

**International Relations 365:
Politics and Democracy in Latin America**

Spring 2018

When: M & W 5:00-6:20 p.m.
Where: VKC 102
Office Hours: M 3:30-4:50 p.m.
or by appointment

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1. Course Description

Latin America has undergone a sweeping political and economic transformation, from authoritarianism to democracy, and from statist to free-market economies. However, in the new context of electoral politics, Latin America continues to experience major political changes and face important political challenges. The course offers an introduction to current politics in Latin America. To begin, it puts politics in Latin America in a historical perspective. Then, it addresses a range of contemporary issues: the political ideology of presidents, the defense of democracy, the political inclusion of women, transitional justice, human rights, violence, and drugs.

The course covers Latin America as a whole, and it depicts regional patterns relying in part on quantitative data. But it also focuses on some specific countries, which are discussed in detail. Furthermore, the course identifies both positive and negative trends in Latin American politics. But it also gives attention to innovative responses to problems that have been initiated at the level of countries and within the Inter-American system.

2. Learning Objectives

The objectives of the course are: (1) to introduce basic concepts used in the study of politics and to clarify their normative content; (2) to learn how to interpret quantitative data; (3) to introduce students to the main trends in Latin American politics and to some of the key political challenges faced by countries in Latin America; and (4) to introduce students to the initiatives, at the level of countries and the Inter-American system, to respond to political challenges in Latin America.

3. Requirements

Students are expected to complete the reading assignment for each topic. Students are also responsible for mastering the additional materials that are introduced in class, in power points that will be distributed after class.

Course grades are based on the following tests: five *quizzes* (20% of the overall grade), a first in-class quiz-based *mid-term exam* (15%), a second in-class essay-type *mid-term exam* (30%), and an in-class essay-type *final exam* (35%).

With regard to the quizzes, we will have six quizzes and I will drop the lowest one. I have included provisional dates below in the syllabus, but these may change slightly. The exact dates will be announced in class.

4. Readings

All the readings are accessible through the Blackboard, under “Readings.” Below you will see which reading you are responsible for reading for each meeting of the class. Some of the electronic files include sections that do not need to be read. The specific page numbers you need to read are clearly indicated below.

The power points of each class will be uploaded to the Blackboard after each class; you will find them under “Power Points.”

Course Outline, Readings and Assignments

Meeting # 1 (1/8): Introduction

No readings

1. Background

Meeting # 2 (1/10): Transition to Democracy in the 1980s and 1990s

Smith, Peter and Cameron Sells, “Cycles of Electoral Democracy,” pp. 3-28, and “Appendix 1. Classification of Electoral Regimes, 1900-2015,” pp. 350-56, in Smith and Sells, *Democracy in Latin America* 3rd. edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Meeting # 3 (1/15): Martin Luther King’s Birthday: No class.

Meeting # 4 (1/17): Transition to Neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s I

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green, “Strategies for Economic Development,” pp. 343-69, in Skidmore Smith and Green, *Modern Latin America*, 8th. edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). Read only pp. 343-45 (up to “The Liberal Era”), and 350-62 (up to “Countermove”).

Meeting # 5 (1/22): Transition to Neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s II

Edwards, Sebastián, “The Emergence of a New Latin American Consensus,” pp. 41-65, in Edwards, *Crisis and Reform in Latin America: From Despair to Hope* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green, “Strategies for Economic Development,” pp. 343 -69, in Skidmore Smith and Green, *Modern Latin America*, 8th. edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). Read only pp. 362 (from “Countermove”) to 369.

• Quiz # 1 (1/22)

2. Ideological Trends

Meeting # 6 (1/24): Introduction

Shifter, Michael and Bruno Binetti, "Latin America's Political Pendulum," pp. 79-90, in *Great Decisions 2017* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2017).

DeBruyne, Nese F., *Latin America and the Caribbean: Fact Sheet on Leaders and Elections*, August 24, 2017. 3 pgs.

Meeting # 7 (1/29): The Radical "Chávez" Left

Tinker Salas, Miguel, "Oil and Revolution: The Rise of Hugo Chávez," pp. 132-218, in Tinker Salas, *Venezuela: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). Read only pp. 132-73, and 192-207.

Ellner, Steve, "The Distinguishing Features of Latin America's New Left in Power: The Chávez, Morales, and Correa Governments," *Latin American Perspectives* 39(1) 2012: 96-114.

Documentary: Part of *South of the Border* (2009).

