
Washington University in St. Louis
Department of Political Science

PS 326B. Latin American Politics.

Spring 2011
T Th 2:30-4:00 (Seigle Hall L004)

Instructor

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Introduction

This course aims to provide students with a basic understanding of Latin America's quandaries in the road towards political and economic development. In particular, we explore why Latin American societies have undergone cycles of democracy and dictatorship, why they have failed to find paths towards sustainable development, and why they have been unable to correct dramatic economic disparities. In the course of this overview, we will look at structural, cultural, and institutional theories that purport to explain Latin America's endemic political and economic malaise. The course is divided into three parts. Part One is a historic overview of Colonial political and economic institutions, the nineteenth-century liberal order, and the political mobilization of disenfranchised sectors that accompanied industrialization efforts during the twentieth century. Part Two provides a glimpse into the causes of democratic breakdown in the 1960s and 1970s, the policy-making record of military dictatorships, and the dual transition to democracy and markets in the 1980s. Part Three adopts an institutional view to further our knowledge of how Latin American democratic systems have worked in the recent past, starting from an analysis of the varied ways in which democratic regimes were eventually rebuilt. We will then look into the main features of presidential regimes, electoral laws, and party systems throughout the region in order to account for differences in the inner workings of Latin American democracies.

No survey of Latin America can claim to cover the ample diversity of historical experiences and contemporary political systems that coexist throughout the region. In order to impose some structure on the vast amount of information potentially available to the student of Latin American politics, we will focus mainly on the political development of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. However, we will devote time to the analysis of circumscribed historical episodes in other countries. These episodes shed broader light upon political phenomena of paramount importance throughout the region, such as revolution, democratic breakdown, the rise of neoliberalism and the recent re-appearance of a populist left. Hence, our survey will touch upon the 1973 military coup in Chile, the success of revolutionary movements in Cuba and Nicaragua, the turmoil of widespread guerrilla activity in Colombia and Peru, and the recent re-appearance of a populist left in Venezuela and other countries.

Requirements and Grading

Please read this section carefully: Registration in this course implies that you agree with *all* elements of evaluation.

Two partial (February 17 and March 29) and one final exam *or* one final paper (May 11, 3:30 PM) provide the main basis for evaluation (30% each). The exams will test your recollection of historical facts, but seek mainly to assess your ability to “make sense” of Latin American politics. Consequently, you should expect to write short essays and define important concepts and ideas in these exams, aside from replying to shorter “multiple choice” items. The remainder of the grade (10%) will be based on my assessment of your participation in class, including attendance and informed participation in class discussions. Since the amount of reading for this class is not trivial and since I will on occasion ask questions in class related to the readings, the optimal strategy is to keep up with the reading schedule.

Testing your knowledge about any subject-matter is, at best, an exercise in futility: If you know the material well, you will ace most exams, regardless of their design; you will also flunk any exam if you have not mastered the material. In between these two extremes, exams are per force imprecise ways to gauge your knowledge and ability. I will make every effort to grade your exams fairly and in a timely manner. If you consider that I have made a gross mistake in grading any exam, you should address your concerns to me within three days of receiving your grade by e-mail. I expect you to substantiate any claim you make, to be respectful, and to avoid the frivolous pursuit of extra points. Finally, note that I adhere to the following number-to-letter grade conversion chart:

100-97=A+	87-89=B+	77-79=C+	67-69=D+
93-96=A	83-86=B	73-76=C	63-66=D
90-92=A-	80-82=B-	70-72=C-	60-62=D-

As mentioned before, you have the option to substitute a final paper for the

final exam. This should be an original 20–25 page paper on a subject germane to Latin American politics, chosen in consultation with me. I encourage you to choose to write a paper if you anticipate that you might eventually need a letter of recommendation for graduate school. The last day to register your intention to write a paper is March 10.

Students who take this class under the Pass/Fail option must receive a grade of B- or better in order to qualify for the Pass on their final grade. Students who take the Pass/Fail option should be aware that only courses taken for a letter grade may be used toward the major or minor. The College of Arts and Sciences will handle issues pertaining to academic integrity. The academic integrity policy is available [here](#).

Extra Credit: There are NO EXTRA CREDIT opportunities in this course.

Readings

John C. Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*, W.W. Norton, 2000 (BBF).

Michael Reid, *Forgotten Continent. The Battle for Latin America's Soul*, Yale University Press, 2007 (FC).

Washington University's bookstore carries copies of these texts. If you cannot find a copy in the bookstore, please procure one elsewhere. We will complement these books with readings available at [Telesis](#), [Jstor](#), and [Project MUSE](#).

Course Schedule

Colonial Period to Independence

January 18

Reid, FC, Chapter 1: "The Forgotten Continent".

Reid, FC, Chapter 2: "The Latin American Conundrum".

January 20

Chasteen, BBF, Introduction

Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 1: "Encounter".

Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 2: "Colonial Crucible".

January 25

NO CLASS

January 28

Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff, “Factor Endowments, Institutions, and Differential Paths of Growth Among New World Economies”, in Stephen Haber (ed.), *How Latin America Fell Behind: Essays on the Economic Histories of Brazil and Mexico*, Stanford UP, 1997, 260-304; reprinted in *Economía*, Fall 2002 ([Telesis](#)).

