

## LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS: AUTHORITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY

### Politics and Government 380

University of Puget Sound

Fall 2012

Tuesday and Thursday, 2-3:20 pm. Wyatt Hall 201



Professor Don Share

**Office:** Wyatt Hall 220

**Office Hours:** T, Th, 9:30-10:30 and 3:30-4:30, or by appointment

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**Course Moodle Site:** <http://moodle.ups.edu>

**My Website:** <http://projects.ups.edu/share/home.htm>

**Purpose of the Course:** This course is an upper-division survey of politics in a region historically characterized by poverty, political instability, authoritarianism, populism, rebellion, corruption, and violence. The course explores some of the major approaches to Latin American politics by focusing on political institutions, political culture, non-state actors, and civil society. The course is organized around key themes that are illustrated using numerous cases of Latin American democracy and authoritarianism. This course cannot cover every country in Latin America, but students will come away from the course with at least a basic understanding of politics in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua and Venezuela.

**Prerequisites:** Students are warned that PG 380 is an upper-division politics and government course. 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, and 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 and Portuguese terms and names.

**Organization of the Course:** The course is divided into five themes. The brief first theme will provide students with a background to Latin American political history and some of the basic analytical models used to understand Latin America. A short

second section examines Latin American authoritarianism in its various forms, with particular emphasis on the bureaucratic authoritarian regimes of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, the more traditional military regimes in Central America and Cuba, and the unusual case of Mexico. A third theme examines socialist revolutions in Latin America with a focus on the Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions. A fourth theme examines democracy in Latin America, with a focus on the post-authoritarian regimes in the region. A final theme will examine Hugo Chávez's Venezuela in an attempt to determine whether the current Venezuelan regime is best viewed as authoritarian or democratic, capitalist or socialist.

**Course Format:** This course is designed to be a seminar: students do most of the work of learning and exploring together with the instructor. I will be your guide and a resource person, and I won't usually lecture (and when I do, the lectures will only take up a portion of our 90 minute session). In addition to these short 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. Small group exercises designed to review, digest, and analyze readings.
3. Student presentations and discussions.
4. Films (part of the series discussed below) followed by discussion.

**Film Series:** 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 and take notes on them.

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

1. **Regular graded reading briefs** due before designated classes. The briefs will require you to reflect on the readings, summarize key argument, and review key definitions and terms. Occasionally they may ask you to discuss news articles or to relate readings to current events. The goal of these briefs is to make sure that students come to class having completed the readings and ready for discussion. These are also great writing practice. The ground rules are simple:
  - a. I will normally post the assignments at least a week before the class for which they are due.
  - b. Students will respond to the questions on the assignment forms that I have posted, and will re-post them on Moodle by 9:30 a.m. on the day of class.
  - c. The assignments will be graded (on-line) for content and quality of writing.
  - d. Assignments posted late, but on the date the assignment is due, will lose two points (out of 10); those posted up to a week late lose 4 points, and assignments posted after 1 week (up until December 4, at 5 p.m.) lose 6 points.

2. **Two examinations (midterm and final)** covering all course materials (films, lectures, guest speakers, readings). The midterm is in class on October 11 and the final exam is December 11, 4-6 p.m.
3. **Current Events Presentation:** in teams of two or three. Students will sign up early in the class and will teach the class about recent political events in designated Latin American countries.
4. **A final essay of 8-12 pages** will be due on or before 2 p.m., Tuesday, December 4, 2012. Students must have their topics approved by Tuesday, October 9.
5. **Class participation and instructor discretion:** Punctual attendance, thoughtful, informed contribution to the class, timely completion of readings, and participation in small group activities. **CONSISTENT, PUNCTUAL 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. Make sure that you check the e-mail address that you use with Moodle, as I'll use Moodle to communicate with you, and e-mail 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.

