

**COMPARATIVE POLITICS OF LATIN AMERICA**  
**POLITICS 367**  
**FALL 2004**

Professor Deborah Yashar  
Time: Monday, Wednesday 11:00-11:50  
Room: James S. McDonnell Hall A01

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Preceptors:

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Course Description:

Latin America has experienced dramatic political and economic changes over the past 50 years. Politically, it has witnessed swings between democratic and military rule. Economically, it has moved from state-led to market-driven development policies. Socially, it has evolved from a society with strong and powerful labor unions and even revolutionary movements, to one in which traditional social movements have lost much of their momentum but ethnic movements have become increasingly consequential. This course will analyze and explain these political, economic, and social developments by focusing on two themes – democracy and development. We will evaluate competing theoretical approaches to the region by analyzing these theories in light of the political trajectories of six Latin American cases: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and Peru.

The course is organized as follows:

- Part I: Development and the Growth of the State: This section introduces competing theoretical approaches that seek to explain why development has been so elusive and uneven in Latin America. We analyze these approaches in the context of the region's state-led development policies.
- Part II: Democracy and Authoritarianism: Addressing the Social Question: This section analyzes the emergence of a vocal and organized civil society – focusing on the working class – that starts to demand greater political inclusion and economic justice. We discuss various state responses to these demands for inclusion – including moves towards socialism and the breakdown of democracy.
- Part III: Markets and Democracy Revisited: This section analyzes theories of democratization and marketization in the context of a region-wide return to both in the 1980s and 1990s. Cuba remains the exception.
- Part IV: Conclusion: Where Do We Stand Today?: The final week identifies the current challenges for Latin America, focusing on the six countries discussed in this course.

Course Requirements: There are three basic requirements for the class.

1. Participation in Precept: (20%)

The precept depends on active and ongoing participation by all class members. Everyone enrolled in the class is expected to complete the readings and discuss them on a weekly basis.

Each week 1-2 students will take responsibility for presenting some portion of the readings. This includes writing a 2-page synopsis of the readings that a) lays out the main argument(s), b) indicates what you found provocative and/or mundane, and c) poses questions for class discussion. These handouts will be distributed via email to the rest of the class the day before your precept is scheduled. In precept, you will then make an informal 5-minute presentation designed to initiate focused and critical discussion of the readings.

Precept assignments will be determined during the first week of classes.

2. Two 7-8 Page Papers: Based on assigned readings (40%)

First Paper is due on Monday, **October 18** by 11 AM.

Second Paper is due Monday, **November 22** by 11 AM.

3. Final Take-Home Exam: (40%)

Due on **January 14** by 3:30PM.

Where to Turn in Exams: You should turn in all exams to Edna Lloyd (318 Bendheim) by 3:30 PM.

Late Policy: All late papers and exams will be marked down a third of a grade for each day following the due date. Exceptions will only be granted for extenuating medical circumstances. You should contact your preceptor ASAP, if you confront such circumstances.

## Course Materials: Readings and Films

Reserve: Most readings are articles and excerpts from books. These readings are available through electronic course reserves (accessed online through Blackboard and the library homepage). The userid is “pol367” and the password is “evita.” Note that the userid and passwords are case-sensitive, so do not capitalize

Books will also be on reserve at Firestone.

Purchasing Books: You can purchase the following required books at the U-Store.

Ernesto Che Guevara. The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey. Melbourne & New York: Ocean Press, 2003.

Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Susan Eckstein. Back From the Future: Cuba Under Castro. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Ariel Dorfman. Death and the Maiden. Penguin, 1994.

Peter Kornbluh. The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability. New York: The New Press, 2003.

Hernando De Soto. The Other Path: The Economic Answer to Terrorism. NY: Basic Books, 2002.

Arturo Valenzuela. The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Lawrence Weschler. A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.

## Recommended Readings:

Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith. Modern Latin America. This book is the classic reference book on the region. It is not required reading *however it is very strongly recommended*. If you want a summary overview of the region and of the individual cases, this book is the one to look at first. It can be purchased at the U-Store.

Peter H. Smith. Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. This book provides a very good overview of US-LA relations. It can also be purchased at the U-Store.

