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Latin American Politics

Political Science 264

MWF, 9-10

Course Overview

What is “Latin” about Latin America? Is it language? Well, if so, are indigenous people excluded because they do not speak Latin-based languages? And what about Belize, where the primary language is English? Or, perhaps, when we refer to Latin America, we are thinking solely in geographic terms. If that is correct, then where does Latin America begin and end? Is Mexico included, even though it is part of North America? Did NAFTA integrate the economies (and people, in certain places) of the United States and Mexico to such a degree that disentangling north from south is no longer possible?

These questions touch on many issues, including, but not limited to identity, colonialism (and post-colonialism), economics, and institutions. In this course, we will analyze such themes and concepts, as well as others, in a way that further familiarizes and deepens our understanding of the discipline of Political Science. The regional focus narrows down the phenomena and events, while also revealing intriguing comparisons (e.g. Why did strong indigenous movements emerge in Ecuador and Bolivia, but not in Peru? Why did Columbia elect a right-wing President at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, while surrounding states “went left?”) We will have the opportunity to read and research various case studies in in-depth ways and discuss such comparisons, while debating the past, present, and future political environment of the various states, actors, and groups that we find in “Latin America.” We will also remain cognizant that in identifying a region involves power and representation.

Required Texts for Purchase (available at the Bookstore, the rest of our readings are on our moodle site or can be accessed via the urls on this syllabus:

**The Idea of Latin America*, by Walter Mignolo

**The Black Jacobins*, by CLR James

**Dependency and Development in Latin America* Cardoso by Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. (*Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina, Engl.*). Univ of California Press.

**The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Levitsky, Steven, and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds. JHU Press, 2013.

Recommended Text (strongly! - take a look at country profiles and histories)

*Skidmore, Thomas E., Peter H. Smith, and James Naylor Green. *Modern Latin America*. 9th ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Learning Objectives

This course aims to develop students' capacity for critical thinking and creative political analysis. Students will learn to use the theoretical frameworks offered by influential theorists to analyze Latin America and the political, economic and social contexts within which it is embedded. Students will also draw on their own knowledge and experiences to analyze these empirical phenomena, and challenge, complicate, and elaborate their meanings and importance. We will realize these objectives through close reading of texts, intensive writing, and active participation in class discussion.

Close Reading:

This course offers opportunities to study different theoretical and empirical texts on Latin American politics. The texts themselves vary from those that are often dense and difficult, to those that are more journalistic. Our goal in reading these texts will be to draw out the meaning and significance of certain central concepts and events. We will also consider the implications of certain theories and concepts. Close reading allows us to think *differently* and to challenge the dominant conceptions employed in scholarly discourse and popular media. To meet these objectives, you may find it necessary to read assignments more than once. I have structured the work-load of the class to encourage you to do so.

Writing:

In general (and by no means only for this class), writing is hard. Many times papers need to be written and rewritten many times. Writing is also an essential mode of communication and crucial way for organizing thinking, inside and outside the university. The required work consists of writing assignments that demand the close study of texts in relation to relevant empirical political phenomena. Through our writing, we will enhance our critical thinking skills and learn how to develop clear, concise, and cogent arguments. **Note that all assigned work is writing and discussion intensive. There are no exams.** This also means that we will devote ample in-class time to discussions of writing and the presentation of examples.

Specific directions that I require for papers are available on my website:

pages.stolaf.edu/pahnke. See "for students" and then "writing and research materials." In that section, you will find answers for questions concerning what I want in a thesis statement, how I want sources cited, as well as a list of general paper tips.

St Olaf has a **writing help desk** where trained tutors can help you refine your work and clarify your arguments. I strongly encourage you to make the most of the center, not for checking the content of your papers, but to ensure that they are grammatically correct and clear. If I cannot read or understand your writing, then your grade will suffer. One cannot separate form from content.

The Writing Help Desk located in Rolvaag Memorial Library next to the Reference Desk, provides one stop service for research and writing. Students can get help with writing “on the spot” when tutors are available or they may make appointments by calling x3288.

<http://www.stolaf.edu/services/asc/writinghelp.html>

Active Learning:

The course uses active learning strategies so that we can together clarify, question, and consolidate new understandings of democracy and politics. Active learning strategies in this class will range from in-class breakout groups, to short writing assignments.

Course Requirements and Assignments

Syllabus: Read the syllabus thoroughly and pay attention to class emails for any modifications or amendments.

