

SYLLABUS

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"[Latin] America is ungovernable!"

- Simón Bolívar, on his deathbed in 1830.

Course Description

More than 150 years after the great liberator of Latin America, Simón Bolívar, uttered these immortal words, many scholars of the region opine that the *caudillo*'s sentiments have proven prophetic. The 20th century history of Latin America has been plagued by some of the worst afflictions of the human condition: persistent poverty, authoritarianism, social violence, and economic chaos. The search for governability in this region is a struggle that has led many Latin American countries to an array of different economic and political "experiments." These experiments have evolved as pendulum swings between competing modes of governance. Latin American countries have tried democracy and authoritarianism; state interventionist development models and market-oriented programs; economic policies fostering income distribution and others deepening inequality; reformist and revolutionary change.

The purpose of this course is to train students to think critically about the Latin American reality. In general, the course serves as an introduction for those who are unfamiliar with the history, politics, and social structure of the region. Instruction in this class, however, will go beyond a mere introduction to Latin American political history. It will challenge students to analyze complex problems in Latin American politics and development and encourage them to provide informed arguments on these matters. In addition to reading and listening to lectures, this class will invite students to write and orally communicate their observations about the substantive questions in the course.

What is Expected of Students

Students will be expected to read, think, criticize, and form arguments. That will require keeping up on reading assignments and attending class regularly. Students must be fully prepared *at all times* to discuss the readings and concepts from previous lectures. The best students will be critical but balanced in their assessments, and will develop coherent arguments that they can defend in their writing and their in-class discussion.

Reading Materials

The **four required and one recommended book** for this course have been ordered and are presently on sale at the college bookstore. All are paperbacks. The texts are:

Ernesto Che Guevara. 1995. *The Motorcycle Diaries: A Journey Around South America*. New York, NY: Verso. *Das Kapital* meets Easy Rider. (The Ocean edition is also acceptable).

Alfred P. Montero. 2006. *Brazilian Politics: Reforming a Democratic State in a Changing World*. Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press.

Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter. 2003. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 2nd Ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring. 2005. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, eds. 2005. *Modern Latin America*. 6th Edition. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. (*Recommended*).

In addition to these texts, this course requires your study of a number of other readings from diverse sources. These readings are all available on e-reserves. Additionally, I will occasionally distribute electronic clippings from *The New York Times*, the *Economist*, *Financial Times*, *The Miami Herald*, Google, Wikipedia, and YouTube via email. Additional resources are available on the course's web page and my resources page. Films and video materials will be available on closed reserve. Select films will be shown at 7 p.m. in Library 344.

Grading

Assessment of the students in this course will be based on their performance on two light research papers, periodic diagnostic examinations, a comprehensive final examination, and classroom participation. The grade breakdown follows:

Paper #1	20%
Paper #2	35%
Diagnostics (5% each)	20%
Comprehensive Exam	15%
Class Participation	10%

The Writing Assignments

Paper assignments in this course are of varying lengths. Yet they must all be typed, paginated, and double-spaced with Times New Roman font type, 12cpi font size, and one-inch margins.

These assignments must be turned in as PDF files unless otherwise indicated by 5 p.m. in the student's hand-in folder on the Courses directory on the due date specified below. *Late work will receive no credit.* Technical problems involved in converting and uploading work onto Courses will not be accepted as reasons for late or improperly formatted work. Students are responsible for addressing all glitches unless they are systemic. Proper use of spelling, punctuation, and grammar is expected. Since ability to edit your own work and produce concise argument is a touchstone for assessing and developing your critical skills, students will not be allowed to surpass the required number of pages. A handout will be distributed with the particular parameters of each of these assignments well before the due date.

Paper #1: An Empirical Test of Macro Approaches to Latin American Politics

Students will choose *one* of the following eight countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia. In a light research paper of 7-8 pages, the author will assess the political and development history of the chosen country in light of the analytical frameworks set up by at least two major theoretical approaches (e.g., modernization, political culture, developmentalism, etc.).

Paper #2: A Policy-Position Paper from the Perspective of a Latin American Government

Students will choose *any* Latin American country (though not the same one used for Paper #1). Identifying a salient problem that calls for policy action, the student will compose an 8-10 page policy-position paper from the perspective of the chosen country's government. This assignment will require prolonged study of the state structure, history, formal institutions, and society of the chosen Latin American country. Normally, work on this paper begins shortly before the first paper is completed. Periodic meetings with the professor are highly recommended.

