**Latin America in the International Order**

MPhil in Politics and International Studies, 2022-2023

**Course Convenor:** Dr. Carsten-Andreas Schulz ([cas245@cam.ac.uk](mailto:cas245@cam.ac.uk))

**Office:** 209 (email convenor to arrange an appointment)

**Time:** tbc

**Location:** tbc

**Module Outline**

This module introduces students to the international relations of Latin American states from a global historical perspective. Most Latin American states emerged from the collapse of Iberian colonialism in the early nineteenth century. However, despite being formally sovereign for over two centuries, these states have long occupied a peripheral position in international relations. Latin America’s marginal place in global politics has shaped political developments in the region. It also led to the emergence of regional practices, norms and institutions that influenced their relations with the wider world. In this module, students will explore these interconnections and their importance for understanding Latin American politics, the international relations of these states, and the agency that these countries have exercised globally.

**Course Structure**

The module consists of an introductory meeting and seven two-hour seminars. The content is organized (loosely) chronologically based on key themes in the international relations of Latin American states.

**Teaching**

The weekly seminars will focus on student-led discussions, moderated by the course convenor. For this reason, it is essential that students have read the required reading in advance of each seminar. Each week’s reading is accompanied by a guiding question to orient the discussion. Students are expected to critically engage with these questions and to participate actively in the weekly discussions. Although student participation will not be formally assessed, it represents a critical component of the learning process and the principal opportunity to received feedback.

Seminar attendance is mandatory. Students who are unable to attend must contact the course convenor via email at least 24h in advance.

**Assessment**

Students will submit a 3,000-word essays as formal assessment of this module (5,000 words for students of the MPhil in Latin American Studies). The essay is worth 100% of the final grade.

**Readings**

The reading list is divided into required and recommended readings. Students are expected to prepare all required reading in advance of the corresponding seminar. The recommended reading is optional and provides additional material for presentations and formative essays.

**Seminar Schedule**

Introduction

Seminar 1: The Geopolitics of Independence

Seminar 2: Political Violence and State Formation

Seminar 3: International Hierarchy

Seminar 4: Latin America and the Origins of Global Governance

Seminar 5: The Global Cold War

Seminar 6: Regional Order

Seminar 7: Latin America in a Changing World Order

**Seminar 1: The Geopolitics of Independence**

***Seminar question: Did the international context facilitate or inhibit the emergence of new states in Latin America?***

*Required*

Blaufarb, Rafe. “The Western Question: The Geopolitics of Latin American Independence”. *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (2007): 742-63.

Goldstein Sepinwall, Alyssa. “The Specter of Saint-Domingue: American and French Reactions to the Haitian Revolution”. In *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, edited by David Patrick Geggus and Norman Fiering, 317-338. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Rodríguez, Jaime E. “The Emancipation of America”. *American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (2000): 131-152.

Waddell, David A G. “International Politics and Latin American Independence”. In *The Cambridge History of Latin America: From Independence to c. 1870*, edited by Leslie Bethell, 195-226. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

*Recommended*

Adelman, Jeremy. “Independence in Latin America”. In *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*, edited by Jose C. Moya, 153-80. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Armitage, David. *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History*. Harvard University Press, 2007.

Bethell, Leslie. “The Independence of Brazil”. In *The Cambridge History of Latin America: From Independence to c. 1870*, edited by Leslie Bethell, 157-96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Blackburn, Robin. “Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of the Democratic Revolution”. *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2006): 643-674.

da Costa, Emília Viotti. “The Political Emancipation of Brazil”. In *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil*, edited by Anthony John R. Russell-Wood, 43-88. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Fabry, Mikulas. *Recognizing States: International Society and the Establishment of New States since 1776*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, chap. 2 “New States in Latin America”.

Kaufmann, William W. *British Policy and the Independence of Latin America, 1804-1828*. London: Cass, 1967.

Manchester, Alan K. “The Recognition of Brazilian Independence”. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 31, no. 1 (1951): 80-96.