Three Reflection Papers: Complete **three 3 page response papers (no more than three pages, I will not read more than three pages)** where you critically summarize the readings for the week. Due dates are listed on the syllabus. This assignment requires you to use themes from the readings and debate critically the meaning, scope, and/or practices. Critique does not simply mean your opinion; it must be well-reasoned and backed up by reconstructing the arguments and ideas from the readings. You may be surprised by the readings, think they are interesting, or incredibly boring. I encourage you to be excited and feel those things when you are reading; however, I do not need to read about sentiments in your papers. In these shorter essays, you are expected to make a **strong argument** either about a specific week's readings, and to support this argument with theoretical and empirical **evidence**. **External sources are not required for the short papers. Your sources for these readings are class readings.** Topics for each reflection paper will be sent out one week before they are due. You can choose to write about something not asked in the prompts. **You cannot, however, write about subjects beyond the weeks before or after each particular reflection paper's focus.**

Final Analytical Paper: One 8-10 page final paper (in 1st and 2nd drafts) where you develop an **argument** around a concept or theme related to Latin American politics. I will not read more than 10 pages. **First drafts due April 22nd. Final drafts are due during our finals time.** Before the third week of the semester, during my office hours or by appointment, **come talk to me** about your idea. At this meeting, you ought to present me with your thesis idea and tell me if you are writing a theoretically oriented paper, or a theoretical discussion with a case study. For the first draft, have **at least four pages**. In the rough draft, you ought to have a clear thesis and organization outlined. Of course, the more quality pages you have done at this point, the better. This paper must also **use sources that are not from class**. They ought to be accurate and reliable. For the final paper, you will need a minimum of 8. I will distribute more information and guidelines in the first couple weeks of the class. You must have at least five sources that are peer-reviewed journal articles.

Also, you will **individually present on your final analytical paper** to the class during the last week of classes. Further instructions will be issued closer to the middle of the semester.

Participation: Our class is organized like a seminar, which means that participation will be courteous and respectful. Attendance is necessary. You will also be required to keep a **writing journal** with one entry per week (preferably in a googledoc). In the journal, you should comment on anything you like, hate, or are simply confused about in the class. There will also be **periodic, pop quizzes** on the day's readings.

Class-Driven Exercises (CDE): **Five times** during the semester, I turn class over to you! **Three times**, you will organize what I call '**Quick Pick Presentations**' or **QPPs**. **Two other times**, we have **in-class debates**. For QPPs, all students will prepare a group presentation in teams assigned that day. By lottery, one of the teams will present for fifteen minutes (not more) to begin class. Teams will have 15 minutes of in class time to prepare. Students are graded, not on the presentation, but on questions students answer in class as a team. For the **debates**, groups that I select will develop arguments concerning the week's issue. Grades are determined by a post-debate, in-class, reflection paper.

Required Reading: Read assigned texts in advance of the class for which they are assigned and come to class prepared to discuss them.

Elective Reading: Active reading and analysis of relevant newspaper articles, including editorials. If a current event interests you, feel free to bring it up in class for debate and discussion!

Evaluation/Grading

Reflection papers: each 10% (3x=30%)

Final Paper: 30% (first draft= 5%, final version=25%)

CDEs: each 7% (5x=35%)

Participation: 5%

Letter Grades are: A (90-100); B (80-90); C (70-80); D (60-70); F 59 and below

LATE ASSIGNMENTS will lose 1/2 letter grade for each day they are late. (For example, an "A" paper turned in late will be an "A-" one day late, or "B+" two days late. Late assignments can be excused, but the student must explanation their reasons to me and provide documentation in the event of an illness).

College Policies and Procedures

The last day to withdraw from Spring semester classes is 4/14 (a W will appear on your transcript). If you do not finish the class or fail to withdraw from the class, you will receive a grade of F. The academic progress policy may affect students who withdraw from classes. Be aware that a W (withdraw) is different from a D (drop). A drop occurs at the very beginning of the term (no later than this term); a withdrawal occurs after the first week (between this term).

Withdrawing from this class may put you at risk for academic warning. If you have questions about your situation, contact your academic advisor as soon as possible.

Academic Misconduct and Plagiarism

Such issues will be dealt with in accordance with college policy. Conduct during exams is subject to the Honor System: <http://www.stolaf.edu/stulife/thebook/academic/honor.html>.

Other matters of academic integrity, including plagiarism, fall under the academic integrity policy:

<http://www.stolaf.edu/stulife/thebook/academic/integrity.html>

Plagiarism is “the presentation of the work of another as one’s own,” and the policy says the following about it:

Plagiarism may take the form of inadequate or misleading use of sources, or the presentation of a written assignment as one’s own when, in fact, a significant portion or all of it is the work of others. Students must be especially vigilant in their use of electronic sources, as no distinction will be made between misuse of such sources and misuse of written, non-electronic sources.