Jorge I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s -- Themes and Issues. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. This book is now out of print, although you might be able to get a copy at the U-Store (since an order was placed). It includes several very strong thematic chapters, several of which are used in this course.

I highly recommend two weekly reports: the Latin America Weekly Report and/or Latinamerica Press. The former focuses on national politics and economics and the latter on popular movements and subnational politics. I also highly recommend the quarterly, NACLA's Report on the Americas. NACLA publishes contemporary and short pieces on issues confronting the region (i.e., free trade, truth commissions, guerrilla movements, etc.) The Economist also provides timely, although more sporadic, coverage.

Films: Several required films will be available online for this course only. You should be able to access them through the Blackboard website for this course. You can view them at computer clusters, only.

#### Program in Latin American Studies (PLAS) – 58 Prospect Avenue

Princeton's Program in Latin American Studies offers a certificate in Latin American Studies. If you are interested in pursuing a certificate, please contact Rosalia Rivera at PLAS ([rrivera@princeton.edu](mailto:rrivera@princeton.edu)) to discuss the program and requirements. The program also hosts events throughout the year – including a weekly Tuesday seminar at noon (lunch is provided) and various academic seminars and cultural events. Upcoming events are listed online at [www.princeton.edu/plas](http://www.princeton.edu/plas).

**Part I**  
**Development & the Growth of the State**

**WEEK 1: Introduction or Travelogue (September 13, 15)**

Ernesto Che Guevara. Motorcycle Diaries, Melbourne & NY: Ocean Press, 2003.

Eduardo Galeano. The Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of a Continent. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973. Introduction, pp.11-18.

Hernando De Soto. "Mysteries of Capital." Finance and Development (available at <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2001/03/desoto.htm>).

Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith. Modern Latin America. Fourth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp.1-67 (read as needed for background on Latin America).

**WEEK 2: Competing Visions and Paths Towards Development**

Gary Wynia, The Politics of Latin American Development. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990, pp. 104-136.

Seymour Martin Lipset. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." American Political Science Review 53, no.1, March 1959, pp.69-105.

Lawrence E. Harrison. Underdevelopment is a State of Mind: The Latin American Case. CFIA, Harvard University, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985, pp.1-9.

Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment" In Peter F. Klarén and Thomas J. Bossert, eds., Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America. Boulder: Westview Press, pp.111-123.

Peter B. Evans. "Historical Stages; Continuities and Contradictions in the Evolution of Brazilian Dependence." Latin American Perspectives. 3, no. 2, Issue 9 (Spring 1976), pp. 30-54.

Robert F. Kaufman. "How Societies Change Developmental Models or Keep Them: Reflections on the Latin American Experience in the 1930s and the Postwar World." In Gary Gereffi and Donald L. Wyman, eds., Manufacturing Miracles: Paths of Industrialization In Latin America and East Asia. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990, pp. 110-138.

Recommended:

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto. "Nationalism and Populism: Social and Political Forces of Development in the Phase of Consolidating the Domestic Market." In Peter F. Klarén and Thomas J. Bossert, eds., Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 149-165.

Eliana Cardoso and Ann Helwege. Latin America's Economy: Diversity, Trends, and Conflicts. pp. 1-13.

Albert O. Hirschman. "The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America." The Quarterly Journal of Economics 82, no. 1 (February 1968) pp.1-32.

John Sheahan. Patterns of Development in Latin America: Poverty, Repression, and Economic Strategy. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987.

Gary Gereffi. "Paths of Industrialization: An Overview." In Gary Gereffi and Donald L. Wyman, eds., Manufacturing Miracles: Paths of Industrialization In Latin America and East Asia. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990, pp. 3-23.

Cristobal Kay. "Rural Latin America: Exclusionary and Uneven Agricultural Development." In Sandor Halebsky and Richard L. Harris. Capital, Power, and Inequality in Latin America. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995, pp. 21-50.

Merilee Grindle. State and Countryside: Development Policy and Agrarian Politics in Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986, pp. 44-67, 72-78.

