

University of Pennsylvania
Political Science 213 / Latin American and Latino Studies 213
Fall Semester 2005

Latin American Politics:
Dictatorships and Democracies

Prof. Tulia Falleti

Lectures: M - W 11:00am to 12:00pm (Music Annex 210)

Prof. Falleti's office hours: W - 9:00 to 10:30am and by appointment

Contact Information: Political Science Department, Stiteler Hall, Room 202; 215-898-4240;
falleti@sas.upenn.edu

Teaching Assistant: TBA

Recitations: 402: Mondays 12-1pm (Coll 315A); 403: Fridays 11am-12pm (Psyl A30); 404:
Wednesdays 10-11am (Coll 315A)

TA office hours and office location: TBA

Course Description

We will examine the dynamics of political and economic change in twentieth century Latin America. During this semester, the focus of the course will be on forms of incorporation and exclusion of citizens from the political systems of the region. The course will start with a conceptualization of political regimes, which will be then applied to Latin American cases. Because no single country in Latin America is representative of the region as a whole, we will study the main political processes and events of a group of countries and draw comparisons among them. By the end of the course, students should achieve an informed and nuanced view of current political problems in Latin America and be able to identify some of their historical, institutional, and economic determinants.

Among other topics, we will analyze the incorporation of Latin American countries to the international economy and the consolidation of oligarchic regimes (*circa* 1880s to 1930s); importance of populism and elite pacts (1940s and 1950s); radicalization of the left, democratic breakdowns and military rule (1960s and 1970s); recent transitions to democracy (1980s); implementation of market-oriented reforms (1990s); and current promises and challenges for democratic consolidation in the region (1980s to present). The course will draw primarily from the experiences of the largest countries in the region, in particular Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico. No prior knowledge of the region is required.

This course is part of the program Communication Within the Curriculum (CWIC). See more on this in Handout 1.

Course Requirements

- Midterm exam: 35%
- Final exam: 40%
- Participation and attendance in lectures and recitations: 10%
- Oral Group Presentation (requires prior meeting with CWiC advisor): 10%
- Best of two (in-class) quizzes: 5%

It is essential that students read the weekly assigned materials *prior* to the corresponding lectures and recitations. Attendance to lectures and recitations is mandatory. If a student misses three or more consecutive lectures or two or more consecutive recitations without justification or prior consent from the professor or TA, she or he will be asked to drop the class or will fail the course. Contents of lectures and recitations will be tested in the exams. Two quizzes will be administered throughout the semester, which will test students on the required materials for the corresponding week. Only the best quiz score will be computed in the final grade.

Oral Group Presentations: Students (in groups of up to four members) will make an oral presentation on one of the assigned films, for which they will sign up prior to September 21. More details on the format and requirements for these presentations in **Handout 1**.

Midterm and Final exams: They will consist of three parts: multiple-choice questions, short answers to ID's or short questions, and essay. Both exams will be in-class. The midterm is scheduled for October 19 and the final for December 19 (9-11am). There will not be make-up exams.

Course Materials

Required Book (available for purchase at the Penn Bookstore: 3601 Walnut St., 898-4500, coursebk@pobox.upenn.edu)

Skidmore, Thomas E., and Peter H. Smith. 2001. *Modern Latin America*. 6th ed. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Other materials

All other materials will be available online, in the course's website. Access the course through <https://courseweb.library.upenn.edu/>. The readings are ordered chronologically under the heading "Course Documents."

The *required* readings will be also compiled in a bulk-pack available for purchase at Campus Copy (on Walnut and 39th St.) (Note: *recommended* readings will be only available online.)

Schedule of Topics and Readings

Week 1: Introduction

September 7 – Course Logistics

- Skidmore and Smith, Prologue, “Why Latin America?” 1-12
- Chasteen, John Charles. 2001. *Born in Blood and Fire. A concise history of Latin America.* First ed. New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 15-27.

Week 2: Incorporation and Exclusion

September 12 – Theoretical Framework: Political Regimes, Democracy and Dictatorship

- Dahl, Robert A. 1971. “Democratization and public opposition,” in *Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1-16.
- Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. “What Democracy Is ... and Is Not.” *Journal of Democracy* 2 (5):75-88.

September 14 – Theoretical Framework: Political Regimes, Democracy and Dictatorship (cont.)

- O’Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1994]. “Delegative Democracy.” In *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 159-173.

