

**University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
Summer 2017**

**POL360 H1S: Topics in Latin American Politics - Exclusion, Mobilization, and Social
Upheaval**

Instructor: Charles Larratt-Smith

E-mail: c.larratt.smith@mail.utoronto.ca

Class Times: M, W, 10am-12pm

Office: TBA

Location: SS 562

Office Hours: TBA

Course Objectives and Learning Outcomes

This course begins with a brief overview of the historical roots of state formation and conflict in Latin America, followed by a detailed examination of various theories and practices of social mobilization and upheaval (e.g. violent revolution and armed conflict) in the region. In particular, we will analyze the tensions between extra-systemic forms of organizing, peace bargains, and participation in electoral politics as means of resolving these social tensions. The class largely develops chronologically, exposing students to a range of canonical literature and contemporary research from a variety of social science backgrounds, with special emphasis given to Political Science, Sociology, and History. The students are expected to understand the general theoretical debates between scholars that are included in this syllabus, and then apply it to particular cases throughout the Americas. In sum, the ultimate goal of this course is to provide students with the context necessary to understand developments in contemporary Latin American politics.

Principal Texts

Miguel Angel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (PSU Press, 2002).

Timothy Wickham-Crowley, *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes Since 1956* (Princeton University Press, 1992).

Electronic Journal Articles: these can be accessed through the University of Toronto library home page or by following the links on the course web page under "Course Documents" (<http://portal.utoronto.ca/>).

Electronic Books: these can be accessed through the University of Toronto library home page (<http://onesearch.library.utoronto.ca/>).

Course Reserve Chapters: these can be accessed through our course web page.

Recommended Readings

In addition to our required readings, you are strongly encouraged to follow current events in the region. Suggested sources for current events include: *The Los Angeles Times*; *The New York Times*; *The Washington Post*; *The Christian Science Monitor*; *The Economist*; *Time*, and *Newsweek*. You may also want to consult the following website for recent news on the region: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/latin_america/. For an alternative media website dedicated to activism and politics in Latin America, see: <http://nacla.org/>.

The following websites offer useful statistical data on the region:

www.lanic.utexas.edu/

<http://www.iadb.org/>

<http://www.thedialogue.org/>

<http://www.eclac.cl/>

www.oas.org

The following journals are excellent academic sources on the region:

Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies

Latin American Research Review

Journal of Latin American Studies

Latin American Politics and Society

Latin American Perspectives

NACLA Report on the Americas

Bulletin of Latin American Research

Journal of Democracy

The University of Toronto has one of the best libraries in North America. You are welcome to enlist the help of Ibero-American Reference Librarian Miguel Torrens (miguel.torrens@utoronto.ca) for your research needs. He is a great resource.

Course Format and Requirements

The class will be taught in a lecture-style format. Teaching methods will include lectures, videos and class discussions. Participation in lecture discussions is highly encouraged. In addition, students will be expected to contribute to the discussion board on the course web page.

The work requirements of the course are as follows:

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| 1. Research Proposal (Monday, July 17th) | 10% |
| 2. Research Essay (Monday, August 14th) | 30% |

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| 3. Participation in Discussion Board (one before/after July 25th) | 20% |
| 4. Final Exam (TBA) | 40% |

Course Web Page

The course will utilize the Blackboard Academic Suite program. You can log-on to the course web site through the University's Portal system at: <http://portal.utoronto.ca> or by clicking on the "Log-In to the Portal" icon on the University's homepage (<http://www.utoronto.ca/>). You will need a UTORID and Password to gain access to the course web page. Once you are logged in, if you are registered in the course on ROSI, you should see POL3** listed under "My courses." Simply click on that link to access the course web site. This web site plays a central role in the functioning of the course therefore you are strongly advised to visit it frequently.

Assignment Submission and Grading

Assignment grading will follow the UofT's grading regulations as outlined in the 2016-2017 Course Calendar. Assignments are due at the beginning of class. Assignments submitted after class will be subjected to a late penalty. Assignments will not be accepted via email. Students are strongly advised to keep draft work and hard copies of their papers. These should be kept even after the marked assignments have been returned.

Policy on Late Assignments and Extensions

A penalty of 5% per working day will be applied to all late assignments up until a maximum of ten late days, after which late papers will not be accepted. Weekends count as one working day. Late assignments should be submitted to my mailbox, dated and stamped in the Political Science reception at SS 3018. Assignments are date stamped at 4:30 p.m. each weekday. Any medical-based assignment extension requests will require official medical documentation and will require advance notice.