Meeting # 8 (1/31): The Moderate Left and the Lefts Compared

Navia, Patricio and Ignacio Walker, "Political Institutions, Populism, and Democracy in Latin America," pp 245-65, in Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully (eds.), *Democratic Governance in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010). Read only pp. 256-63 (the sections on "The neoliberal economic reforms of the nineties and their outcome" and "Populist and non-populist responses", and pay attention to Figure 7.1 on p. 262).

Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth M. Roberts, "Latin America's "Left Turn": A Framework for Analysis," pp. 1-28, in Levitsky and Roberts (eds.), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.). Read only pp. 1-26.

Meeting # 9 (2/5): The Right and Regional Projects

Blei, Daniela, "Is the Latin American Left Dead?" *The New Republic*, April 16, 2016. 6 pgs.

Stratfor, "The Resilience of the Left in Latin America," *Stratfor*, September 2016. 4 pgs.

Castañeda, Jorge G., "Where Is Latin America Headed?" *New York Times* December 5, 2017. 3 pgs.

Albertoni, Nicolás, "Building a Bridge between the Pacific Alliance and Mercosur," *Latin America Goes Global*, May 17, 2016. 4 pgs.

• Quiz # 2 (2/5)

Meeting # 10 (2/7): Mid-Term I (Quiz-Type)

3. The Defense of Democracy I: Electing Representatives

Meetings # 11 (2/12): Introduction

Lean, Sharon F., "External Validation and Democratic Accountability in Latin American Elections," pp. 152-74, in Legler, Lean and Boniface (eds.), *Promoting Democracy in the Americas* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

Meeting # 12 (2/14): The Mechanics of OAS Election Observation

Munck, Gerardo L., "Systematizing Practices: Criteria and Methods for Electoral Observation," pp. 34-45, in Elizabeth Spehar and Betilde Muñoz-Pogossian with Raúl Alconada Sempé (eds.), *The 2005-2006 Electoral Cycle in the Americas: A Review of the OAS General Secretariat* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat of the OAS, 2007).

Meeting # 13 (2/19): Presidents' Day: No Class

Meeting # 14 (2/21): An Assessment of Election Observation

Perina, Rubén M., "Electoral Observation: Between Relevance and Interference," pp. 141-62, in Perina, *The Organization of American States as the Advocate and Guardian of Democracy* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 2015).

Latin America Goes Global, "International Election Observation. Who's Inviting? Who's Complying," *LatinAmericaGoesGlobal*, 2017. 7 pgs.

Latin America Goes Global, "A Comparison of UNASUR and OAS Election Observation Standards," *LatinAmericaGoesGlobal*, 2017. 2 pgs.

• Quiz # 3 (2/21)

4. The Defense of Democracy II: Completing Electoral Terms

Meeting # 15 (2/26): Introduction

Valenzuela, Arturo, "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted," *Journal of Democracy* 15(4) 2004: 5-19.

Smith, Peter and Cameron Sells, "Early Termination of Presidencies and Legislatures in Post-1978 Democracies," pp. 25-26, in Smith and Sells, *Democracy in Latin America* 3rd. edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Meeting # 16 (2/28): The OAS and the Inter-American Democratic Charter

OAS AG/RES. 1080 (XXI-O/91) on Representative Democracy. (Resolution adopted at the fifth plenary session, held on June 5, 1991). 1 pg.

OAS, *Inter-American Democratic Charter*. (Adopted by the General Assembly at its special session held in Lima, Peru, on September 11, 2001). 20 pgs. Read only Ch. 4.

Perina, Rubén M., "The Inter-American Democratic Charter," pp. 81-110, in Perina, *The Organization of American States as the Advocate and Guardian of Democracy* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 2015).

Meeting # 17 (3/5): The Test Cases of Honduras and Venezuela

Legler, Thomas, "The Democratic Charter in Action: Reflections on the Honduran Crisis," *Latin American Policy* 3(1) 2012: 74-87.

Ramírez, Enrique Gómez, "The Political Crisis in Venezuela," European Parliamentary Research Service, December 2017. 12 pgs.

Seelke, Clare Ribando and Rebecca M. Nelson, "Venezuela: Background and U.S. Relations," December 11, 2017. 14 pgs. Read only the sections on "U.S. Policy" from page 22 to the top of page 26, and on "U.S. Support for Organization of American States (OAS) Efforts on Venezuela" from page 33 to the bottom of page 36.

• Quiz # 4 (3/7)

5. Overview and Conclusions

Meeting # 18 (3/7). Patterns in Post-Transition Latin America

Munck, Gerardo L. "Building Democracy ... Which Democracy? Ideology and Models of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America," *Government and Opposition* 50(3) 2015: 364-93. Read only from pp. 364 to the top of pp. 385.