Paquette, Gabriel B. “The Intellectual Context of British Diplomatic Recognition of the South American Republics, C. 1800-1830”. *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 2, no. 1 (2004): 75-95.

Prados de la Escosura, Leandro. “The Economic Consequences of Independence in Latin America”. In *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America*, edited by Victor Bulmer-Thomas and John H Coatsworth, 463-504. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Racine, Karen. “‘This England and This Now’: British Cultural and Intellectual Influence in the Spanish American Independence Era”. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (2010): 423-54.

Robertson, William Spence. *France and Latin-American Independence*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939.

Reus-Smit, Christian. *Individual Rights and the Making of the International System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, chap. 4 “The Independence of Spanish America”.

Sabato, Hilda. *Republics of the New World: The Revolutionary Political Experiment in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018, chap. 1 “Republics at Play.”

Seckinger, Ron L. “South American Power Politics During the 1820s”. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 56, no. 2 (1976): 241-67.

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

Watson, Adam. “New States in the Americas”. In *The Expansion of International Society*, edited by Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, 127-41. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

Whitaker, Arthur Preston. *The United States and the Independence of Latin America: 1800-1830*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941.

Vázquez, Josefina Zoraida. “The Mexican Declaration of Independence.” *Journal of American History* 85, no. 4 (1999): 1362-69.

**Seminar 2. Political Violence and State Formation**

***Seminar question: “War makes states and states make war” (Charles Tilly). Does this statement apply to the formation of Latin American states? Discuss.***

*Required*

Centeno, Miguel A. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002, chap. 1 “The Latin American Puzzle”.

Lasso, Marixa. “Race War and Nation in Caribbean Gran Colombia, Cartagena, 1810–1832”. *American Historical Review* 111, no. 2 (2006): 336-61.

Loveman, Mara. “The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power”. *American Journal of Sociology* 110, no. 6 (2005): 1651-1683.

Holden, Robert H. “Beyond Mere War: Authority and Legitimacy in the Formation of the Latin American States”. In *Does War Make States? Critical Investigations of Charles Tilly’s Historical Sociology*, edited by Lars Bo Kaspersen and Jeppe Strandsbjerg, 243-267. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Schenoni, Luis L. “Bringing War Back In: Victory and State Formation in Latin America”. *American Journal of Political Science* 65, no. 2 (2021): 405-21.

*Recommended*

Burr, Robert N. *By Reason or Force: Chile and the Balancing of Power in South America, 1830-1905*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.

Centeno, Miguel Angel, and Agustín Ferraro. *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Child, John. “Geopolitical Thinking in Latin America”. *Latin American Research Review* 14, no. 2 (1979): 89-111.

Dunkerley, James. *Studies in the Formation of the Nation-State in Latin America*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002.

Edwards, Erika Denise. “The Making of a White Nation: The Disappearance of the Black Population in Argentina”. *History Compass* 16, no. 7 (2018): e12456.

Halperín Donghi, Tulio. *The Aftermath of Revolution in Latin America*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

Holsti, Kalevi J. *The State, War, and the State of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, cap. 8 “Analyzing an Anomaly: War, Peace, and the State in South America”.

Jaksic, Iván, and Eduardo Posada-Carbó. “Shipwrecks and Survivals: Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Latin America”. *Intellectual History Review* 23, no. 4 (2013): 479-98.

Jones, Charles A. *American Civilization*. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007.

Kacowicz, Arie M. *The Impact of Norms in International Society: The Latin American Experience, 1881-2001*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 2005.

Kraay, Hendrik, and Thomas Whigham. “Introduction: War, Politics, and Society in South America, 1820s-60s”. In *I Die with My Country: Perspectives on the Paraguayan War, 1864-1870*, edited by Hendrik Kraay and Thomas Whigham, 1-22. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Kurtz, Marcus J. *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Mallon, Florencia E. “Indigenous Peoples and Nation-States in Spanish America, 1780-2000”. In *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*, edited by Jose C Moya, 281-308. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Mazzuca, Sebastian. *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021.

