

PLSC S432 01 (30203) /LASTS345

Latin American Politics

Yale Summer School 2011 – Session: T Th 9.00-12.15

Instructor: Onur Bakiner (onur.bakiner@yale.edu)

Description:

The main objective of this course is to present an introduction to the historical developments and contemporary political issues in Latin America. The course will combine a historical overview of socioeconomic and political development since the discovery of the Americas with a focus on present debates. The course welcomes both students with a general interest in Latin American politics and political science majors who seek advanced training.

The legacy of European colonialism; the challenges of independent nation-building; nationalist, populist and socialist attempts to overcome a social order marked by socioeconomic inequality and cultural exclusion; military dictatorships and human rights violations in the context of the Cold War; democratization and coming to terms with the past throughout the 1990s; and the political struggles around the recent wave of neoliberal economic structuring, will be the focus of this course. The course emphasizes the unique and innovative ways in which Latin American societies face and try to resolve socioeconomic, political and cultural conflicts (such as labor movements, military-civilian relationships, internal armed conflict, respect for human rights, and issues of gender, ethnolinguistic, racial and economic inequality).

Requirements:

The grading will consist of a midterm (35% of total grade), a final exam (45%), and participation (20%). The midterm and the final exams will consist of two parts: (i) short-answer questions that test students' mastery of the basic debates and terms; and (ii) essay questions that allow the students to synthesize the material learned in class. The participation grade consists of regular attendance as well as active participation in the classroom. Each student will be asked to make a short presentation on one of the relevant themes of the class. The last day (June 30) is devoted to student presentations on a selected topic (see below).

Readings:

There are three kinds of readings in the syllabus: (1) speeches and short op-ed pieces from important historical figures, (2) books and articles that provide a broad overview of the issue at hand, and (3) books and articles that contribute to specific political science debates. The reading load per day is approximately the length of one book. The syllabus has an extensive list of recommended readings, as well.

The books will be available in the course reserve at the Yale library. There will also be a course packet that contains book chapters. I will post the academic articles on the classesv2 server.

Since each meeting will be three hours and fifteen minutes long (which is twice the length of a regular semester meeting), some of the days we will cover two major issues, so please come to class having read all the relevant required materials.

The last day of class (June 30) is devoted to contemporary debates in Latin America. Groups of students will prepare presentations of the topic of their choice for that day. The list includes, but is not limited to: gender, indigenous politics, social movements, and poverty/social inclusion.

Books:

- Leslie Bethell (ed.) *Latin America: Economy and Society since 1930*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Peter Winn, *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
- Samuel Fitch, *The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
- Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes Since 1956*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
- Tom Farer (ed.), *Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas*. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- Kurt Weyland, Raúl Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, (eds.) *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Academic Integrity:

Cheating and plagiarism will not be tolerated, no matter what! There are clear rules and regulations of the University to punish offenders of academic honesty. It is possible that you may not know the appropriate rules of citation and quotation; please do not hesitate to ask me. For Yale College policies and procedures, see:

<http://yalecollege.yale.edu/content/policies-procedures>

Office Hours: by appointment.

Week 1: Introduction and the Historical Context

May 31: Introduction: What is Latin America?

Gabriel García Márquez, “The Solitude of Latin America,” (Nobel Prize Lecture, 1982).

Thomas W. Merrick, “The population of Latin America, 1930-1990.” Chapter 1 in Leslie Bethell (ed.) *Latin America: Economy and Society since 1930*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Chapter 1: “The Context of Latin American Politics” in Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline (eds.) *Latin American Politics and Development*. Cambridge MA: Westview Press, 2007.

Recommended:

Peter H. Smith (ed.), *Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis*, (Westview Press, 1995).

Marie Price, “Latin America: A geographic Preface” in Richard S. Hillman ed. *Understanding Contemporary Latin America*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005.

June 2: The Legacy of Colonialism and the Struggle for Independence

1. The Colonial Era:

Hernan Cortés, “Two Letters to Charles V,” (1520)

Chapter 2, “Spain and its Colonial Empire,” in James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Chapter 2: “Legacies of Empire” in Peter Winn, *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

2. Latin American Independence:

Simón de Bolívar: “Message to the Congress of Angostura,” 1819.