The Nineteenth-Century Liberal Order

February 1

CANCELLED DUE TO INCLEMENT WEATHER

February 3

Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 3: “Independence”.
John Coatsworth, “Obstacles to Economic Growth in Nineteenth-Century Mexico”, *American Historical Review*, 83 (1), 1978 ([Jstor](#)).

February 8

Robert H. Dix, “Cleavage Structures and Party Systems in Latin America”, *Comparative Politics*, 22 (1), October 1989, pp. 23-27 ([Jstor](#)).
Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 4: “Postcolonial Blues”.

The Social Question and the Birth of Populism

February 10

Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 5: “Progress”.
Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 6: “Neocolonialism”.

February 15

Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 7: “Nationalism”.

February 16

Optional review session

February 17

FIRST PARTIAL EXAM

February 22

Albert Hirschman, "The Political Economy of Import Substituting Industrialization in Latin America", *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 84, February 1968 ([Jstor](#)).
Reid, FC, Chapter 3: "The Seed of Democracy in the Land of the *Caudillo*".

Breakdown of Democracy and Military Rule

February 24

Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 8: "Revolution".
Reid, FC, Chapter 4: "Cold War and Revolution: The United States and the Left Reject Democracy".

March 1

Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 9: "Reaction".
Reid, FC, Chapter 4: "Failed Reformers, Debt-Ridden Dictators: The Right Resists Democracy".

March 3

Karen L. Remmer, "Neopatrimonialism: The Politics of Military Rule in Chile, 1973-1987", *Comparative Politics*, 21 (2), 1989, pp. 149-170 ([Jstor](#)).
James Mahoney, "Radical, Reformist and Aborted Liberalism: Origins of National Regimes in Central America", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 33 (2), May 2001, pp. 221-256, ([Jstor](#)).

March 8

Anthony J. Gill, "Rendering unto Caesar? Religious Competition and Catholic Political Strategy in Latin America, 1962-79", *American Journal of Political Science*, 38 (2), May 1994, 403-425 ([Jstor](#)).
Guillermo Trejo, "Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico", *American Political Science Review*, 2009, 103 (3):323-343 ([Jstor](#)).

Transitions to Democracy and Markets

March 10

Brian Loveman, “‘Protected Democracies’ and Military Guardianship: Political Transitions in Latin America 1978–1993”, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 36 (2), Summer 1994 ([Jstor](#)).

Wendy Hunter, “Continuity or Change? Civil-Military Relations in Democratic Argentina, Chile, and Peru,” *Political Science Quarterly* 112 (3), Fall 1997, pp. 453-475 ([Jstor](#)).

March 22

Chasteen, BBF, Chapter 10: “Neoliberalism”.

Reid, FC, Chapter 6: “The Rise and Fall of the Washington Consensus”.

Leslie Armijo, “Mass Democracy: The Real Reason That Brazil Ended Inflation?”, *World Development* 33 (12), 2005, pp. 2013-2027 ([Telesis](#)).

March 24

Susan C. Stokes, “What Do Policy Switches Tell Us About Democracy?”, in Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin, eds., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, Cambridge University Press, 1999 ([Telesis](#)).

M. Victoria Murillo, “From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America”, *World Politics*, 52 (2), 2000, pp. 135-174 ([Muse](#)).

March 28

Optional review session

March 29

SECOND PARTIAL EXAM

March 31

Evelyne Huber and Frederick Solt, “Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism”, *Latin American Research Review* 39 (3), 2004 ([Jstor](#)).

Michael Walton, “Neoliberalism in Latin America: Good, Bad, or Incomplete?”, *Latin American Research Review* 39 (3), 2004 ([Jstor](#)).

Institutions of Democracy in Latin America

April 5

Arturo Valenzuela, "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted", *Journal of Democracy* 15 (4), October 2004 ([Project Muse](#)).

April 7

NO CLASS

April 12

Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination", *Comparative Political Studies*, 26 (2), July 1993 ([Sage-CPS](#)).

April 14

Tulia G. Falleti, "A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective", *American Political Science Review*, 2005, 99 (3):327–346 ([Jstor](#)).

Please fill out [course evaluations](#) at your earliest convenience.

Party Politics and the Turn to the Left

April 19

Michael Coppedge, "The Dynamic Diversity of Latin American Party Systems", *Party Politics*, 4 (October 1998) ([Sage-PPQ](#)).

April 21

Gary Cox and Scott Morgenstern, "Latin America's reactive assemblies and proactive presidents", *Comparative Politics*, 33 (2), 2001 ([Jstor](#)).

April 26

Alma Guillermoprieto, "Day of the Dead: The New Narcocultura", *The New Yorker*, November 10, 2008.

Attend talk by Alma Guillermoprieto, "The New Narcocultura: Where Violence and Longing Collide", 8pm.

April 28

Javier Auyero, "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account", *Latin American Research Review*, 35(3):5581, 2000 ([Jstor](#)).

Date TBA

Hector Schamis, "Populism, Socialism, and Democratic Institutions", *Journal of Democracy* 17 (4), October 2006 ([Project Muse](#)).

Reid, FC, Chapter 7: "The Populist Challenge".

Reid, FC, Chapter 8: "The Reformist Response".