When you submit a paper you must cite every source you used in writing the paper, and indicate which words or ideas came from which source.

Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability for which accommodations may be required in this class, please contact Connie Ford (ford@stolaf.edu) or Laura Knobel-Piehl (knobel@stolaf.edu) in the Academic Support Center ([507-786-3288](tel:507-786-3288), Buntrock 108) as soon as possible to discuss accommodations. If you have already registered for accommodations through Student Accessibility Services, please arrange the submission of your accommodation letter within the first two weeks of class. Accommodations will only be provided after the letter is submitted to me and with sufficient lead-time for me to arrange testing or other accommodations. **Although I will receive the letter electronically, I expect you to initiate a conversation with me about the accommodations.**

Incompletes

Incompletes shall only be requested in extenuating circumstances. An incomplete (I) grade may be assigned at the discretion of the instructor and only if the following conditions have been met: (1) the student must have satisfactorily completed 75% of course work, written assignments and examinations; (2) the student is earning a grade of C or better; and (3) the student is in good standing according to the class attendance policy. All course work must be completed either by a due date negotiated with the instructor or within one semester.

Course Schedule

*Subject to Change at Discretion of the Instructor

Part 1: How to Think about the Region

Week 1: What is Latin America? Part 1: The Development of Comparative Politics and Area Studies

February 8th, 10th, 12th

- *Carta del Libertador Simon Bolivar al General Juan Jose Flores (optional, Spanish)
- *Cumings, Bruce. "Boundary displacement: Area studies and international studies during and after the Cold War." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 29, no. 1 (1997): 6-26.
- *Drake, Paul, and Lisa Hilbink. "Latin American studies: Theory and practice." (2003). In *The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and the Disciplines*. Ed Szanton
- *I, Rigabertu Menchu: An Indian Women in Guatemala (Introduction, Ch 1, Ch 32)

Week 2: What is Latin America? Part 2: Latin America in the World

February 15th, 17th, 19th

QPP 1 – the 19th!

- *Pastor, Robert “*The Lessons and Legacy of Omar Torrijos.*” Ch 1 of *Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2001.
- *“China’s Evolving Role in Latin America: Can it be a Win-Win?”
<http://publications.atlanticcouncil.org/chinalatam/>
- *“What will China’s Investment do for Latin America?” BBC.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-33424532>
- *“Ten Achievements of ALBA.” <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/telesuragenda/10-Achievements-of-the-ALBA-Alliance-in-10-Years--20141213-0024.html>
- *Mignolo, Walter D. *The Idea of Latin America*. Wiley, 2009. (Preface, Chapter 1)
- *“South of the Border,” written by Gene Autry, sung by Frank Sinatra.

Part 2: Central Themes and Subjects

Week 3: Colonialism, Imperialism (and their legacies)

February 22nd, 24th, 26th

- *de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (Selections)
- *Mignolo, Walter D. *The Idea of Latin America* (Chapter 2)
- *Skidmore, Thomas. *Modern Latin America* (Chapter 2)
- *Cardoso & Faletto. *Dependency and Development in Latin America* Ch 1 -3

Week 4: Revolution(s)

February 29th, March 2nd, 4th

Short Analytical Paper #1 Due on the 4th!

- *Lynch, John. *Latin American Revolutions: Old and New World Origins* (Optional)
- *James, CLR. *The Black Jacobins*. Preface, Ch 1-4, 8, 9, 13

*Wickham-Crowley. *Guerrillas & Revolution in Latin America* (Ch 1, 8, 11)
Film: *Egalite for All: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian Revolution* (2009)

Week 5: State-making and Formation

March 7th, 9th, 11th

QPP #2 on the 11th!

*Tilly, Charles, "War making and state making as organized crime." in *Bringing the State Back in*, Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol.

*Lopez- Alves, "The Transatlantic Bridge: Mirrors, Charles Tilly, and State Formation in the River Plate" & Dominguez, "Samuel Huntington and the Latin American State" in Centeno, Miguel A., and Fernando López Alves, eds. *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory Through the Lens of Latin America*. Ch 5 & 7

Week 6: Regimes (and Transitions): Democracy and Authoritarianism

March 14th, 16th, 18th

Short Analytical Paper #2 is due on the 18th!

*O'Donnell, G., *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*. Institute of International Studies, University of California-Berkeley, 1973, pp. 53-114.

*O'Donnell, G., and Schmitter, P.C., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1986, pp. 3-72.

