. (*)

Ana Covarrubias and Jorge I. Domínguez, "Introduction: Latin America in World Politics," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World* (New York: Routledge), pp. 1-21. (*)

Melisa Deciancio and Diana Tussie (2019), "Globalizing Global Governance: Peripheral Thoughts from Latin America," *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, April 2019 [available online] (*)

G. Pope Atkins, *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System*, Chapter 2, pp. 25-57. (*)

Cleveland Fraser, "International Relations," in Richard S. Hillman, ed., *Understanding Contemporary Latin America* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997), pp. 151-176.

Peter H. Smith, "Strategic Options for Latin America," in Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach, eds., *Latin America in the New International System* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 35-72. (*)

Abraham F. Lowenthal and Hannah M. Baron, "A Transformed Latin America in a Rapidly Changing World," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World* (New York: Routledge), pp. 25-41. (*)

2. The 19th Century (June 6)

Tulio Halperin Dongui, *The Contemporary History of Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), Chapters 2-5, pp. 42-207.

F. Taylor Peck, "Power Politics and the Consolidation of National Policies, 1870-1900," in Harold E. Davis et al., eds., *Latin American Diplomatic History: An Introduction* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), pp. 125-145.

Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Chapters 1 and 4; pp. 11-37; 87-113. (*)

Will Fowler, *Latin America, 1800-2000: Modern History for Modern Languages* (London: Arnold, 2002), Chapters 1-3, pp. 7-83.

Ori Preuss, *Transnational South America: Experiences, Ideas, and Identities, 1860s-1900s* (London: Routledge, 2016).

3. The 20th Century (June 7)

Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapters 3-4, pp. 63-113; and Chapters 5-8, pp. 117-216..(*)

F. Taylor Deck, "Latin America Enters the World Scene, 1900-1930," in Davis et al., *Latin American Diplomatic History*, pp. 146-189.

John J. Finnan, "Foreign Relations in the 1930s: Effects of the Great Depression," in Davis et al., *Latin American Diplomatic History*, pp. 191-221.

Will Fowler, *Latin America, 1800-2000*, Chapters 4-6, pp. 85-156.

Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapters 5-8, pp. 117-216. (*)

4. After the Cold War (June 8)

Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach, "Latin America in the New International System: A Call for Strategic Thinking," in Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach, eds., *Latin America in the New International System*, pp. 1-33. (*)

Jorge G. Castañeda and Marco A. Morales, "The Current State of the Utopia", in Jorge G. Castañeda and Marco A. Morales, eds., *Leftovers: Tales of the Latin American Left* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 3-18.

Andres Serbin (2016) , "Cooperative Security and Regional Governance", in Mares and Kacowicz and Mares, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*.

Arie M. Kacowicz (2016), "Latin America in the New World Security Architecture," in Mares and Kacowicz, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*.

Ana Covarrubias and Jorge I. Domínguez, "Introduction: Latin America in World Politics," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World* (New York: Routledge), pp. 1-21. (*)

Abraham F. Lowenthal and Hannah M. Baron (2015), "A Transformed Latin America in a Rapidly Changing World," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World*, pp. 25-41 (*)

Arie M. Kacowicz and Daniel F. Wajner (2020), "Alternative World Orders in an Age of Globalization: Latin American Scenarios and Responses," in *Latin America in Global International Relations* (London: Routledge, forthcoming) [available online] (*).

5. Foreign Policy and the role of the state in Latin America (June 12)

Atkins, *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System*, Chapter 4, pp. 81-107.*)

Heraldo Muñoz, "The Dominant Themes in Latin American Foreign Relations: An Introduction," in Heraldo Muñoz and Joseph S. Tulchin, eds., *Latin American Nations in World Politics*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996), pp. 1-16. F 1415 L 329 (1013900)

Alberto van Klaveren, "Understanding Latin American Foreign Policies," in Muñoz and Tulchin, eds., *Latin American Nations in World Politics*, pp. 35-60. (*)

Robert O. Keohane, "Between Vision and Reality: Variables in Latin American Foreign Policy," in Tulchin and Espach, eds., *Latin America in the New International System*, pp. 207-213.

Jorge I. Domínguez and Rafael Fernández de Castro (eds.), *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations: Cooperation or Conflict in the 21st Century*, Chapters on

US-Mexico (chapter 2); US-Argentina (Chapter 6); US-Brazil (Chapter 7); US-Chile (Chapter 8); and US-Venezuela (Chapter 11).