McGuiness, Aims. “Searching for ‘Latin America’”. In *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, edited by Nancy P Appelbaum, Anne S Macpherson and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, 87-107. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Munck, Gerardo L. and Juan Pablo Luna. *Latin American Politics and Society: A Comparative and Historical Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022, chap. 1 “The State and State Capacity”.

Nolte, Detlef, and Leslie E Wehner. “Geopolitics in Latin America, Old and New”. In *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*, edited by David R Mares and Arie M Kacowicz, 33-43. London: Abingdon, 2014.

Schulz, Carsten-Andreas. “Territorial Sovereignty and the End of Inter-Cultural Diplomacy Along the ‘Southern Frontier’”. *European Journal of International Relations* 25, no. 3 (2019/09/01 2018): 878-903.

Soifer, Hillel David. *State Building in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Thies, Cameron G. “War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America”. *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (2005): 451-65.

Tilly, Charles. “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime”. In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, 169-91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

**Seminar 3. International Hierarchy**

***Seminar question: Were Latin American states “sovereign only in name” in nineteenth-century international society?***

*Required*

Gallagher, John, and Ronald Robinson. “The Imperialism of Free Trade”. *Economic History Review* 6, no. 1 (1953): 1-15.

Gobat, Michel. “The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race”. *American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (2013): 1345-75.

Knight, Alan. “U.S. Imperialism/Hegemony and Latin American Resistance”. In *Empire and Dissent: The United States and Latin America*, edited by Fred Rosen, 23-52. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Quijano, Aníbal. “Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America”. *International Sociology* 15, no. 2 (2000): 215-32.

*Recommended*

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Translated by Marjory Mattingly Urquidi. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979 [1969], Preface and Chap. 3 “The Period of ‘Outward Expansion’”.

Brown, Matthew. “Introduction”. In Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital, edited by Matthew Brown, 1-22. Oxford: Blackwell, 2008.

Gilderhus, Mark T. “The Monroe Doctrine: Meaning and Implications”. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (2006): 5-16.

Grandin, Greg. *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2010, chap 1. “How Latin America Saved the United States from Itself”.

Harmer, Tanya. “Commonality, Specificity, and Difference”. In *Cooperation and Hegemony in US-Latin American Relations*, edited by Juan Pablo Scarfi and Andrew R. Tillman, 71-108. Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Helleiner, Eric, and Antulio Rosales. “Peripheral Thoughts for International Political Economy: Latin American Ideational Innovation and the Diffusion of the Nineteenth Century Free Trade Doctrine”. *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (2017): 924-34.

Hurrell, Andrew. “The United States and Latin America: Neorealism Re-Examined”. In *Explaining International Relations since 1945*, edited by Ngaire Woods, 155-78. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Jones, Charles A. “Hierarchy and Resistance in American State-Systems 1400–1800 CE”. In *The Balance of Power in World History*, edited by Stuart J. Kaufman, Richard Little and William Curti Wohlforth, 176-98. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

LaFeber, Walter. *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998

Lagos, Gustavo. *International Stratification and Underdeveloped Countries*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

Love, Joseph L. “The Origins of Dependency Analysis”. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22, no. 1 (1990): 143-68.

McPherson, Alan. “US Interventions and Occupations in Latin America”. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.643> (2019).

Nexon, Daniel H., and Thomas Wright. “What's at Stake in the American Empire Debate”. *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 02 (2007): 253-71.

Pike, Fredrick B. *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.

Scarfi, Juan Pablo. “In the Name of the Americas: The Pan-American Redefinition of the Monroe Doctrine and the Emerging Language of American International Law in the Western Hemisphere”. *Diplomatic History* 40, no. 2 (2016): 189-218.

Schulz, Carsten-Andreas. “Civilisation, Barbarism and the Making of Latin America’s Place in 19th-Century International Society”. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 42, no. 3 (2014): 837-59.

Schoultz, Lars. *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy toward Latin America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998, chap 1 “Encountering Latin America”.

Sexton, Jay. *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2011.

