

## Syllabus

### **POL 387** **LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS** **Professor Robert E. Biles**

**Fall 2009 – TuTh 12:30-1:50 – CHSS232 – 3 Credit Hours – Prerequisite POL 261**

**TEXTS:** Vanden, Harry E., and Gary Prevost. *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.  
Camp, Roderic Ai. *Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Consolidation*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

**ELECTRONIC RESERVE and BLACKBOARD:** The **full syllabus** and **items not in the textbooks** will be on Electronic Reserve or, as much as possible, **Blackboard (Course Information page)**. **Copy them** and bring the syllabus to class each period. It will be helpful. You can access Blackboard from the first page of the Sam webpage ([www.shsu.edu](http://www.shsu.edu)) using your student account info. For **Electronic Reserve**, start at the Sam homepage, click Newton Gresham Library, then Course Reserve (under Services on the left), Electronic Reserves, and finally Electronic Reserves and Reserves Pages. Select Political Science or Robert Biles in the boxes. This course is POL 387. The **password** is **LAPOL** (all caps). You will need PDF (Adobe Acrobat) to download the material. Adobe is available on the university system or can be downloaded free at home.

**CONTACT:** Office: **CHSS 479**. **Tel.** 936-294-1460; **fax** 936-294-4172 (address the cover page to me; this number is for all of political science); e-mail **GOV\_REB@SHSU.EDU**. **Classes** TuTh 12:30-3:30; MWF12-1; and Monday evening 6-9 at the Uctr. **Office hours:** MWF 11-11:40, 1-2; TuTh 10:30-11:30, 4-5; M 5-6 (at the Uctr). (Please don't come to the office in the 10 minutes just before class; I am usually desperately trying to find notes and to remember where Latin America is. After class is fine.) **Hours by appointment or drop-in.** I am in the office most days till 6. **Do not feel limited to official office hours;** come see me when you need help. **Finding my office** (not as easy as it sounds): On the fourth floor, from the elevator, angle ahead left to the unmarked door, enter bravely, make a left and a right, and look for 479 on your left. (Don't worry. We send out trained dogs every evening to find lost students and visitors.)

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES:** The course introduces the student to the government and politics of Latin America and the factors shaping them. Special emphasis is placed on the process of change and development within the area. There will be coverage of general patterns as well as examination of individual countries, particularly Mexico. Comparisons are made of similarities and differences between Latin America and the United States and among the Latin American countries. Topics covered include background factors, political processes, major actors, institutions, political behavior, political thought, development strategies, violence and revolution, and the role of the United States. Emphasis will be placed on the development of analytical and writing skills.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS:** The course will involve a combination of lecture and discussion. **Students are expected to have read the assigned material** prior to class so as to be able to participate in class discussion. The course outline should be useful for note taking. There will be two non-comprehensive examinations, a comprehensive final, a term paper, and a series of debates. The exams are essay-type. The course grade will be determined as follows:

|                              |     |            |                       |
|------------------------------|-----|------------|-----------------------|
| Exam #1                      | 15% | 90-100 = A | Average rounded at .5 |
| Exam #2                      | 20  | 80- 89 = B | (Thus, 89.5 = A)      |
| Final                        | 15  | 70 -79 = C |                       |
| Term Paper                   | 40  | 60 -69 = D |                       |
| Debate & Class Participation | 10  | 0 -59 = F  |                       |

**Map test.** On Thursday, **Sept. 3**, there will be a map test in which the student will have to name the nations and capitals of Latin America on a blank map. If there are more than two errors, the test must be retaken until passed satisfactorily. See p. xxiv of V&P. Know all those shown except Barbados, Grenada, & Bahamas. You do not have to know the capitals of Jamaica, French Guiana, Suriname, Guyana, or Belize. Passing the test is a requirement for passing the course.

### **THE TERM PAPER**

**Paper topics must be approved** by the instructor. Students should **consult** with the instructor **by** Tues., Sept. 8 on their general interests, submit a specific paper **topic in writing by** Sept. 15 (a page or less, word processed), and turn in the **finished paper by** Oct. 15. If you wish to do a **revised paper**, it is **due** three weeks after the original is returned. (Note that you **must do the early version** of the paper to turn in a revision later.) Submit a **paper copy** to me and an **electronic copy to Turnitin.com** (a plagiarism checker). Instructions for entering the paper will be posted on Blackboard at the Course Information page.

The paper should deal with some aspect of government or politics in Latin America. **Choose a topic of interest to you.** Topics related to your major, your occupational interests, or an issue you always wondered about are good starting points. Business students, for example, might look at trade or investment policies and their impact on development. Art students might look at the impact of the Mexican or Cuban revolutions on art. The paper should be **analytical rather than descriptive**. You will have to tell a little bit of what happened, but your major focus should be on such issues as why it happened or why it is important. You may examine a phenomenon in one country or compare it in several countries. The paper may be an analytical and systematic **review of the literature** on a topic, an **original research project**, or a **replication of a study** found in the literature.

**Possible topics** might include: the impact of revolution on development (in Cuba, Nicaragua, Mexico, and/or Bolivia), the reasons for (or consequences of) the resurgence of the left, the impact of development on revolution, the impact of foreign intervention on revolutions (e.g., Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador), the impact of failed revolutions, does U.S. aid produce dictators (militarism, instability, revolutions, democracy), are economic and political development related, does economic development produce political instability, does increased political mobilization (demobilization) produce instability, factors affecting peasant participation in development decisions and projects, which development model best fits the Latin American situation, major pathologies in development administration, what have we learned about aid and development, factors affecting democratic transition and consolidation (the development of democracy after a dictatorship), the effect of First World trade (aid, drug markets) on developing countries, the impact of debt on development, the political (economic) consequences of IMF policies on Latin American countries, the political or economic effects of NAFTA or other trade arrangements, the changing role of women in politics, and the role of race/ethnicity in politics (focusing particularly on indigenous, mestizo, and/or black groups. These are only suggestive to get you thinking.

