

# Latin American Politics

**Political Science 3680/8685**  
**Latino/Latin American Studies 3680/8685**  
**University of Nebraska Omaha**  
**Fall 2018 (Aug. 20-Dec. 13)**  
*Totally Internet Mediated*

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## Course Description

Political scientist Charles W. Anderson once wrote that Latin America was a “living museum,” because, in his view, the “normal rule of Latin American political change is that new power contenders may be added to the system, but old ones may not be eliminated” (1964, 3-4). This course provides a theoretical basis for understanding the major political and economic patterns, actors, and challenges in the region from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present. The course is organized around four broad political questions regarding the acquisition, maintenance, utilization, and transfer of power and four models of politics Latin American countries have experienced—democratic, populist, authoritarian, and revolutionary. The second half of the course engages with contemporary challenges, actors, and their evolution in Third Wave democracies across the region. We return explicitly to Charles Anderson’s proposition that new actors have been added yet old actors have not departed the political scene. Anderson was writing in 1964. Thus, we will consider the question: Is Anderson’s assertion still correct? Have more actors simply been added to the system? Or, has the system changed fundamentally? Whether the answer is yes or no, what does this mean for Latin American politics today?

## Prerequisites

This is an upper-level Political Science course. PSCI 2500 (Introduction to Comparative Politics) or junior standing or permission of instructor is required. Graduate: PSCI 2500 or equivalent is recommended.

## Course Materials

- ❖ Textbook: Vanden, Harry E. and Gary Prevost. 2018. *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. New York: Oxford University Press, sixth edition. (Available at UNO Bookstore)
- Individual class readings are available on the Canvas course site in their respective modules.

## **Course Expectations**

Readings: All readings listed on the syllabus are required readings. Graduate students (those enrolled as PSCI/LLS 8685) are also responsible for the readings labeled “additional graduate reading.”

Online behavior: Everyone will conduct themselves online with dignity and respect for others at all times. Treat everyone with patience, common courtesy, and basic human decency.

This is a closed course. All content and interactions on Canvas and other University Information Systems are under the supervision and ownership of the University of Nebraska at Omaha. Dissemination of course material, lectures, discussion posts, pictures, videos, or any images without the written permission of the instructor can result in disciplinary actions from the university. Student-generated content and behavior are guided by the same student conduct policies that govern interactions on campus, including but not limited to the [Policy for Responsible Use of University Computers and Information Systems](#), and [Memorandum on Copyright Law and Compliance](#). See the [student code of conduct](#) on social media policies and disciplinary actions. Also review the [Student Privacy Information \(FERPA\) policy](#) to ensure compliance. Obtaining or posting private information on faculty, staff, and students online is prohibited and a violation of the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA).

Academic Integrity: You must maintain academic integrity at all times. Plagiarism/cheating are serious academic crimes, and I will pursue any infringements seriously and actively. At a minimum, any infringement will result in a grade of “zero” on the assignment. For more information on University of Nebraska Omaha policies on academic integrity, please see: <http://www.unomaha.edu/student-life/achievement/student-conduct-and-community-standards/policies/academic-integrity.php> and <http://www.unomaha.edu/graduate-studies/student-rights-responsibilities.php>.

Special Accommodations: Accommodations are provided for students who are registered with the UNO Accessibility Services Center and make their requests sufficiently in advance. For more information, contact Accessibility Services Center (MBSC 126, Phone: 402-554-2872, TTY: 402-554-6015) or go to the website: <https://www.unomaha.edu/student-life/inclusion/disability-services/>.

Late Policy: On daily/weekly assignments, no late work will be accepted. For the research paper and review essay assignments, late papers will be penalized by 5% per day late. For example, a paper that earns an 85% but is one day late would receive a grade of 80%.

## **Assignments and Evaluation**

Discussions: 21%

Essay quizzes: 24%

Final exam: 15%

Research Paper: 40%

### **Discussions (21%)**

Because this is an online class, participation in the Discussions on the Canvas course site is mandatory. Many weeks/modules for the course include a Discussions element, but they do vary in their timing and length, so please be sure to keep up with the instructions as we progress through the semester. Much of the Discussions in the second half of the course are opportunities to collaboratively discuss the regional patterns as they relate to your country of focus. You are expected to do the assigned readings and watch the video lectures in order to discuss the course material. Your grade in the Discussions will be based on the overall quality of your comments.

