

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Politics and Government 322
University of Puget Sound
Fall 2005
Tuesday and Thursday, 2-3:20 pm.

Professor Don Share
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Course Blackboard Site: <http://blackboard.ups.edu>
My Website: <http://projects.ups.edu/share/home.htm>

Purpose of the Course: This year's version of the course will explore the political economy of Central America and Cuba, using three pairs of comparative cases. The major goal of Politics and Government 322 will be to give students a general overview of patterns of political and social processes in Central America and Cuba. The six countries selected present an excellent opportunity to explore the nexus between domestic and international politics as well as the relationship between economic and political factors. Political changes in the Latin American context inevitably raise value-laden questions regarding the nature of political development, the appropriateness of contending political economic models, and the role of external actors in the region. A major goal of the course is to help students understand the difficult choices and tradeoffs confronting any policy maker in the Latin American context as they attempt to promote political and economic development.

Prerequisites: PG 322 has been redesigned this year and now includes more political science content. PG 102, The Introduction to Comparative Politics, taken at Puget Sound, is strictly required. During the course I will assume that students know material covered in PG 102: the basic terms of comparative politics (everything from 'regime' to 'ethnicity'), the major ideologies, the major political economic models, the major types of political regimes and institutions. There is no foreign language requirement, but you should be willing to learn a lot of Spanish terms and names.

Organization of the Course: The course is divided into five sections. Section One provides an overview of Central America and Cuba, and discusses some of the major theories that have tried to explain political development in Latin America as a whole. Readings in this theme will provide students with some basic history of the region, and will outline some of the major problems of Latin American politics and economics. Section Two compares Cuba and Nicaragua, two cases where

revolutionary regimes came to power. We will compare the two revolutionary regimes and contrast Nicaragua's democratic transition to the continuing authoritarianism in Cuba. Section Three looks at the attempted revolutions, political and military stalemates, and democratic transitions in El Salvador and Guatemala. A fourth theme examines Costa Rica and Honduras, two cases that experienced neither revolution nor military stalemate, but which differed dramatically in their ability to promote economic development and social welfare.

Course Format: This course is designed to be a seminar: students do much of the work of learning and exploring together with the instructor. I will be your guide and a resource person, and I will not always lecture. In addition to lectures you can expect four types of activities during class sessions:

1. Discussions of the readings prompted by but not restricted to my questions.
2. Films (part of the series discussed below) followed by discussion.
3. Small group exercises designed to review, digest, and analyze readings.
4. Current events presentations and discussions.

Film Series: This course has been scheduled late in the afternoon partly to accommodate a series of recent documentary and feature films on different aspects of Central American and Cuban politics and society. Students consistently praise this aspect of the course and rate it as highly valuable. All films will be shown during class, and will be followed by discussion and criticism of their content. These films are an integral part of the course because they allow students to visualize the people, geography and events of the regions under study. Attendance will be taken at all films. Films are timed to coincide with and enhance readings on specific dates, so students are expected to see the films when scheduled.

Course Requirements: There are six main requirements for this course:

1. There will be regular **open-note reading quizzes**, based entirely on readings, and designed entirely to make sure that students come to class having completed the readings. The ground rules are simple:
 - a. I reserve the right to give a reading quiz at the start of every class. The actual number of quizzes will be somewhere between 5 and 25! Assume there will be a quiz every day. I will not announce ahead of time when quizzes will be given
 - b. Quizzes will last no more than five minutes, and will begin at 2 p.m. There are no make-ups and no time extension for those who miss class or arrive late.
 - c. I will drop the two lowest quiz scores during the semester
 - d. You may use any reading notes that *you* have taken, but no books or other materials.
2. Two in-class examinations covering all course materials (films, lectures, guest speakers, readings). The format will be some combination of short identifications, term

'matches,' multiple-choice, and short essay answers. These are very demanding examinations, requiring students to have completed all readings carefully, and to have taken comprehensive notes. Although I don't employ a curve, average scores on these examinations are usually in the seventy-percent range.

3. Participation in two presentations: a current events presentation, and a 'scholarly research summary team.' Teams will give brief oral presentation and will share all work. Preparation in the current events presentation will involve a moderate amount of research. The research summary will be based on your review essay project. Both presentations will require a meeting or two outside of class.