Chapter 3: “The Perils of Progress” in *Americas*.

Chapter 4: “Creole Pioneers” in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

George Reid Andrews, “Spanish American Independence: A Structural Analysis”, *Latin American Perspectives* 12, 1985: 105-132.

Recommended:

Fernando López-Alves, *State Formation and Democracy in Latin America, 1810-1900*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

James Lockhart and Stuart Schwartz, *Early Latin America: a History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Stephen Haber (ed.), *How Latin America Fell Behind: Essays on the Economic Histories of Brazil and Mexico, 1800-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (The rest of the book).

Week 2: The Social Question

June 7: Latin American Economic Development

Fernando Ortiz, "The Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar," (1940).

Chapter 4: "A Second Independence?" in *Americas*.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 in *Latin America: Economy and Society since 1930*.

Recommended:

Samuel Valenzuela, and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Development," *Comparative Politics*, 10 (1978): 535-557.

David Collier and Ruth Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Susan C. Stokes, *Cultures in Conflict: Social Movements and the State in Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

Richard K. Harper and Alfred G. Cuzán, "The Economies of Latin America," in Richard S. Hillman (ed.), *Understanding Contemporary Latin America*.

Chapter 2: "Growth and the Quality of Life over the Century," in Thorp, Rosemary. *Progress, Poverty, and Exclusion: An Economic History of Latin America in the 20th Century*. 1998. New York: Inter-American Development Bank.

June 9: Social Change: Reform and Revolution

1. Peronism and Beyond:

Eva Perón, "My Labour in the Field of Social Aid," (1949).

Daniel James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946-1976*. (selections)

2. Revolution:

Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "Speech at the United Nations," December 11, 1964, 19th General Assembly of the United Nations in New York.

Chapter 13: "Making Revolution" in *Americas*.

Recommended:

James W. McGuire, *Peronism without Perón: Unions, Parties, and Democracy in Argentina*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

Peter Winn, "Loosing the Chains Labor and the Chilean Revolutionary Process, 1970-1973." *Latin American Perspectives*, 1976.

Week 3: Democracy and Authoritarianism in Latin America

June 14: The Legacy of The Cold War and Military Dictatorships

Salvador Allende's Last Speech (September 11, 1973).

Samuel Fitch, *The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: The Latin American Cold War and Its Consequence*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). (selections)

Manuel Antonio Garretón, "The Political Evolution of the Chilean Military Regime and Problems in the Transition to Democracy," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

Recommended:

Chapter 1: "Chronicling a Coup Foretold? Previews of the Impossible" in Steve J. Stern. *Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973-1988*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

David Collier (ed), *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

Katherine Hite and Paola Cesarini, *Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe*. (University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

Brian Loveman, *For la Patria: Politics and the Armed Forces in Latin America*. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1999).

June 16: Insurgency: Central America and Beyond

The Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification Final Report (selections)

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

Nazih Richani, "The Politics of Negotiating Peace in Colombia," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 10714839, May/Jun2005, Vol. 38, Issue 6.

Elisabeth J. Wood, "Explaining Insurgent Collective Action" in *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Recommended:

Steve Stern, "Introduction. Beyond Enigma: An Agenda for Interpreting Shining Path and Peru, 1980-1995," in Steve J. Stern (ed.), *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995* (Duke University Press, 1998).

Christopher Welna, "Colombia's Triple Challenge: Peace, Democracy and Human Rights" in Christopher Welna, Gustavo Gallon, *Peace, Democracy, and Human Rights in Colombia*. (University of Notre Dame Press, 2007)

Week 4: Democracy and Human Rights

June 21: Democratization and Democratic Governance

Part III (Chapters 10-14): "South America: Constrained Transitions" in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

Carlos M. Vilas, "Prospects for Democratisation in a Post-Revolutionary Setting: Central America." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (May, 1996), pp. 461-503.