### **Essay quizzes (3 x 8%: 24%) and Final exam essay (15%)**

The modules in Weeks 3-5 include essay exams to test your understanding of the key themes and country cases—revolution (Cuba and Central America), populism (Argentina), and democratic development and collapse (Chile). The final exam will be an essay prompt asking you to synthesize knowledge from the course. Mastery of both the lecture material and the assigned readings will be necessary for the exams.

### **Research Paper (Proposal: 5%; First Draft: 15%; Final Draft: 20%)**

During the semester, you will follow the politics and political challenges in one country of your choosing in Latin America. You will identify a key political problem in that country and write a 18-20 page paper (double-spaced, 1" margins, 12 pt Times New Roman font) analyzing that problem and exploring similarities and differences with other countries we discuss in class. You might, for example, focus on the populism of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, and draw on theories of populism in the course materials and make comparison to populism under Juan Perón in Argentina. You are encouraged to use comparisons to enrich the understanding of your country/political phenomenon and to provide context, but the paper should primarily focus on one country.

The paper-writing process will begin with **identifying the country and political issue/challenge/problem** in which you are interested by Friday, September 7. Following your country selection, I will provide **research instruction** focused on sources, citations, and research methods. As you read broadly and prepare your **research proposal**, you will begin to narrow your general topic into a specific *research question*. For example, your general country/topic of interest might have been “coca growing in Bolivia.” In order to develop a research question for the paper, consider the political history of the phenomenon in the country, the political relevance of the phenomenon, the political actors involved, and how that issue ties into other political and economic developments over the same time period in the country. From considerations like these, you might, for example, then have a research question such as, “What explains the rise of the *cocalero* movement in Bolivian politics?” And a brilliant, well-researched, multi-faceted explanation is the answer to the research question that comprises your eventual research paper!

You will submit your **research proposal** by Friday, October 5. The proposal is a two-page (double-spaced, 1" margins, 12 pt Times New Roman font) essay (1) presenting your research question, (2) discussing the importance of the issue in the country and why it is worth studying, and (3) providing a preliminary reference list of at least three scholarly sources. *I will approve the proposal and/or ask you to revise before proceeding with the research project.*

The **first draft** of the paper is due Friday, November 9, with a **peer review workshop** the following week. After the peer review workshop, you will revise your paper by incorporating the feedback you receive from me and from your fellow students. The **final draft** is due Friday, December 7. Further details about the first draft, paper workshop, and final draft will be distributed as we reach each of those steps.

### **UNO Writing Center**

The UNO Writing Center offers free one-on-one consultations with trained consultants to all students, faculty, and staff. Their goal is to help writers improve their writing skills and confidence in all types of writing, in all subject areas, and at all stages of the writing process. For more information about their hours and locations or to schedule an appointment, visit their website at [www.unomaha.edu/writingcenter](http://www.unomaha.edu/writingcenter) or visit them at their main location in Arts and Sciences Hall, Room 150. I strongly encourage you to meet with the Writing Center both early in the semester as you formulate and organize your ideas for the paper and later in the semester once you have written a draft of the paper.

### **Global Diversity Student Learning Outcomes**

This course is part of the UNO Global Diversity General Education Curriculum. In line with UNO priorities, this course has the following student learning outcomes. After completing the course, successful students shall be able to do the following:

- recognize the cultural, historical, social, economic, and/or political circumstances that produce different social and cultural systems;
- demonstrate specific knowledge of the cultural, historical, social, economic, and/or political aspects of one or more countries or nations other than the United States;
- explain the interrelations among global economic, political, environmental and/or social systems; and
- explain ways in which identity is developed and how it is transmitted within and by members of the group or groups.

