

The Ohio State University Colleges of the Arts and Sciences New Course Request

UNDERGRADUATE INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Academic Unit

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Book 3 Listing (e.g., Portuguese)

542 Incomplete Democracies: The (Un)Rule of Law in Latin America

Number Title

Incomplete Democra

UG

5

18-Character Title Abbreviation

Level

Credit Hours

Summer

Autumn

Winter

X

Spring

Year 2009

Proposed effective date, choose one quarter and put an "X" after it; and fill in the year. See the OAA curriculum manual for deadlines.

A. Course Offerings Bulletin Information

Follow the instructions in the OAA curriculum manual. If this is a course with decimal subdivisions, then use one New Course Request form for the generic information that will apply to all subdivisions; and use separate forms for each new decimal subdivision, including on each form the information that is unique to that subdivision. If the course offered is less than a quarter or a term, please complete the Flexibly Scheduled/Off Campus/Workshop Request form.

Description (*not to exceed 25 words*): This course explores various forms of violence including electoral violence and political assassination, organized crime, police brutality, and other human rights abuses in Latin America.

Quarter offered: AU, SP Distribution of class time/contact hours: 2 2-hr. class

Quarter and contact/class time hours information should be omitted from Book 3 publication (yes or no):

Prerequisite(s): Sophomore standing or higher.

Exclusion or limiting clause: NA

Repeatable to a maximum of NA credit hours.

Cross-listed with: Political Science 542

Grade Option (Please check): Letter S/U Progress What course is last in the series? _____

Honors Statement: Yes No

GEC: Yes No

Admission Conditions Course: Yes No

Off-Campus: Yes No

EM: Yes No

Honors Embedded Statement: Yes No

Service Learning Course: Yes No

Other General Course Information: Not open to student with credit for Poli Sci 542. Cross-listed in Political Science.

(e.g. "Taught in English." "Credit does not count toward BSBA degree.")

B. General Information

Subject Code 450901 Subsidy Level (V, G, T, B, M, D, or P) P

If you have questions, please email Jed Dickhaut at dickhaut.1@osu.edu.

1. Provide the rationale for proposing this course:
See attached rationale.

2. Please list Majors/Minors affected by the creation of this new course. Attach revisions of all affected programs. This course is (check one): Required on major(s)/minor(s) A choice on major(s)/minors(s)
X An elective within Interantional Studies major / minor A general elective

3. Indicate the nature of the program adjustments, new funding, and/or withdrawals that make possible the implementation of this new course.
Already offered under IS 501.

4. Is the approval of this request contingent upon the approval of other course requests or curricular requests?

Yes No X List: _____

5. If this course is part of a sequence, list the number of the other course(s) in the sequence: NA

6. Expected Section Size: 30 Proposed number of sections per year: 2

7. Do you want prerequisites enforced electronically? (see OAA manual for what can be enforced) Yes X No

8. This course has been discussed with and has the concurrence of the following academic units needing this course or with academic units having directly related interests (*List units and attach letters and/or forms*): Not Applicable
See attached letter from Poli Sci.

9. **Attach a course syllabus that includes a topical outline of the course, student learning outcomes and/or course objectives, off-campus field experience, methods of evaluation, and other items as stated in the OAA curriculum manual and e-mail to ascurofc@osu.edu.**

CONTACT PERSON: K. Foster E-MAIL: foster.24@osu.edu PHONE: 2-9657

Approval Process The signatures on the lines in ALL CAPS (e.g. ACADEMIC UNIT) are required.

1. Academic Unit Undergraduate Studies Committee Chair Anthony Mughan
Printed Name Date

2. Academic Unit Graduate Studies Committee Chair _____
Printed Name Date

3. **ACADEMIC UNIT CHAIR/DIRECTOR** Anthony Mughan
Printed Name Date

4. **After the Academic Unit Chair/Director signs the request, forward the form to the ASC Curriculum Office, 4132 Smith Lab, 174 West 18th Ave. or fax it to 688-5678. Attach the syllabus and any supporting documentation in an e-mail to ascurofc@osu.edu. The ASC Curriculum Office will forward the request to the appropriate committee.**

