

**BOSTON UNIVERSITY**  
**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**  
**IR / 572 The Latin American Military**  
**IRC 220**  
**Syllabus**  
Fall 2007  
Tuesdays / Thursdays 11:00 am – 12:30 pm

Professor Carlos Blanco

### **Introduction**

The objective of this course is to understand the role of the military in Latin American politics, how it has acted at times as a support organization and more often as a threat to democratic governments, depending on the prevailing conceptions of their role.

The military in Latin America has been a fundamental actor and factor in the political and institutional process. Even though the military historically appears to be strongly associated with repressive regimes, it has also been valued, during periods of democracy, as a source of influence in support of democratic stability. Nevertheless, civilian rule in Latin America has not been solidly established and always seems to be at risk of being overturned. Throughout Latin-American political history, armed forces interventions have had a strong presence. Recent events, especially in the Andean region, show that military interventions are not long-gone. That is why the importance of the military as an institution requires studying its political role, the degree of its subordination to the civilian command and how democratic control over the military can be utilized to guarantee the stability of democracies.

By exploring these themes it is possible to picture the conflicts that create space for military intervention, revealing the weaknesses of democratic institutions. By scrutinizing the case studies of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia and Venezuela this course will provide examples of the wide range of old and new ways of armed forces intervention.

This assessment will open the door to explore the future of the military as a political actor and consider whether armed forces will really return to their headquarters or just wait for opportunities to become, again, national arbiters.

### **PLAGIARISM: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO RECOGNIZE AND AVOID IT**

#### **“What is Plagiarism and Why is it Important?”**

In college courses, we are continually engaged with other people’s ideas: we read them in texts, hear them in lecture, discuss them in class, and incorporate them into our own writing. As a result, it is very important that we give credit where it is due.

Plagiarism is using others' ideas and words without clearly acknowledging the source of that information.

### **How Can Students Avoid Plagiarism?**

To avoid plagiarism, you must give credit whenever you use:

- another person's idea, opinion, or theory;
- any facts, statistics, graphs, drawings—any pieces of information—that are not common knowledge;
- quotations of another person's actual spoken or written words; or
- paraphrase of another person's written or spoken words.”

The above quotation is taken from a website of the Writing Tutorial Services of Indiana University. For information about how to recognize unacceptable and acceptable paraphrases, strategies for avoiding plagiarism, and a discussion of what common knowledge consists of, please see [www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml](http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml)

**The College of Arts and Sciences Academic Conduct Code establishes: “All students entering Boston University are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. It is the responsibility of every student in the College of Arts and Sciences to be aware of the Academic Conduct Code’s contents and to abide by its provisions. In the College of Arts and Sciences, the Academic Conduct Committee, which is composed of students and faculty, has jurisdiction over all charges of academic misconduct brought against students.”**

Please see <http://www.bu.edu/cas/academics/programs/conductcode.html>

### **Plagiarism Will Not Be Tolerated at Boston University**

Since plagiarism is a form of theft (in this case, theft of ideas or words), it is not tolerated in this university and is punished very severely by the Dean's Office of the College of Arts and Sciences. Please be certain that you understand exactly what plagiarism is and how to avoid it.

### **Grading**

1. Two research papers (25 % each)
  - a. The first paper to be selected from one of the following topics:
    - i. Civil – Military Relations in Latin America
    - ii. The Post Authoritarian Military
    - iii. New forms of military interventions

- b. The second paper on the military intervention in one country case
- 2. Attendance and Participation (20 %).
- 3. Final Exam (30%)

**Classes, Topics and Readings**

TU September 4 Introduction

THU September 6 Professionalism and the Military

Huntington / The Soldier and the State  
(1-95) (Reserve)

TU September 11 The Military in Latin America. Historical references

Loveman / The Politics of Antipolitics (3 – 51)

*Suggested Readings*

The Transition to Democracy in Latin America / The  
Role of the Military  
By Bruce W. Farcau (1-32)

THU September 13 Political Role of the Military. Historical references

Loveman (246 – 270) in Civil-Military Relations in  
Latin America / New Analytical Perspectives Pion-  
Berlin 2001