*** Spring Recess: March 12-16 ***

Meeting # 19 (3/19): Mid-Term II (Essay-Type)

6. Political Rights and Inclusion

Meeting # 20 (3/21): Gender

Htun, Mala and Jennifer Piscopo, *Women in Politics and Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean* (New York: CPPF Working Papers on Women in Politics, 2014). 39 pgs. Read only pp. 1 to the top of pp. 24.

Meeting # 21 (3/26): Gender, Ethnicity and Race

Htun, Mala, "Emergence of an Organized Politics of Race in Latin America," pp. 35-45, in Juliet Hooker and Alvin Tillery (eds.), *The Double Bind: The Politics of Racial and Class Inequalities in the Americas* (Washington, DC: American Political Science Association, 2016).

7. Civil Rights I: Transitional Justice

Meeting # 22 (3/28): Introduction

Sikkink, Kathryn and Carrie Booth Walling, "The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America," *Journal of Peace Research* 44(4) 2007: 427-45.

Meeting # 23 (4/2): Truth Commissions and Human Rights Trials (Argentina)

Hamilton, Jonathan C. "Latin American Truth Commissions: Confronting the Past. A Comparative Assessment of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala and Peru" (Los Angeles: White & Case LLP, 2014). 54 pgs. Skim.

Roehrig, Terence, "Executive Leadership and the Continuing Quest for Justice in Argentina," *Human Rights Quarterly* 31(3) 2009: 721-47.

Meeting # 24 (4/4): Human Rights Trials (Chile)

Roht-Arriaza, Naomi, "The Multiple Prosecutions of Augusto Pinochet," pp. 77-94, in Ellen Lutz and Caitlin Reiger (eds.), *Prosecuting Heads of State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Documentary: Part of *The Pinochet Case* (2001).

Meeting # 25 (4/9): Human Rights Trials (Other Cases)

No readings

• Quiz # 5 (4/9)

8. Civil Rights II: The Current Violence

Meeting # 26 (4/11): Introduction to Crime and Drugs

Pion-Berlin, David and Harold Trinkunas, "Latin America's Growing Security Gap," *Journal of Democracy* 22(1) 2011: 39-53.

UNDP, *Regional Human Development Report 2013-2014. Citizen Security with a Human Face: Evidence and Proposals for Latin America. Executive Summary* (New York: UNDP, 2013). Read only pp. 1-19.

Meeting # 27 (4/16): Domestic Responses to Violence

Bagley, Bruce M., "Introduction. Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime in Latin America and the Caribbean in the Twenty-First Century: Challenges to Democracy," pp. 1-24, in Bruce M. Bagley and Jonathan D. Rosen (eds.), *Drug Trafficking, Organized Crime, and Violence in the Americas Today* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015).

Meeting # 28 (4/18): Rethinking the International War on Drugs I

OAS, *The Drug Problem in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat of the OAS, 2013). 104 pgs. Read the "Introduction" (pages 5-9, section 10, "Contributing to the launch of a new dialogue" (pages 99 through 104), and skim the rest.

Documentary: Part of *Breaking the Taboo* (2012).

Meeting # 29 (4/23): Rethinking the International War on Drugs II

Class debate

- **Quiz # 6 (4/25)**

9. Conclusions

Meeting # 30 (4/25): A Recapitulation

No readings

***** Final Exam: Wednesday, May 3, 4:30-6:30 p.m *****

Academic Conduct and Support Systems

Academic Conduct

Plagiarism – presenting someone else’s ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences. Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Section 11, *Behavior Violating University Standards* <https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions/>. Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable. See additional information in *SCampus* and university policies on scientific misconduct, <http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct/>.

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university. You are encouraged to report any incidents to the *Office of Equity and Diversity* <http://equity.usc.edu/> or to the *Department of Public Safety* <http://capsnet.usc.edu/departments/public-safety/online-forms/contact-us>. This is important for the safety whole USC community. Another member of the university community – such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member – can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person. *The Center for Women and Men* <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/cwm/> provides 24/7 confidential support, and the sexual assault resource center webpage sarc@usc.edu describes reporting options and other resources.

Support Systems

A number of USC’s schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing. Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more. Students whose primary language is not English should check with the *American Language Institute* <http://domsife.usc.edu/ali>, which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international graduate students. *The Office of Disability Services and Programs* http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home_index.html provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations. If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, *USC Emergency Information* <http://emergency.usc.edu/> will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.

Students with Disabilities

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Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open from 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776.