**Part II**  
**Democracy and Authoritarianism:**  
**Addressing the Social Question**

Week 3: Dealing with the Social Question: Labor, Populism, and Corporatism  
(September 27, 29)

Howard J. Wiarda. Politics and Social Change in Latin America: Still a Distinct Tradition? 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, Boulder: Westview Press, 1992, Introduction and Conclusion (pp. 1-8, 315-346).

David Collier and Ruth Berins Collier. "Inducements versus Constraints: Disaggregating Corporatism." American Political Science Review Vol. 73, no.4 (December 1979), pp.967-986.

Kevin Middlebrook. The Paradox of Revolution: Labor, the State and Authoritarianism in Mexico. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1995, 72-106.

James W. McGuire. Peronism without Perón: Unions, Parties, and Democracy in Argentina. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997. Read chapter 3, "Peronism and its Legacy" (pp. 50-79).

Maryssa Navarro. "Evita's Charismatic Leadership." In Michael Conniff, ed., Latin American Populism in Comparative Perspective. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982, pp.47-66.

Kenneth P. Erikson. "Populism and Political Control of the Working Class in Brazil." In J. Nash, J. Corradi, and H. Spalding, eds., Ideology and Social Change in Latin America. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1977, pp. 200-236.

FILM: Evita

Week 4: Radical Responses: Cuba (the revolutionary road to socialism) and Chile (the parliamentary road to socialism) (October 4, 6)

Susan Eckstein. Back From the Future: Cuba Under Castro. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, chs. 1-2, 5- 6 (pp. 3-59, 128-170).

Fidel Castro. History Will Absolve Me. Available online at <http://www.marxists.org/history/cuba/archive/castro/works/1953/history.htm>

Arturo Valenzuela. The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, pp. 3-80.

Timothy Wickham-Crowley. "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Towards a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerilla Movements." In Susan Eckstein, ed., Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 132-181.

FILM: Before Night Falls

Recommended:

Susan Eckstein. "Revolution and Redistribution in Latin America." In Cynthia McIntock and Abraham Lowenthal, eds., The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983, pp.347-386.

Alma Guillermoprieto. Looking for History: Dispatches from Latin America. NY: Pantheon Books, 2001, pp. 73-86.

Peter H. Smith. Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, Read chapter 7 and part of chapter 8 (pp. 164-206, 215-216). [In the 1996 edition, this corresponds to pp.163-204, 213-214].

Week 5: The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes (October 11, 13)

David Collier. "Industrial Modernization and Political Change: A Latin American Perspective." World Politics 30, no. 4 (July 1978), pp. 593-614.

Arturo Valenzuela. The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile. pp. 81-110.

President Salvador Allende Sept 11, 1973, Radio Magalles 9:10 AM – to be distributed in class.

Alfred Stepan, "Political Leadership and Regime Breakdown: Brazil." In Linz and Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1978, pp.110-137.

Julio Cotler. "A Structural-Historical Approach to the Breakdown of Democratic Institutions: Peru." In Linz and Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1978, pp. 178-206.

Peter Kornbluh. The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability. New York: The New Press, 2003, pp. 1-152 (includes 85 pages of primary documents, which you can skim).

FILM: See Either Battle for Chile (parts I and II) or Rojo Amanecer

**1<sup>st</sup> PAPER DUE MONDAY, October 18 by 11 AM (before class)**

Week 6: Military Rule (October 18, 20)

Alfred Stepan. "The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion." In A.F. Lowenthal and J. S. Fitch, eds., pp. 134-150.

Horacio Verbitsky. *The Flight: Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*. NY: The New Press, 1996, chs. 1-4 (pp. 3-56).

Peter Kornbluh. The Pinochet File. Chapters 3-5 (153-396 – 155 pages of documents)

Maryssa Navarro. "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo." In Susan Eckstein, ed., Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, pp. 241-258.

Paulo Freire. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. NY: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1981, pp. 27-56.

FILM: Missing

Recommended:

J. Samuel Fitch. "Armies and Politics in Latin America: 1975-1985." In A.F. Lowenthal and J. S. Fitch, eds., Armies and Politics in Latin America. Revised Edition. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986, pp. 26-58.