Simpson, Gerry J. *Great Powers and Outlaw States: Unequal Sovereigns in the International Legal Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, chap. 8 “Unequal sovereigns: 1815-1839”.

Tickner, Arlene B. “Autonomy and Latin American International Relations Thinking.” In *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World*, edited by Jorge I Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias, 74-84. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Zoraida Vázquez, Josefina. “War and Peace with the United States”. In *The Oxford History of Mexico*, edited by Michael C. Meyer and William H. Beezley, 339-69. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

**Seminar 4: Latin America and the Origins of Global Governance**

***Seminar question: Who shapes the “rule of the game” in international politics? Under what conditions were Latin Americans able to influence these rules?***

*Required*

Finnemore, Martha, and Michelle Jurkovich. “Getting a Seat at the Table: The Origins of Universal Participation and Modern Multilateral Conferences”. *Global Governance* 20, no. 3 (2014): 361-73.

Helleiner, Eric. *Forgotten Foundations of Bretton Woods: International Development and the Making of the Postwar Order*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014, introduction, chaps. 1 “Good Neigbors Prepare the Ground” and 6 “Latin American Backing for Bretton Woods”.

Long, Tom. “Latin America and the Liberal International Order: An Agenda for Research”. *International Affairs* 94, no. 6 (2018): 1371–90.

Sikkink, Kathryn. “Latin American Countries as Norm Protagonists of the Idea of International Human Rights”. *Global Governance* 20, no. 3 (2014): 389-404.

*Recommended*

Acharya, Amitav. “Norm Subsidiarity and Regional Orders: Sovereignty, Regionalism, and Rule-Making in the Third World”. *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2011): 95-123.

Becker Lorca, Arnulf. *Mestizo International Law: A Global Intellectual History 1842-1933*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Esquirol, Jorge L. “Latin America”. In *The Oxford Handbook of the History of International Law*, edited by Bardo Fassbender, Anne Peters, Simone Peter and Daniel Högger, 553-77. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Fajardo, Margarita. “The UN Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) and the Development Project.” *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.976> (28 June 2021)

Fawcett, Louise. “Between West and Non-West: Latin American Contributions to International Thought”. *International History Review* 34, no. 4 (2012): 679-704.

Finnemore, Martha. *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003, chap. 2 “Sovereign Default and Military Intervention”.

García-Amador, F. V. “The Latin American Contribution to the Development of the Law of the Sea”. *American Journal of International Law* 68, no. 1 (1974): 33-50.

Glendon, Mary Ann. “The Forgotten Crucible: The Latin American Influence on the Universal Human Rights Idea”. *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 16 (2003): 27-39.

Grandin, Greg. “The Liberal Traditions in the Americas: Rights, Sovereignty, and the Origins of Liberal Multilateralism”. *American Historical Review* 117, no. 1 (2012): 68-91.

Kelly, William. *Sovereign Emergencies: Latin America and the Making of Global Human Rights Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Krepp, Stella. “Fighting an Illiberal World Order: The Latin American Road to UNCTAD, 1948–1964”. *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 13, no 1 (2022): 86-103.

Long, Tom and Carsten-Andreas Schulz. “Compensatory Layering and the Birth of the Multipurpose Multilateral IGO in the Americas”. *International Organization* (forthcoming).

Marino, Katherine M. *Feminism for the Americas: The Making of an International Human Rights Movement*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020, chaps. 1 “A New Force in the History of the World” and 8 “The Latin American Contribution to the Constitution of the World”.

McPherson, Alan L., and Yannick Wehrli, eds. *Beyond Geopolitics: New Histories of Latin America at the League of Nations*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015.

Obregón, Liliana. “Between Civilization and Barbarism: Creole Interventions in International Law”. *Third World Quarterly* 27, no. 5 (2006): 815-32.

Quiroga-Villamarín, Daniel Ricardo “‘An Atmosphere of Genuine Solidarity and Brotherhood’: Hernán Santa-Cruz and a Forgotten Latin American Contribution to Social Rights”. *Journal of the History of International Law / Revue d'histoire du droit international* 21, no. 1 (2019): 71-103.