Diagnostics and the Comprehensive Examination

Students are expected to prepare detailed notes on the readings and the class presentations (i.e., not just depend on parse jottings in the margins of their books). Such growing expertise will be systematically tested throughout the term with short, 5-10 minute diagnostic examinations and a final, comprehensive examination with no more than 20-25 questions.

Class Participation

Communicating your insight into the subjects analyzed in this course is an integral part of the

learning experience. In no way do I consider class participation a residual category for subjectively determining the final grade. In this course, I will evaluate your performance in both formal, scheduled presentations and informal class discussion. All oral arguments and presentations will be assessed on structure, relevance, insight, and style. The following are structured presentation formats that will be used in this course:

- (1) Debates on neoliberal reform.
- (2) Simulations on delegative democracy and U.S. intervention.
- (3) Small group discussions on numerous topics.

Attendance

Consistent attendance in the course is required. If you know you will be absent due to a scheduling conflict involving athletic events, Model U.N., forensics, job interviews, or any other activity, please communicate that to me as soon as possible. Keep in mind that given the unique aspects of a class, you cannot really "make up" an absence.

The Grading Scale

I will be using the following grading scale in this course:

98-100 A+

94-97 A

91-93 A-

88-90 B+

83-87 B

79-82 B-

76-78 C+

72-75 C

68-71 C-

67/below D/F

Academic Misconduct

Given the fact that academe relies upon the ethical conduct of scholars, students are held to the same standards in their own work. Any act of academic dishonesty or misconduct will be referred to the Office of the Dean. For further information, see the useful handout on "Avoiding Academic Misconduct," available on the course webpage.

Special Needs

Students requiring access to learning tools/special schedules approved by Student Support

Services should contact me at the beginning of the course.

NOTE: Readings must be completed for the dates assigned below.

PART ONE:

CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES

Session 1: Breaking Stereotypes, Understanding Historical and Cultural Foundations of Latin American Politics

What are Americans' stereotypes of Latin America and its people? (September 15, Monday)

Course web page: Cartoons from George Black, *The Good Neighbor* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1988).

Robert Pastor, "The Lessons and Legacy of Omar Torrijos." Chapter 1 of *Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2001.

"South of the Border," written by Gene Autry, sung by Frank Sinatra.

Historical Causes and Culturalist Approaches (September 17, Wednesday)

Lawrence E. Harrison, *The Pan-American Dream: Do Latin America's Cultural Values Discourage True Partnership with the United States and Canada?* Boulder: Westview, 1997, Chapter 1.

Howard Wiarda, "Social Change, Political Development, and the Latin American Tradition," in Peter F. Klarén and Thomas J. Bossert, eds., *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986.

Skidmore and Smith, Prologue (*Recommended*).

The Path Dependency Approach (September 19, Friday)

James Mahoney, "Path-Dependent Explanations of Regime Change: Central America in Comparative Perspective," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36:1 (Spring 2001).

Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 1 (*Recommended*).

Unpacking Historical Patterns and Geographical/Cultural Diversity (September 22, Monday)

Ernesto Che Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries* (All).

Lívia Neves de H. Barbosa, “The Brazilian Jeitinho: An Exercise in National Identity,” in David J. Hess and Roberto A. DaMatta (eds.), *The Brazilian Puzzle: Culture on the Borderlands of the Western World*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Javier Auyero, “The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account,” *Latin American Research Review* 35:3 (2000).

Film: “Nine Queens (Nueve Reinas)” (Argentina). (Showing Thursday 9/18 and Sunday 9/21).

Recommended: Video #4, The Annenberg/CPB Americas Collection: “Mirrors of the Heart: Race and Identity.” (Approximately one hour in length).

Session 2: Patterns of Development and Structural Causes in Latin American Politics

Dependency and Development in Latin American History (September 24, Wednesday)

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979, Chapter 2.

Montero, chapters 1-3.

Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 2. (*Recommended*).

Import-Substitution and Populism (September 26, Friday)

Eliana Cardoso and Ann Helwege, “Import Substitution Industrialization,” in Jeffrey Frieden, Manuel Pastor, and Michael Tomz, eds. *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.

Rosemary Thorp, *Progress, Poverty and Exclusion: An Economic History of Latin America in the 20th Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, Chapter 7.

Recommended: Video #2, The Annenberg/CPB Americas Collection: “Capital Sins.”

Neoliberalism: A Development Model? (September 29, Monday)

Javier Corrales, "Market Reforms," in Domínguez and Shifter.

Judith A. Teichman, *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and Mexico*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001, ch. 3.