### **Course Readings and Schedule**

#### **Section I. Introduction to Latin American Politics**

Week 1: Characteristics of Regional Geography, Economics and Political History (Aug. 20-24)

Module 1: Overview of Latin American political history, sub-regional geography

- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Introduction (“Notes on Studying Politics in Latin America”) and Chapters 1 and 3

Module 2: Political economy and economic development

- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 7
- Read the United Nations Development Program piece, “About Latin America and the Caribbean” here: <http://www.latinamerica.undp.org/content/rblac/en/home/regioninfo/>

*Additional graduate reading*

- Frank, André Gunder. 1966. “The Development of Underdevelopment.” *Monthly Review* 18(4): 17-31
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-28

#### Week 2: U.S.-Latin American Relations (Aug. 27-31)

##### Module 3: U.S.-Latin American Relations

- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 11

##### *Additional graduate reading*

- Klare, Michael and Cynthia Arnson, “Exporting Repression: U.S. Support for Authoritarianism in Latin America” in Richard Fagen (ed.) *Capitalism and the State in U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 138-68

### **Section II. Twentieth Century Revolutionary Politics**

#### Week 3: Revolution and Counterrevolution (Sept. 3-7)

- **Research Paper: Submit country selection by September 7 at 4:00 pm**
- **Essay Quiz on Revolutions by September 7 at 4:00 pm**

##### Module 4: Revolution in Cuba

- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 10 (259-263, up to “Other Revolutionary Endeavors”) and Chapter 19

##### Module 5: Civil war, peace processes, and guerrilla transformation in Central America

- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 10 (263-271) and Chapter 21
- Martín Álvarez, Alberto. 2010. *From Revolutionary War to Democratic Revolution: The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador*, Part 5 “Transition to democratic politics” (33-36)

##### *Additional graduate reading*

- Wickham-Crowley, Timothy. 1989. “Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements,” in *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, ed. Susan Eckstein, pp. 132-181
- Brockett, Charles D. 1991. “The Structure of Political Opportunities and Peasant Mobilization in Central America.” *Comparative Politics* 23(3): 253-274
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2001. “An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador.” *Comparative Political Studies* 34(8): 862-888

### **Section III. Twentieth Century Democratic Openings and Authoritarian Reversals**

#### Week 4: Populism in Argentina (Sept. 10-14)

- **Research Paper: Library Research Session**
- **Essay Quiz on Populism in Argentina by September 14 at 4:00 pm**

Module 6: Populism, Perón, and Import Substitution Industrialization

- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 13 and review Chapter 7 (166-171)
- Malloy, James. 1977. "Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America: The Modal Pattern."

Module 7: Bureaucratic Authoritarianism

- Collier, David. 1979. "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model."

*Additional graduate reading*

- Weyland, Kurt. 2001. "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics," *Comparative Politics* 34(1): 1-22
- Cardoso, Eliana and Ann Helwege. 1990. "Import Substitution Industrialization." In *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*, eds. Jeffrey Frieden, Manuel Pastor Jr. and Michael Tomz
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-48

Week 5: Democracy and Democratic Collapse in Chile (Sept. 17-21)

- **Research Paper: Writing Center Orientation**
- **Essay Quiz on Democratic Collapse in Chile by September 21 at 4:00 pm**

Module 8: President Salvador Allende and "Chile's road to socialism"

- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 15

Module 9: The Pinochet dictatorship

- Constable, Pamela and Arturo Valenzuela. 1991. *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet*. Preface and Chapter One
- Recommended: Watch Pablo Larraín's film *No* (2012)

*Additional graduate reading*

- Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Week 6: Democratization and Legacies of Dictatorship (Sept. 24-28)

Module 10: Transitions from authoritarianism

- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 23(1): 1-21

Module 11: Human rights and transitional justice

- Acuña, Carlos and Catalina Smulovitz. 1997. "Guarding the Guardians in Argentina: Some Lessons about the Risks and Benefits of Empowering the Courts." In *Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies*, ed. James McAdams.

*Additional graduate reading*

- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1988. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Méndez, Juan E. 1997. "Accountability for Past Abuses." *Human Rights Quarterly* 19: 255-282
- Brysk, Alison. 2003. "Recovering from State Terror: The Morning After in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 38(1): 238-247 [review essay]

#### **Section IV. Democracy and Democratic Consolidation**

##### Week 7-8: Third Wave Democracies in Latin America (Oct. 1-12)

- **Research Paper: Submit research proposal by October 5 at 4:00 pm**

##### Module 12: What is democracy?

- Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy is... and is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2(3): 75-88.

