

Political Science 540  
Latin American Government and Politics  
Winter 2000  
Tuesday/Thursday 5:00-7:18

Elizabeth Brads

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Phone:

Office Hours: Tuesday 4:00-5:00; Wednesday 4:00-6:00; Thursday 4:00-5:00; by appointment (I will also be available after class on most evenings.)

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**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

The region of Latin America was one of the primary participants in what has been called the Third Wave of democratization. Most governments in Latin America can now, by some definitions, be called democracies. But how are these democracies doing? This class will focus on the health and stability of democracy in Latin America. We will examine several of the major debates about the possible difficulties or fault lines for democracy in Latin America. We will also examine these issues within the context of particular countries. We will seek to answer several important questions about democratic government in Latin America raised by the textbook and the other course readings. what is a democracy? Is stable democracy attainable in Latin America? Does the political culture of Latin America make democracy inherently unstable? Or can democratic political institutions overcome culture biases? Do the political institutions chosen by Latin American politicians make democracy more unstable? How problematic is the military for democracy in Latin America? How stable can democracies be without the rule of law? Can democratic governments coexist with neoliberal economic reforms? Is it necessary to "deepen democracy"? Or can I~badI? democracies be stable?

**READINGS:**

There is one required textbook for this class which is available at SBX:

Peeler, John. *Building Democracy in Latin America*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.

There is a required course packet available for purchase at CopEz in Bricker Hall.

There is one optional textbook available at SBX. This book provides excellent background material and could be useful in writing papers for this class:

Skidmore and Smith. *Modern Latin America*. 4th edition

**STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES:**

Grades will be calculated based on the following assignments:

Map Quiz  
Presentation (optional)  
Participation  
Final Paper  
Final Exam

5%

10%

**10% (2Q% if no presentation)**

40%

35%

Map quiz -- There will be a map quiz on January 25 at the beginning of class. All of the countries and capitals of Latin America are fair game for this quiz.

In-class presentation (optional) -- Each student has the option of making one in-class presentation during the quarter. This is a "mini-lecture" on a topic of your choice (discussed with me). It can be a current issue or event in Latin America in which you are particularly interested or a critique of one of the assigned readings (or of my comments or lecture). You may also consider presenting the thesis of your research paper for class discussion and critique.

Presentations should be brief--5 minutes maximum for your prepared materials. However, presentations should also be designed to elicit comments and questions from the class. The better discussion you generate, the better job you've done. I will distribute a sign-up sheet for presentation times in the next week.

Participation -- Student participation is essential to the success of this course. Students are expected to have completed assigned readings before coming to class and to bring to class questions or comments related to those materials. As mentioned above, we will be addressing several debates concerning democracy in Latin America. Students will probably not agree with everything that they read. There will be some lecture in this class, but most of the class will focus on discussion and debate around the assigned readings. (I reserve the right to add in-class writing assignments as part of the participation grade if students need encouragement to participate or complete assigned readings.)

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Research PaDer -- Students will complete an 8-10 page research paper for this class. This paper should focus on democracy in Latin America. For this paper each student should choose one country and discuss democracy as it relates to the chosen country. Students could evaluate the greatest problem for democracy, evaluate democratic consolidation, evaluate democratic stability or choose another topic related to democracy. This should be a position paper not a description paper. There should be a clear thesis statement and a clear argument that you are supporting with evidence throughout your paper. Paper topics are due in class on January 27 (5 points). A list of

resources for your paper is due on February 17 (5 points). The final draft of your paper is due at the beginning of class March 7. Notice, you cannot get an A on your paper if you do not hand in the topic and source list. The instructor is willing to look over rough drafts of papers at least one week before the final due date. Any parts of the paper assignment may be handed in early.

Final Exam-- Tuesday March 14 5:30 p.m. -- identification, possible essay question -- a list of identification terms will be provided later in the quarter

### **Academic Honesty:**

All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own. Absolutely no cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation) will be tolerated. Any cases of cheating or plagiarism will be reported to the university committee on academic misconduct and handled according to university policy. Penalties can include failing this class and/or expulsion from the university.

It is important to understand what plagiarism consists of, so that you will not jeopardize your college career. It can take several forms. The most obvious is a word-for-word copying of someone else's work, in whole or in part, without acknowledgement, whether that work be a magazine article, a portion of a book, a newspaper, etc. All such verbatim use must be acknowledged by (1) enclosing all such copied portions in quotation marks, and (2) giving the original source either in the body of your essay or in a footnote.

A second form of plagiarism is the unacknowledged paraphrasing of the structure and language of another's work. Changing a few words of someone else's composition, omitting a few sentences, or changing their order does not constitute original composition, and therefore can be given no credit. If such borrowing is ever necessary, the source must be acknowledged in the main text and/or footnotes.

Still another form of plagiarism is more difficult to define. It consists of writing a paper based solely on the ideas of another. Even though the language is not the same, if the thinking is not clearly your own, then you have committed plagiarism.

In addition, a paper made up mainly of quotes is also not considered sufficiently original. You must put the ideas in your own words.