**Length:** The text of the paper should be **7-10** word-processed **double-spaced pages** in length, excluding the cover page, table of contents, endnotes (if used), bibliography/works cited, and appendix. Use size **12 font** and 1-inch margins all around. Longer papers are acceptable; shorter papers are not. The paper should include at least a title page, the text, and a works cited section.

**The works cited page must list all** of the sources cited and only those cited. If the paper is a library project, **at least 15 different sources must be cited**. (Note: 15 different sources that are actually cited in the text, not 15 citations of 3-4 sources!) Reliance should be placed on professional journals, serious popular magazines, books, and documents. *U.S. News, Time, Newsweek*, your textbooks, dictionaries, and general encyclopedias may be cited but **may not be counted** to satisfy the 15-source requirement except by explicit permission of the instructor. Do not use *Wikipedia*, which tends to be full of errors, shallow analysis, and biases on Latin American topics. On the net, be careful of blogs, advocacy sites, and other non-scholarly and non-vetted sources. The library has numerous electronic and paper sources, and there are Internet resources such as Google Scholar and data bases. Use them. Include the Internet address in the works cited entry. Requirements for non-library original research projects will be determined in consultation with the instructor. **Footnotes, endnotes, or parenthetical insertion (the works cited style) may be used. If you use notes (foot or end), be aware that their style is different from the style of the bibliography.**

**Citing:** Be extensive in citing sources. **Cite** quotations, **paraphrasing**, ideas taken from the sources, and facts taken from sources if the facts are not widely known. If in doubt, give a citation. It is better to sin on the side of too many than too few citations. If they are not your words (more than three consecutive words from the source), put them in quotations and cite the source. Do not string together material from the web; that's plagiarizing. **DO NOT PLAGIARIZE!! It is immoral, and doing so will produce a zero and a trip to the Dean of Students (as will cheating on exams).**

**Revisions:** Do not consider the **first version** of the paper to be a first draft; it should be a polished paper. *Revisions are optional but strongly encouraged.* Note that a revision involves more than making the specific mechanical changes I suggest at points in the text. You should deal with the items I recommend at the end of the paper and look for writing problems similar to the ones I mark on the first page or two of the paper. Remember to **submit the original paper and my comment sheet with the revision.** The grade for the paper will be that of the last version submitted – not an average.

The papers should be written in **correct grammar and style**. But do NOT be ponderous and overly formal. Write in a correct style, but one other students could read and enjoy. Citations and the works cited entries should conform to a **style manual** such as Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers, The MLA Handbook*, or the "APSA Style Manual." Pen corrections of errors on the final copy are acceptable and far preferable to errors. The writer, not the typist, is responsible for the final proofreading. (I can't flunk the typist!) About **half the grade** comes from the quality of the writing and the clarity of presentation. The **other half** is based on the quality of the analysis and the strength of the argumentation and evidence. Papers that are poorly written will receive lower grades, even if they have substantive merit. Similarly, papers that are well written but lacking in substance will also receive lower grades.

**DEBATES:** The class will divide into teams focused on particular countries or issue areas. Each team will choose a topic, decide on the format, do the necessary research to prepare themselves, and carry out a debate during part of a class period (40-60 minutes/team) . **Professional attire** is expected for the presentation, and supporting materials are encouraged. See me if you need equipment

not in the room. Following each debate, a vote will be taken as to which side was more convincing. **Each student will provide me a confidential grade**, ranking from most to least contribution, and comment for each member of their group except for themselves. The contribution to the debate will be most of the class participation grade. I will **evaluate** students **on the substance** of their presentation, **not their public speaking**. However, students should **speak from notes and not read** their part. This is to help you develop team and public speaking skills.

**ATTENDANCE:** To benefit from the class, you need to attend and participate actively. **Unexcused absences** in excess of two will reduce the course grade by one point each. **Tardiness** and missing half or more of the class (e.g., leaving early) will count as half an absence. **Students are responsible for informing the instructor of excused absences and tardy arrival. Documentation** should be provided for excused absences. Students with **0-1 absence** will receive an extra two points on their course average. Excused absences must be documented. They include such things as official participation in university functions (e.g., band or team trip), illness of yourself or someone for whom you are a primary caregiver, attendance at a funeral, employer-imposed requirements within reason, and religious holy days. Note: holy day absences are treated like other absences. Notify me before or after any absence you wish to be excused, provide documentation, and arrange to make up any missed work (ordinarily within two weeks). Barring extenuating circumstances, all missed work should be made up by the end of classes. **Turn off cell phones, pagers, etc. before class.**

**AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT:** SHSU adheres to all applicable laws and guidelines to provide reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities. If you have a disability that may affect adversely your work in this class, I encourage you to register with the SHSU Counseling Center and to talk with me about how I can best help you. All disclosures of disabilities will be kept strictly confidential. **NOTE: No accommodation can be made until you register with the Counseling Center.**

**INSTRUCTOR EVALUATIONS:** Students will be asked to complete a course/instructor evaluation form near the end of the semester.

**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:** For relevant university policies, see [www.shsu.edu/syllabus/](http://www.shsu.edu/syllabus/) and [www.shsu.edu/students/guide/dean/codeofconduct.html](http://www.shsu.edu/students/guide/dean/codeofconduct.html).