Plagiarism

According to the University's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters, it shall be an offence for a student knowingly:

- a) to forge or in any way alter or falsify any document or evidence required for admission to the University, or to utter, circulate or make use of any such forged, altered or falsified document, whether the record be in print or electronic form;
- b) to use or possess an unauthorized aid or aids or obtain unauthorized assistance in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work;
- c) to personate another person, or to have another person personate, at any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work;
- d) to represent as one's own any idea or expression of an idea or work of another in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work;

- e) to submit, without the knowledge and approval of the instructor to whom it is submitted, any academic work for which credit has previously been obtained or is being sought in another course or program of study in the University or elsewhere;
- f) to submit for credit any academic work containing a purported statement of fact or reference to a source which has been concocted.

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University's policy on plagiarism at: <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/newstudents/transition/academic/plagiarism>.

Turnitin Policy

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

If you have any questions about using Turnitin.com, please see the Guide for Students published by the UofT Centre for Teaching Support and Innovation (<http://teaching.utoronto.ca/ed-tech/teaching-technology/turnitin/a-guide-for-students/>).

The submission process will open one week before the deadline for the research essay, and you will have until midnight on the due date to submit your file. In addition to submitting an electronic copy of your paper to Turnitin.com, you must staple the receipt from Turnitin to the hardcopy of your paper.

Evaluation Criteria for Written Work

- 1) *Level of Style and Organization*: Your work must be completely free of grammatical, spelling and typographical errors. References can be in any accepted style but the same format must be used consistently and they must be accurate. The organization of the paper should assist the reader by providing a readily understandable presentation of background information, research findings, analysis and conclusions.
- 2) *Adequacy of the Research*: Your findings should be derived from thorough research. Your work should be free of major factual errors or unsupported and/or undocumented assertions. You should link your findings to those of other scholars and draw meaningful conclusions based on your evidence.

- 3) *Cogency of the Argument*: Your written work should have a clear focus and an argument that is logically constructed. Your analysis should display understanding of the topic and originality of thought.

Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the Accessibility Services Office as soon as possible. I will work with you and Accessibility to ensure you can achieve your learning goals in this course. Inquiries are confidential. Accessibility Services can be contacted at: diasability.services@utoronto.ca.

Assignment Guidelines

Participation in Discussion Board

Your participation grade will be based on the quality of your contribution to the course's on-line Discussion Board, accessible through the course web site. Students are required to submit two (2) short discussion papers during the course. The objective is to help you prepare to participate in class discussion. Students can choose the weeks they want to write about with one restriction: one discussion paper must be submitted before the fourth week (July 26th) *commences*, and the other by the penultimate class at the latest (August 9th). Your submission should be between 1-2 double-spaced pages (250-500 words) maximum. You must submit and circulate your paper to the class via Blackboard no later than midnight on the night before the class for your submission to count. To post your contribution, log-on to the course web site and select "Discussion Board." Click on the forum "Reviews of the Week" and select "Create Thread." The subject of your message should be the topic of the week. You can type your contribution directly into the message textbox or attach a file. Your paper should reflect on some aspect of the week's readings (e.g. Do you agree/disagree with the authors? What questions did the readings raise?). Please do not summarize the readings but respond to the debates.

Research Proposal

This is due at the beginning of class on July 17th. The purpose of this assignment is to provide you with instructor feedback during the preparation of your research essay. The proposal is also intended to assist you in selecting your essay question, locating sources and organizing your ideas in a timely fashion. Research proposals should be between 2-3 double-spaced pages (not including bibliography). Proposals should: a) identify your research question; b) outline what other scholars have said or found on the topic; c) outline your basic argument; and d) outline your research design and identify what kinds of data (e.g. specific statistics, historical evidence, etc.) you will use to support your argument. You should attach a one-page proposed bibliography to your proposal. Proposals that fail to cite sources throughout the paper will NOT be accepted. *You must*

draw on material from this course in your essay. Both the research proposal and the essay assignments will be discussed in detail in lecture session.

Research Essay

Please choose one of the following essay questions. The essay should be approximately 10 double-spaced pages (not including bibliography). Ensure that you state your argument in the introduction, provide an overview of the literature on your topic, support your assertions with evidence, and conclude by summarizing your findings and outlining any questions or avenues for future research. Make sure to fully answer all components of the question. You must cite sources either in footnotes, endnotes or embedded in the text and provide a bibliography. Please note that you must incorporate at least two sources from the course syllabus in your essay. And remember, if you use another author's words, you must enclose them in quotes and cite the source. If you use another author's ideas, you must cite the source. Essays that do not adhere to standard citation practice will NOT be accepted. This is due on the beginning of the final class on August 14th.