Fitch (59 – 85) in Civil-Military Relations in Latin  
America / New Analytical Perspectives - Pion-Berlin  
2001

Fitch (1 – 35) / The Armed Forces and Democracy in  
Latin America 1998

Never Again / Report of Conadep / 1984, Part V  
(Online)

*Suggested Readings*

The Transition to Democracy in Latin America / The  
Role of the Military  
By Bruce W. Farcau (33-86)

- TU September 18 Ideology. National Security Doctrine.
- Fitch 1998 (106 – 133) / The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America
- Loveman / The Politics of Antipolitics (129 – 156)
- THU September 20 From the Military to Civilians: Transitions
- Pion-Berlin (83 – 100) / Military Autonomy and Emerging Democracies in South America  
Comparative Politics V 25 October 1992 (JSTOR)
- Pion-Berlin in Civil-Military Relations in Latin America / New Analytical Perspectives 2001 (1 – 33)
- TU September 25 Civil-Military Relations
- Desch (1 – 19 and 97 – 113) Civilian Control of the Military The Changing Security Environment (Reserve)
- Fitch 1998 (36 – 60) / The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America
- THU September 27 Democratic Control of Military
- Fitch: (59 – 85) in Civil-Military Relations in Latin America / New Analytical Perspectives Pion-Berlin 2001
- Pion-Berlin 1997 (13 – 41) Through Corridors of Power / Institutions and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina
- TU October 2 The New Roles of the Military
- Hunter 1996 (1 – 9) State and Soldier in Latin America Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (Online)

López (88 – 105) in Civil-Military Relations in Latin America / New Analytical Perspectives / Pion-Berlin 2001

Desch (323 – 335) in Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America  
Agüero / Stark/ (Reserve)

THU October 4      Video: Commanding Heights Pt 2 The Agony of Reform (17559)

THU October 11    The Argentinean Case  
Pion-Berlin / Lopez (63 – 86) / Of Victims and Executioners: Argentina State of Terror, 1975 – 1979 / (JSTOR)

Hunter 1996 (10 – 19) / State and Soldier in Latin America / Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (Online)

Pion-Berlin 1997 (107 – 177) / Through Corridors of Power / Institutions and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina

Loveman The Politics of Antipolitics (158 – 170 / 228 - 238)

*Suggested:*

Norden 1996 (74 – 86) The Rise of the Lieutenant Colonels: Rebellion in Argentina and Venezuela (JSTOR)

Pion-Berlin Civil-Military Relations in Latin America New Analytical Perspectives 2001 (135 – 157)

Fitch 1998 (61 – 105) The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America

TU October 16      Video: The Garden of Forking Paths (21389)

THU October 18    The Chilean Case

Hunter 1996 (29 – 34) State and Soldier in Latin America / Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (Online)

Pion-Berlin 1997 (179 – 222) Through Corridors of Power / Institutions and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina

Loveman The Politics of Antipolitics (181 – 185 / 268 – 299)

*Suggested:*

Fuentes 1998 (1 -19) The Military and Politics: Weaknesses in Chilean Democracy (Online)

Fuentes / Agüero (1 – 42) Importing Globalization: Military Discourse and Practice in Argentina and Chile (Online)

Fuentes 2002 (121 -131) Resisting Change: Security-Sector Reform in Chile (Online)

TU October 23 Video: Defeat of a Dictator (20189) (**Students first paper**)

THU October 25 The Venezuelan Case  
Norden (108 – 132) in Pion-Berlin 2001 / Civil-Military Relations in Latin America  
New Analytical Perspectives

Trinkunas (161 – 191) in Pion-Berlin 2001 Civil-Military Relations in Latin America  
New Analytical Perspectives

Norden 1998 (143 – 165) Democracy and Military Control in Venezuela: From Subordination to Insurrection (JSTOR)

Corrales (33 – 40) / Foreign Policy (Reserve)

Gomez Sucre / Cornett (59-75) in Civil – Military Relations / Edited by David R. Mares (Reserve)

TU October 30 Video: A Revolution?