## COURSE OUTLINE

### I. COURSE INTRODUCTION AND ADMINISTRATION

### II. INTRODUCTION TO LATIN AMERICA

–**READ: Vanden & Prevost (V&P), Introduction (xviii-xxiii) & Chap. 1 & 12.**  
(Chap. 12 on Mexico is to give a coherent picture of one country as a starting point.)  
**Camp, Chap. 1**

#### A. Geography

1. Resources – ease of access (e.g., Pampa), technology to exploit, socioeconomic organization to control/distribute, human resources (e.g., education, entrepreneurship/initiative)
2. Communication – difficult, topography, scattered settlement, colonial policy, role of developed nations in trade & communications

3. Regionalism – long & still a major problem
4. Diversity – in all respects
5. Population – rapid population growth a development problem (a characteristic of “transitional” societies), resolved by education, income growth, and urbanization
6. Urban-rural distribution – major though some decline, primacy of capital and major industrial city

**Study Questions 1.** These questions may be helpful in reading the text.

1. In what ways is Latin America diverse?
2. Briefly explain and give the consequences of:
  - a. Urbanization – growth and attendant problems.
  - b. Crime and insecurity
  - c. Mestizo
  - d. Campesino
  - e. Latifundio vs. minifundio/microfundia Note: You will see later that the latifundio system was a major source of many of the problems of Latin America.
  - f. Role of feudalism in establishing early colonial patterns
3. Discuss briefly the social and economic consequences of different levels of altitude from the coast to mountaintops (altitudinal zonation). Brazil and Peru – similar attempt, different outcomes.
4. What are the major issues concerning rainforests in Latin America?
5. Briefly note any parallels (and differences) in the problems of urbanization in the U.S. and Latin America?
6. Briefly discuss the following about Mexico:
  - a. Effects of Spanish colonial rule
  - b. Catholic Church's ambiguous and changing roles
  - c. Mexican Revolution (1910-17 or 20 or 34) – What did it change, create?
  - d. Porfirio Díaz
  - c. On p. 310 of V&P (next to last paragraph), note the two different alliances.
  - d. Lázaro Cárdenas (FYI, one of my heroes)
  - e. Nature of social reforms coming out of the Revolution
  - f. "Mexican Miracle"
  - g. PRI, PAN, & PRD
  - h. How democratic was Mexico under the PRI? (Not a simple answer.) – could be an essay Q
  - i. Note the transition toward democracy in the decades preceding 2000
  - j. Technocrats
  - k. Role of women in politics and elsewhere
  - l. NAFTA
  - m. Vicente Fox (& now Felipe Calderón) of PAN
  - n. Arguments in Camp pp. 15-19 & last paragraph on p. 18 (& over to 10)
7. What kind of political system did the PRI create? Who benefitted, who paid?
8. Short answers:
  - a. Political culture
  - b. Issue of haves vs. have nots
  - c. Be familiar with the ideas on pp. 9-15 of Camp: authoritarian, semi-authoritarian, neoliberal capitalist, emergence of electoral democracy, upheaval in political practice, decline of primacy of presidency, growing importance of federalism and decentralization (effects), rise of new political actors, NGOs, corporatism (see elsewhere also), role of international capital (note p. 14 summary of structural features), dual political heritage seen in political culture, psychology of dependence, note the chapter's conclusion.

**C. Culture – READ: V&P, Chap. 6**

1. Interpretations of the value systems
  - a. Authoritarian (rule from top, limits on freedom, & checks from outside govt), hierarchical, elitist, corporatist, & personalist
  - b. Democratic/Republican – a long and continuing struggle w/values in a. above
  - c. Socialist, Marxist – never a large following but influential thought
  - d. Social-democratic – great influence
2. Legitimacy, development (& decay; traditional, transitional, & developed societies), and participation
3. Religion – Today, Catholic Church more diverse & in most places less influential
  - a. In some places, Protestants (particularly Pentecostals/Evangelicals) growing – 15% for the region, Guatemala close to 50%?  
--Also diverse

**D. Social organization and class structure – READ: V&P, Chap. 4 & 5**

**Look carefully at** the three depictions of “Latin American Social Structure” on Electronic Reserve. They show the evolution over time and emphasize the importance of corporatism in linking government to the rest of society.

1. Traditional patterns of class and status -- two-class; *peninsulares* vs. creoles
2. Contemporary patterns – not a true middle class (“middle sectors”); corporatism continues but more diffuse; mobility varies
3. Race and ethnicity – white/European, mestizo, Indian/Indigenous, black/mulatto, Asian -- differences with US
4. Gender – machismo, *marianismo* (maryism), good woman-bad woman, power in the home, legal rights, private-public distinction

**E. Economy – READ: V&P, Chap. 7 (Don’t bog down! Note the study points below.)**

1. Structure
  - a. Primary: Agriculture (modern, export oriented vs. latifundias and minifundias)  
Mineral extraction (enclave, lack of multiplier, often spent badly)
  - b. Service large in size, most jobs tend to pay poorly outside modern sector (e.g., technology, finance)
2. Trade patterns – heavily primary, fluctuations, terms of trade, desire to increase intra-Latin American trade
3. Products – still heavily primary sector
4. Labor force – organized labor, artisans, informal sector, peasants (plantation, latifundia, minifundia, small but above subsistence farmers, migrant labor [inside and outside country])
5. Informal sector
6. Consequences
  - a. Economy generally fragile (particularly the good)
  - b. Hard to build & sustain a middle class & prosperous working class (though some do)
  - c. Weak economies --> government can do less and more foreign dependency

## Study Questions 2

1. Discuss the nature, origins, changes, and consequences (particularly political consequences) of the Latin American social structure. Use the texts and the diagrams of social structure on Electronic Reserve.

a. Pentecostalism (rise of), spiritualism (blend with Catholicism), Indigenous and Afro-Latin religions, Judaism, Liberation Theology, role of Vatican II and 1968 Medellin Conf. of Bishops meeting.

2. Discussions of race or ethnicity in Latin America generally consider whites, *mestizos*, indigenous, and blacks. Discuss the interrelation of class, race/ethnicity, and gender in Latin America. Note the implications for power and politics.

3. Briefly discuss:

a. Elitism

b. *Personalism*

c. *Caudillo*

d. Corporatism. Do not confuse corporatism with the idea of business corporations. Corporatist structures might be thought of as vertical social structures. Just as social classes provide horizontal connections to people at the same level, corporatist structures (such as the military, the police, and the church) link elites at the top down through the structure to those at the bottom. Thus, generals give orders that trickle down the hierarchy to the privates that take the hill or march on the presidential palace. In many societies, business groups (such as the “Chamber of Commerce of Large Industries”) and professional associations (such as the association of architects) may behave as corporatist bodies and often have official and unofficial ties to the government.

e. Patron-client relations or clientelism. Note that many scholars see *camarillas* as a variation of or closely linked to this pattern.

f. *Zapatistas*/EZLN/Chiapas – briefly identify and indicate significance

g. Latin American concept of race

h. Sugar and slavery

i. *Futbol*

j. *patrón*

k. *maquiladoras*

l. patriarchy, machismo, marianismo

m. nature of gender roles in Latin America; forces changing them

n. interconnection of class, race, and gender – and the consequences

o. importance of family

p. note the table on p. 131 (predominance of Catholicism but the increase in Protestantism in some places)

q. separation/union of church and state r. Liberation Theology

4. How is the situation of the indigenous population changing? What is it today?

5. Discuss briefly the political role of the Catholic Church in Latin America and note the wide variation today in its roles and in the messages given by different sectors of the church.