Reinalda, Bob. *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day*. New York: Routledge, 2009, part IV “Public International Unions 1865-1914”.

Thornton, Christy. “A Mexican International Economic Order? Tracing the Hidden Roots of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States”. *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 9, no. 3 (2018): 389-421; or *Revolution in Development: Mexico and the Governance of the Global Economy*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2021.

Tourinho, Marcos. “The Co-Constitution of Order”. *International Organization* 75, no. 2 (2021): 258-81.

**Seminar 5: The Global Cold War**

***Seminar question: “The Cold War demonstrates that Latin American states were not mere ‘puppets’ of the United States but quite often the agents of their own history”. Discuss.***

*Required*

Booth, William A. “Rethinking Latin America’s Cold War.” *Historical Journal* 64, no. 4 (2021): 1128-1150.

Friedman, Max Paul. “Retiring the Puppets, Bringing Latin America Back In: Recent Scholarship on United States-Latin American Relations”. *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 5 (2003): 621-36.

Harmer, Tanya. “The ‘Cuban Question’ and the Cold War in Latin America, 1959-1964.” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 21, no. 3 (2019): 114-51.

Keller, Renata. “The Latin American Missile Crisis”. *Diplomatic History* 39, no. 2 (2014): 195-222.

*Recommended*

Darnton, Christopher. “After Decentering: The Politics of Agency and Hegemony in Hemispheric Relations.” *Latin American Research Review* 48, no. 3 (2013): 231-39.

Domínguez, Jorge I. “US-Latin American Relations During the Cold War and Its Aftermath”. In *The United States and Latin America: The New Agenda*, edited by Victor Bulmer-Thomas and James Dunkerley, 33-50. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Getchell, Michelle. “Cuba, the USSR, and the Non-Alignment Movement Negotiating Non-Alignment”. In Latin America and the Global Cold War, edited by Thomas C. Field, Stella Krepp and Vanni Pettinà, 148-173. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

Gleijeses, Piero. *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Harmer, Tanya. “The Cold War in Latin America”. In *The Routledge Handbook of the Cold War*, edited by Artemy M. Kalinovsky and Craig Daigle. London: Routledge, 2014.

Hershberg, James G. “The United States, Brazil, and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962 (Part 1)”. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 6, no. 2 (2004): 3-20; and “The United States, Brazil, and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962 (Part 2)”. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 6, no. 3 (2004): 5-67.

Iber, Patrick. *Neither Peace nor Freedom: The Cultural Cold War in Latin America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Laffey, Mark, and Jutta Weldes. “Decolonizing the Cuban Missile Crisis”. *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (2008): 555-77.

Long, Tom. “Putting the Canal on the Map: Panamanian Agenda-Setting and the 1973 Security Council Meetings”. *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 2 (2014): 431-55.

Moulton, Aaron Coy. “Building Their Own Cold War in Their Own Backyard: The Transnational, International Conflicts in the Greater Caribbean Basin, 1944–1954”. *Cold War History* 15, no. 2 (2015): 135-54.

van Ommen, Eline. “The Nicaraguan Revolution's Challenge to the Monroe Doctrine: Sandinistas and Western Europe, 1979–1990”. *The Americas* 78, no. 4 (2021): 639-66.

Westad, Odd Arne. “The Cold War and the International History of the Twentieth Century”. In *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, edited by Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, 1-19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

**Seminar 6: Regional Order**

***Seminar question: Why are Latin American states wary of using the democracy protection mechanisms that they have created at the regional level?***

*Required*

Arceneaux, Craig, and David Pion-Berlin. “Issues, Threats, and Institutions: Explaining OAS Responses to Democratic Dilemmas in Latin America”. *Latin American Politics and Society* 49, no. 2 (2007): 1-31.

Fawcett, Louise. “The Origins and Development of Regional Ideas in the Americas”. In *Regionalism and Governance in the Americas: Continental Drift*, edited by Louise Fawcett and Mónica Serrano, 27-51. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Feldmann, Andreas E., Federico Merke, and Oliver Stuenkel. “Argentina, Brazil and Chile and Democracy Defence in Latin America: Principled Calculation”. *International Affairs* 95, no. 2 (2019): 447-67.

