

## International History

Academic year 2020-2021

### Authoritarianism and Democracy in Latin America: From Independence to the 2010s

#### HI124 - Automne - 3 ECTS

Wednesday 10h15 - 12h00

#### Course Description

The goal of this course is to identify and analyse the alternation between authoritarianism and democracy in Latin America from the end of the colonial rule to our time. By doing so, we seek to uncover broad patterns of structural change over time in the region.

After achieving independence, most Latin American countries found themselves plagued by social disparities which translated into institutional inequalities which, in turn, created a fertile soil for authoritarian governments.

The course will begin by analysing Latin America on the cusp between independence and the early independent period, a time when the region was characterised by the constitutionalism of political leaders and the personal power of *Caudillos*. The most relevant elements of Latin America's political history will be analysed throughout the course: from inter-war nationalism to the military rule of the 1960s and 1970s to the democratisation wave of the 1980s to the return of populism.

Given the current economic and political context in Latin America, where populism and authoritarianism are being increasingly challenged in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, this course will not only serve to shed light on the region's past but also provide students with the necessary critical tools to decipher future challenges looming on the region's horizon.

#### > PROFESSOR

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Office hours  
Fridays: 11-12 (P2-519)  
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#### > ASSISTANT

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## Syllabus

This course is a comparative examination of the political and economic evolution of Latin America during the last two centuries from colonial times to the Covid-19 pandemic.

The **active participation** of students in class discussion is expected, and will be an important element in the determination of their final grade.

The main course assignment is an **individual research paper** which will count for 50% of the grade. The term paper should be **maximum 5000-6000 words** long (Garamond, 12-point font, double-spaced), with proper citations (Oxford or Harvard referencing system) and a bibliography (not included in the word count).

The paper should put forth a cogent argument or examine analytically an issue, rather than summarise the literature. The paper may discuss any particular aspect of the course themes. The topic of the research paper should be thematic. If the student opts for a case-study, the paper must nonetheless cast the analysis against thematic questions and comparatively in relation to other instances.

Please make an appointment with me by email if you have questions or would like to discuss research topics.

**The completed term paper is due 10 days after the course's last session (19.12.2020).**

Finally, each student shall submit **two reaction papers (600-800 words max.**, Garamond, 12-point font, double spaced) for any classes of the students choosing. The paper is due before each class. In the first part of the paper the student shall summarise the literature while, in the second part, they shall critically evaluate some specific aspects.

### Assessment

The overall grade received in this class will be distributed as follows:

- " Research paper: 50%
- " Reaction papers (2): 30%
- " Class participation: 20%

### Readings

For each session, there will be a set of required mandatory readings plus some optional readings. Students are expected to familiarise themselves ahead of the class with all the readings and be prepared to discuss them critically in the context of the sessions's scheduled issues and the course's overall themes.

## 16.09: Session One\_ Introduction to the Course: Democratic and Authoritarian Traditions in Latin America

### Issues:

- " Why addressing Latin American authoritarianism?
- " What role has the colonial heritage played in Latin American authoritarianism?
- " What are the characteristics of authoritarianism and democracy in Latin America?

### Mandatory Readings:

- " Peter H. Smith and James N. Green, *Modern Latin America* (9th Edition), Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2019, Chapter 2.
- " Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff, "Factor Endowments, Inequality, and Paths of Development Among New World Economies", *Economia*, 3 (1), 2002, pp. 41-88.

### Optional Readings:

- " Alan Knight, "Democratic and Revolutionary Traditions in Latin America", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 20 (2), 2001, 147-186.

## 30.09: Session Two\_ Independence, State Building and Caudillismo

### Issues:

- " What are the characteristics of state building in Latin America?
- " What is Caudillismo and what role have Caudillos played in Latin American post-independence years?
- " What accounts for the persistence of authoritarianism in Latin America in the 19th century?

### Mandatory Readings:

- " Aline Helg, "Simón Bolívar's Republic: A Bulwark Against the Tyranny of the Majority", *Revista de Sociología Política*, 20 (42), 2012, 21-37.
- " William H. Beezley, "Caudillismo: An Interpretative Note", *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, 11(3), 1969, 345-352.
- " John Lynch, *Caudillos in Spanish America*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, Chapter 4.
- " Hillel David Soifer, *State Building in Latin America*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, Chapter 1.