6. From Chap. 7, know: foreign investment, enclave production, dependency, underdevelopment, Dependency Theory (very important in Latin America), ECLA, Raul Prebisch, import substitution, debt crisis, neoliberalism, globalization, privatization, regional integration, NAFTA, ties to West/developed nations, traditional role of agrarian production, importance of foreign investment and enclave production, and pp. 175-176.

**F. Historical development – READ: V&P, Chap. 2 (particularly pp. 26-38)-3, Camp, Chap. 2, and the “Historical Development of Latin America” table on Electronic Reserve**

1. Colonial period: 1492-1810ish
2. Wars of independence and aftermath: 1810 to 1850-75
3. Transitional period: 1850-75 to 1914 (begins at different times for different countries)
4. The drive to modernity: 1914 to 1945-present (Still in process in some countries)
5. The contemporary period: 1945 to the present (Some see two or more periods here.)

**Study Questions 3**

1. The colonial period had a tremendous effect in shaping contemporary Latin America. Both books are helpful. Camp’s pp. 25-33 provide the best short synopsis I have seen.
  - a. Briefly contrast the U.S. and Latin American colonial experiences.
  - b. In a longer essay, indicate the ways in which the colonial experience has helped shape contemporary Latin American politics. (When you have a better grasp of Latin America politics, we will revisit this question.)
2. Briefly relate the nature of pre-conquest society to what happened during colonialism.
3. Briefly compare slavery and the treatment of indigenous peoples in Iberian and British America.
4. Briefly discuss the impact of the Cold War on change and repression in Latin America.
5. Briefly identify and give the significance or answer briefly. A few lines will do in most cases.
  - a. Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín
  - b. Compare and contrast the independence process in Brazil, Spanish America, and the U.S.
  - c. Why were things so difficult after independence in Spanish America?
  - d. José Batlle and democratic reformism in Uruguay
  - e. FARC & ELN in Colombia
  - f. Bureaucratic authoritarianism
  - g. José Figueres and the creation of modern democratic Costa Rica (Be aware that Costa Rica had a more democratic culture than most of Latin America prior to 1948.) Democracy in Uruguay and Chile.
  - h. What were the consequences for Latin America of the end of the Cold War and the Soviet Union?
  - i. *Castas* j. women and power k. Note the long history of US intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Look at the US and Nicaragua as a cautionary tale. Note domestic and foreign sources and involvement in conflicts.
  - l. Migration and immigration
  - m. 19<sup>th</sup> Century Liberal-Conservative clash (Mex. and elsewhere) – what was it & its legacy?
  - n. Díaz and Porfiriato – legacies
  - o. Legacies of the Mexican Revolution
  - p. “Mexico’s long troublesome relationship with the United States”
  - q. Hugo Chávez r. Immigration and remittances issue
6. Look at the stages of Latin America’s development as presented in the table on electronic reserve and in V&P. Note the connection of social, economic, and political change.
7. A similar question: How did economic and social development in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (urbanization, industrialization/commercialization, modernization, etc.) change Latin American politics?

## II. ANALYZING LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

**A. The players – READ:** V&P, pp. 205-215, Camp, Chap. 5-6, and Tables 3-1 & 4-1 from Wynia on Electronic Reserve

1. Traditional "oligarchy": landed aristocracy, church, & military
  - a. Evolution: change for all, decline for some, but exit for few
2. Contemporary

### a. The stars

1. Landed elites
  - Latifundistas* (In most places, no longer stars; most now local elites; only in less developed countries do they tend to be national elites)
  - Commercial farmers
2. Business elites (role as elites a 20th Century phenomenon)
3. Military – of many stripes
  - Traditional and modern
  - Left, right (more), and in between
  - Institutionalization
4. Bureaucrats – traditionally a desired occupation (so, expertise, connection, and prestige --> power); Spanish emphasis on control (not service), day to day and implementation --> power; commonly bloated (employer of last resort)
5. Foreign interests – US (and now others), economic, military, & political
6. For each group in a. and b., consider:
  - Composition
  - Political objectives
  - Political resources

### b. The supporting cast (who occasionally steal the show)

1. Middle sectors (class?)
2. Intellectuals (sometime stars) and the media (moving up)
3. The masses
  - Labor--organized and/vs. unorganized
  - Informal sector
  - Campeños--five voices at least: *colono* (worker on *latifundia*), migrant wage laborer (much more important in recent decades in many countries), plantation worker, subsistence farmers, and small (but relatively more successful) farmers
4. Political party leaders – sometimes stars in past and still today in many places, particularly where they are the ones who pick the lists of candidates
5. The Church--the message and the influence varies
6. Women--supermadre, semi-liberated, slow and bumpy progress in most places

**B. Institutions – READ:** V&P, rest of Chap. 9, Camp, Chap. 7

1. Party systems and elections
  - a. Differing typologies
    - (1. No or one party, two parties, or multiparty
    - (2. Types and role of parties: see V&P
  - b. Party functions--with and without elections: see V&P
  - c. With important exceptions, the lack of long term party ID yields proliferation, short lives, and less role.