Arturo Valenzuela. "The Military in Power: The Consolidation of One-Man Rule." In Paul W. Drake and Iván Jaksic. The Struggle for Democracy in Chile. Revised Edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995, pp. 21-72

Jacobo Timmerman. Prisoner without a Name: Cell Without a Number. New York: Random House, 1981.

Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela. A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet. NY: W.W. Norton, 1991, chapters 1, 4, 7.

Kiss of the Spider Woman (Film)

October 23-31: Fall Break

### Part III: Markets and Democracy Revisited

#### Week 7: The Transition from Authoritarian Rule: Pacts and Ruptures (November 1, 3)

Guillermo O'Donnell. "Transitions to Democracy: Navigation Instruments." In Robert A. Pastor ed., Democracy in the Americas. New York: Homes and Meier, 1989, pp.62-75.

Terry Karl. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." Comparative Politics. 23, no.1 (Oct.1990), pp. 1-21.

Frances Hagopian. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means." Comparative Political Studies 23, no.2 (July 1990), pp.147 (24).

Marcelo Cavarozzi. "Patterns of elite negotiation and confrontation in Argentina and Chile." In John Higley & Richard Gunther, eds., Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe. NY: Cambridge UP, 1992, pp. 208-236.

Philip Mauceri. "The Transition to 'Democracy' and the Failures of Institution Building." In Maxwell A. Cameron & Philip Mauceri, eds., The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society, Economy. University Park, PA: Penn State UP: 1997, pp. 13-36.

Andreas Schedler. "The Democratic Revelation." Journal of Democracy 11, no. 4 (October 2000): pp. 5-15.

Jorge I. Domínguez. "The Secrets of Castro's Staying Power." Foreign Affairs 72, no.1 (1993), pp.97-107.

#### Recommended

Samuel P. Huntington. 1991. "Democracy's Third Wave." *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 2 (Spring), pp. 3-25.

Alma Guillermoprieto. Looking for History: Dispatches from Latin America. Pantheon Books, pp. 386-303.

Laurence Whitehead. "International Aspects of Democratization." In Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives. Johns Hopkins, pp. 3-46.

Week 8: From Debt Crisis to Neoliberal Reforms: Rethinking the States' Role (November 8, 10)

Luis Carlos Bresser Pereira. "Economic Reforms and Economic Growth: Efficiency and Politics in Latin America." In Luis Carlos Bresser Pereira, Jose Maria Maravall, and Adam Przeworski, eds., Economic Reforms in New Democracies: A Social-Democratic Approach. New York: Cambridge UP, 1993, pp.15-76. NB: Read for the general patterns and trends. Don't get caught up in the economic details.

Javier Corrales. "Market Reforms." In Domínguez and Shifter, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 74-99.

Hernando de Soto. The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World. NY: Harper & Row Publishers. Read Preface, Chapters 1-2, 5-8 (pp, 3-57, 131-258).

Jorge G. Castañeda. "Democracy and Inequality in Latin America: A Tension of the Times." In Jorge I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s -- Themes and Issues. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, pp.42-63.

Merilee S. Grindle. "The Social Agenda and the Politics of Reform in Latin America." In Joseph S. Tulchin and Allison M. Garland, eds., Social Development in Latin America: The Politics of Reform. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000, pp. 17-52.

Javier Corrales, "The Gatekeeper State: Limited Economic Reforms and Regime Survival in Cuba." Latin American Research Review 39, no. 2 (June 2004), pp. 35-65.

Recommended:

John Williamson. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform in Latin America." In John Williamson, ed., Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened. Washington, D.C.: Institute of International Economics, 1990.

Manuel Pastor and Carol Wise, "State Policy, Distribution, and Neoliberal Reforms in Mexico." Journal of Latin American Studies 29, no.2 (May 1997), pp. 419 (38).

Carol Wise. "State Policy and Social Conflict in Peru." In Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri, eds., The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society, Economy. University Park: The Penn Sate Press, 1997, pp. 70-103.

Philip Oxhorn. "Is the Century of Corporatism over? Neoliberalism and the Rise of Neopluralism." In Oxhorn and Ducantezeiler, eds., What Kind of Democracy? What Kind of Market? Latin America in the Age of Neoliberalism. University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1998, pp. 195-217.