- THU November 1      The Brazilian Case  
                                  Stepan 1988 (3 - 92) Rethinking Military Politics:  
                                  Brazil and the Southern Cone
- Hunter 1996 (20 – 28) State and Soldier in Latin  
                                  AmericaRedefining the Military’s Role in Argentina,  
                                  Brazil, and Chile (Online)
- Suggested Readings:*
- Hunter (36 – 57) in Civil-Military Relations in Latin  
                                  America / New Analytical Perspectives Pion-Berlin  
                                  2001
- Loveman The Politics of Antipolitics (171 – 180 / 239 -  
                                  267)
- Cepik / Antunes (1 - 27) Brazil's New Intelligence  
                                  System: An Institutional Assessment (Reserve)
- The Transition to Democracy in Latin America / The  
                                  Role of the Military  
                                  By Bruce W. Farcau (87-110)
- TU November 6      Video: Capital Sins: Authoritarianism and Democratization
- THU November 8      Review and Discussion
- TU November 13      The Bolivian Case
- Gamarra (72 – 98) in Constructing Democratic  
                                  Governance – South America in the 1990s / Edited by  
                                  Jorge I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal  
                                  (Reserve)
- The Transition to Democracy in Latin America / The  
                                  Role of the Military  
                                  By Bruce W. Farcau (111-138) (Reserve)
- THU November 15      Latin American Democracy and the Military  
                                  **(Research papers due at the start of class)**

Hunter (299 – 318) en Fault Lines of Democracy in Post Transition Latin America Agüero / Stark (Reserve)

Agüero (194 – 220) in Civil-Military Relations in Latin America / New Analytical Perspectives Pion-Berlin 2001

Pion-Berlin 2000 (43 – 63) Will Soldiers Follow? Economic Integration and Regional Security in the Southern Cone (JSTOR)

TU November 20 Video: Bolivia

THU November 22 **FALL RECESS**

TU November 27 New Authoritarianism

Ottaway (133 – 189) Democracy Challenged The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism (Reserve)

Loveman The Politics of Antipolitics (366 – 397)

THU November 29 The Future of the Latin American Military

Cohn (2 – 14) The Evolution of the Civil-Military “Gap” Debate (Online)

Diamint (1- 37) Military, Police, Politics, and Society Does Latin America Have a Democratic Model? (Reserve)

Blanco (1 – 15) The Latin American Military Enigma (Reserve)

Loveman The Politics of Antipolitics (398 – 423)

*Suggested Readings:*

The Transition to Democracy in Latin America / The Role of the Military  
By Bruce W. Farcau (139-164)

TU December 4      Challenges

Brenner, Goodman and Chanthavong (1 – 39)  
Asymmetry in U.S.–Latin American Security Relations  
(Online)

Bustamante (345 – 367) in Fault Lines of Democracy in  
Post-Transition Latin America / Agüero / Stark  
(Reserve)

THU December 6      Conflicts in Latin America

Fitch 1998 (175 – 213) / The Armed Forces and  
Democracy in Latin America

Hunter 1996 (35 – 37) State and Soldier in Latin  
America / Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina,  
Brazil, and Chile

TU December 11      General Discussion

### **Texts**

Bibliography

### **Required Books:**

Civil-Military Relations in Latin America  
New Analytical Perspectives  
Edited by David Pion-Berlin  
The University of North Carolina Press, 2001

The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America  
By John Samuel Fitch  
The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998

The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America: The Military in Latin  
America (Latin American Silhouettes)  
by Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies, Jr  
SR Books; Rev&Updtd edition (October 28, 1997)

Through Corridors of Power

Institutions and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina  
David Pion-Berlin  
Penn State Press, 1997

Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone  
Stepan, Alfred  
Princeton University Press, 1988

**Required articles (These articles are online / on reserve):**

Hugo Boss  
Javier Corrales – Foreign Policy – January / February 2006

Nunca Más (Never Again) - Report of Conadep - 1984  
in [http://www.nuncamas.org/english/library/nevagain/nevagain\\_001.htm](http://www.nuncamas.org/english/library/nevagain/nevagain_001.htm)