**Course Assessment:** Final course grades will be calculated as follows:

Reading Briefs, due regularly during the course	25%
2 examinations (midterm and final, 15% each):	30%
Current Events Team Presentation	15%
Final Essay	20%
Participation, contribution, attendance, and my discretion	10%

No curve will be employed for 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:

%	GRADE	EXPLANATION
98-100	A+	Reserved for the most exceptional and outstanding work. A very rare grade. Puget Sound doesn't use this grade, but if you receive it from me on an assignment, you should be extremely proud.
93-97	A	Excellent work of an unusually strong quality.
90-92	A-	Excellent work, with only a few weaknesses
88-89	B+	Excellent work,
83-87	B	Very good work
80-82	B-	Good work
78-79	C+	Slightly better than average work. Commendable
73-77	C	Average work
70-72	C-	Below average
68-69	D+	Poor work
63-67	D	Very poor work
60-62	D-	Very close to failing
59 or below	F	Failing

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

Tuesday, October 9	Essay Topic Approval Deadline, 2 p.m.
Tuesday, October 11	Midterm Examination, in class
Tuesday, December 5	Final Essay Due at 2 p.m. on Moodle
Tuesday, December 11, 4-6 p.m.	Final Examination,

**MAKE UP POLICY ON EXAM:** THERE WILL BE NO MAKEUP EXAMS UNLESS I AM NOTIFIED OF YOUR INABILITY TO TAKE AN EXAM BY FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 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 reading briefs 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](http://www.amazon.com) for your information—you may find lower prices on used editions (just make sure you get the most recent editions specified below).



Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon In the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Nicaragua*. Brookings Institution Press, 2011. \$20.86. An excellent, concise, and readable overview of Venezuelan political economy by two leading political science experts on the topic.

Samuel Farber, *Cuba Since the Revolution of 1959: A Critical Assessment*. Haymarket Books, 2011. \$18.00. If there is such a thing as a “balanced” book on Cuba, this might be it. A lucid and very accessible look at contemporary Cuba from a somewhat unusual perspective.

Francis Fukuyama (Editor), *Falling Behind: Explaining the Development Gap Between Latin America and the United States*. Oxford University Press, 2010. \$11.96. An intriguing collection of essays edited by a leading political scientist, aimed at explaining why Latin America has lagged behind the United States in economic development.

Yoani Sánchez, “Havana Real: One Woman Fights to Tell the Truth About Cuba Today.” Melville House, 2009. \$16.95. This wonderful collection of blog postings from a famous Cuban dissident presents a moving snapshot of everyday life in contemporary Cuba.

Harry Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. Fourth Edition, 2012. Oxford University Press. \$42.96. The most readable and up to date text on Latin American politics, with some theoretical analysis and brief country “cases.”

Web Readings. A large number of readings (indicated in the syllabus with a 📄 icon) appear in .pdf format and are located on the PG 380 Moodle site.

Latin America Weekly Report: An outstanding and authoritative summary of Latin American news will be distributed free to all students during the semester, and will be posted on Moodle.



## PG 380 Ground Rules, Course Etiquette, and Fair Warnings!

### General Conventions:

1. I prefer to be called Don.
2. I hold regular office hours. Please come by those hours first, and if those hours are not possible for you e-mail or talk to me.
3. If you miss class, send me an e-mail explaining your absence. It demonstrates to me that you care about the class and acknowledges that you will take responsibility for the material covered in class.
4. There will be no makeup exams unless I am notified of your inability to take an exam by Friday, September 7, or unless you furnish in advance a valid medical excuse.

### During Class:

1. **Come to class on time.** Arriving late is rude and disruptive.
2. **Turn off your cell phone.** If your phone goes off in class you will be expected to answer all questions for the remainder of the class session. If your phone rings a second time during the semester you will be asked to leave.
3. **Do not get up and leave during class.** Our class meets for 80 minutes, so prepare to stay in class for the duration. If I can make it 80 minutes, so can you!
4. **Feel free to express your opinions, even if you think they are unpopular.**
5. **Treat me and your fellow students with respect.**

### Group Work:

1. You sink or swim together, so you may need to cover for your team-mate(s).
2. When corresponding with me about a group presentation, always copy the correspondence to your team-mate (s).

### Fair Warnings:

1. This work load for this course is very heavy. You will be expected to read between 100-200 pages per week (and more for a few classes during the semester). You will write a great deal during the semester.
2. You will be held responsible for learning a lot of factual information, in addition to key concepts. Learning factual information often requires memorization. You will be asked to master foreign names, acronyms, etc.
3. Plagiarism or academic dishonesty will result in an "F" for the course. All work posted on Moodle will be scanned by turnitin.com in order to protect against plagiarism.