## 2. Interest groups and interest articulation

### a. Types

- (1. Traditional – personal connection, direct representation, and corporatism
- (2. Mixed
- (3. Western style (few) – more emphasis on interest groups & lobbying

### b. Who is represented and how much?

- Business
- Labor & Peasants
- Other
  - Women
  - Environmentalists

### c. Differences/similarities US and LA: So much done in the executive, corporatism; recent increase in professional lobbyists

### d. Insider tactics: Personal connection, corporatist ties, social lobbying, & information

- (1. Outsiders: The organized may strike or demonstrate – hard to be heard; the unorganized tend to be out of luck or dependent on their interest and that of the organized coinciding

## 3. The three (four?) branches

### a. The **presidency**--focus of power

The texts make clear that the president tends to be the center of the political system in Latin America – far more so than is the case in the U.S. Be aware of a seeming contradiction. The Latin American president generally has few checks from the other branches and so often seems more powerful than the North American president, who must go hat in hand to Congress and state governors. Yet the U.S. president leads a more powerful system – a competent bureaucracy able to carry out decisions, a strong military, a system with substantial financial resources, and government that does not face the threat of a coup by the military or the privileged or revolution from below. Traditionally, Latin American presidents were little limited by law or checked by the other branches. But they were (and are) highly limited by scarce public resources and the dispersion of power in the hands of the military and the nongovernmental elites. A big part of the struggle for democracy has been the effort to check the president while strengthening the ability of government to deliver on its promises – not an easy combination to achieve.

**Independent Executive Agencies: The other executive.** Latin American nations tend to have a large number of agencies that are in varying degrees independent of the president. They often spend more money and have more effect on people's lives than the ministries that are formally under the president. The tendency toward privatization has reduced this sector to varying degrees.

### b. **Legislatures**--lawmakers, rubber stamps, and patronage

Only a few Latin American legislatures play a serious and professional role in democratic lawmaking, although much progress has been made under the current wave of democracy (as in Mexico). Traditionally, the congress simply rubber stamped what the president wanted and served as a source of patronage and personal prestige. As legislatures strive to play the democratic role of checking the president, they may bog down in excessive partisanship, individualism, and a lack of understanding of the idea of a *loyal* opposition that has the job of checking the dominant party or the executive but stops

short of total opposition. Destructive rather than loyal opposition is the dominant current pattern in Ecuador, for example.

c. **Courts**, law, and justice

Courts are far more limited in Latin America than in the US. They operate under the Roman Law tradition that is used in much of Europe (other than Britain). This tradition severely limits the ability of courts to make law and interpret the constitution, unlike the US pattern. Courts must also sometimes adapt to unconstitutional regimes and their edicts, which may violate the existing constitution or laws. The courts ordinarily enforce the laws decreed by the de facto rulers (those in charge regardless of the unconstitutionality of their rise to power). In recent years, the courts in some countries have received the power and political strength to make some constitutional decisions.

d. Points to note:

Description

Relations between the branches

Who controls the state apparatus and thus its power

The constant struggle to expand and contain state power

Reconciling liberal principles and authoritarian realities

4. Public administration and the **bureaucracy**

Latin American governments are highly limited by the fact that most of their government agencies are not very competent. Limited budgets and low salaries decrease capability. Yet the bureaucracy costs a great deal because it has traditionally been the employer of last resort for a big chunk of the middle sectors. The thought was that it was better to have a bloated bureaucracy than a lot of unemployed educated people who might become disgruntled and organize a revolt. Most countries have some form of patronage system that values political loyalty over competence. The bureaucracies also tend to be heavily controlling and to have less of the service orientation developed in most Western bureaucracies. The bureaucracy is very important for its strong role in controlling or regulating much of society, the expertise found in many individuals and some agencies, and the fact that government is a much bigger portion of the economy than is the case in the U.S.

5. **Constitutions**, nominal and real

From the beginning, constitutions were commonly viewed as a statement of goals, not a guide to actual behavior. Legalism is strong, so there are many attempts to engineer change through constitutional provisions. Yet until recently, the provisions were often ignored. One of the challenges to democratic development is to make constitutions into actual guides to government behavior and limitations on the leaders. Note also that Latin American political culture puts far more emphasis on group rights, responsibilities, and representation than does North American culture. This is reflected in Latin American constitutions.

### Study Questions 4

1. Discuss the relationship between the three branches of government in Latin America. How do the patterns differ from those in the U.S.?
2. One of the great and longstanding problems of Latin America is the disparity in power between the few who are strong and the many who are weak. Assess this assertion through a discussion of the players of Latin American politics. You might examine their relative power, resources, and goals as part of your essay.
3. Brief responses
  - a. How does the court system differ between the U.S. and Latin America? (See also w. below.)
  - b. How does the approach to constitutions differ?
  - b. Writ of *amparo* or *fuero*; *state of siege*; *code law* – identify and give significance
  - c. How does Latin American constitutionalism draw on corporatism?
  - d. How has the relation between central & local government changed over time in Latin America?
  - e. Why are Latin American bureaucracies so criticized?
  - f. List the five Latin American countries with the longest stable democratic experience? Which three are generally thought to be the most democratic over the last half century? (Two of them had a big exception in the 1973-mid 80s period.)
  - g. How have Latin American militaries changed over time?
  - h. List the common characteristics of LA'n political parties.
  - i. Distinguish the traditional Liberal and Conservative parties.
  - j. What is the problem with populist parties in LA?
  - k. V&P provide data about women in LA'n politics. Note briefly the patterns you see.
  - l. Note the major roles of political parties in Latin America.
  - m. Note the different types of political parties.
  - n. PRI, PAN, & PRD – Identify & significance (more in Chap. 8 of Camp)
  - o. How is checks and balances evolving in Latin America?
  - p. What is the relation between the military and the civilian leaders in Mexico? (Note that it is different from the relationship in much of Latin America.)
  - q. Code law
  - r. Electoral Tribunals
  - s. Decentralized agencies (see Camp for this and following short answers)
  - t. Presidentialism in Mexico – traditional patterns & changes under Fox. How is the presidency changing in Mexico? How is the relation between congress and the president changing?
  - u. Changes in the role of the Mexican legislative branch since 1997
  - v. Two structural limits on legislative role
  - w. Compare/contrast US & Mexican judiciary