Tom Farer (ed.), *Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas*. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

Chapter 7 in *Latin America: Economy and Society since 1930*.

David Altman, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2002. "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: Freedom, Competitiveness and Participation in Eighteen Latin American Countries," *Democratization*, 7 (2) (2002): 85–100.

Recommended:

"The Implications of Prior Regime Type for Transition Paths and Consolidation Tasks," in *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*.

Elizabeth Jelin and Eric Hershberg (eds.), *Constructing Democracy: Human Rights, Citizenship, and Society in Latin America*. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996).

Ruth Berins Collier and James Mahoney, "Adding Collective Actors to Collective Outcomes: Labor and Recent Democratization in South America and Southern Europe," *Comparative Politics* 29 (1997): 285-303.

Felipe Agüero and Jeffrey Stark (eds.), *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*. (Miami, FL: North-South Center Press, 1998).

Gerardo Munck, "Democratic Politics in Latin America: New Debates and Research Frontiers," *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 7 (2004): 437-462.

Herbert Kitschelt, Kirk Hawkins, Juan Pablo Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, *Latin American Party Systems*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Rachel Sieder, Line Schjolden, and Alan Angell, *The Judicialization of Politics in Latin America*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Carlo Scartascini, Ernesto Stein and Mariano Tommasi (eds.), *How Democracy Works: Political Institutions, Actors, and Arenas in Latin American Policymaking*. (Inter-American Development Bank, 2010).

Leonardo Avritzer, *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009).

Alfred Montero and David Samuels (eds.) *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America*. (University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

June 23: The Human Rights Question

BBC News, "Argentine Sues 'Dirty War' Couple," 12 March 2008.

Selections from the Chilean Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report and the Brazilian Commission on Torture Report.

Priscilla Hayner, "Fifteen Truth Commissions – 1974 to 1994: a Comparative Study." *Human Rights Quarterly*, 1994.

Alexandra Barahona de Brito, "Truth, Justice, Memory and Democratization in the Souther Cone," in Alexandra Barahona De Brito, Carmen Gonzalez Enriquez, Paloma Aguilar (Eds.) *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies* (Oxford Studies in Democratization). ONLINE READING. Go to: <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/oso/private/content/politicalscience/9780199240906/p050.html#acprof-0199240906-chapter-5>

APRODEH (A Peruvian Human Rights Organization), "The Trial of Fujimori."

Ellen Lutz and Kathryn Sikkink, "Justice Cascade: The Evolution and Impact of Foreign Human Rights Trials in Latin America." *Chicago Journal of International Law*; Spring 2001; 2, 1.

Recommended:

Naomi Roht- Arriaza, *The Pinochet Effect: Transnational Justice in the Age of Human Rights*. (Selections)

Week 5: Current Debates

June 28: Neoliberalism and the Resurgence of the Left

1. Neoliberalism:

John Williamson, "What Washington Means by Policy Reform," in John Williamson (ed.) *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?*

Brian Potter, "Constricting Contestation, Coalitions, and Purpose: The Causes of Neoliberal Restructuring and Its Failures". *Latin American Perspectives* 2007; 34; 3

Marcus J. Kurtz and Sarah M. Brooks. "Embedding Neoliberal Reform in Latin America." *World Politics* 60 (2) (2008): 231-280.

Evelyn Huber, and Fred Solt, "Success and Failures of Neoliberalism," *Latin American Research Review* 39 (3) (2004) 150-164.

Kurt Weyland, "Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 31 (5) (1998): 539-568.

2. The New Left:

Jorge Castañeda, "Latin America's Left Turn." *Foreign Affairs*, May/Jun2006, Vol. 85, Issue 3.

Kurt Weyland, Raúl Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, (eds.) *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Recommended:

Recommended:

Alejandro Portes and Kelly Hoffman, "Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change During the Neoliberal Era." *Latin American Research Review* 38(1): 41-82.

Robert R. Kaufman "The Political Effects of Inequality in Latin America: Some Inconvenient Facts," conference paper.