4. A scholarly research review essay. Each student will select one scholarly book from a designated list, and will write a five to ten page review essay on that work.

5. Class participation (attendance, thoughtful, informed contribution to the class, timely completion of readings, participation in small group activities and simulations) and regular attendance is required. All students will participate in one debate presentation and both simulation exercises. **STEADY ATTENDANCE IS NECESSARY FOR A PASSING GRADE, AND YOU SHOULD DROP THE COURSE IF YOU CANNOT COMPLY WITH THIS REQUIREMENT!**

6. You must check your e-mail **daily** during the semester. I will send regular e-mail messages to you, and these messages may include schedule changes, revisions of assigned work, important messages, etc. If you cannot check your e-mail every day you should not take this course.



La Prensa, Panama, June 2003

Course Evaluation: Final course grades will be calculated as follows:

Open-note reading quizzes (between 5 and 25 of them)	30%
2 in-class examinations:	30%
Current events and scholarly research presentation	10%
Scholarly research review paper	20%
Participation, contribution, attendance, and my discretion	10%

No curve will be employed in any aspect of course grading so students are not in competition with each other. Steady and significant improvement during the course may be rewarded on the final grade. For all course grading, I will employ the following scale (it is a tough one, so beware!):

PERCENTAGE	LETTER GRADE	EXPLANATION
96-100	A	Reserved for the most exceptional and outstanding work. A very rare grade.
90-95	A-	Excellent work of an unusually strong quality.
88-89	B+	Excellent performance.
86-87	B	Very good work
80-85	B-	Good work
78-79	C+	Slightly better than average work. Commendable
76-77	C	Average work
70-75	C-	Worse than average
68-69	D+	Poor work
66-67	D	Very poor work
60-65	D-	Very close to failing
59 or below	F	Failing

**MARK YOUR CALENDARS!
SPECIAL EVENTS AND DATES TO REMEMBER**

Thursday, October 20	First Exam
Thursday, November 17	Second Exam
Tuesday, December 6	Review Essay Due

MAKE UP POLICY ON EXAM: THERE WILL BE NO MAKEUP EXAMS UNLESS I AM NOTIFIED OF YOUR INABILITY TO TAKE AN EXAM BY SEPTEMBER 5, 2002, OR UNLESS YOU FURNISH IN ADVANCE A VALID MEDICAL EXCUSE.

Texts and Readings: Readings average about 100 pages per class or about 200 pages weekly. Some weeks there will be more reading than others, so be forewarned!! Because of the Tuesday-Thursday schedule, reading is particularly heavy for Thursdays. **Plan ahead to avoid the crunch!** The short exercises and examinations require you to do the readings very carefully. The following books have been ordered at the bookstore and will be the principal source of course readings. I have included the latest prices at www.amazon.com for your information—you may find lower prices on used editions (just make sure you get the most recent editions).

Bardach, Ann Louise. *Cuba Confidential: Love and Vengeance in Miami and Havana*. New York: Random House, 2002. A provocative and perceptive account of the Cuban revolution and the U.S.-Cuban standoff. \$10.85

Booth, John A., Christine Wade, and Thomas W. Walker. *Understanding Central America*. Fifth Edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2005. An excellent, recently updated, comprehensive text by three leading experts on Central America. \$27.00

Danner, Mark. *The Massacre at El Mozote*. New York: Vintage. 1994
A remarkable account of one of the most haunting military massacres during the Civil War in the 1980s. \$10.40

Jatar-Hausmann, Ana Julia, *The Cuban Way: Capitalism, Communism and Confrontation*. Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1999. A careful yet concise look at the Cuba's political economy. \$15.37

Montejo, Victor. *Testimony: Death of a Guatemalan Village*. New York: Curbstone Press, 1987. A very short and very moving account of the nature of repression in the Guatemala of the 1980s. \$11.50

Vanden, Harry E., and Gary Prevost. *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. A readable, accurate text on Latin America that includes an excellent overview of Cuba. \$39.95





Riber Hansson, Svenska Dagbladet, Sweden

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING SCHEDULE

: On the PG 322 Blackboard Site (blackboard.ups.edu)

I. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK & HISTORICAL OVERVIEW








This first section of the course has several goals. First, it will provide students who are unfamiliar with Latin America with some very basic historical background. Second, students will get a primer in Latin American society, religion, and political economy.