5. **COLLEGE CURRICULUM COMMITTEE** _____
Printed Name Date

6. **ARTS AND SCIENCES EXECUTIVE DEAN** _____
Printed Name Date

7. Graduate School (if appropriate) _____
Printed Name Date

8. University Honors Center (if appropriate) _____
Printed Name Date

9. Office of International Education (if appropriate) Printed Name Date

10. ACADEMIC AFFAIRS Printed Name Date

Colleges of the Arts and Sciences Curriculum and Assessment Office, 4132 Smith Lab, 174 W. 18th Ave. fax: 688-5678. Rev. 02/28/08

**Rationale – International Studies 542:
Incomplete Democracies: The (Un)Rule of Law in Latin America**

It is now recognized that the global process of democratization under way since about 1990 has yielded mixed results. Some countries have embraced democracy in all its facets, whereas others have become no more than “electoral democracies.” Electoral democracies are countries where more or less fair elections are held to choose those who will govern the country, but the democratic rights devolved to citizens stop there. The fight against common crime and organized crime throughout Latin America has also entailed continued human rights abuses by the police, and armed forces, such as in Mexico. As Latin American states are increasingly unable to ensure public security and the rule of law for their citizens, this course provides valuable insights into how such governments operate in new democracies and with what societal effects. By focusing on the imperfections of democratic rule in a recently democratized part of the world, it helps to round out our understanding of how democracy, in its various forms, operates in the world today. This is a novel perspective that appears to be currently unavailable in other courses on campus.

Sara Schatz
International Studies Course 542
Class Location:
Class Days/Times:
Office Hours:

Incomplete Democracies: The (Un) Rule of Law in Latin America

This course explores recent trends to forge robust rule of law in Mexico and Latin America and efforts to combat various forms of political violence including electoral violence and political assassination, organized crime, police brutality, death squads, state-sanctioned violence against political opponents and other human rights abuses. Examples of successes and failures from other Latin American nations in combating organized crime, reducing state-sanctioned violence and armed conflicts against the state are closely examined.

The inter-disciplinary readings for the course are drawn from political science, political sociology, criminology and legal studies and were selected to analyze the social and legal underpinnings of political violence in the transition from authoritarianism to electoral democracy. We will pay particular attention to the transition in Mexico since 1988, although the course is designed to investigate in-depth the specific theme of political violence, not to investigate closely the politics of a particular country. Relevant documentary films and guest speakers on the issues of state crime are incorporated into the course curriculum to add an empirical grounding to our knowledge, to facilitate class discussion and to supplement our understanding the Latin American region.

Required Reader. A reader will be available with selected articles and chapters from the following books:

--The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America, Medenz, Juan E., Guillermo O'Donnell, and Paulo Sergio Pinheiro, ed. 1999.

--Courting Democracy in Mexico: Party Strategies and Electoral Institutions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, Todd Eisenstadt.

--Varieties of State Crime and its Control, Jeffrey Ian Ross, NY: Criminal Justice Press, 2000.

--Vigilantism and the State in Modern Latin America: Essays on Extralegal Violence, edited by Martha K. Huggins, New York: Praeger, 1991.

-- Organized Crime and Democratic Governability, Mexico and the US-Mexican Borderlands, edited by John Bailey and Roy Godson, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2000.

Learning Objectives.

Our aim is to study in-depth problems associated with the consolidation of both electoral democracy and the rule of law in Latin America. We will do this in three ways; first, by studying the theoretical literature on crime, social inequality and gaps in the implementation of the rule of law in Latin America; second; through student presentations of academic challenge materials and third, through the mid-term and preparation of a major research paper on one of the course topics in one Latin American nation. Our objective is to understand how democracy is embodied not only in the electoral process but also the total social system in which the citizen lives.

Course Requirements.

1. Class Study-Group Forum Participation. The most basic requirement is to do the required reading and to think about it prior to coming to class. I will provide students a series of questions to answer prior to the week's readings to aid students in reading this complex academic material week-by-week, particularly in the first half of the course. We will discuss the answers to these questions, read brief additional written material as well as discuss the issues brought up in the various documentaries in our study-group forum.
2. Written Exam. There will be a multiple-choice mid-term exam.
3. Research Paper. In the second half of the course, students will write a 10 page research paper that involves additional research on one of the themes we will be discussing throughout the quarter. Essentially the research paper offers students an opportunity to explore in greater depth a single topic, to read additional material on the subject and to write an analytic paper on the subject. I will supply students with guidelines and bibliographical sources available on-line and/or on-reserve at the Main Library. The final paper is due electronically the last day of class.
4. CD: There will be a CD available for students to purchase which contains all of the readings for the course as well as research paper instructions and challenge material instructions.