Kenneth M. Roberts. "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America." World Politics 48, no.1, (October 95) pp.82 (35).

Susan Eckstein. Back From the Future. pp. 60-127.

#### Week 9: Building Democratic Institutions (November 15, 17)

Guillermo O'Donnell. "Delegative Democracy?" Journal of Democracy 5, no. 1 (1994), pp. 55-69.

John M. Carey. "Presidentialism and Representative Institutions." In Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 1-42.

Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully. Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1995, pp. 1-34.

Kenneth Roberts. 2002. "Social Inequalities Without Class Cleavages in Latin America's Neoliberal Era." Studies in Comparative International Development. 36, no. 4 (Winter), pp. 3-33.

Katrina Burgess and Steven Levitsky. "Explaining Populist Party Adaptation in Latin America." Comparative Political Studies 36, no. 8 (October 2003) pp. 881-991.

Richard Snyder and David Samuels. 2001. "Devaluing the Vote in Latin America." Journal of Democracy. 12 (1): 146-159.

#### Recommended

Stepan, Alfred, "The Military in Newly Democratic Regimes: The Dimension of Military Prerogatives." In Stepan ed., Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone. Princeton UP, 1988, pp.93-114.

Frances Hagopian. "Traditional Power Structures and Democratic Governance in Latin America." In Domínguez and Lowenthal, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s -- Themes and Issues. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, pp. 64-86.

**2<sup>nd</sup> Paper Due November 22 by 11 AM (before class)**

Week 10: Truth, Justice, and Memory (November 22, 24)

Lawrence Weschler. A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998, pp. 5-79, 237-246.

Ariel Dorfman. Death and the Maiden. New York: Penguin Books, 1992.

Elizabeth Jelin. "The Minefields of Memory." NACLA. Report on the Americas XXXII, No. 2 (September –October 1998), pp. 23-29).

Peter Kornbluh. The Pinochet File. Epilogue (457-490).

Wendy Hunter. "Continuity or Change? Civil-Military Relations in Democratic Argentina, Chile, and Peru." Political Science Quarterly 112, no. 3 (1997): 353-375.

James Holston and Teresa P.R. Caldeira. "Democracy, Law, and Violence: Disjunctions of Brazilian Citizenship." In Felipe Aguero and Jeffrey Stark, eds., Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America (Miami: North-South Center Press, 1998), pp. 263-296.

**FILM:** The Official Story

Recommended:

Felipe Aguero. "Toward Civilian Supremacy in South America." In Diamond et al, eds., Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, pp. 177-206.

Rut Diamond. "Military" In Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 43-73.

Pilar Domingo. "Judicial Independence: Judicial Reform in Latin America." In Schedler, Diamond, and Plattner, eds., The Self-Restraining State, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999, 151-175.

NACLA. Report on the Americas. XXXII , no. 6 (May/June 1999):  
Twilight of the General: Chile After the Arrest of Pinochet and NACLA. Report on the Americas. XXXII, no.2 (Sept/Oct. 98): Unearthing  
Memory: The Present Struggle Over the Past. (On Truth Commissions).

Horacio Verbitsky. The Flight: Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior. NY: The New Press, 1996.

Carlos Santiago Nini. Radical Evil on Trial. New Haven: Yale UP, 1996.

Elizabeth Jelín. Los trabajos de la memoria and Las conmemoraciones: Las disputas en las fechas “in-felices.” Siglo Veintiuno. 2002.

Katherine Hite and Leonardo Molina. “Problematizing the Links between Authoritarian Legacies and ‘Good’ Democracy.” In Katherine Hite and Paola Cesarini, eds, Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe. South Bend: Notre Dame UP, 2004, pp. 25-34, 51-83.

NACLA. Report on the Americas. XXXIV, No. 1 (July/August 2000): Rethinking Human Rights. Read the following articles:

1. Martín Abregú. “Human Rights after the Dictatorship: Lessons from Argentina.” Pp. 12-18
2. Sebastian Brett. “Impunity on Trial in Chile.” Pp. 34-36.
3. Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro. “Navigating in Uncharted Waters: Human Rights Advocacy in Brazil’s New Democracy.” Pp. 47-51.