### Optional Readings:

- " Eric L. Wolf and Edward C. Hansen, "Caudillo Politics: A Structural Analysis", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9 (2), 1967, 168-179.

## 14.10: Session Three\_ Response to External Shocks: Nationalism During the Interwar Period

### Issues:

- " How did domestic political structures react to external shocks?
- " How the Great Depression affected economic structures in Latin America?
- " Which regional similarities and differences can be identified?

### Mandatory Readings:

- " Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz, "Democracy and Dictatorship in Continental Latin America During the Interwar Period", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 35 (1), 2000, pp. 41-72.
- " Bill Albert, *South America and the First World War. The Impact of the War on Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, Chapter 7.

### Optional Readings:

- " Edwin Williamson, *The Penguin History of Latin America*, London: Penguin, 2009, Chapter 9.

## 28.10: Session Four\_ The New Golden Age of Authoritarianism (1960s, 1970s)

### Issues:

- " What caused the rise of authoritarian regimes in the 1960s and 1970s?
- " What were the characteristics of newly-formed authoritarian regimes?
- " How did the Cold War affect the political (in)stability of the region?

### Mandatory Readings:

- " Michael Lowy, Eder Sader and Stephen Gorman, "The Militarization of the State in Latin America", *Latin American Perspectives*, 12 (4), 1985, pp. 7-40.
- " Hector E. Schamis, "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarian to Neoconservatism", *Comparative Politics*, 23 (2), 1991, pp. 201-220.
- " Tanya Harmer, "Brazil's Cold War in the Southern Cone, 1970-1975", *Cold War History*, 12 (4), 2012, pp. 659-681.

### Optional Readings:

- " Hal Brands, "Third World Politics in an Age of Global Turmoil: The Latin American Challenge to U.S. and Western Hegemony, 1965-1975", *Diplomatic History*, 32 (1), 2008, pp. 105-138.

## 11.11: Session Five\_ International Finance, Human Rights and Authoritarian Regimes

### Issues:

- " What attitude did the international financial community have towards the new regimes?
- " How did private actors react to human rights violations?
- " Should private actors be held accountable for human right violations?

### Mandatory Readings:

- " Carlo Edoardo Altamura, %Global Banks and Latin American Dictators, 1974-1982+, *Business History Review*, 2020, pp 1-32.
- " William Michael Schmidli, %Institutionalizing Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy: U.S.-Argentine Relations, 1976. 1980+, *Diplomatic History*, 35 (2), 2011, pp. 351-377.
- " Claudia Kedar, %Economic Neutrality During the Cold War: The World Bank, the United States, and Pinochet's Chile, 1973-1977+, *Cold War History*, 18 (2), 2018, pp. 149-167.

### Optional Readings:

- " Raúl García-Heras, %Multilateral Loans, Banking Finance, and the Martínez de Hoz Plan in Argentina, 1976-1981+, *Revista de Historia Económica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History*, 36 (2), 2018, pp. 215-240.
- " Horacio Verbitsky and Juan Pablo Bohoslavsky (eds), *The Economic Accomplices to the Argentine Dictatorship. Outstanding Debts*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016, Chapter 7.

## 25.11: Session Six\_ Economic Crisis, Democratisation and Liberalisation

### Issues:

- " What are the reasons behind the crisis of 1982?
- " How did authoritarian regimes respond to the crisis?
- " What role did the crisis play in the third wave of democratisation?

### Mandatory Readings:

- " Karen L. Remmer, %The Process of Democratization in Latin America+, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 27 (4), 1992, 3-24.
- " Chappell Lawson, %Mexico's Unfinished Transition: Democratization and Authoritarian Enclaves in Mexico+, *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 16 (2), 2000, 267-287.
- " Scott Mainwaring and Eduardo J. Viola, %Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s+, *Journal of International Affairs*, 38 (2), 1985, 193-219.

### Optional Readings:

- " Jeffrey Frieden, %The Brazilian Borrowing Experience: From Miracle to Debacle and Back+, *Latin American Research Review*, 22 (1), 1987, pp. 95-131.