Eduardo Lora and Mauricio Olivera, "The Electoral Consequences of the Washington Consensus," *Economía*, Volume 5, Number 2, Spring 2005: 1-61.

Judith A. Teichman "Competing Visions of Democracy and Development in the Era of Neoliberalism in Mexico and Chile." *International Political Science Review*. 2009. 30(1): 67-87.

Victoria M. Murillo, "From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America," *World Politics*, Volume 52, Number 2, January 2000: 135-174.

Philip Oxhorn, "Is the Century of Corporatism Over? Neoliberalism and the Rise of Neopluralism", in P. Oxhorn and Graciela Ducatenzeiler (eds.), *What Kind of Democracy?*

Kurt Weyland, "The Rise of Latin America's Two Lefts: Insights from Rentier State Theory." *Comparative Politics*, January 2009.

Raúl L. Madrid, "The Origins of the Two Lefts in Latin America," *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 125, Number 4, Winter 2010: 587-609.

Maxwell A. Cameron and Eric Hershberg (eds.), *Latin America's Left Turns: Politics, Policies, and Trajectories of Change*. (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010).

Richard Gott, *Hugo Chávez and The Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela*. (London: Verso, 2005)

Dick Parker, "Chávez and the Search for an Alternative to Neoliberalism," *Latin American Perspectives* 2005; 32; 39.

James Dunkerley, "Evo Morales, the 'Two Bolivias' and the Third Bolivian Revolution," *Journal of Latin American Studies* (2007), 39:1:133-166.

David Samuels, "From Socialism to Social Democracy: Party Organization and the Transformation of the Workers' Party in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 2004; 37; 999.

Perry Anderson, "Lula's Brasil," *London Review of Books* Vol. 33 No. 7 · 31 March 2011: 3-12.

June 30: Contemporary Latin America

1. Overview:

Ronald Schneider. "Conclusions and a Look into the Future" in *Latin American Political History: Patterns and Personalities*. 2007. Boulder: Westview Press.

Arminio Fraga, "Latin America since the 1990s: Rising from the sickbed?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18 (2004): 89-106.

Peter Winn, "Epilogue: Latin America and the Caribbean in the Twenty-first Century: A New Millennium?" in *Americas*.

2. Selected Topics:

Gender:

Jane S. Jaquette, "Rewriting the Scripts: Gender in the Comparative Study of Latin American Politics," in Peter H. Smith, (ed.) *Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis*. (Boulder: Westview, 1995).

Mala Htun, *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Lisa Baldez, *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Jane S. Jaquette, (ed.) *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Participation and Democracy*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).

Indigenous Politics:

Rigoberta Menchú, "Acceptance and Nobel Lecture," December 10, 1992.

Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Suzana Sawyer, *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

Donna Lee Van Cott, *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Kent Eaton, "Backlash in Bolivia: Regional Autonomy as a Reaction against Indigenous Mobilization," *Politics & Society* March 2007 vol. 35 no. 1: 71-102.

Social Movements:

Candelaria Garay, "Social Policy and Collective Action: Unemployed Workers, Community Associations, and Protest in Argentina," *Politics & Society* June 2007 vol. 35 no. 2: 301-328.

Joe Foweraker and Todd Landman, *Citizenship Rights and Social Movements: A Comparative and Statistical Analysis*. (Oxford University Press, 2000).

Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino and Arturo Escobar (eds.), *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Culture: Revisioning Latin American Social Movements*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998).

Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Glen David Kuecker, "Introduction: Globalizing Resistance: The New Politics of Social Movements in Latin America," *Latin American Perspectives* 34 (2007): 5-16.

Poverty and Social Inclusion:

Alberto Díaz-Cayeros and Beatriz Magaloni, "Aiding Latin America's Poor," *Journal of Democracy* 20, no. 4 (2009): 36-49.

Evelyne Huber, Thomas Mustillo and John D. Stephens, "Politics of Social Spending in Latin America," *The Journal of Politics* 70 (2008): 420-436.

Nora Lustig, *Poverty, Inequality and the New Left in Latin America*, (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Latin American Program, October 2009).