Week 3: Main Stages of Political and Economic Development

September 19 – Bird-eye View of 20th Century Economic and Political Development

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 2, “The Transformation of Modern Latin America,” 42-67.

September 21 – Bird-eye View of 20th Century Economic and Political Development (cont.)

- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1-7.
- Furtado, Celso. 1986. Economic Development of Latin America. In *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*, edited by P. F. Klarén and T. J. Bossert. Boulder and London: Westview Press, 124-148.

Weeks 4 and 5: Mexico’s Political System

September 26 – The Mexican Revolution

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 8, “Mexico: The Taming of a Revolution,” 254-287 (skim 287-295).

September 28 and October 3 – Cardenas - the PRI – State Corporatism

- Film: *Herod's Law*, 1999, Mexico, Director: Luis Estrada.
- Stevens, Evelyn P. 1977. Mexico's PRI: The Institutionalization of Corporatism? In *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*, edited by J. M. Malloy: University of Pittsburgh Press, 227-258.
- Basurto, Jorge. 1999. "Populism in Mexico. From Cárdenas to Cuauhtémoc." In *Populism in Latin America*, edited by M. L. Conniff. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 75-96.
 - Recitations: Postings on *Herod's Law* due by October 2, 5pm. Group presentations on October 3, 5 and 7.

Week 5 and 6: Argentina's Political System

October 5 - Radicalism and the Incorporation of Middle Classes in Argentina

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 3, "Argentina: Prosperity, Deadlock and Change," 69-91 (skim 91-108).
- Rock, David. 1975. "The first Radical government, 1916-22," Chapter 5, *Politics in Argentina: 1890-1930. The Rise and Fall of Radicalism*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 95-124.

October 10 and 12 – Peronism in Argentina – Populism

- Film: *Eva Perón* (1996). Director: Juan Carlos Desanzo
- James, Daniel. 1988. "Peronism and the working class, 1943-55," in *Resistance and Integration. Peronism and the Argentina working class, 1946-1976*, Cambridge University Press, 7-40.
- Conniff, Michael L. 1982. "Introduction: Toward a Comparative Definition of Populism." In *Latin American Populism in Comparative Perspective*, edited by M. L. Conniff. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 3-30.
- Tamarin, David. 1982. "Yrigoyen and Perón: The Limits of Argentine Populism." In *Latin American Populism In Comparative Perspective*, edited by M. L. Conniff. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 31-45.
 - Recitations: Postings on *Eva Perón* due by October 9, 5pm. Group presentations on October 10, 12, and 14

Week 7: Break and Midterm

October 17 – Fall break

October 19 – Midterm Exam

Week 8: Brazil's Political System

October 24 and 26 – The old republic in Brazil, the rise of Vargas, populism and corporatism

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 5, “Brazil: Development for Whom?,” 139-171 (skim 171-180)
- Movie: *Four days in September* (1997). Director: Bruno Barreto

Week 9: Democratic Breakdown and Authoritarianism in Comparative Perspective

October 31 and November 2 – Democratic Breakdown – Bureaucratic Authoritarianism

- Stepan, Alfred. 1973. “The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion,” in Alfred Stepan (ed.) *Authoritarian Brazil. Origins, Policies and Future*, Yale University Press, pp. 47-65, reproduced in Stepan. 2001. *Arguing Comparative Politics*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 23-38. (skim the Peruvian section)
- D'Alva G. Kinzo, Maria. 1988. "Conclusion: Military Authoritarian Rule and Party Politics." In *Legal Opposition Politics Under Authoritarian Rule in Brazil*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 218-229.
- O'Donnell Guillermo. 1971. “Toward an Alternative Conceptualization of South American Politics,” in P. Klaren and T. Bossert, *Promise of Development*, 239-275.
- Schamis, Hector E. 1991. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism." *Comparative Politics* 23 (2): 201-220.
- Recommended: Nunca Más. A report by Argentina's National Commission on Disappeared People. 1986. London and Boston: Faber and Faber. xi-xvi, 1-6, 9-75, 284-294, 318-320, 442-449.