DATE	CLASS ACTIVITY	ASSIGNMENT
Tuesday, August 30	Overview of the course and personal introductions. You'll learn what you can expect from this course. Don't say I didn't warn you!	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Read syllabus carefully! ◆ Enroll in the PG 322 blackboard site
Thursday, Sept. 1	Reading Quiz. The context and early history of Latin America	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Vanden & Prevost, chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-72). ◆ Share, "Some Help on Spanish Words and Names." 
Tuesday, Sept. 6	Reading Quiz. The demographic and social context of Latin America: gender, political culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Vanden & Prevost, chapter 5 (pp. 98-126). ◆ Booth, Wade, & Walker, Chapter 9 (pp. 149-167).
Thursday Sept. 8	Reading Quiz. The historical context of Central America and Cuba. FILM: "The Yankee Years," and some comments on "US Images of Latin America." The film, part of the PBS <i>Frontline</i> series on Central America, has spectacular footage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Booth, Wade, & Walker, Chapters 1-3 (pages 1-52). ◆ Vanden & Prevost, pp. 325-334 ◆ Study Guide for the Yankee Years" (bring to class) 
Tuesday, Sept. 13	Reading Quiz. The political economic context of Latin America.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Vanden & Prevost, chapter 7 (pp. 146-176).

II: REPRESSION, REVOLUTION, AND . . .? CUBA AND NICARAGUA

In Cuba and Nicaragua revolutions displaced rightist authoritarian regimes, and both revolutionary regimes made fundamental changes in social, political and economic structures. Both regimes suffered from authoritarian tendencies, hostility from the United States, and harsh political economic realities that were often at odds with official ideology. In addition to scholarly analyses, we will read from some provocative and critical journalistic treatments of both revolutions.

DATE	CLASS ACTIVITY	ASSIGNMENT
Thursday, Sept. 15	Reading Quiz. The Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions: How did the rebels displace regimes that were supported by powerful domestic and foreign actors? FILM: "Castro's Challenge," and discussion of film and readings. The film describes the origins and development of the Cuban revolution, perhaps the single most important event in Latin America this century.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Vanden & Prevost, Chapter 9 (pp. 229-251), pages 331-339, and 363-369. ◆ Booth, Wade, & Walker, pp. 69-77. ◆ Study Guide for "Castro's Challenge." 📎 (Review and Bring to Class)
Tuesday, Sept. 20	Reading Quiz. The rebels as governors: dilemmas of the early days in power.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Stephen Kinzer, <u>Blood of Brothers</u>, Chapter 6 "Guerrillas in Power" 📎 ◆ Tina Rosenberg, "The Triumph" 📎 ◆ Jatar-Hausman, preface, chapter 1 ◆ Bardach, chapter 2
Thursday, Sept. 22	Reading Quiz. FILM: "Revolution in Nicaragua," the third part of the <i>Frontline</i> series, including dramatic footage of the Revolution and its immediate aftermath. Discussion of the film and readings to follow	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Booth, Wade, & Walker, pp. 77-82. ◆ Vanden & Prevost, pp. 369-370 ◆ Study Guide for "A Revolution in Nicaragua" (read and bring to class) 📎





Tuesday, Sept. 27	Reading Quiz. The political economy of the Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Jatar-Hausmann, chapters 2 and 3 ◆ Kinzer, <i>Blood of Brothers</i>, Chapter 11, Life during wartime  ◆ Susan Eckstein, "The Irony of Success" 
Thursday, Sept. 29	Reading Quiz. Politics and Human rights under Castro and the Sandinistas. Film, "Fidel Castro" (a recently released BBC production), pt. 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Booth and Walker, pp. 82-85 ◆ Vanden & Prevost, pp. 371-373 ◆ Bardach, chapter 8 ◆ Kinzer, <i>Blood of Brothers</i>, Chapters 12, "Comandantes" and 17, "Bloodstains"  ◆ Benigno Aguirre, "Social Control in Cuba." 
Tuesday, Oct. 4	Reading Quiz. The revolutions and their foreign relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Bardach, Chapters 4, 5, and 9.
Thursday, Oct. 6	Reading Quiz. Nicaragua after the Sandinistas. FILM: "Deadly Embrace: Nicaragua, The World Bank and The International Monetary Fund."	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Alma Guillermprieto, "Managua, 1990."  ◆ Booth, Wade, & Walker, pp. 85-93. ◆ Vanden & Prevost, pp. 373-397 ◆ <i>Economist</i>, "In the Shadows of Caudillos"  ◆ Alejandro Bendaña, "Democratizing the FSLN—and Nicaragua" 
Tuesday, Oct. 11	Reading Quiz. Surviving in the "Special Period": Cuba after the collapse of the Soviet Bloc FILM: Film, "Fidel Castro" (a recently released BBC production), pt. 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Jatar-Hausmann, chapters 4-7 (about 75 pages)

