

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

Politics and Government: Traditionalism and Modernity

AGS – EA11

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Mondays, from 13h00 to 15h30

Office hours : Mondays, from 12h00 to 13h00

Sept. 14th 2009 – Jan. 18th 2010

Course description

While leading to the sub-continent's political emancipation, the independence wars of the early XIXth century, brought about the need to address the problem of political modernity in Latin America. The development of the « Liberal Oligarchic Model » faced a number of initial challenges and adaptations to the realities of what still remained « traditional societies ». In the early decades of the XXth century – and in varying degrees from one country to another – the traditional structures of the Latin American « Oligarchic State » were gradually challenged within a renewal of social and political movements. The Mexican revolution and the rise of populist parties are two significant examples of such phenomenon. Administrative centralization and the development of State structures may be viewed as two significant consequences.

After World War II and up to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Latin America became a playground for the ideological confrontations that divided the post-war world. The populist State was now the standard reference model, but its application varied according to often contradictory ideologies : from right-wing military regimes to the Cuban case. A phase of accelerated economic development (1950s and 1960s), followed by phases of stagnation (1970s), crisis (1980s) and readjustment (1990s) accentuated existing social tensions and has led, in some cases, to question the gradual return of a certain type of democracy in Latin America over the past twenty years. Have the traditional demons of the past been exorcised ?

Course Objective

The objective of this course is to study the contemporary evolution of Latin American politics within a historical perspective. Political discourse, political parties, the organization of civil societies will be emphasized in order to reach an understanding of the particular characteristics of Latin America's political institutions within the overall context of modernity and social change.

Requirements

Even though it will be assumed that students have no previous knowledge of Latin American history and politics, the readings and lectures will provide an empirical introduction to the area as a whole. Students should, therefore, be expected to discuss the issues raised in class. Lectures will cover a little over half of the 2:30 hour sessions ; the remainder of the time will be devoted to discussion. Obviously, given the nature of the material we will be dealing with, a reading knowledge of Spanish, though not a requirement *per se*, would be extremely helpful.

Class participation will count for **20% of the grade**. Students are expected to attend classes **regularly** and to read the assigned material prior to each class. **As a reminder, three unjustified absences during the semester will automatically result in the student being withdrawn from the course, without receiving the corresponding course credits.**

Students are also expected to follow Latin American current political events on a regular basis, via a major daily newspaper and/or the internet. During class discussions, we may reserve a few minutes to deal with those events.

Other requirements include :

- **a research paper** (8,000 words, or 40,000 signs – spaces, footnotes and bibliography **not** included – in 12-point Times New Roman font, to be turned in by the last session of the reading period -i.e. **January 11th 2010**)

40% of the grade

Students will be expected to meet the deadline set for the research paper and to abide by the rules concerning plagiarism. Any paper turned in after the deadline, without a supported justification, will receive a downgrading penalty. If proof of plagiarism is discovered, the student will receive an « F » for his paper, which will then correspondingly affect the final grade for the whole course. The case will also be reported to the AGSIRD Academic Committee.

- **a final examination**

40% of the grade

Two textbooks will be used for reference purposes :

SMITH, Peter H. *Democracy in Latin America. Political Change in Comparative Perspective* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005), 380 p.

NOTE FROM THE PUBLISHERS: “Organized thematically, with a unique historical perspective, the book provides a widespread view of political transformation throughout the entire region. The book:

- Traces the origins and evolution of democracy in Latin America
- Examines the adoption and reform of electoral institutions
- Assesses the policy performance of contemporary democracies
- Explores the political representation of women, workers, and indigenous peoples
- Evaluates trends in public opinion
- Reveals the recent rise of ‘illiberal democracy’.

Blending qualitative and quantitative approaches, *Democracy in Latin America* offers a new and startling explanation for the prevalence of electoral democracy in modern-day Latin America and presents an in-depth analysis of political challenges now confronting the region as a whole--including poverty, inequality, and criminality.”

MILLETT, Richard L., Jennifer S. HOLMES, Orlando J. PÉREZ (Eds.) *Latin American Democracy. Emerging Reality or Endangered Species?* (New York/London: Routledge, 2008), 384 p.

NOTE FROM THE PUBLISHERS: “Nearly thirty years have passed since Latin America began the arduous task of transitioning from military-led rule to democracy. In this time, more countries have moved toward the institutional bases of democracy than at any time in the region’s history. Nearly all countries have held free, competitive elections and most have had peaceful alternations in power between opposing political forces. Despite these advances, however, Latin American countries continue to face serious domestic and international challenges to the consolidation of stable democratic governance. The challenges range from weak political institutions, corruption, legacies of militarism, transnational crime and globalization among others.”