Octavio Amorim Neto and Andres Malamud (2015), “What Determines Foreign Policy in Latin America? Systemic versus Domestic Factors in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, 1946-2008,” *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 57, No. 4, Winter, pp. 1-27 (*).

Guilherme Casarões (2020), “The First Year of Bolsonaro’s Foreign Policy,” in Antonella Mori (ed.), *Latin America and the New Global Order: Danger and Opportunities in a Multipolar World* (ISPI, Italy). [available online].

Rafael Velázquez Flores (2020), “Mexico’s New Foreign Policy: Between Pragmatism and Principism,” in Antonella Mori (ed.), *Latin America and the New Global Order: Danger and Opportunities in a Multipolar World* (ISPI, Italy) [available online].

6. Other actors: International Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (June 13)

Atkins, *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System*, Chapter 8, pp. 208-241; and Chapters 10-11, pp. 269-313. (*)

Heraldo Muñoz, “A New OAS for the New Times,” in Lowenthal and Treverton, *Latin America in a New World*, pp. 191-202.

Thomas Legler, “Beyond Reach? The Organization of American States and Effective Multilateralism,” in Jorge I. Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World*, pp. 311-328. (*)

“The Inter-American Agenda and Multilateral Governance: The Organization of American States,” A Report of the Inter-American Dialogue Study Group on Western Hemisphere Governance, April 1997. <http://www.iadialog.org/> (*)

Arie M. Kacowicz, *The Impact of Norms in International Society*, pp. 71-76; 125-133. (*)

Monica Herz (2008), “Does the Organization of American States Matter?” (*)

7. Conflicts, War, and Peace in the Region (June 14)

Jorge I. Dominguez, "Boundary Disputes in Latin America," *Peaceworks*, No. 50, United States Institute of Peace: Washington, DC, September 2003. (*)

Atkins, *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System*, Chapter 12, pp. 317-349. (*)

James L. Ray, "International Relations in Latin America: Conflict and Cooperation," in Black, *Latin America: Its Problems and its Promise*, pp. 219-233.

Walter Little, "International Conflict in Latin America," *International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 4, 1987, pp. 589-602. (*)

Paul R. Hensel, "Contentious Issues and World Politics: The Management of Territorial Claims in the Americas, 1816-1992," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 1, March 2001, pp. 81-109.

David R. Mares and Steven A. Bernstein, "The Use of Force in Latin American Interstate Relations," in Dominguez, ed., *International Security and Democracy*, pp. 29-47.

Miguel Angel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), pp. 1-32; 33-100.
F1410.5.C46 2002.

David R. Mares, "Interstate Disputes: Coercive Diplomacy and Peaceful Settlement" , in Mares and Kacowicz, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security* (*).

Cameron G. Thies, "Traditional Security: War and Peace," in *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security* (*)

Arie M. Kacowicz, *The Impact of Norms in International Society*, Chapter 4, pp. 78-124; pp. 174-176.

Benjamin Miller, *States, Nations, and the Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Chapter 7, pp. 306-336.

Arie M. Kacowicz, *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), Chapter 3, pp. 67-124. (*)

Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Chapter 8, pp. 150-182. U21.1 H627 (1157862).(*)

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Stable Peace in South America: The ABC Triangle, 1979-1999," in Arie M. Kacowicz, Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, Ole Elgstrom, and Magnus Jerneck, eds., *Stable Peace among Nations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000, pp. 200-219.

David R. Mares, *Violent Peace: Militarized Interstate Bargaining in Latin America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), Chapter 2, pp. 28-51

Sabine Kurtenbach (2019), "The Limits of Peace in Latin America," *Peacebuilding* 7 (3): 283-296. (*)

8. Cooperation and Regional Integration (June 15)

Arie M. Kacowicz, "The Rio Group and the South American Union as Tools of Regional Security," Paper for 'The New Security Equation in the Americas,' 4th Colloquium of the Academic Forum of the Summits of the Americas, Quebec City, Canada, May 25-26, 2007.

Atkins, *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System*, Chapter 7, pp. 175-207. (*)

Alberto van Klaveren, "Why Integration Now? Options for Latin America," in Peter H. Smith, ed., *The Challenge of Integration: Europe and the Americas* (Miami: North-South Center, 1993), pp. 115-145.

Gordon Mace, "The Origins, Nature, and Scope of the Hemispheric Project," in Mace and Belanger, *The Americas in Transition*, pp. 19-36.

Lia Valls Pereira, "Toward the Common Market of the South: Mercosur's Origins, Evolution, and Challenges," in Riordan Roett, ed., *Mercosur: Regional Integration, World Markets* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp. 7-23.

Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach, "Introduction: MERCOSUR at a Crossroads," in Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach, eds., *Paths to Regional Integration: The Case of Mercosur* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Report on the Americas, # 15, 2002), pp. 1-14.

Thomas Andrew O'Keefe, "A Resurgent MERCOSUR: Confronting Economic Crises and Negotiating Trade Agreements," *North-South Agenda Papers*, No. 60, January 2003.

Inter-American Development Bank, *Beyond Borders: The New Regionalism in Latin America* (Washington, DC: Interamerican Bank, 2002), pp. 1-20. (*)

Roberto Bouzas and Jaime Ros, "The North-South Variety of Economic Integration: Issues and Prospects for Latin America," in Roberto Bouzas and Jaime Ros, eds., *Economic Integration in the Western Hemisphere* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), pp. 1-45.
HC 125.E 3737 1994

Monica Hirst, "Security Policies, Democratization, and Regional Integration in the Southern Cone," in Dominguez, ed., *International Security and Democracy*, pp. 102-118.

Andres Malamud and Luis Schenoni (2016), "Neoliberal Institutionalism," in Mares and Kacowicz, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*, pp. 44-55 (*).

Natalia Saltalamacchia Ziccardi (2015), "Regional Multilateralism in Latin America: UNASUR, ALBA and CELAC," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World*, pp. 298-310. (*)

Jorge Heine, José Octavio Bordón, Marisol Augusta de Barillas, and Caroline Freund (2020), "The Changing Patterns of Regional Integration," in Cynthia J. Arnson, ed., *In the Age of Disruption: Latin America's Domestic and International Challenges* (Wilson Center, Washington D.C.), pp. 82-97. (*) [available online].

Daniel F. Wajner and Arie M. Kacowicz (2023), "Latin American Regionalism in Theory and Practice: Initial Responses to the Covid-19 Crisis in Latin America" (paper manuscript), Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem (*)

Philippe de Lombaerde (2016), "Theorizing Latin American Regionalism in the 21st Century," *Federalisme Regionale*, pp. 1-6 (*)

9. Realism and Geopolitics (June 19)

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Geopolitics and Territorial Issues: Relevance for South America," *Geopolitics*, Volume 5, No. 1, Summer 2001, pp. 81-100.(*)

Detlef Nolte and Leslie Wehner, "Geopolitics: Old and New", in Mares and Kacowicz, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*(*)

Andres Malamud, "A Leader without Followers? The Growing Divergence between the Regional and Global Performance of Brazilian Foreign Policy," *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 53, Issue 3, pp. 1-24. (*)

Thomaz Guedes da Costa, "Strategies for Global Insertion: Brazil and its Regional Partners," in Tulchin and Espach, eds., *Latin America in the New International System*, pp. 91-115.

Christopher Darnton, "Rise of Brazil as a Regional Hegemon", in Mares and Kacowicz, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*.

Hussein Kalout (2020), "Bolsonaro's Failed Diplomacy Leaves Brazil Isolated as Pandemic Rages," *Foreign Policy*, July 67, 2020 (*)

10. International Political Economy and Political Economy (June 20)

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Economics and Security: The Counter-Intuitive Case of Latin America, 1945-2006," Paper Draft, April 2007.

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Globalization and Poverty: The Latin American Experience, 1982-2007," Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, New York, February 14-18, 2009

Arie M. Kacowicz, *Globalization and the Distribution of Wealth: The Latin American Experience, 1982-2008* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), Chapter 4, pp. 83-142. (*)

Kelly Hoffman and Miguel Angel Centeno, "The Lopsided Continent: Inequality in Latin America," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 29, August 2003, pp. 363-390. (*)

Judith Teichman, "Latin America: Inequality, Poverty, and Questionable Democracies," in Richard Sandbrook, ed., *Civilizing Globalization: A Survival Guide* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2003), pp. 39-52.

Atkins, *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System*, Chapter 13, pp. 350-372.

Juan Gabriel Valdes, "Changing Paradigms in Latin America: From Dependency to Neoliberalism in the International Context," in Joseph S. Tulchin, ed., *The Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995), pp. 127-138. JL 966C 675 (1138176).

Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapter 10, pp. 249-283.

11. Development and the *Dependency Approach* (June 21)

Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (New York: Monthly Review, 1973), pp. 11-18; 287-308. (*)

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), pp. Vii-xxv; 1-28; 172-216. (*)

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Charting a New Course: The Politics of Globalization and Social Transformation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), pp. 45-87.