Week 11: Civil Society Emergent? (November 29 and December 1)

Alan Angell. "Incorporating the Left into Democratic Politics." In Jorge I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s -- Themes and Issues. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, pp.3-25.

Margaret Keck. "Brazil's PT: Socialism as Radical Democracy." Report on the Americas 25, no. 5 (May 1992) pp. 24 (6).

Barry Bearak. "Poor Man's Burden." NYT Sunday Magazine, June 27, 2004. (will be posted online)

María Victoria Murillo. "Latin American Labor." In Domínguez and Shifter, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 100-117.

Mala Htun. "Women and Democracy." In Domínguez and Shifter, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 118-136.

Deborah J. Yashar. "Indigenous Protest and Democracy in Latin America." In Jorge I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s -- Themes and Issues. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, pp. 87-105.

Haroldo Dilla. "Civil Society." Reprinted in Aviva Chomsky, Barr Carr, and Pamela Maria Smorkaloff, eds., The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 650-659.

FILM: A Place Called Chiapas

Recommended:

NACLA. Report on the Americas. XXXIII, NO. 5 (March/April 2000): The New Rural Activism in the Americas.

Susan Eckstein, ed., Power and Protest. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2001.

Kathryn A. Sikkink. "Nongovernmental Organizations, Democracy, and Human Rights in Latin America." In Tom Farer, ed., Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas. Baltimore: JHUP, 1996, pp. 150-168.

Nikki Craske and Maxine Molyneux, eds., Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America. NY: Palgrave, 2002.

Maruja Barrig. "Latin American Feminism: Gains, Losses and Hard Times." NACLA Report on the Americas XXXIV, no. 5 (March/April 2001).

Jo-Marie Burt. "Political Violence and the Grassroots in Lima, Peru." In Douglas Chalmers, et al, eds., The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America. New York: Oxford UP, 1997, pp.281-309.

Alma Guillermoprieto. Looking for History, pp. 185-223.

Miguel Centeno and Alejandro Portes. "State Strength and Informal Economies" in Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, eds., Out of the Shadows. Forthcoming.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Across Borders. Cornell UP, pp. 1-38, 199-218.

Kenneth Maxwell. "Brazil: Lula's Prospects." New York Review of Books. December 5, 2002.

## Conclusion

Week 12: (December 6, 8): Where Do We Stand Today?

Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, eds., Constructing Democratic Governance, 2003, Read

- Marta Lagos, Public Opinion.” Pp. 137-164
- Read 3 of the following 5 Country Chapters (chapters 10-14)
- Jorge I. Domínguez, “Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America: Taking Stock of the 1990s.” pp. 351-381.

UNDP. Democracy in Latin America: Towards a Citizen’s Democracy. 2004. (Skim, available online at [www.undp.org/democracy\\_report\\_latin\\_america](http://www.undp.org/democracy_report_latin_america))

Kelly Hoffman and Miguel Centeno, “Inequality in Latin America.” Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 29, 2003, pp. 363-390.

Current History. Issue on Latin America. February, 2004.

Jorge G. Castañeda. “NAFTA at 10: A Plus or Minus?”

Michael Shifter.” The US and Latin America through the Lens of Empire.”

Miguel Centeno. “The Return of Cuba to Latin America: The End of Cuban Exceptionalism.” Keynote 2004 Annual Conference of the Society for Latin American Studies. Printed in the Bulletin of Latin American Research 23, no. 4 (2004, forthcoming), pp. 403-413.

### Recommended

Frances Hagopian “Conclusion” in Hagopian and Mainwaring, eds., The Third Wave of Democratization: Advances and Setbacks. Manuscript.

Peter H. Smith, Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of US-Latin American Relations NY: Oxford University Press, 2000, read chapters 10-12 (pp. 249-352). [In the 1996 edition, this corresponds to pp. 235-320]

Terry Lynn Karl. “The Vicious Cycle in Latin America.” In Susan Eva Eckstein and Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, eds., What Justice? Whose Justice? Fighting for Fairness in Latin America. University of

**TAKE-HOME FINAL DUE January 14, 2005**