Additional reading list and updated research material

ATKINS, G. Pope *Latin America and the Caribbean in the international system* [4th edition] (Boulder : Westview Press, 1999)

BUSHNELL, David and Neil MACAULAY, *The emergence of Latin America in the nineteenth century* [2nd edition] (New York/ London : Oxford University Press, 1994) **

COLBURN, Forrest D. *Latin America at the end of politics* (Princeton, N.J./ Oxford : Princeton University Press, 2002).

CONIFF, Michael L. (Ed.) *Populism in Latin America* (Tuscaloosa ; London : University of Alabama Press, 1999)**

DI TELLA, Torcuato S., *History of political parties in twentieth-century Latin America* (New Brunswick, N.J./London : Transaction Publishers, 2004). **

DOMÍNGUEZ, Jorge I. and SHIFTER, Michael. *Constructing democratic governance in Latin America* [2nd ed.] (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

DUNKERLEY, James. *Warriors and scribes : essays on the history and politics of Latin America* (London : Verso, 2000). **

GARRETÓN MERINO, Manuel A. [et al.] *Latin America in the twenty-first century : toward a new socio-political matrix* (Coral Gables, Fla. : North-South Center Press, University of Miami, 2003).

HAGOPIAN, Frances and MAINWARING, Scott P. (Eds.) *The third wave of democratization in Latin America: advances and setbacks* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2005).

HILLMAN, Richard S. (Ed.) *Understanding contemporary Latin America* [3rd edition] (Boulder/London : Lynne Rienner, 2005)

LEWIS, Paul H. *Authoritarian regimes in Latin America : dictators, despots and tyrants* . [Series title : Jaguar books on Latin America.] (Lanham : Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

PEELER, John A. *Building democracy in Latin America* , 2nd ed., (Boulder, Colo./London : Lynne Rienner, 2004).

VANDEN, Harry E. and PREVOST, Gary. *Politics of Latin America : the power game*, [2nd edition] (New York/ Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2006) **.

NOTE : Those titles with ** are strongly suggested additional reading material for the class.

1) The basic research instrument for Latin America is the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, published since 1936 by the Library of Congress. The complete index may be consulted through the Internet at the following address : <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/hlas/mdbquery.html>

2) Three major journals in English provide relevant material for this course :

The Hispanic American Historical Review (USA), particularly its “Book review” section.

Latin American Research Review (USA)

Journal of Latin American Studies (UK)

A complete collection of these journals is available at the Paris **Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine (IHEAL)** (28, rue St. Guillaume, 75007 Paris). The IHEAL also has a important documentation centre on Latin American current affairs, though most of the material is either in Spanish or in French ; but some of it is in English.

3) Websites

The following websites – among many others – may be useful in your research on Latin America. Please share good sites that you may come across.

<http://www.oberlin.edu/~svolk/latinam.htm>

A most useful guide for internet sites on Latin America : Sources and General Resources on Latin America, compiled by Steven Volk, of Oberlin College.

<http://lanic.utexas.edu/>

The University of Texas at Austin maintains this site, which is divided into country and subject directories. This is one of the best sites for launching your research on Latin America.

<http://www.georgetown.edu/LatAmerPolitical/>

The Latin American Political Database is the joint project between Georgetown University's Resource Unit on Democratic Governability at the Center for Latin American Studies and the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy of the Organization of American States (OAS). The database provides documentary and statistical political information on Latin America, including constitutions, electoral laws, legislative and executive branch information and election data.

<http://www.americasnet.com/mauritz/mercosur/english/>

Overview of South America's Common Market (MERCOSUR/MERCOSUL), formed initially by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Venezuela recently joined. Bolivia and Chile are now associate members.

<http://www.jhu.edu/~soc/ladark.html>

The Latin America Development Archive at Johns Hopkins University. LADARK contains data sets and other information useful to social scientists who are doing research on Latin American development.

<http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/news/>

A listing of many of the major newspapers, magazines, etc. in the region that are available on-line. Especially useful if you read Spanish or Portuguese.

<http://www.softopt.co.uk/latin/>

Latin American Newsletters, on-line version.

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/cshome/html>

Site includes the Country Studies/Area Handbooks for approximately 100 countries.

<http://www.state.gov/>

U.S. Department of State. See especially link for The Americas.

<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/pubs.html>

C.I.A. publications and handbooks.

<http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/>

Latin American Studies Association.

<http://www.nytimes.com/>

New York Times. See “International” news link.

<http://www.latimes.com/>

Los Angeles Times.

<http://www.WashingtonPost.com/>

Washington Post.

<http://www.herald.com/>

Miami Herald.

<http://www.csmonitor.com/>

Christian Science Monitor.

