

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN  
Department of History  
1986-87 Spring Semester

History 730  
Pro-Seminar in Latin American History

Thomas E. Skidmore

THE TRANSITION FROM AUTHORITARIANISM TO DEMOCRACY IN  
ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, AND CHILE

Week #1: INTRODUCTORY SESSION

Week #2: THE REALITIES OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Reading:

Joan Dassin, ed., Torture in Brazil: A Report by the Archdiocese of São Paulo (New York: Vintage, 1986), entire (216 pgs.)

Robert Cox, "The Sound of One Hand Clapping: A Preliminary Study of the Argentine Press in a Time of Terror," (Wilson Center Working Paper #83, 1980), entire (28 pgs.)

Genaro Arriagada, "Ideology and Politics in the South American Military: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay" (Wilson Center Working Paper #55, 1979), entire (33 pgs.)

Week #3: THE BREAKDOWN OF DEMOCRACY IN ARGENTINA, BRAZIL AND CHILE

Reading:

Edward Gibson, Summary of four cases of democratic breakdown (26 pgs.):

"Argentina: 1955-1966: A Case of Aborted Legitimacy"  
"Argentina: 1976: The Limits of Charismatic Authority"  
"Brazil: 1964: The Failure of Popular Mobilization"  
"Chile: 1973: Fragmentation of Political Center"

Juan J. Linz, The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), 3-13 and 99-103

Alfred Stepan, "Political Leadership and Regime Breakdown: Brazil," in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), 111-137

Arturo Valenzuela, The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), 50-110 and 120-133

David Rock, Argentina, 1516-1982: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 320-376 and 411-416

Week #4: THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES: AN OVERVIEW

Reading:

David Collier, ed., The New Authoritarianism in Latin America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 3-32; 165-253; 363-397

Brian Loveman & Thomas M. Davies, Jr., eds., The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 173-180 and 190-207

Week #5: AUTHORITARIAN ARGENTINA

Reading:

Gary W. Wynia, Argentina: Illusions & Realities (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986), entire (200 pgs.)

Marcelo Cavarozzi, "Political Cycles in Argentina Since 1955," in Guillermo O'Donnell, et. al., eds., Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1986), 19-48

Week #6: AUTHORITARIAN BRAZIL

Reading:

Bernardo Kuczynski, Brazil: State and Struggle (London: Latin America Bureau, 1982), entire (101 pgs.)

Thomas E. Skidmore, "Politics and Economic Policy Making in Authoritarian Brazil, 1937-71," in Alfred Stepan, ed., Authoritarian Brazil (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 3-46

James Kohl and John Litt, eds., Urban Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974), 136-166

Week #7: AUTHORITARIAN CHILE

Reading:

Phil O'Brien and Jackie Roddick, Chile: The Pinochet Decade: The Rise and Fall of the Chicago Boys (London: Latin America Bureau, 1983), entire (117 pgs.)

Manuel Antonio Garretón, "The Political Evolution of the Chilean Military Regime and Problems in the Transition to Democracy," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Transitions: Latin America, 95-122

Week #8: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF THESE AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Reading:

Albert O. Hirschman, "The Turn to Authoritarianism in Latin America and the Search for its Economic Determinants," in Collier, Authoritarianism, 61-98

José Serra, "Three Mistaken Theses Regarding the Connection between Industrialization and Authoritarian Regimes," in Ibid., 99-163

Jonathan Hartlyn and Samuel A. Morley, "Political Regimes and Economic Performance in Latin America," in Hartlyn and Morley, eds., Latin American Political Economy: Financial Crisis and Political Change (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), 15-37

Hartlyn and Morley, "Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regimes in Comparative Perspective," in Ibid., 38-53

Week #9: TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC ARGENTINA

Reading:

Phillip Mauceri, Summary on "Argentina: 1981-1985" (5 pgs.)

Gary Wynia, Argentina, reread the sections on the decline of the military regime and the transition to the Alfonsín government

Week #10: TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC BRAZIL

Reading:

Phillip Mauceri, Summary on "Brazil: 1974-1985" (5 pgs.)

Thomas E. Skidmore, "Brazil's Slow Road to Democratization, 1974-1985," in Alfred Stepan, ed., Democratizing Brazil (forthcoming, Oxford University Press) (66 pgs.)

Luciano Martins, "The 'Liberalization' of Authoritarian Rule in Brazil," in Guillermo O'Donnell, ed., Transitions: Latin America, 72-94

Week #11: CHILE: ALWAYS THE EXCEPTION?Reading:

- Raúl Cardinal Silva Henriquez, "The Soul of Chile" and Monsignor Cristián Precht Banados, "The Imperative of Solidarity," Kellogg Institute Working Paper #70 (May 1986) (31 pgs.)
- Genaro Arriagada Herrera, "The Legal and Institutional Framework of the Armed Forces in Chile," in J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and Oppositions (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 117-143
- Manuel Antonio Garretón, "Political Processes in an Authoritarian Regime: The Dynamics of Institutional ~~and~~ Opposition in Chile, 1973-1980," in Ibid., 144-183
- Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Party Oppositions under the Chilean Authoritarian Regime," in Ibid. 184-229
- Manuel Barrera and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "The Development of Labor Movement Opposition to the Military Regime," in Ibid., 230-269
- Alan Angell, "Why is the Transition to Democracy Proving so Difficult in Chile?" Bulletin of Latin American Research, vol. 5, No. 1 (1986), 25-40

Week #12: DEMOCRATIZATION: A COMPARATIVE LOOKReading:

- Guillermo O'Donnell, et. al., eds., Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives, entire (161 pgs.)
- Juan Linz & Alfred Stepan, "Political Crafting of Democratic Consolidation or Destruction: European and South American Comparisons" (paper prepared for a conference on "Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas" at the Carter Center of Emory University, November 1986)

Week #13: A HERETICAL QUESTION: DOES DEMOCRACY HAVE A CHANCE IN LATIN AMERICA?Reading:

- Guillermo O'Donnell, "¿Y a mí, que me importa? Notas sobre sociabilidad y política en Argentina y Brasil," Kellogg Institute Working Paper #9 (January 1984) (58 pgs.)

Week #14: (to be decided during the semester)

Background reading: Students wishing background reading may want to consult a textbook such as Skidmore & Smith, Modern Latin America, or some of the titles in the latter's "Suggestions for Further Reading."

Supplementary reading: Supplementary reading will be available on each topic for students who have already read the assigned reading or who wish to read on other aspects of the topic.

Office hours: My office hours (Humanities 5223) are Monday 10:30-11:30 and Wednesday 2:30-3:30 or by appointment (263-1863 or 263-1800).