M. Victoria Murillo, "Latin American Labor," in Domínguez and Shifter.

The Arguments For and Against the "Washington Consensus" (October 1, Wednesday)

John Williamson, "What Washington Means by Policy Reform," in Jeffrey Frieden, Manuel Pastor, and Michael Tomz, eds. *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.

Rudiger Dornbusch, "The Case for Trade Liberalization in Developing Countries," in Jeffrey Frieden, Manuel Pastor, and Michael Tomz, eds. *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.

Debate #1: Neoliberalism.

PART TWO:

COUNTRY EXPERIENCES

Session 3: Democratic Transitions and Consolidation: Argentina, Brazil, and Chile

The Collapse of Populist Democracy during the 1960's and 1970's (October 3, Friday)

Alfred Stepan, "Political Leadership and Regime Breakdown: Brazil," in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Recommended: Video #1, The Annenberg/CPB Americas Collection: "The Garden of Forking Paths."

Dirty Hands, Dirty Wars: The Organization of Authoritarianism (October 6, Monday)

Patricia Verdugo, *Chile, Pinochet, and the Caravan of Death*. Coral Gables, FL: North-South Center Press, 2001, selections.

Marguerite Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 19-51.

Film: “Missing” (Showing Thursday 10/2 and Sunday 10/5).

PAPER #1 DUE (October 7, Tuesday)

Transitions to Democracy and the Quality of Democracy (October 8, Wednesday)

Scott Mainwaring and Frances Hagopian, “The Third Wave of Democratization,” in Hagopian and Mainwaring.

Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, “Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns, and Erosions.” In Hagopian and Mainwaring.

Case #1: Argentina (October 10, Friday)

Steven Levitsky, “Democratic Survival amidst Economic Failure,” in Hagopian and Mainwaring.

Steven Levitsky, “Argentina: From Crisis to Consolidation (and Back),” in Domínguez and Shifter.

Case #2: Brazil (October 13, Monday)

Montero, chapters 4-6.

Case #3: Chile (October 15, Wednesday)

Felipe Agüero, “Chile: Unfinished Transition and Increased Political Competition,” in Domínguez and Shifter.

Marcus Kurtz, *Free Market Democracy and the Chilean and Mexican Countryside*. New York: Cambridge University Press, ch. 5.

Film: “Pinochet’s Last Stand” (Showing Sunday 10/12 and Monday 10/13).

Recommended: Video #5: The Annenberg/CPB Americas Collection: “In Women’s Hands.”

Assessing the Quality of Democracy (October 17, Friday)

Frances Hagopian, “Government Performance, Political Representation, and Public Perceptions of Contemporary Democracy in Latin America,” in Hagopian and Mainwaring.

Recommended: Jonathan Hartlyn, Jennifer McCoy, and Thomas M. Mustillo, “Electoral Governance Matters: Explaining the Quality of Elections in Contemporary Latin America,” *Comparative Political Studies* 41:1 (January 2008).

MID-TERM BREAK (October 20, Monday)

Session 4: Neoliberal Reform and Its Discontents: The Case of Mexico

The Hegemonic Party System and Its Decline (October 22, Wednesday)

Beatriz Magaloni, “The Demise of Mexico’s One-Party Dominant Regime: Elite Choices and the Masses in the Establishment of Democracy,” in Hagopian and Mainwaring.

David A. Shirk, “Mexico’s Democratization and the Organizational Development of the National Action Party,” in Kevin Middlebrook, ed. *Party Politics and the Struggle for Democracy in Mexico*. La Jolla, CA: University of California San Diego Press, 2001.

Technocrats and their Policy Toys: Neoliberalism and the Mexican State (October 24, Friday)

Miguel Centeno, *Democracy Within Reason: Technocratic Revolution in Mexico*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004, chs 2 and 5.

Film: Frontline: “Murder, Money, and Mexico.” (Showing Sunday 10/19 and Thursday 10/23).

Social Effects of Neoliberal Reform: Poverty, Inequality, and Immigration (October 27, Monday)

Claudio A. Holzner, “The Poverty of Democracy: Neoliberal Reforms and Political Participation of the Poor in Mexico,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 49:2 (Summer 2007).

Marcus Kurtz, *Free Market Democracy and the Chilean and Mexican Countryside*. New York: Cambridge University Press, ch. 6.

Manuel Pastor and Carol Wise, “The Lost *Sexenio*: Vicente Fox and the New Politics of Economic Reform in Mexico,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 47:4 (Winter 2005).

Debating NAFTA and Its Effects (October 29, Wednesday)

Daniel Lederman and Luis Servén, “Tracking NAFTA’s Shadow 10 Years On,” *The World Bank Economic Review* 19:3 (2005).