Military Autonomy and Emerging Democracies in South America  
David Pion-Berlin  
Comparative Politics V 25 October 1992, 83 – 100 / JSTOR

Democracy and Military Control in Venezuela: From Subordination to Insurrection  
Deborah L. Norden  
Latin American Research Review, Volume 33, Issue 2 (1998), 143 – 165 / JSTOR

The Rise of the Lieutenant Colonels: Rebellion in Argentina and Venezuela  
Deborah L. Norden  
Latin American Perspectives, Volume 23, Issue 3 Postbonanza Venezuela (Summer, 1996), 74 – 86/ JSTOR

State and Soldier in Latin America  
Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile  
Wendy Hunter  
United States Institute of Peace, 1996 in  
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/pwks10.html>

Of Victims and Executioners: Argentina State of Terror, 1975 – 1979  
David Pion-Berlin and George A. Lopez  
International Studies Quarterly  
V 35, Number 1 March 1991 / JSTOR

Will Soldiers Follow? Economic Integration and Regional Security in the Southern Cone by David Pion-Berlin – Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs V 42 Spring 2000 / JSTOR

The Military and Politics:

Weaknesses in Chilean Democracy

Claudio Fuentes

Prepared for delivery at the 1998 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, The Palmer House Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, September 24-26, 1998 in

<http://168.96.200.17/ar/libros/lasa98/CFuentes.pdf>

Importing Globalization: Military Discourse and Practice in Argentina and Chile

Claudio Fuentes & Felipe Agüero

Paper Delivered at the International Studies Association Annual Convention, New Orleans, March 24-28, 2002

[http://www.unc.edu/~cfuentes/ISA-](http://www.unc.edu/~cfuentes/ISA-2002CFFA.pdf#search='fuentes%20Agüero%20Military')

[2002CFFA.pdf#search='fuentes%20Agüero%20Military'](http://www.unc.edu/~cfuentes/ISA-2002CFFA.pdf#search='fuentes%20Agüero%20Military')

Resisting Change: Security-Sector Reform in Chile

Claudio Fuentes

Journal of Conflict, Security, and Development (London). Vol 2, number 1, April 2002.

<http://www.unc.edu/~cfuentes/JCSDFuentes2002.pdf>

Brazil's New Intelligence System: An Institutional Assessment

Marco Cepik and Priscila Antunes

International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence 16, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 349-373 in

<http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/content/0gkj6w5349mcl9gj/fulltext.pdf>

The Evolution of the Civil-Military "Gap" Debate

Paper prepared for the TISS project on the Gap Between the military and civilian Society, 1999 / Lindsay Cohn, Duke University /

[http://www.poli.duke.edu/civmil/findings\\_publications.html](http://www.poli.duke.edu/civmil/findings_publications.html)

Asymmetry in U.S.-Latin American Security Relations

by Philip Brenner, Louis W. Goodman and Samlanchith Chanthavong in

[http://www.american.edu/councils/americas/documents/BrennerGoodmanChanthavong\\_US-LA%20Military.doc](http://www.american.edu/councils/americas/documents/BrennerGoodmanChanthavong_US-LA%20Military.doc)

Military, Police, Politics, and Society

Does Latin America Have a Democratic Model?

Rut Diamint, unpublished paper, 2004

The Latin American Military Enigma

Carlos Blanco, unpublished paper, 2004

### **Recommended (Not Required) Texts**

The Transition to Democracy in Latin America / The Role of the Military  
By Bruce W. Farcau / Praeger Publishers – Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996

Civilian Control of the Military  
The Changing Security Environment  
Michael C. Desch  
Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999

Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America  
by Felipe Aguero (Editor), Jeffrey Stark (Editor)  
North-South Center Press at the University of Miami, 1998

The Soldier and the State  
Samuel P. Huntington  
The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957

Democracy Challenged  
The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism  
Marina Ottaway  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003

Civil – Military Relations  
Edited by David R. Mares / Westview Press 1998

Constructing Democratic Governance – South America in the 1990s / Edited by Jorge  
I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal / The John Hopkins University Press, 1996