Essay Questions

Write an essay answering one of the following questions:

1. What has been the role of agrarian reform (e.g. the land question) on political instability throughout Latin American history?
2. In contrast to state formation in Europe, why has Latin America been home to countless civil wars yet so few international conflicts?
3. What role has private capital – domestic and international - played in social and political conflicts in Latin America?
4. How did the end of the Cold War affect certain violent conflicts more in comparison to others and why?
5. Looking at historical factors, why is the illicit drug trade, organized crime, and urban gang violence so prevalent in the region?

Final Exam

The final exam will take place during the summer examination period. The exam will include a mix of short answer and essay questions and will test your familiarity with the lecture material and reading assignments as well as your ability to apply what you have learned. Students will be responsible for the entire course content. A study guide for the exam will be made available during the last week of class.

Other Course Etiquette

Cell phones should be kept out of sight (e.g. in pockets or bags) while class is in session. Similarly, laptops should be used for class related purposes only and nothing else (i.e. surfing the internet, writing emails, etc.). Failure to comply with either of these will result in a reduction of participation marks.

When contacting me via email, please ensure that any question or inquiry is not something which can be answered by reviewing the contents of this syllabus. Please include the course code in the subject line and ensure that your emails are sent from a UofT account so that they do not inadvertently end up in a spam or junk folder. I will reply to all emails within 48 hours.

Finally, if you have an issue with any grade you receive you can request a re-grade by submitting a 300 word written appeal detailing why you feel you deserve another review. Please bear in mind however, that I reserve the right to lower a given mark upon review if I feel that I was excessively generous the first time around. Therefore, please be extremely confident that you deserve a better grade before pursuing this option.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNED READINGS

Class I (Wednesday, July 5th): Introduction and Course Overview: Who are the Excluded and the Excluders?

Miguel Centeno, (2002) "Chapter 1: The Latin American Puzzle" in *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*.

Part I: The Historical Roots of Conflict in Latin America – From Independence to the Allied Victory

Class II (Monday, July 10th): From Independence to Nascent State Formation: Historical Roots of Exclusion in Latin America

Miguel Centeno, (2002) "Chapter 2: Making War" in *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*.

John C. Chasteen (2001) "Chapter 4: Independence" in *Born in Blood and Fire*.

Charles Tilly (1985), "Chapter 5: War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in *Bringing the State Back In*. Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Class III (Wednesday, July 12th): The Evolution of Dysfunction: Emergent Social Structures, Caudillismo and the Rise of US Interventionism

Miguel Centeno, (2002) "Chapter 3: Making the State" in *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*.

John C. Chasteen (2001) "Chapter 5: Postcolonial Blues" in *Born in Blood and Fire*.

Demarest, Geoffrey, "War of the Thousand Days", *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2001): pp. 1-30.

Friedman, Max Paul, and Tom Long, "Soft Balancing in the Americas: Latin American Opposition to U.S. Intervention, 1898-1936", *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2015): pp. 120 – 156.

Class IV (Monday, July 17th): The Landless Campesino: Rural Underdevelopment and the First Wave of Agrarian Conflict

Héctor Lindo-Fuentes, Erik Ching, and Rafael A. Lara-Martínez (2007) "Chapter 1: The Uprising and the Matanza of 1932" in *Remembering a Massacre in El Salvador: The Insurrection of 1932, Roque Dalton, and the Politics of Historical Memory* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press)

Jeffrey Paige (1978) "Chapter 1: A Theory of Rural Class Conflict" in *Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World* (New York: Macmillan).

Eric R. Wolf (1969) "Chapter 1: Mexico" in *Peasant Wars of the 20th Century* (New York: Harper Collins).

Research Proposal Due

Class V (Wednesday, July 19th): The Obreros Rise: Early Worker Organizations, Mobilizations, and Conflicts

Marcelo Bucheli (2005) "Chapter 4: Labor Conflicts of United Fruit in Magdalena in the 1920s" in *Bananas and Business: The United Fruit Company in Colombia, 1899-2000* (New York: New York University Press)

R. B. Collier, David Collier, and Guillermo O'Donnell (1991) "Chapter 3: Labor: Emergence of Worker Organization and Protest" in *Shaping the Political Arena* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press)

Henry A. Pérez (1986) "Chapter 6: The Pursuit of Politics" in *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1899-1934* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press)

Part II: A Rupture Between the Revolutionary Left and the Reactionary Right

Class VI (Monday, July 24th): Post War Turbulence: Long Standing Cleavages in the Early Cold War Period

Mary Roldán (2002) "Introduction" in *Blood and Fire: La Violencia in Antioquia, Colombia, 1946-1953* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).

Timothy Wickham-Crowley (1992) "Chapter 3: The Social and Political Origins of the Guerrilla Movements" in *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes Since 1956*.