*Haggard, S., and Kaufman, R., "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions." *Comparative Politics* 29, No.3 (April 1997): 285-303.

Film: *Battle of Chile*

Spring Break! No Class March 19th – 28th

Week 7: Political Economy Part 1: Dependency and ISI

March 30th, April 1st

*Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979, Ch 4 -5

*Valenzuela, J. Samuel, and Arturo Valenzuela. "Modernization and dependency: Alternative perspectives in the study of Latin American underdevelopment." *Comparative politics* 10, no. 4 (1978): 535-557.

*Haggard, Stephan. *Pathways from the periphery: The politics of growth in the newly industrializing countries*. Cornell University Press, 1990. (Selections)

Week 8: Political Economy Part 2: The Neoliberal Transition

April 4th, 6th, 8th

Debate #1 - 8th!

*Williamson, John. "What Washington means by policy reform." *Latin American adjustment: how much has happened* 7 (1990): 7-20.

*Centeno, Miguel Angel. *Democracy within reason: technocratic revolution in Mexico*. Penn State Press, 2010. (Selections)

*Bulmer-Thomas, V., "Globalization and the New Economic Model in Latin America," *The*

Cambridge Economic History of Latin America, ed. V. Bulmer-Thomas, J. Coatsworth, and R. Cortés-Conde (Cambridge University Press), pp. 135-166.

Week 9: Institutions: Corporatism, Presidentialism, and the Rule of Law

April 11th, 13th, 15th

Short Analytical Paper #3 Due on the 15th!

*Schmitter, Philippe C. "Still the century of corporatism?." *The Review of Politics* 36, no. 1 (1974): 85-131.

*Collier, Ruth Berins, and David Collier. *Shaping the political arena*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. (Selections)

*David Samuels and Matthew Shugart (2012). *Presidents, Parties and Prime Ministers*, chapter 7: "Parties' Presidential Dilemma in Brazil and Mexico." (Cambridge UP). (Selections)

*Daniel Brinks, "The Rule of (Non) Law: Prosecuting Police Killings in Brazil and Argentina" in Helmke & Levitsky (eds) *Informal Institutions and Democracy*. (Selections)

Week 10: Political Parties and Party Systems

April 18th, 20th 22nd

Rough draft of Final Papers Due on the 22nd!

*Dix, R.H., "Cleavage Structures and Party Systems in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 22, No. 1 (October 1989): 23-37.

*Mainwaring, S. and Scully, T., "Introduction: Party Systems in Latin America." In Mainwaring and Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford University Press, 1995.

*Samuels, D. and Matthew S. Shugart, *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers: How the Separation of Powers Affects Party Organization and Behavior*. Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 1-18; 22-55

*Levitsky, Steven, and Maxwell A. Cameron. "Democracy without parties? Political parties and regime change in Fujimori's Peru." *Latin American Politics and Society* 45, no. 3 (2003): 1-33.

Part 3: Contemporary Issues

Week 11: The Rise of the New Left

April 25th, 27th 29th

QPP #3 on the 29th!

*Mignolo, Walter D. *The Idea of Latin America* (Chapter 3)

*Steven Levitsky & Kenneth Roberts *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (Johns Hopkins University Press) (Pick two case study chapters from the second section)

Week 12: The Political Economy of Drugs

May 2nd, 4th, 6th

Debate #2 on the 6th!

*Álvaro Camacho Guizado and Andrés López Restrepo, "From Smugglers to Drug Lords to *Traquetos*: Changes in the Colombian Illicit Drug Organization," in Christopher Welna and

*Mark Peceny and Michael Durnan, "The FARC's Best Friend: U.S. Antidrug Policies and the

Deepening of Colombia's Civil War in the 1990s," *Latin American Politics and Society* 48:2 (Summer 2006).

*Watt & Zepeda, "Drug War Mexico: Politics, Neoliberalism and Violence in the New Narcoeconomy." Ch 1 & 3.

Film: "Frontline: The Drug War."

Song: Homenaje al Chapo Guzman, by Diego Rivas

Film (*Recommended*): "Killing Pablo" (History Channel) (On closed reserve).

Week 13: Immigration

May 9th, 11th

*Cornelius, Wayne & Marc Rosenblum. "Immigration and Politics." *Working Paper*

*Doty, Roxanne Lynne, and Elizabeth Shannon Wheatley. "Private detention and the immigration industrial complex." *International Political Sociology* 7, no. 4 (2013): 426-443.

May 12th – in-class, paper review

May 16th – Presentations

Final Paper turn-in, final exam time