Raúl Delgado-Wise and Humberto Márquez Covarrubias, “The Reshaping of Mexican Labor Exports under NAFTA: Paradoxes and Challenges,” *The International Migration Review* 41:3 (Fall 2007).

Debate #2: NAFTA

Session 5: Delegative Democracy or Petro-Populism Redux? Venezuela under Hugo Chávez

Understanding the Bolivarian Revolution under Chávez (October 31, Friday)

Guillermo O’Donnell, “Delegative Democracy,” in Guillermo O’Donnell, ed., *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999.

Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, “Venezuela: Crowding Out the Opposition,” *Journal of Democracy* 18:2 (April 2007).

Guest Speaker: Javier Corrales, Professor of Political Science, Amherst College.

Petro-Politics or Institutional Crisis? (November 3, Monday)

Michael Coppedge, “Venezuela: Popular Sovereignty versus Liberal Democracy,” in Domínguez and Shifter OR Michael Coppedge, “Explaining Democratic Deterioration in Venezuela through Nested Inference,” in Hagopian and Mainwaring.

Kenneth M. Roberts, “Social Correlates of Party System Demise and Populist Resurgence in Venezuela,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 45:3 (Fall 2003).

Recommended: Javier Corrales, “Explaining *Chavismo*: the Unexpected Alliance of Radical Leftists and the Military in Venezuela since the late 1990s.” Mimeo.

Testing the Delegative Democracy Hypothesis (November 5, Wednesday)

Simulation #1: Delegative Democracy

Session 6: The Problem of Governability: Colombia and The Central Andean Countries (Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador)

Colombia: Country on the Edge? (November 7, Friday)

Fernando Cepeda Ulloa, “Colombia: The Governability Crisis,” in Domínguez and Shifter.

Ana María Bejarano and Eduardo Pizarro, “From ‘Restricted’ to ‘Besieged’: The Changing

Nature of the Limits to Democracy in Colombia,” in Hagopian and Mainwaring.

The Drug Wars: The Transnationalization of the Governability Problem (November 10, Monday)

Álvaro Camacho Guizado and Andrés López Restrepo, “From Smugglers to Drug Lords to *Traquetos*: Changes in the Colombian Illicit Drug Organization,” in Christopher Welna and Gustavo Gallón, eds. *Peace, Democracy, and Human Rights in Colombia*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.

Mark Peceny and Michael Durnan, “The FARC’s Best Friend: U.S. Antidrug Policies and the Deepening of Colombia’s Civil War in the 1990s,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 48:2 (Summer 2006).

Film: “Frontline: The Drug War.” (Showing Thursday 11/6 and Sunday 11/9).

Film (Recommended): “Killing Pablo” (History Channel) (On closed reserve).

Decaying Democratic Institutions or Resurgent Popular Movements? The Puzzles of Bolivia and Ecuador (November 12, Wednesday)

René Antonio Mayorga, “Bolivia’s Democracy at the Crossroads,” in Hagopian and Mainwaring.

Merilee S. Grindle, “Shadowing the Past? Policy Reform in Bolivia, 1985-2002,” in Merilee S. Grindle and Pilar Domingo, eds. *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*, London: ILAS, 2003.

Leon Zamosc, “The Indian Movement and Political Democracy in Ecuador,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 49:3 (Fall 2007).

Peru and the Permanent Governability Crisis (November 14, Friday)

Martín Tanaka, “Peru 1980-2000: Chronicle of a Death Foretold? Determinism, Political Decisions, and Open Outcomes,” in Hagopian and Mainwaring.

Carlos Iván Degregori, “Peru: The Vanishing of a Regime and the Challenge of Democratic Rebuilding,” in Domínguez and Shifter.

Session 7: Dealing with the United States: Foreign Policy-making and Latin America

The Position of the Latin American States in the Global System (November 17, Monday)

Montero, chapter 7.

Javier Corrales, “The Venezuela Challenge: Hard Power, Soft Power, and Social Power,” Paper presented at the conference “Ten Years of Venezuelan Foreign Policy,” Summit of the Americas Center, Florida International University, Miami FL, May 29, 2008.

Skidmore and Smith, Chapters 8, 9, **or** 10. (*Recommended*).

PAPER #2 DUE (November 18, Tuesday)

Can the U.S. Play a Productive Role in Latin America? (November 19, Wednesday)

Robert Pastor, *Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2001, Chapters 8-9 (“Succession Crises” and “Revolutionary Regimes”).

Simulation #2: U.S. Intervention in Latin American Revolutions

COMPREHENSIVE FINAL EXAM (scheduled exam period)