Patrice M. Franko, *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), Chapter 1, pp. 1-28; Chapter 15, pp. 433-445. HC125.F682 1999.

Arie M. Kacowicz, *Globalization and the Distribution of Wealth: The Latin American Experience, 1982-2008* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), Chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (excerpts).

12. Democracy and International Norms (June 22)

Atkins, *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System*, Chapter 14, pp. 373-398.

Andrew Hurrell, "An Emerging Security Community in South America?" in Michael Barnett and Emanuel Adler, eds., *Security Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). (*)

David R. Mares, "Inter-American Security Communities: Concepts and Challenges," in Lars Schoultz, William C. Smith, and Augusto Varas, eds., *Security, Democracy, and Development in U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Miami: North-South Center, 1994), pp. 265-280.

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Latin America as an International Society," *International Politics*, Vol. 37, No. 2, June 2000, pp. 143-162. (*)

Arie M. Kacowicz, *The Impact of Norms in the International Society: The Latin American Experience, 1881-2001*.

Alberto van Klaveren, "Political Globalization and Latin America: Toward a New Sovereignty?" in Tulchin and Espach, eds., *Latin America in the New International System*, pp. 117-140. (*)

Andrea Oelsner, "Pluralistic Security Communities", in Mares and Kacowicz, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*, pp. 173-184.

J. Luis Rodriguez and Christy Thornton (2022), "The Liberal International Order and the Global South: A View from Latin America," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 35 (5): 626-638. (*)

13. Transnational crime and violence (June 26)

Arie M. Kacowicz, Exequiel Lacovsky, and Daniel F. Wajner (2020), "Peaceful Borders and Illicit Transnational Flows in the Americas," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 55, No. 4, December, forthcoming [available online] (*)

Arie M. Kacowicz, Exequiel Lacovsky, Keren Sasson, and Daniel Wajner (2020), *Unintended Consequences of Peace? Peaceful Borders and Illicit Transnational Flows* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), Chapters 3 and 4, pp. 45-132. (*)

Andreas, Peter, and Duran Maartinez, Angelica (2015), "The International Politics of Drugs and Illicit Trade in the Americas," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World* (London: Routledge), pp. 376-390.

Phil Williams (2016), "Illicit Threats: Organized Crime, Drugs, and Small Arms," in David R. Mares and Arie M. Kacowicz (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security* (London: Routledge), pp. 266-276. (*)

Paul J. Angelo (2020), "The Pandemic Could Brig Power to Latin America's Criminal Gangs," *Foreign Affairs*, April 21.

Tom Phillips (2020), "It is a Tsunami: Covid-19 plunges Latin America back into Poverty and Violence," *The Guardian*, July 5, 2020.

14. The US-China-Latin American Triangle (June 27)

Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapters 9, 11, 12, and Conclusions, pp. 219-248; 284-370.

Joseph S. Tulchin, "The United States and Latin America in the World Today," in Joseph S. Tulchin, ed., *The Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995), pp. 139-170

Louis Balthazar, "Changes in the World System and U.S. Relations with the Americas," in Mace and Therien, *Foreign Policy and Regionalism in the Americas* pp. 19-38.

Heraldo Muñoz, "Good-bye U.S.A.?", in Tulchin and Espach, eds., *Latin America in the New International System*, pp. 73-90.

Michael C. Desch, "Why Latin America May Miss the Cold War: The United States and the Future of Inter-American Security Relations," in Dominguez, *International Security and Democracy*, pp. 245-265.

Council on Foreign Relations, *US-Latin American Relations: A New Direction for a New Reality* (Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations, 2008). (*)

David Mares, "The United States and Latin America", in Mares and Kacowicz, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*, pp. 302-312.

Jorge Heine (2020), "China and Latin America," in Cynthia J. Arnson (ed.), *In the Age of Disruption: Latin America's Domestic and International Challenges* (Wilson Center), pp. 82-89. (*) [available online]

Mario Esteban and Ugo Armanini (2020), "China's Engagement in Latin America: Prospects Still Short of Expectations?," in Antonella Mari (ed.), *Latin America and the New Global Order*, pp. 51-80. (*) [available online]

Stephen Johnson, "Balancing China's Growing Influence in Latin America," *Backgrounder*, No. 1888, October 24, 2005.[available electronically in http://www.heritage.org/Research/LatinAmerica/upload/8474_1.pdf]. (*)

R. Evan Ellis, "China and Latin American Relations", in Mares and Kacowicz, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*.

15. Latin American Relations with other regions and countries (June 28)

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