Thursday, Oct. 13	Reading Quiz. Current Events Presentation #1: Cuban Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Jatar-Hausmann, chapters 8 and 9 ◆ Javier Corrales, “Cuba After Castro” 📎
Tuesday Oct. 18	Reading Quiz. Current Events Presentation# 2: Nicaraguan Politics. Review for First Examination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Bardach, chapters 3 and 12 ◆ Bring all notes, readings, etc. to class
Thursday Oct. 20	First Examination	

III: STALEMATED POLITIES: REPRESSION, CIVIL WAR, AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA

In El Salvador and Guatemala neither revolution nor reaction completely triumphed. In both cases, revolutionary movements largely failed, but continued to harass the military-backed governments into the 1990s. In both countries UN-brokered peace accords ended the bloody and protracted civil wars and paved the way for a return to democratic politics. Have these accords eliminated the underlying causes of civil war? This theme takes a quick look at the Salvadoran and Guatemalan cases

DATE	CLASS ACTIVITY	ASSIGNMENT
Tuesday, Oct. 25	Reading Quiz. FILM: “Battle for El Salvador,” a gripping analysis of the political stalemate in the country.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Booth, Wade, & Walker, Chapter 6 (pp. 95-114). ◆ Danner, Chapters 1-3 (start this ahead of time if you can) ◆ Study Guide for “The Battle for El Salvador” 📎 (Review and bring to class)

Thursday, Oct. 27	Reading Quiz. Current Events Presentation #3: Recent Events in El Salvador. If time permits there will be a discussion of Danner and Rosenberg.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Danner, Chapters 4-6 ◆ Tina Rosenberg, "The Laboratory."  ◆ Mike Edwards, "El Salvador Learns to Live with Peace."  ◆ Bring one quote each from Danner and Rosenberg articles to discuss in class.
Tuesday, Nov. 1	Reading Quiz. Is the Salvadoran Model a success?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Danner, Chapters 7-9 ◆ David Holiday, "The Salvadoran Model Revisited" 
Thursday, Nov. 3	Reading Quiz. Genocide, ethnic cleansing, and authoritarian rule in Guatemala.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Booth, Wade, & Walker, Chapter 7 (pp. 115-131).
Tuesday, Nov. 8	Reading Quiz. Current Events Presentation #4: Recent Events in Guatemala. Bring at least one quote to read and be ready to discuss the book.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Montejo, entire book (this is a short read!)
Thursday, Nov. 10	Reading Quiz. Thinking about Indigenous Latin America.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Vanden & Prevost, chapter 4 (pp. 74-97). ◆ Mark Ruhl, "The Guatemalan Military Since the Peace Accords." 
Tuesday, Nov. 15	Review for Second Exam	
Thursday, Nov. 17	Second Exam	

IV: ALTERNATIVES TO REPRESSION AND REVOLUTION: THE CASES OF COSTA RICA AND HONDURAS

DATE	CLASS ACTIVITY	ASSIGNMENT
Tuesday, Nov. 22	The Costa Rican and Honduran “exceptions” Research summary presentation #1, #2	◆ Booth and Walker, chapter 4 (pp. 53-68) and chapter 8 (pp. 133-148).
Tuesday, Nov. 29	Current Events Presentation #5 on Costa Rica Research summary presentation #3	◆ Booth, Wade, & Walker, Chapter 11 (pp. 197-212).
Thursday, Dec. 1	Current Events Presentation #6 on Honduras Research summary presentation #4	◆ Work on your essays!
Tuesday, Dec. 6	Review essay due at the start of class. Course evaluation. Research summary presentation #5	◆ Bring a self-addressed, stamped envelope if you want me to mail your work to you.