Malamud, Andrés, and Gian Luca Gardini. “Has Regionalism Peaked? The Latin American Quagmire and Its Lessons”. *The International Spectator* 47, no. 1 (2012): 116-33.

*Recommended*

Bianculli, Andrea C. “Latin America”. In *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, edited by Tanja A Börzel and Thomas Risse, 154-77. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Closa, Carlos, and Stefano Palestini. “Tutelage and Regime Survival in Regional Organizations' Democracy Protection: The Case of Mercosur and Unasur”. *World Politics* 70, no. 3 (2018): 443-76.

Coe, Brooke N. *Sovereignty in the South: Intrusive Regionalism in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Donno, Daniela. “Who Is Punished? Regional Intergovernmental Organizations and the Enforcement of Democratic Norms”. *International Organization* 64, no. 4 (2010): 593-625.

Franklin, James C. “Shame on You: The Impact of Human Rights Criticism on Political Repression in Latin America”. International Studies Quarterly 52, no. 1 (2008): 187-211.

Friedman, Elisabeth Jay. “Re(gion)alizing Women’s Human Rights in Latin America”. *Politics & Gender 5*, no. 3 (2009): 349-75.

Fuentes-Julio, Claudia. “Norm Entrepreneurs in Foreign Policy: How Chile Became an International Human Rights Promoter”. *Journal of Human Rights.* First View: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2020.1720628> (2020).

Gómez-Mera, Laura. “International Regime Complexity and Regional Governance: Evidence from the Americas”. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 21, no. 1 (2015): 19-42.

Legler, Thomas, and Thomas Kwasi Tieku. “What Difference Can a Path Make? Regional Democracy Promotion Regimes in the Americas and Africa”. *Democratization* 17, no. 3 (2010): 465-91.

Long, Tom, and Max Paul Friedman. “The Promise of Precommitment in Democracy and Human Rights: The Hopeful, Forgotten Failure of the Larreta Doctrine”. *Perspectives on Politics* 18, no. 4 (2020): 1088-103.

McCoy, Jennifer L. “International Response to Democratic Crisis in the Americas, 1990-2005”. *Democratization* 13, no. 5 (2006), 756-775.

Saltalamacchia Ziccardi, Natalia. “Regional Multilateralism in Latin America: UNASUR, Alba and CELAC”. In *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World*, edited by Jorge I Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias, 298-310. London: Routledge, 2014.

Serbin, Andrés, and Andrei Serbin Pont. “Latin America and the Responsibility to Protect: Divergent Views from the South?”. *Pensamiento Propio* 41, no. 20 (2015): 11-33.

Sikkink, Kathryn. “Reconceptualizing Sovereignty in the Americas: Historical Precursors and Current Practices”. *Houston Journal of International Law* 19 (1996-1997): 705-29.

Sikkink, Kathryn. “Latin America and the Idea of International Human Rights”. In *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World*, edited by Jorge I Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias, 349-61. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Smith, Betsy L. “Killing Democracy Softly: Executive Privilege and the Defense of Democracy in the Americas”. *Latin American Policy* 9, no. 2 (2018): 208-37.

Stuenkel, Oliver, and Marcos Tourinho. “Regulating Intervention: Brazil and the Responsibility to Protect”. *Conflict, Security & Development* 14, no. 4 (2014): 379-402.

von Borzyskowski, Inken, and Felicity Vabulas. “Credible Commitments? Explaining Igo Suspensions to Sanction Political Backsliding”. *International Studies Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2019): 139-52.

Weiffen, Brigitte, Leslie E Wehner, and Detlef Nolte. “Overlapping Regional Security Institutions in South America: The Case of OAS and Unasur”. *International Area Studies Review* 16, no. 4 (2013): 370-89.