## 9.12: Session Seven\_ From Chavez to Bolsonaro

### Issues:

- " What is the 'Pink Tide' and under which conditions did it emerge?
- " What is the legacy of left-wing politics in the region?
- " Which political and economic dynamics are currently at play in Latin America, especially after Covid-19?

### Mandatory Readings:

- " Jon Beasley-Murray et al., 'Latin America's Left Turns: An Introduction', *Third World Quarterly*, 30 (2), 2009, 319-330.
- " Matthew R. Cleary, 'A Left Turn in Latin America? Explaining the Left's Resurgence', *Journal of Democracy*, 17 (4), 2006, 35-49.
- " Carlos de la Torre, 'Hugo Chávez and the Diffusion of Bolivarianism', *Democratization*, 24 (7), 2017, 1271-1288.
- " Steve Ellner, '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.

### Optional Readings:

- " Miriam Kornblith, 'Chavismo After Chavez?', *Journal of Democracy*, 24 (3), 2013, 47-61.
- " *Financial Times*, 'Poverty and Populism put Latin America at the Centre of Pandemic', 14 June 2020.

## Selected Bibliography (Contact me for further suggestions)

- " Altamura, Carlo Edoardo, *European Banks and the Rise of International Finance: The Post-Bretton Woods Era*, London: Routledge, 2016.
- " Altamura, Carlo Edoardo, "Politics, International Banking and the Debt Crisis of 1982+ (with Juan H. Flores Zendejas), *Business History Review*, forthcoming 2020.
- É Altamura, Carlo Edoardo, "Global Banks and Latin American Military Dictators, 1974-1982+, *Business History Review*, 2020.
- " Bertola, L. and Ocampo, J. L., *The Economic Development of Latin America Since Independence*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- " Brands, H., *Latin America's Cold War*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- " Bulmer-Thomas, V., *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence* (Third Edition), Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- " Burgess, K. and Levitsky, S., "Explaining Populist Party Adaptation in Latin America+, *Comparative Political Studies*, 36 (8), 2003, 881-911.
- " Cardenas, M., "State Capacity in Latin America+, *Economia*, 10 (2), 2010, 1-45.
- " Devlin, R., *Debt and Crisis in Latin America. The Supply Side of the Story*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- " Dominguez, J. I. and Lowenthal, A.F. (eds), *Constructing Democratic Governance. South America in the 1990s*, Baltimore, MA, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- " Edwards, S., *Left Behind: Latin America and the False Promise of Populism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- " Frieden, J., "Third World Indebted Industrialization: International Finance and State Capitalism in Mexico, Brazil, Algeria, and South Korea+, *International Organization*, 35 (3), 1981, 407-431.
- " Frieden, J., *Debt, Development and Democracy: Modern Political Economy and Latin America, 1965-1985*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- " Friedman, E. J. and Hochstetler, K., "Assessing the Third Transition in Latin American Democratization: Representational Regimes and Civil Society in Argentina and Brazil+, *Comparative Politics*, 35 (1), 2002, 21-42.
- " Levitsky, S. and Loxton, J. "Populism and Competitive Authoritarianism in the Andes+, *Democratization*, 20 (1), 2013, 107-136.
- " Panizza, F. "Neopopulism and its Limits in Collor's Brazil+, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 19 (2), 2000, 177-192.
- " Petras, J. and Vieux, S., "The Transition to Authoritarian Electoral Regimes in Latin America+, *Latin American Perspectives*, 21 (4), 1994, 5-20.
- " Roberts, Kenneth, M., "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case+, *World Politics*, 1995, 82-116.
- " Roett, R., "Democracy and Debt in South America: A Continent's Dilemma+, *Foreign Affairs*, 62(3), 1983, 695-720.
- " Skidmore, Thomas E., *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil 1964 . 1985*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- " Verbitsky, H. and Bohoslavsky, J. P. (eds.), *The Economic Accomplices to the Argentine Dictatorship. Outstanding Debts*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- " Weyland, K., "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: How Much Affinity?+ *Third World Quarterly*, 24 (6), 2003, 1095-1115.
- " Weyland, K., "The Threat from the Populist Left+ *Journal of Democracy*, 24 (3), 2013, 18-32.
- " Westad, O. A., *The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.