Eric R. Wolf (1969) "Chapter 6: Cuba" in *Peasant Wars of the 20th Century* (New York: Harper Collins)

*** Last Week to Make the 1st Discussion Board Contribution***

Class VII (Wednesday, July 26th): The Cold War Rivalry Deepens: Caught Between Insurgents and Strongmen

McSherry, J. Patrice, "Tracking the Origins of a State Terror Network: Operation Condor", *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 29 (2002): pp. 38-60.

Timothy Wickham-Crowley (1992) "Chapter 8: Regime Weaknesses and the Emergence of Dual Power" in *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes Since 1956*.

Timothy Wickham-Crowley (1992) "Chapter 9: The Origins of the Second Wave" in *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes Since 1956*.

Class VIII (Monday, July 31st): The End Game of the Cold War and the Last Wave of Insurgency (Almost)

Jeff Goodwin (1994), "Chapter 5: The Formation of Revolutionary Movements in Central America" in *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Jeff Goodwin (1994), "Chapter 6: Not-So-Inevitable Revolutions: The Political Trajectory of Revolutionary Movements in Central America" in *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Koc-Menard, Sergio, "Fragmented Sovereignty: Why *Sendero Luminoso* Consolidated in Some Regions of Peru But Not in Others", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2007): pp. 173-206.

Part III: Emerging Flashpoints in Post-Cold War Latin America

Class IX (Wednesday, August 2nd): The Rise of the Illicit Drug Trade: A Symptom or Cause?

Duncan, Gustavo, "Drug Trafficking and Political Power: Oligopolies of Coercion in Colombia and Mexico", *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2014): pp. 18-42.

Duran-Martínez, Angelica, "To Kill and Tell? State Power, Criminal Competition, and Drug Violence?", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 59, No. 8 (2015): pp. 1377-1402.

Snyder, Richard, and Angelica Duran-Martínez, "Does Illegality Breed Violence? Drug Trafficking and State-Sponsored Protection Rackets", *Crime, Law, and Social Change*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (2009): pp. 253-273.

Ricardo Vargas (2004), "Chapter 5: State, Esprit Mafioso, and Armed Conflict in Colombia" in *Politics in the Andes*. Jo-Marie Burt, and Philip Mauceri, eds. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press).

Class X (Wednesday, August 2nd): Waiting In the Shadows: Street Gangs and Organized Crime in the Face of Fragmented Authority

Enrique Desmond Arias, (2016) "Chapter 3: The Structure of Micro-Level Armed Regimes" in *Criminal Enterprises and Governance in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press)

Diego Gambetta (1993) "Chapter 1: The Market" in *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection* (Boston: Harvard University Press)

Pérez, Orlando, "Gang Violence and Insecurity in Contemporary Central America", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2013): pp. 217-234.

Pion-Berlin, David, and Harold Trinkunas, "Latin America's Growing Security Gap", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2011): pp. 39-53.

Class XI (Wednesday, August 9th): The Escalation and De-Escalation of the Colombian Civil War

Bejarano, Ana María, "Protracted Conflict, Multiple Protagonists, and Staggered Negotiations: Colombia, 1982-2002", *Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 55-56 (2003): pp. 223-247.

Gutiérrez Sanín, Francisco, "Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War", *Politics Society*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (2008): pp. 3-34.

Robinson, James A., "Colombia: Another 100 Years of Solitude", *Current History* (2013): pp. 43-48.

Vargas, Gonzalo, "Urban Irregular Warfare and Violence Against Civilians: Evidence From a Colombian City", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 21 (2009): pp. 110-132.

Last Week to Make the Final Discussion Board Contribution

Class XII (Monday, August 14th): The Pendulum Swings Left and Back: The Rise and Fall of the Pink Tide and Latin America at a Crossroads

Corrales, Javier, "Autocratic Legalism in Venezuela", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2015): pp. 37-51.

Filho, Clayton Cunha, André Coelho, and Fidel Pérez Flores, "A Right-to-Left Policy Switch: An Analysis of the Honduran Case Under Manuel Zelaya", *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 34, No. 5 (2014): pp. 519-542.

Hansen-Nord, Nete Sloth, et al., "Social Capital and Violence in Poor Urban Areas of Honduras", *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, Vol. 19, No. 6 (2014): pp. 643-648.

Kitzberger, Philip, "Media Wars and the New Left: Governability and Democratization in Argentina and Brazil", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (2016): pp. 447-476.

Tremaria, Stiven, "Violent Caracas: Understanding Violence and Homicide in Contemporary Venezuela", *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2016): pp. 61-76.

Research Essay Due