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### **Disabilities:**

Students with disabilities are responsible for making their needs known to the instructor, and for seeking available assistance, in the first week of the quarter. Course materials are available in alternative formats upon request. For such materials please contact Mr. Wayne DeYoung, 2140 Derby Hall, 154 North Oval Mall, 292-2880.

### **Graduating Seniors:**

If you are graduating at the end of this quarter, please let me know that you are a graduating senior. Graduating seniors must take the final exam early and may have a different deadline for their paper.

## BACKGROUND SOURCES:

Skidmore and Smith. *Modern Latin America*. 4th edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Diamond, Larry et al. *Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America*.  
Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989.

Dominguez, Jorge and Abraham Lowenthal. *Constructing Democratic Governance*.  
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

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## TOPICS:

Thursday, January ~ - Introduction -- Setting up the debates

Peeler's Propositions - Peeler "Conclusion"  
Aguero, Felipe. "Conflicting Assessments of Democratization: Exploring the Fault Lines" in *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*.  
Miami: North-South Center Press, 1998.

Suggested Reading:

Aguero, Felipe and Jeffrey Stark. Ed. *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*. Miami: North-South Center Press, 1998.

Mainwaring, Scott. "The Surprising Resilience of Elected Governments."  
*Journal of Democracy*. July 1999 Vol 10 # 3 pp.101-114

Tuesday, January 11th - Defining Democracy

Assigned Reading:

Suggested Reading:

Peeler "Introduction: Basic Issues of Democratic Theory" Schmitter, Philippe and Terry Lynn Karl. "What Democracy Is... And Is Not."

Dahl, Robert. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Thursday, January 13th - Democratic Stability and Consolidation

Assigned Reading: Huntington, Samuel. "Democracy for the Long Haul."  
*Journal of Democracy*. April 1996 vol 7 #2  
Linz, Juan and Mfred Stepan. "Toward Consolidated  
Democracies." *Journal of Democracy*. April 1996 vol 7#2  
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Thursday, January 20th~ Political Culture Case Study -- Costa Rica

Assigned Readings:

Suggested Readings:

Booth, John. "Costa Rica: The Roots of Democratic  
Stability." in *Democracy in Developing Countries:  
Latin America*. 2nd Ed. Diamond et al. Ed. Boulder:  
Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999. Lehouq, Febrice Edouard. "The Institutional  
Foundations  
of Democracy in Costa Rica" *Journal of Latin  
American Studies*. 28, 329-355 1996

Peeler, John. *Latin American Democracies: Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela*.  
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985.

Seligson, Mitchell. "Costa Rica and Jamaica.," in *Competitive Elections in  
Developing Countries*. Myron Weiner and Ergun Ozbudun Ed. Duke  
University Press, 1987.

Ameringer, Charles. *Democracy in Costa Rica*. New York: Praeger Publishing,  
1982.

Tuesday, January 25th - Previous Experience with Democracy / Elites Assigned Reading:

Peeler Ch 2 "Early Democracies: Managing Participation" Suggested Reading:

Higley, John and Richard Gunther. Ed. *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in  
Latin America and Southern Europe*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Peeler, John. *Latin American Democracies: Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela*.  
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. Ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins

*The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. University Press, 1978.

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Thursday, January 27~ -- Transitions to Democracy

Assigned Reading: Peeler Ch 3 "Later Democracies: Patterns of Regime  
Change"

BEGIN IN-CLASS ACTIVITY

Suggested Reading:

Huntington, Samuel. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth  
Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

O'Donnell, Guillermo et al. Ed. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore:  
Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

Tuesday, February 1<sup>st</sup> Transitions to Democracy Case Study-- Mexico

Assigned Reading: Peeler Chapter 4 (105-108; 113-124)  
IN CLASS ACTIVITY

Suggested Reading:

Levy, Daniel. "Mexico: Sustained Civilian Rule Without Democracy." In  
*Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America*. Diamond et al Ed.  
Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989.

Guillermoprieto, Alma. "Mexico City, 1990" "Mexico City, 1992" in *The  
Heart That Bleeds*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994

"Mexico's New Politics" special section in *Journal of Democracy*. October 1997  
Vol 8 #4

Thursday, February 3<sup>rd</sup> - Political Institutions -- Presidentialism

Assigned Readings: Peeler Ch 6 "The Institutionalization of Democracy"  
(181-185)

Shugart, Matthew, and Scott Mainwaring. "Presidentialism

and Democracy: Rethinking the Terms of the Debate." In *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Shugart Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

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Suggested Readings:

Linz, Juan and Arturo Valenzuela. Ed. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Shugart, Matthew and John Carey. *Presidents and Assemblies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Tuesday, February 8~ -- Presidentialism Case Study -- Brazil

Assigned Readings: Mainwaring, Scott. "Multipartism, Robust Federalism and Presidentialism in Brazil." In *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Shugart Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

de Souza, Amaury. "Cardoso and the Struggle for Reform in Brazil." *Journal of Democracy*. July 1999 Vol 10

Suggested Readings:

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Lamounier, Bolivar. "Brazil: Inequality Against Democracy." In *Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America*. Diamond et al Ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989.