### C. Political behavior – Read comments below and Camp, Chap. 8

1. **The modes of democratic political participation** (The forms of citizen participation commonly found in democracies)

a. **Voting** – most common citizen activity, easiest, of the forms of participation, gives the least clear messages as to the voter's preferences; done to try to influence choice of office

holder & policy orientation and also to receive favors in a patronage system; where elections are meaningful, they are critical to popular influence over government.

b. **Campaign work** – done by relatively few but allows clearer and stronger messages to be sent to public officials; often done to obtain patronage; in Latin America, as here, contributions buy access to public officials and sometimes their vote.

c. **Communal activity** – working in and through organizations – less common than voting, but very important in democracies; often done for nonpolitical reasons (e.g., joining a union to try to improve your wages) but can give the individual more impact and can send messages to government officials more clearly than does voting.

d. **Particularized contacting** – Particularized contacting does not involve seeking new policies or broad changes in policies. It is rather contacting government or political officials to ask for the adaptation of or exception to a general public policy so as to help you or those close to you (e.g., asking for a favor or asking for a zoning exception for your home business; very important in patronage systems).

e. **Political communication** – following politics in the media or discussing politics with others – may be quite common in some systems. Can convey your concerns to others but not necessarily to leaders. It does provide the information for those who become opinion leaders or work in campaigns or groups.

f. **Non-conventional participation** – both legal, such as strikes or demonstrations, and illegal activities, such as guerrilla wars, death squads, riots, and terrorism – few participate, but the message may be clear and heard. Outsiders such as the poor and indigenous groups (Indians), who have little effective access to government, are most likely to use unconventional participation. Insiders often look down upon it, but it is sometimes successful. Examples in our country would be the Women's Suffrage Movement and the Black Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 60s – outsiders who were eventually heard and to some degree incorporated as insiders, as part of the system. In weak democratic systems, the working class groups such as unions or indigenous may push confrontations to the edge of violence in order to *pressure* the government to act, not just to be *heard*. Weak Latin American governments fear military intervention if they allow too much disorder and may therefore give in to the threat of major disorder. Some see this as a crude form of democracy where formal representative institutions are weak. This was long a pattern in Peru. In recent years, large popular action has toppled governments in Ecuador and Peru.

g. For each mode:

Extent (who and how much)

Consequences

## 2. Participation in authoritarian settings

a. Voting – Authoritarian regimes often hold sham elections or plebiscites to give the impression of democracy. Brazil's military regime (1964-mid 80s) even had an official government and opposition party that competed. General Pinochet, the Chilean dictator, was horrified when voters in a plebiscite he called rejected his continuing as dictator. With few exceptions, such as the Chilean plebiscite, elections in authoritarian regimes are not about policy and popular control. People vote to avoid being seen as opposing those with the guns or for reasons of patronage. The regime uses the elections to give the appearance of legitimacy.

b. Campaign work – ditto

c. Communal activity – Groups seen as threatening to the regime (usually unions and peasant organizations, political parties and organizations, and often others) are generally repressed by the police and military. However, non-threatening group, such as community self-help

organizations, are often encouraged. For example, under the Peruvian military government of the 1970s, many squatter communities asked the government for the materials for water systems and streets. The government provided materials and technical assistance; the residents did most of the work. The generals could feel good, and the poor residents had potable water.

d. Contacting – becomes particularly important in an authoritarian regime because it is nonthreatening, it does not ask for policy changes.

e. Political communication – the amount permitted varies by regime but is likely to be less and channeled (permissible if it supports the regime and its goals, dangerous if it opposes the regime); in some regimes, it can be very bad for your health.

f. Non-conventional participation – little/none is likely to be considered legal; illegal activity may become more important because other channels are less available. Under authoritarian regimes, the number of outsiders increases, and the channels to communicate their needs become fewer and weaker. Violent opposition may be seen as the only option, particularly by those who had some mechanisms of legal access or protest under democracy, such as members of repressed unions and peasant groups. Subsistence farmers, who have no organization or sense of participation under either democracy or dictatorship may feel little affected and are not likely to be recruited to guerrilla groups short of force or major disruption of their lives.

### 3. Expanding Participation in Mexico

#### a. The changing party system

### **D. Political Culture and Attitudes – Read:** V&P, Chap. 8; Camp, Chap. 3-4.

1. Four sets of ideas to know from V&P: Conflict society; elitism, personalism, & strong-man rule (*caudillo*, *cacique*, and *coronel*); *golpes* and *juntas*; & patron-client, *compadre/comadre*, & *camarilla*
2. Legitimacy, participation, and democracy in Mexico
3. Partisanship, Alienation, and Tolerance in Mexico

### **E. Political thought & ideology**

1. Nationalism
2. Communists, Marxists, Socialists, and others of the Left (a recent surge of the Left)
3. Populists
4. The Right, Conservatives
5. Liberal – US meaning different than in rest of world

### **F. Development Strategies & Political Alignment–READ:** V&P, pp. 435-50, 374-80, 400-13.

**NOTE:** The following essay may be helpful in understanding the assigned reading. For a fuller description of the four strategies, see Gary W. Wynia, *The Politics of Latin American Development*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), Chap. 5, JL 960 .W9 1990, on reserve.

Almost everyone in positions of authority in Latin America agrees that Latin America needs to develop, but there is sharp disagreement as to how. The solutions fall roughly into four approaches:

- Traditionalism
- Progressive Modernization
- Conservative Modernization (Neoliberalism)
- Socialist Revolution

A few believe that Latin America should continue to follow traditional patterns, relying primarily on the exportation of raw materials (agricultural products and minerals) for the developed world. A second group believes that a radical restructuring of society is necessary and that it is likely only as a result of a socialist revolution, such as happened in Cuba. For many decades, the major debate was between advocates of what we will call Progressive and Conservative Modernization. In just the last few years, the Socialist Revolution model has gained momentum through electoral victories. Current versions are heavily laced with populism (e.g., Venezuela and Bolivia) or have to deal carefully with the Conservative Modernization Model (e.g., Brazil and Chile). Others are limited by economic and political reality (e.g., Ecuador, Argentina, and Nicaragua).