Grading

Your grade will be based on the following:

Attendance & In-Class Presentation	40%
3 unexcused absences lowers you 1 letter grade	
Midterm	20% (Pass/Non-Pass)
Research Paper	40%

Grade Scale

93-100	A	77-79	C+	59 and Below	E
90-92	A-	73-76	C		
87-89	B+	70-72	C-		
83-86	B	67-69	D+		
80-82	B-	60-66	D		

Challenge Material (Non-Graded)

I will assign an academic article from the literature to each student over the quarter to read from the challenge section of the course CD (see section 4 of the Course Requirements above). The student will read the article and summarize it for the class (5-10 minute summary); and then pose a set of questions for student debate. This assignment is non-graded and meant to challenge students and generate greater class participation only.

Academic Misconduct

It is the responsibility of the Committee on Academic Misconduct to investigate or establish procedures for the investigation of all reported cases of student academic misconduct. The term “academic misconduct” includes all forms of student academic misconduct wherever committed; illustrated by, but not limited to, cases of plagiarism and dishonest practices in connection with examinations. Instructors shall report all instances of alleged academic misconduct to the committee (Faculty Rule 3335-5-487). For additional information, see the Code of Student Conduct (http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/info_for_students/csc.asp)

Disability Services

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disability Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs. The Office for Disability Services is located in 150 Pomerene Hall, 1760 Neil Avenue; telephone 292-3307, TDD 292-0901; <http://www.ods.ohio-state.edu/>.

Course Schedule

Week 1/2. Introduction to Double Transitions to Democracy, to the Rule and (Un)Rule of Law in Latin America. 3/25, (T), 3/27 (Th) & 4/1 (T).

Required Readings:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. “Polyarchies and the (Un)Rule of Law in Latin America,” in *The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America*, pp. 303-338.
- Pinheiro, Paulo Sérgio. “The Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America: Introduction,” in *The (Un)Rule of Law*, pp. 1-18.
- Ross, Jeffrey Ian. “Introduction: Protecting Democracy by Controlling State Crime in Advanced Industrialized Countries,” In *Varieties of State Crime and its Control*, Jeffrey Ian Ross, NY: Criminal Justice Press, 2000; pp. 1-9.
- Chappell Lawson, “Fox’s Mexico’s At Midterm,” *Journal of Democracy*, 15,1 January 2004.
- “*El Tunel*”--Short documentary on problems in the Mexican criminal justice system, Proderecho.

Week 3. State Violence and the (Un)Rule of Law, I. 4/3 (Th) & 4/8 (T).

Required Readings:

- Chevigny, Paul. "Defining the Role of the Police in Latin America," in *The (Un)Rule of Law*, pp. 49-70.
- Rodley, Nigel S. "Torture and Conditions of Detention in Latin America", in *The (Un)Rule of Law*, pp. 25-41.
- Vargas, Portillo Ernesto. "The Police in Mexico: Political Functions and Needed Reforms," in *Transnational Crime and Public Security*, edited by John Bailey and Jorge Chabat, La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2002. pp. 108-114.

Suggested Reading: Pinheiro, Paulo S. "Police and Political Crisis: The Case of the Military Police (Brazil)," in *Vigilantism and the State in Modern Latin America: Essays on Extralegal Violence*, edited by Martha K. Huggins, New York: Praeger, 1991, pp. 167-188.

–Presentation (1)–Police Violence in Latin America.

Film: *The Aguas Blancas Massacre*, PBS Documentary/Frontline News Series.

Film: *Gringo Crime Busters*. BBC Documentary.

Week 4: State Violence and the (Un)Rule of Law, II. 4/10 (Th) & 4/15 (T).

Required Readings:

- Schroeder, Michael J. "To Induce a Sense of Terror: Caudillo Politics and Political Violence in Northern Nicaragua, 1926-34 and 1981--95," in *Death Squads in Global Perspective: Murder with Deniability*, pp. 27-56.
 - Ben-Yehuda, Nachman. "Political Assassination Events as a Cross-Cultural Form of Alternative Justice," in "*Lives in the Balance: Perspectives on Global Injustice and Inequality*," 1997, pp. 25-47.
 - Schatz, Sara. "Authorizing State Crime in Mexico: The Importance of a Destructive Social Milieu," *Law, Crime and Social Change*, 2006.
- Presentations (2)–Controlling Police/Political Violence in Latin America.