Week 10 and 11: Democracy through Elite Pacts, Violence and Exclusion

November 7- Elite Pact in Colombia

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 7, “Colombia: Discord, Civility, and Violence,” 226-253 (skim 221-226)

November 9 – *Desarrollismo a la colombiana*

- González, Fernán E. 1990. "The End of the DESARROLLISTA State: State and Capital Accumulation in Colombia, 1958-84." In *The State and Capital Accumulation in Latin America. Volume 2*, edited by C. Anglade and C. Fortin. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 54-87.
- Browitt, Jeff. 2001. "Capital Punishment: The Fragmentation of Colombia and the Crisis of the Nation-State." *Third World Quarterly* 22 (6):1063-1078.
- *Plan Colombia* (2003). Documentary by Gerard Ungerman and Audrey Brohy
 - Recitations: Postings on *Four days in September* due by November 5, 5pm. Group presentations on November 7, 9 and 11.

November 14 – Kenneth Sharpe – Invited Lecturer – US-Colombia foreign relations

- LeoGrande, William M., and Kenneth E. Sharpe. 2000. "Two Wars or One? Drugs, Guerrillas, and Colombia's New Violencia." *World Policy Journal* 17 (3):1-13.
- Tickner, Arlene. 2003. "Colombia and the United States: From Counternarcotics to Counterterrorism." *Current History*.
 - Recitations: Postings on *Plan Colombia* due by November 13, 5pm. Group presentations on November 14, 16, and 18.

Week 11 and 12: Democratic and Economic Transitions

November 16 – Democratic Transitions (from above and below) Argentina and Brazil compared

- Viola, Eduardo and Mainwaring, Scott. 1985. "Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s," in *Journal of International Affairs*, 38, Winter, 193-219.
- Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means - Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 23 (2): 147-170.
- Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1998. "Political Continuities, Missed Opportunities, and Institutional Rigidities: Another Look at Democratic Transitions in Latin America." In *Politics, Society, and Democracy*, edited by S. Mainwaring and A. Valenzuela: Westview Press, 101-139.
- Recommended Film: *The Official Story* (1985), Argentina. Director: Luis Puenzo.

November 21 – The dual transition: The Debt Crisis and the 1980s Lost Decade.

- Pastor, Robert A. 1987. "The Debt Crisis: A Financial or a Development Problem?" In Robert A. Pastor, ed. *Latin America's Debt Crisis. Adjusting to the Past or Planning for the Future?*, 1-21.

November 23 – The dual transition: The Washington Consensus (Revisited)

- Williamson, John. 1997. "The Washington Consensus Revisited." In *Economic and social development into the XXI Century*, edited by L. Emmerij. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Inter-American Development Bank, distributed by The Johns Hopkins University Press, 48-59.
- Sheahan, John. 1997. "Effects of Liberalization Programs on Poverty and Inequality: Chile, Mexico, and Peru." *Latin American Research Review* 32 (3): 7-37.

Week 13 and 14: Contemporary Political Challenges

November 28 – Contemporary politics. Dealing with poverty, corruption, and the problem of state capacity

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1993]. "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries." In *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 133-157.

November 30 - Contemporary politics in Argentina. Dealing with poverty, corruption, and the problem of state capacity

- Levitsky, Steve. 2003. "Argentina. From Crisis to Consolidation (and Back)," in Domínguez J. and Shifter M., *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 244-268.
- "The long road back. A survey of Argentina" *The Economist*. June 5th, 2004, 1-12.
- Documentary: *The Take* (2004) directed by Avi Lewis, written by Naomi Klein
- Recommended: Petras, James D. and Henry Veltmeyer. 2004. "Argentina: 18 Months of Popular Struggle – A Balance." In *Mind and Human Interaction*, 13, 169-181

December 5 - Contemporary politics in Brazil. Dealing with poverty, corruption, and the problem of state capacity

- Lamounier, Bolívar. 2003. "Brazil: An Assessment of the Cardoso Administration." In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, edited by J. I. Domínguez and M. Shifter. Washington DC: The Johns Hopkins UP, 269-291.
- Bearak, Barry. 2004. "Poor Man's Burden." In *The New York Times Magazine*. Sunday, June 27th, 30-35, 50, 56, 59.
- Hunter, Wendy, and Timothy J. Power. 2005. "Lula's Brazil at Midterm." *Journal of Democracy* 16 (3):127-139.
- Recommended Film: *City of God* (2002), Brazil. Director: Fernando Meirelles and Kátia Lund.

December 7 – Conclusion and wrap-up

December 19 – 9 to 11am. **Final Exam.**