Whitehead, Laurence. “Democratization and Human Rights in the Americas: Should the Jury Still Be Out?”. In *Regionalism and Governance in the Americas: Continental Drift*, edited by Louise Fawcett and Mónica Serrano, 161-84. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

**Seminar 7: Latin America in a Changing World Order**

***Seminar question: Does the rise of China necessarily enhance the autonomy of Latin American states?***

*Required*

Fortín, Carlos, Jorge Heine, and Carlos Ominami. “Latin America between a Rock and a Hard Place: A Second Cold War and the Active Non-Alignment Option”. *Global Policy* (2020, 2 Oct).

Jenkins, Rhys. “Latin America and China—a New Dependency?”. *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 7 (2012): 1337-58.

Strüver, Georg. “‘Bereft of Friends’? China’s Rise and Search for Political Partners in South America”. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 1 (2014): 117-51

Wise, Carol. “China in Latin America: Winning Hearts and Minds Pragmatically”. In *External Powers in Latin America*, edited by Gian Luca Gardini, 44-58. London: Routledge, 2021.

*Recommended*

Berg, Ryan C. and Hal Brands. “The Return of Geopolitics: Latin America and the Caribbean in an Era of Great-Power Rivalry”. *Global Security Review* 2, no. 1 (2022): 1-9.

Brand, Alexander, Susan McEwen-Fial, and Wolfgang Muno. “An 'Authoritarian Nexus'? China’s Alleged Special Relationship with Autocratic States in Latin America”. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 99 (2015): 7-28.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette, and Stephanie C. Hofmann. “Of the Contemporary Global Order, Crisis, and Change”. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27, no. 7 (2020): 1077-89.

Farah, Douglas, and Caitlyn Yates. “Great Power Competition in Latin America: A New Normal”. *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 44, no. 2 (2020): 45-64

Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. “Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion”. *International Security* 44, no. 1 (2019): 42-79.

Flores-Macías, Gustavo A, and Sarah E Kreps. “The Foreign Policy Consequences of Trade: China’s Commercial Relations with Africa and Latin America, 1992–2006”. *Journal of Politics* 75, no. 2 (2013): 357-71.

Gallagher, Kevin. *The China Triangle: Latin America's China Boom and the Fate of the Washington Consensus*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Kahler, Miles. “Global Governance: Three Futures”. *International Studies Review* 20, no. 2 (2018): 239-46.

Kaplan, Stephen B. “Banking Unconditionally: The Political Economy of Chinese Finance in Latin America.” Review of International Political Economy 23, no. 4 (2016): 643-76.

Londoño, Ernesto. “From a Space Station in Argentina, China Expands Its Reach in Latin America.” *The New York Times* (July 28, 2018). <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/28/world/americas/china-latin-america.html>.

Malamud, Andrés, and Luis Schenoni. “Latin America Is Off the Global Stage, and That’s OK”. *Foreign Policy* 10 (2019): <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/09/10/latin-america-global-stage-imperialism-geopolitics/>

Mijares, Víctor M. “Soft Balancing the Titans: Venezuelan Foreign‐Policy Strategy Toward the United States, China, and Russia”. *Latin American Policy* 8, no. 2 (2017): 201-231.

Paz, Gonzalo Sebastián. “China, United States and Hegemonic Challenge in Latin America: An Overview and Some Lessons from Previous Instances of Hegemonic Challenge in the Region”. *The China Quarterly* 209 (2012): 18-34.

Rosales, Antulio. “Deepening Extractivism and Rentierism: China’s Role in Venezuela’s Bolivarian Developmental Model”. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue canadienne d'études du développement* 37, no. 4 (2016): 560-77.

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

Tokatlian, Juan Gabriel. “A view from Latin America”. In *China’s Expansion into the Western Hemisphere: Implications for Latin America and the United States*, edited by Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz, 55–89. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2008.

Urdinez, Francisco, Fernando Mouron, Luis L. Schenoni, and Amâncio J. de Oliveira. “Chinese Economic Statecraft and U.S. Hegemony in Latin America: An Empirical Analysis, 2003–2014”. *Latin American Politics and Society* 58, no. 4 (2016): 3-30.