(Remember to Read Handout for Speaker #1 in Course Readings).

Film. *Dead or Alive*. Documentary on Political Homicide against Opposition Political Party Members in Mexico since 1988. Icarus Films. Highly Recommended Journal of Academic Media Library, 1999, Award Winner, Amnesty International Film Festival.

Week 5a. Combating Electoral Violence in Mexico (Speaker 1 (Video)--Tuesday).

Th. 4/17. Video Speaker #1. **Dr. Todd Eisenstadt**

Required Readings:

- Schatz, Sara, & Concha, Hugo. 2006. "Historical Continuity and Democratizing Change: Mexico's Legal Institutions in Perspective", in *Law Enforcement and Social Participation in the*

Administration of Justice in Mexico,” University of California Press/Notre Dame Press, with Dr. Hugo Concha, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, UNAM.

---Cornelius, Wayne. 2004. “Mobilized Voting in the 2000 Elections: The Changing Efficacy of Vote Buying and Coercion in Mexican Electoral Politics,” in *Mexico’s Pivotal Democratic Elections*, Stanford:Stanford University Press, pp. 47-66.

---Todd Eisenstadt. 2004. “Mexico’s National Electoral Justice Success: From Oxymoron to Legal Norm in Just Over a Decade,” in *Courting Democracy in Mexico: Party Strategies and Electoral Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

–Presentations (3)–Choice: Controlling Electoral Violence & Fraud in South America; or Violence against Street Children in Brazil.

Week 5b-6. Organized Crime and the State

T, 4/22. **(Mexico)**

Required Reading.

---Pimentel, Stanley A. 2000. “The Nexus of Organized Crime and Politics in Mexico,” in *Organized Crime and Democratic Governability, Mexico and the US-Mexican Borderlands*, edited by John Bailey and Roy Godson, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press.

---Oppenheimer, Andres. *Bordering on Chaos*. Boston: Little Brown, 1996, pp. 83-96; 106-110 (“The Banquet”); pp. 298-305 (“The Police Connection”).

–Presentations (4)–Organized Crime and the State in South America--Colombia..

Film: *Inside the Cartel*, Frontline PBS Documentary.

Handout for Speakers #2, due 4/24.

Th. 4/24. **(Colombia). Speaker(s) #2. (Live).** Andrew Eissman, Group Supervisor, US DEA (US Gov’t. Drug Enforcement Agency), supervising agent, Colombia, early 1990s; Bolivia; James Allen, Assistant Special Agent in Charge, Pakistan, Afghanistan.

These speakers will speak on how the DEA fights organized crime in Latin America (how the DEA tries to conduct operations abroad and work with foreign governments; how the organization tries to dismantle criminal organizations; extradition issues; security issues for agents and their families).

Eissman was the supervisor in charge of the DEA in Colombia when drug-pin Pablo Escobar was taken down in Colombia (1993) and James Allen has extensive experience working in the Middle East.

Required Readings.

---Lupsha, Peter A. 1996. “Transnational Organized Crime Versus the Nation-State,” in *Transnational Organized Crime*, 2, pp. 21-48.

---“The Godfather of Cocaine (Pablo Escobar),” & “Interview with the Ochoa Brothers”, Frontline Series: *The Drug Wars*.

Week 6b/7: Can State Crimes be Reduced Through Institutional Reforms?

T, 4/29.

Required Reading:

---Zepeda, Guillermo Lecuona. 2002. "Inefficiency at the Service of Impunity: Criminal Justice Organizations in Mexico," in *Transnational Crime and Public Security*, edited by John Bailey and Jorge Chabat, La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, pp. 71-108.

--Sutil, Correa, Jorge. "Judicial Reform: Good News for the Poor,?" from *The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America*, 1999.

–**Speaker #3: Selections from Dr. Guillermo Lecuona Zepeda. CIDAC (Centro de Investigación para el Desarrollo), Guadalajara, Mexico on problems in the criminal justice system.**

(Th.): Mid-Term. 5/1. Take-Home, Due next class period--T., 5/6.

Week 7b/8: ExtraLegal (State) Violence I: Paramilitaries & Death Squads

Required: 5/6.

(Tues.)

---Campbell, Bruce B. 2000. "Death Squads: Definition, Problems, and Historical Context," in *Death Squads in Global Perspective: Murder with Deniability*, pp. 1-26 and Appendix.