##### Module 13: Elite and popular commitment to democracy

- ❖ Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 8

##### Module 14: The rules of the democratic game

- ❖ Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 9

##### *Additional graduate reading*

- Scott Mainwaring and Frances Hagopian, "Introduction: The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America" (pp. 1-13) and Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, "Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns, and Erosions" (pp.14-62) in *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks* (2005), Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring eds.
- Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. 1996. "Toward Consolidated Democracies." *Journal of Democracy* 7(2): 14-33.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. 2004. "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted." *Journal of Democracy* 15(4): 5-19.

##### Week 9-10: Economic Change and Political Repercussions (Oct. 17-26)

##### Module 15: Neoliberalism and market reforms

- ❖ Vanden and Prevost, review Chapter 7 (174-190)
- Williamson, John. 1990. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform." In *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*, eds. Jeffrey Frieden, Manuel Pastor Jr. and Michael Tomz

##### Module 16: Modern labor and the new political economy

- Watch Naomi Klein's documentary film *The Take* (2004)

##### Module 17: The Pink Tide

- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 17 and review Chapter 3 (69-71)

*Additional graduate reading*

- Baker, Andy. 2003. "Why is Trade Reform so Popular in Latin America? A Consumption-Based Theory of Trade Policy Preferences." *World Politics* 55 (April 2003), 423-55.
- Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds. 2011. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, pp. 31-51
- Luna, Juan Pablo and Critóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds. 2014. *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*, pp. 25-47

**Section V. Contemporary Issues, Actors, and Challenges**

Week 11: Judicial Politics (Oct. 29-Nov. 2)

Module 18: Courts and the rule of law

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2004. "Why the Rule of Law Matters." *Journal of Democracy* 15(4): 32-46.

*Additional graduate reading*

- Staats, Joseph L., Shaun Bowler, Jonathan T. Hiskey. 2005. "Measuring Judicial Performance in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47(4): 77-106.

Week 12: Military Politics (Nov. 5-9)

Module 19: The armed forces in democratic Latin America

- **Research Paper: Submit First Draft by November 9 at 4:00 pm**
- **Research Paper: Writing Center Peer Review Talk**
- Hunter, Wendy. 1996. "State and Soldier in Latin America: Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile." Read summary and pp. 1-9.

*Additional graduate reading*

- Cruz, Consuelo and Rut Diamint. 1998. "The New Military Autonomy in Latin America." *Journal of Democracy* 9:4.
- Jaskoski, Maiah. 2012. "Public Security Forces with Private Funding: Local Army Entrepreneurship in Peru and Ecuador." *Latin American Research Review* 47:2.

Week 13: Peer Review Workshop (Nov. 15-20)

- **Research Paper: Peer Review Workshop (Delivery TBA)**

**Thanksgiving break (Nov. 21-23) (Week 14)**

Week 15-16: Contentious Politics (Nov. 26-Dec. 7)

- **Research Paper: Submit final draft by December 7 at 4:00 pm**

Module 20: Resource politics and environmental issues

- Frankel, Todd C. and Peter Whoriskey. "Tossed Aside in the 'White Gold' Rush," *The Washington Post*, December 19, 2016:



<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/business/batteries/tossed-aside-in-the-lithium-rush/>

Module 21: Social movements

- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 10 (271-289)

Module 22: Indigenous politics

- ❖ Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 4
- ❖ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 18

Module 23: Back to the future: China (and others) and Latin America

*Additional graduate reading*

- Yashar, Deborah J. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America" *World Politics* 52(1): 76-104
- Eckstein, Susan, ed. 2001. *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, pp. 351-401
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*, pp. 1-21
- Rice, Roberta. 2012. *The New Politics of Protest: Indigenous Mobilization in Latin America's Neoliberal Era*, pp. 1-18, 51-67

**UNO Final Exam Week (Dec. 10-13)**