**Progressive Modernization** sees Latin America's development being impeded by economic and social structures. To increase production over the long term, economic resources have to be redistributed from less efficient to more efficient units and the size of the national market expanded by including more citizens in the modern economy. Progressive modernizers push three goals in particular: (1) agrarian reform (e.g., land redistribution, improved production techniques, and a diversification of the commodities produced), (2) industrialization (in part through direct government action and in part by expanding the number of people who could consume through higher salaries and social programs), and (3) reduced dependency on the already industrialized nations. The state would play a major role in this as planner and financier where private capital is unavailable or inadequate. The emphasis is on both increased production and better distribution of the production.

In the short run, the state and its bureaucracy, local industrialists, parts of the middle sectors, and labor and peasant organizations benefit. In the longer run, peasants, the working class, and the urban poor would benefit from the strategy if it is successful. The wealthy, *latifundistas*, foreign investors, and many in the import sector would lose. Two clear examples of progressive modernization are the Christian Democratic government of Eduardo Frei in Chile 1964-70 and Venezuela from 1958 into the early 1970s under the Democratic Action party.

I would argue that some of the current democratically elected leftist governments may use socialist rhetoric but operate essentially from a progressive modernization model (modified by necessary concessions to conservative modernization). Brazil is perhaps the closest fit. Chile fits in some ways.

**Conservative modernization** shares a desire for industrialization and rural modernization but rejects progressive modernization's methods. Conservative modernizers see the growth in the government's role as stifling private initiative. What is needed, they argue, is orderly government that encourages private initiatives through its taxing and spending policies. They are not interested in redistribution of income but rather in increasing production. They believe that money needs to accumulate in the hands of investors who will invest it in productive uses. They see the redistributive policies of the progressive modernizers as fueling inflation, which prevents economic growth. As growth takes place, they believe that incomes of all levels of the society will increase (the trickle down idea). The clear winners in this approach are the wealthy, most particularly investors (domestic and foreign), importers and exporters, large commercial farmers, and those industrialists who can compete in the international market. Those who lose are peasants, the indigenous, the poor, the working class and their unions, and often many parts of the middle sectors.

In recent decades, U.S. and other advanced industrial nations' governments and the major international financial institutions, particularly the IMF, have pushed "**neoliberal**" economic policies,

which are *essentially conservative modernization*. *The military regimes of Brazil (1964-85) and Chile (1973-90)* and the democratically elected Peronist government of Carlos Menem in Argentina (1989-99) implemented variations of conservative modernization.

Only Chile under Pinochet and later was successful in producing substantial, sustained growth. After the rejection of the Pinochet dictatorship in a plebiscite and the return to democratically elected governments led by those who in the past supported progressive modernization, a consensus emerged to continue the policies of conservative modernization. Leaders did not want a rerun of the conflict over economic and social models that led to the military coup of 1973. There was also widespread agreement that the economy was working well and that there was enough money to provide some benefits to the poor and working class.

**Political Coalitions.** The ideas of progressive and conservative modernization have served as a major basis for the majority of political coalitions that have vied for power in recent decades. Populists (such as Perón in Argentina or Vargas in Brazil) are a seeming exception. They mouth much of the rhetoric of progressive modernization but carry out or tolerate conservative modernization. Similarly, the government of Mexico under the PRI mouthed revolution but implemented a mixture of the two strategies. Under Salinas (1988-94) and Zedillo (1994-2000), conservative modernization was clearly dominant. It is also the policy of Presidents Fox and Calderón.

**Hard to Sustain.** Both progressive and conservative modernization are difficult to implement and sustain long enough to have positive results. The powerful who would be disadvantaged by progressive modernization use their position within democracies or their connection with the military or foreign interests to prevent or dilute implementation (e.g., under Eduardo Frei, Sr. in Chile). The increase in spending inherent in the policies generally does not produce an immediate increase in supply, which leads to inflation, budget deficits, and foreign exchange problems – which make it difficult to sustain the policy. It is even harder because of the policies of the US and Western Europe implemented through the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the gatekeeper for international aid.

Conservative modernization puts much of the cost of implementation on the poor and working class, which inclines them to strike, vote the government out of power, or rebel. Thus, it may take a strong government willing to use undemocratic repression to implement the policies long enough for them to take hold and produce sustained growth. Only Pinochet's harsh military regime in Chile was successful in producing sustained growth (and even they had some downturns) in what was fundamentally a strong economy to begin with. To avoid conflict over the economic model, the center-left governments that followed Pinochet have kept the model while gradually adding some help for the poor. So far, it still works.

The Brazilian military regime had major initial growth, but only a minority of the population saw increased real income. The poorer  $\frac{1}{2}$  -  $\frac{2}{3}$  (guesstimates vary) of the population appear to have lost real income. The growth eventually fizzled, and with it the popularity of the military government. Interestingly, the current democratic leftist Lula government has followed much of the model (emphasis on trade and relatively conservative fiscal policies) while providing increased welfare for the poor – and it seems to be working (growth and some increase in equity).

## G. Public policy

### 1. Major issues

#### a. Economic growth & stability

- b. Equity
  - c. Basic services (local government can be dominant &/or critical)
    - Housing
    - Transportation
    - Utilities
    - Order, safety
  - d. Division of scarce resources
    - Rural vs. urban (Mexico ex.)
    - Region (Mexico & Ecuador ex.)
    - Poor vs. middle & upper classes – agrarian & urban reforms
    - Indigenous (Mexico & Ecuador ex.)
2. Constraints on policy-making
- a. Lack of resources
  - b. Uneven representation
  - c. Unresponsive bureaucracy
  - d. Corporatism
3. Policy-making process
- a. Advantages of the better placed
  - b. Role of the president and the bureaucracy