Thursday, February 10th -- Political Institutions -- Party Systems

Assigned Reading: Peeler Ch 6 "The Institutionalization of Democracy" (165-181)

Suggested Reading:

Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully. Ed. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Tuesday, February 15~ - Party Systems Case Study -- Venezuela

Assigned Reading: McCoy, Jennifer. "Chavez and the End of 'Partyarchy' in Venezuela." *Journal of Democracy*. July 1999 Vol 10,#3

OTHER READINGS TBA

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Suggested Reading:

McCoy, Jennifer et al. Ed. *Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1995.

Goodman, Louis et al. Ed. *Lessons of the Venezuelan Experience*. Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995.

Coppedge, Michael. *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Peeler, John. *Latin American Democracies: Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985.

Thursday, February 17<sup>th</sup> - Rule of Law I Judicial Institutions

Assigned Reading: Fmhlung, Hugo. "Judicial Reform and Democratization in Latin America." In *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*. Aguero, Felipe. Ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.  
O'Donnell, Guillermo. "Polyarchies and the (Un)Rule of Law in Latin America" in *The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1998.

Suggested Reading:

Hammergren, Linn. *The Politics of Justice and Justice Reform in Latin America*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998

Hammergren, Linn. "Fifteen Years of Judicial Reform in Latin America: where We Are and why We Haven't Made More Progress" USA[D  
Globe Center for Democracy and Governance

Shapiro, Ian Ed. *The Rule of Law*. New York: New York University Press.

Tuesday, February 22<sup>nd</sup> Rule of Law Case Study -- Colombia VIDEO - Colombia

Hoskin, Gary and Gabriel Murillo. "Can Colombia Cope?" *Journal of Democracy*. January 1999 Vol 10 #1  
Guillermoprieto, Alma. "Bogota', 1993" in *The Heart That Bleeds: Latin America Today*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Assigned Reading:

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Suggested Reading:

Guillermoprieto, Alma. "Bogota' 1989" in *The Heart That Bleeds*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Guillermoprieto, Alma. "Medellin, 1991" in *The Heart That Bleeds*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Rosenberg, Tina. "Quijote" in *Children of Cain: Violence and the Violent in Latin America*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc, 1991.

Peeler, John. *Latin American Democracies: Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985.

Thursday, February 24~ -- Military and Human Rights

Assigned Reading:

Suggested Reading:

Kohn, Richard. "How Democracies Control the Military." *Journal of Democracy*. October 1997 Vol 8 #4

Cruz, Consuelo and Rut Diamint. "The New Military Autonomy in Latin America" *Journal of Democracy*. October 1998, Vol 9, #4.

Loveman, Brian and Thomas Davies. *The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America*. Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 1997.

Aguero, Felipe. *Soldiers, Civilians and Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1995.

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Tuesday, February 29~ - Argentina

VIDEO - Argentina

Assigned Reading: Chapters from Verbitsky, Horacio. *The Flight: Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*. New York: The New Press. 1996.

Suggested readings:

Andersen, Martin Edward. *Dossier Secreto: Argentina's Desaparecidos and the Myth of the "Dirty War"*. Boulder: Westview Press. 1993.

Rosenberg, Tina. *Children of Cane: Violence and the Violent in Latin America*.

New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc, 1991.

Thursday, March 2nd -- - Economic Reforms / Neoliberal Economics

Assigned Readings: Peeler Ch 5 "Economy, Society and Democracy"  
Stokes, Susan. "Democracy and the Limits of Popular  
Sovereignty in South America." In *The  
Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America*.  
Joseph Tulchin Ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner  
Publishers, 1995.

Suggested Reading:

Sunkel, Osvaldo. "Economic Reforms and Democratic  
*Consolidation of Democracy in Latin  
America*.  
Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995.

Viability" In *The* Joseph Tuichin Ed.

Valdes, Juan Gabriel. "Changing Paradigms in Latin America: From  
Dependency to Neoliberalism in the International Context" In *The  
Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America*. Joseph Tuichin Ed.  
Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995.

Haggard, Stephan and Robert Kaufman. *The Political Economy of Democratic  
Transitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press,  
1995.

Dominguez, Jorge. "Free Politics and Free Markets in LA" *Journal of  
Democracy*. October 1998, Vol 9 #4.

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Tuesday, March 7th - Neoliberal Reform Case Study -- Central Andes

Assigned Reading:

Suggested Reading:

Conaghan, Catherine. "Capitalists, Technocrats and  
Politicians: Economic Policy Making and  
Democracy in the Central Andes" in *Issues in*

*Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective.* Mainwaring et al. Ed. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992.

Cameron, Maxwell. "Self-Coups: Peru, Guatemala, and Russia" *Journal of Democracy*. January 1998, Vol 9,#1.

Conaghan, Catherine and James Malloy. *Unsettling Statecraft: Democracy and Neoliberalism in the Central Andes*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994.

Thursday, March 9- Deepening Democracy - Wrap Up

Assigned Reading: Peeler "Conclusion"  
Diamond, Larry. "Democracy in Latin America: Degrees, Illusions and Directions for Consolidation"

FINAL EXAM: Tuesday March 14, 5:30 p.m.