---Solomon, Joel. *Implausible Deniability: State Responsibility for Rural Violence in Mexico*. 1997. New York, NY:Human Rights Watch, pp. 4-8; 33-38; 43-45.

Presentations (5, 6)–Deaths Squads in South America (Argentina/Peru).

Film: *Alonso's Dream* by Danièle Lacourse and Yvan Patry. Film analyzes paramilitary activity against both civilians and EZLN suspects in Chiapas, 2001 Award of Merit in Film, Latin American Studies Association.

(Th) 5/8. **Print out and Bring to Class: The Plan de Sánchez Massacre (7 pages).**

Required Reading:

---Ibarra, Carlos Figueroa. 1991. "Guatemala: The Recourse of Fear," in *Vigilantism and the State in Modern Latin America: Essays on Extralegal Violence*, edited by Martha K. Huggins, New York: Praeger, pp. 73-76.

---Wilkinson, Daniel. *Silence on the Mountain: Stories of Betrayal, and Forgetting in Guatemala*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002, pp. 116-17, 126-27, 158-160, 208-213, 308-09, 311, 316-324, 350-353.

---The Kaibiles, the Dos Errers Massacre.

(Tues.) 5/13. Presentations (7)–Deaths Squads in Central America (El Salvador or Nicaragua).

Presentations (8)–Death Squads in Caribbean (Haiti).

Suggested Additional Reading: South America.

---Ferreria, Fischer Rosa-Maria and Benevides, Maria-Victoria. "Popular Responses and Urban Violence: Lynching in Brazil," in *Vigilantism and the State in Modern Latin America: Essays on Extralegal Violence*, edited by Martha K. Huggins, New York:Praeger, 1991, pp. 33-46.

Week 9: Controlling (Past) State Crimes: Can "Dirty Wars" Be Prosecuted?

(Th.). 5/15

Required Reading:

---Cohen, Stanley. 2001."Digging up Graves, Opening Wounds: Acknowledging the Past (Modes of Acknowledgment)", pp. 224-240 in *States of Denial: Knowing About Atrocities and Suffering*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

---Wilkinson, Daniel. "Justice in Jeopardy: Why Mexico's First Real Effort to Address Past Abuses Risks Becoming its Latest Failure", New York, NY: Human Rights Watch, 2003, pp. 1-30

---Poniatowska, Elena. 2003. "Massacre in Mexico," in *Women Writing Resistance*, ed. J. Browdy de Hernandez, Cambridge,MA: South End Press, pp. 139-145.

---Wilkinson, Daniel. 2006. "Lost In Transition: Bold Ambitions, Limited Results for Human Rights Under Fox", Chapter IV: Accountability: Ongoing Impunity for Past Atrocities, pp, 1-29.

Presentations--(9). Can Dirty Wars be Prosecuted?: The Case of Guatemala.

(Tues.). 5/20. **Speaker #3** (Video): Daniel Wilkinson, Human Rights Watch, Mexico Researcher, Washington DC.

Wilkinson will evaluate the efforts of the Fox administration to deal with past human rights abuses by appointing a Special Prosecutor for Political and Social Movements of the Past to investigate past abuses of those killed in the so-called "dirty war." He will discuss both the progress of the special prosecutor as well as the continuing obstacles facing the office including insufficient material and human resources, the lack of access to declassified military documents, and the resistance of military judges to cede jurisdiction to civilian courts for the prosecution of military personnel. Wilkinson will also discuss various problems and achievements in this first-hand participation with the UN-sponsored Truth Commission in Guatemala.

(Thurs.) 5/22. Political and Personal Violence against Women and Children in Latin America: Past and Present.

Outside Speaker: Exposing Child Pornography in Mexico after 2000.

Outside Video Speaker--Human Trafficking in Latin America: Recent Trends.

Required (General) Reading:

-Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo M. 1989. "The Treatment of Children in the "Dirty War": Ideology, State Terrorism and the Abuse of Children in Argentina," in *Child Survival: Anthropological Perspectives on the Treatment and Maltreatment of Children*. Edited by Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Berkeley: University of California, pp. 227-246.

--“Mexico's Children Suffer in 'Little Jails'; Abuse Is Common at Detention Centers,” *The Washington Post*, November 4, 2002.

Week #10: Research Papers

Tues.. 5/27 (Voluntary) Office Visits to assist with Research Paper Preparation.

Th.. 5/29. Turn in Research Papers Electronically as PDF files to: schatz.12@osu.edu) by 12:00am (midnight).