**Study Questions 5** (Use as appropriate. We may not cover all of these.)

1. Discuss the role of citizen participation in democratic and authoritarian regimes.
2. Just above, there is an outline for a discussion of public policy in Latin America. Where do you see differences and similarities to patterns in the US? This can be a relatively short answer.
3. How does the development model help to shape the political coalition? What are the fundamental problems in implementing a development strategy in Latin America?
4. Looking at the experience of Chile, Brazil, and Argentina, assess the nature, problems, and successes of military governments.
5. Looking at the experience of the three countries, what do you see as the major problems of transition from military dictatorship to democracy?
6. The redemocratized Chile was full of paradoxes. Explain the mix of democracy and authoritarianism and of growth and inequality).
7. Brief responses
  - a. Conflict society; elitism, personalism, & strong-man rule (*caudillo*, *cacique*, and *coronel*); *golpes* and *juntas*; & patron-client, *compadre/comadre*, & *camarilla*.
  - b. Juan Perón and peronism
  - c. Neoliberalism in Argentina
  - d. Military rule in Argentina and state terror
  - e. Identify Eduardo Frei, Sr. & Jr., Salvador Allende, Gen. Augusto Pinochet, & Concertación
  - f. The geography of inequality in Brazil and its political implications.
8. Mexico, Chap. 8
  - a. Briefly, what happened from the 1970s on that made elections more meaningful in Mexico?
  - b. 2000 election – What happened? Why?
  - c. What happened in 2006? (Calderón and López Obrador)
  - d. Evolution of Mexico's three parties
9. Mexico, Chap. 3-4
  - a. What is political culture?
  - b. How do Mexicans see democracy? How different from people in US?
  - c. The conclusions of Chap. 3 & 4 give the essence of the chapter's arguments. Be familiar with them.
  - d. What is civil society? How is it manifested in Mexico?

**III.. Revolution, Development, and Change**

**READ:** V&P, Chap. 10, 13, and pp. 528-41

**Study Questions 6**

1. Briefly distinguish between a revolution and a *golpe de estado*/coup d'état.
2. Evaluate the sources of revolution in Latin America.
3. Discuss Marxism in Latin America. Note why communist movements commonly did not develop into revolutionary forces.

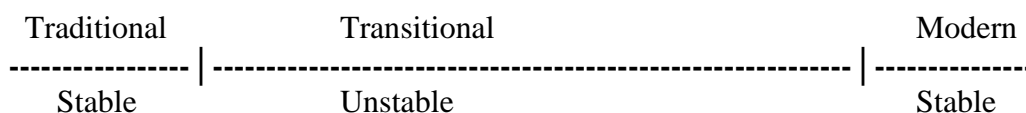
Be aware that throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century Marxism as a form of economic analysis and a system of thought affecting the political orientation of many (and particularly the young in their secondary and college years) has been more influential and has been viewed less negatively than in the U.S. This is not clear from the text.

4. Briefly identify: FMLN, Sandinistas/FSLN, Contras, Violeta Chamorro, FARC, ELN, Sendero Luminoso, and Zapatistas.
  5. Briefly explain why the authors say El Salvador particularly fit the profile for revolution.
  6. Distinguish briefly between the civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Chiapas.
  7. Note briefly the process that ended the four civil wars in Q 6.
  8. In the beginning of Chap. 10, the authors say that many seeking change are now using less violent but effective means. What means and are they effective?
- briefly the relationship between Cuba and the U.S. from Cuba's independence through the early years of the Castro government. In what ways did this relationship contribute to the revolution and to the consolidation of Castro's position?
10. Evaluate the success and failure of the Castro regime in Cuba. Who gained, who lost and in what ways?
  11. Evaluate the success and failure of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.
  12. Briefly discuss what brought the Sandinistas to power and what brought them down.

**IV. VIOLENCE AND INSTABILITY**

**A. Development and decay: Change is not a one way street** (e.g., Venezuela, Argentina)

**B. Relation of development, instability, and violence**



1. Revolution vs. coups (*golpes de estado*)
2. Relative deprivation and J-curve

**C. Controlling violence and instability**

1. Institution building (Samuel Huntington) – force and legitimacy
2. Elite accommodation (e.g., Colombia & Uruguay)
3. Foreign intervention

**V. FOREIGN RELATIONS – Read Camp, Chap. 9****A. Latin American concerns**

1. Exports
2. Imports
3. Foreign investment
4. Debt
5. Aid
6. Sovereignty
  - a. Avoid invasion
  - b. Avoid being a client state
    - Economic imperialism
    - Cultural imperialism

**B. U.S. Concerns**

1. Hegemony & sphere of influence
2. Instability
3. Economic benefits – national & private
4. Communism/Cold War
5. Drugs

**C. Aid (Military, economic, and anti-drug) – Strange Bedfellows?**

1. Changes in strategies over time
2. Aid to dictators and human rights

**Study Questions 7**

1. Brief answers
  - a. How has Mexico's proximity to the US shaped its foreign policy?
  - b. Mexico's nationalistic foreign policy and the left?
  - c. Changing nature of Mexican nationalism
  - d. Third Space of transnationalizing individuals
  - e. Primary interest of US in Latin America (& Mexico) as political stability, not political liberalization
  - f. Effect of international terrorism as a US concern
  - g. How do the two sides view each other?
  - h. NAFTA and its effects
  - i. Review the conclusion (266-68)
  - j. Relative deprivation and j-curve

**SUMMARY Study Questions:**

1. Discuss the conflict between the values of the colonial period and those of democracy and liberalism that have marked Latin American politics. (In addition to purely political values, include economic, social, and personal values and practices that impact politics.)
2. Discuss the relationship of elites and masses in Latin American politics. Include consequences. Has the relationship changed over time?
3. Compare and contrast the situation of Latin American and U.S. presidents.
4. Many informed observers see the current wave of democracy as more likely to last than previous periods. Argue for or against this view.
5. Alternatives: Analyze the nature of Latin American democracy. Compare and contrast democracy in the US and Latin America (one or more Latin American countries if that works better for you).
6. Discuss two governments that have used Conservative or Progressive Modernization strategies and evaluate the economic and political outcomes. (The two governments may be in the same or different countries and may use the same or a different strategy.)
7. How democratic is Mexico?
8. How does Mexico compare to other Latin American countries? How is it similar, different?

**FINAL EXAM:** Tuesday, Dec. 15, 11-1.

**THE END!**