<http://www.economist.com/>

The Economist.

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

RAND abstracts and publications available here.

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

Washington Office of Latin America.

Students are reminded that they may have access to the major Social Sciences journals databases. Login and password may be obtained at the AGS offices.

Course syllabus and Schedule of Class Readings

Week One : From empires to nations.

September 14th : Smith, Chapter 1, pp. 19 - 43.

Week Two : « Caudillo politics » : past and present relevance.

September 21st : Smith, Chapter 2, pp. 44-72.

- Fernando López-Alves, « The Argument : War, Politics and the Rural Poor ».

Week Three : Grammar, etiquette and national identities.

September 28th : Millett, Chapter 3, pp. 21 - 41.

- Nikita Harwich, « National Identities and National Projects: Spanish American Historiography in the 19th and 20th centuries ».

Week Four : The Oligarchic State and the « Liberal Model ».

October 5th : Millett, Chapter 6, pp. 80 – 100; Smith, Chapter 8, pp. 213 – 236.

- Charles A. Hale, « The Liberal Heritage ».

Week Five : Mexico's revolution and its political originality.

October 12th : Smith, Chapter 6, pp. 156 - 182.

- Frank Tannenbaum, « Reflections on the Mexican Revolution ».

Week Six : The populist party model (1). Theories and ideologies.

October 19th : Millett, Chapter 9, pp. 141 - 157.

- Jorge Larraín, « The End of Oligarchic Modernity ».

Week Seven : The populist party model (2). Examples : Argentina, Venezuela, Peru.

October 26th : Smith, Chapter 9, pp. 237 – 262; Millett, Chapter 17, pp. 284 – 300.

- *Latin America in perspective*, « Political parties ».

Week Eight : Particular actors in Latin American politics

November 2nd : Millett, Chapter 13, pp. 211 – 232 and Chapter 11, pp. 171 – 194.

- *Latin America in perspective*, « Political actors ».

Week Nine : An authoritarian model : democracy and caesarism

November 16th : Smith, Chapter 3, pp. 73 – 106; Millett, Chapter 10, pp.158 – 170.

- Claudio Véliz, « Authoritarian Recentralization ».

Week Ten : From Socialism to Social Democracy : is there a Latin American way ?

November 23rd : Smith, Chapter 10, pp. 263- 284; Millett, Chapter 16, pp. 265 – 283.

- Thomas J. d'Agostino « Latin American Politics ».
- G. Pope Atkins « Political Regimes and International Processes ».

Week Eleven : Civil society the rise of neo-populism (1)

November 30th : Smith, Chapter 8, pp. 213 – 236; Millett, Chapter 14, pp. 233 – 251.

- Javier Corrales, « Hugo Boss ».
- Francis Fukuyama, « The End of Chávez. History's against Him ».

Week Twelve : Civil society the rise of neo-populism (2)

December 7th : Smith, Chapter 5, pp. 137 – 154; Millett, Chapter 18, pp. 301 – 324.

- *The Economist*, « The Return of Populism ».

Week Thirteen: Has political modernity come of age in Latin America ?

January 4th : Smith, Chapter 12 and Epilogue, pp. 313 - 345.

- Jorge Larraín, « Key elements of Latin American Modernity and Identity ».

Week Fourteen : General discussion based on student papers presented

January 11th : Research papers due.

No reading scheduled for this session.

Week Fifteen :

January 18th : Final exam.

Note : Readings indicated with a dot are included in the text compendium handed out during the course and are intended to motivate class discussion.

Central America begins its bridge from Mexico to South America in Guatemala and Belize and connects to South America, where Panama touches Colombia. All are of Spanish heritage and Spanish-speaking except for Belize, which is an English-speaking country. South America, which is almost entirely in the Southern Hemisphere, includes 12 countries. Description: This map shows governmental boundaries of countries in Central and South America. Countries of Central and South America: Mexico, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Venezuela, Peru, Suriname, Panama, Belize, Guyana, Paraguay, Costa Rica, Honduras, Falkland Islands, French Guiana, El-Salvador, Guatemala, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil and Chile. Go back to see more maps of South America. Europe Map. Asia Map. The Central America (CA) and South America (SA) region harbors unique ecosystems and has the highest biodiversity on the planet and a variety of eco-climatic gradients. Unfortunately, this natural wealth is threatened by advancing agricultural frontiers resulting from a rapidly growing agricultural and cattle production (Grau and Aide, 2008). It has been affecting social and natural systems, and extremes in particular have affected large regions. In Central and South America, 613 climatological and hydro-meteorological extreme events occurred in the period 2000–2013, resulting in 13,883 fatalities, 53.8 million people affected, and economic losses of US\$52.3 billion (www.emdat.be).