## COURSE OUTLINE AND READING SCHEDULE

📄: On the PG 380 Moodle Site (moodle.ups.edu)



### I. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK & HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

DATE	CLASS ACTIVITY	ASSIGNMENT DUE IN CLASS
Tuesday, August 28	Introductions and Overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Read the syllabus carefully!</li> </ul>
Thursday, August 30	Models and concepts for understanding Latin America.  Current Events Presentation Overview  <u><b>We'll meet in Library 118 today</b></u> with Andrea Kueter, PG library liaison to learn about tips for researching the current events projects and final essays.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vanden and Prevost, Chapters 1 and 8, pp. 1-17, and 182-201.</li> <li>Fukuyama, Introduction, pp. 3-8</li> <li>Seymour Martin Lipset, "Democracy in the Americas.", pp. 6-9📄</li> <li><b>Reading Brief #1 due.</b></li> </ul>
Tuesday, Sept. 4	What students of Latin American politics and need to know about Latin American history.  Final Essay Overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vanden and Prevost, Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 18-78.</li> <li><b>Reading Brief #2 due.</b></li> </ul>

### II: AUTHORITARIANISM IN LATIN AMERICA




Today authoritarianism is a rare beast in Latin America, but several decades ago it was the norm in the region. While authoritarianism has given way to democracy throughout most of Latin America, the legacy of authoritarian rule in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s continues to haunt and challenge Latin American politics. This brief section attempts to familiarize students with the main aspects of authoritarianism in that era.

DATE	CLASS ACTIVITY	ASSIGNMENT DUE IN CLASS
Thursday, Sept. 6	Bureaucratic Authoritarianism in Argentina, Brazil and Chile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vanden and Prevost, pp. 397-403, 425-436, and 461-467.</li> <li>"Chile: The Reasons of the Junta."📄</li> <li>"Brazil: Speech by Humberto Castelo Branco."📄</li> <li>John Lee Anderson, "The Dictator."📄</li> <li><b>Reading Brief #3 due.</b></li> </ul>





Tuesday, Sept. 11	Authoritarianism in, Central America, and Mexico  <b>Film: <i>Revolution in Nicaragua (50 minutes)</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vanden and Prevost, pp. 305-315, 337-353, and 537-546.</li> <li><b>Reading Brief #4 due.</b></li> </ul>
Thursday, Sept. 13	Authoritarianism in Latin America: Conclusions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Half of the class will read Tina Rosenberg, "The Good Sailor" , and the other half of the class will read Tina Rosenberg, "The Pig's Tail" </li> <li><b>Reading Brief #5 due.</b></li> </ul>

### III: SOCIALIST POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

For reasons that should be obvious by now, socialism has often been viewed as a desirable alternative to Latin American capitalism. But socialists have very rarely come to power in Latin America. In this section we focus on two such cases, Cuba and Nicaragua, examining why and how socialists came to power, and how they fared in power.


DATE	CLASS TOPIC & ACTIVITY	ASSIGNMENT DUE IN CLASS
Tuesday, Sept. 18	The Cataclysm of the Cuban Revolution  <b>Film: <i>Fidel Castro (part 1)</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vanden and Prevost, pp. 369-377</li> <li>Farber, Chapter 1, pp. 10-50</li> <li>Sánchez, pp. 1-31</li> <li>Alma Guillermoprieto, "The Harsh Angel" </li> <li><b>Reading Brief #6 due</b></li> </ul>
Thursday, Sept. 20	The Political Economy of the Cuban Revolution  <b>Film: <i>Fidel Castro (Part 2)</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Farber, chapter 2, pp. 51-95</li> <li><b>Reading Brief #7 due</b></li> </ul>
Tuesday, Sept. 25	The Cuban Political System  <b>Current Events Presentation #1 (Cuba)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Farber, Chapter 7, pp. 222-267</li> <li>Sánchez, pp. 31-86</li> <li>Alma Guillermoprieto, "Fidel in the Evening." </li> <li><b>Reading Brief #8 due</b></li> </ul>
Thursday, Sept. 27	Society in Revolutionary Cuba  <b>Film: <i>The Sugar Curtain (First Part)</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sánchez, pp. 88-123</li> <li>Farber, read <b>either</b> chapter 5 or 6 (or both if you want to!)</li> </ul>
Tuesday, Oct. 2	Conclusions: The Cuban Revolution in Comparative Perspective  <b>Film: <i>The Sugar Curtain (Second Part)</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sánchez, pp. 123-233.</li> <li><i>The Economist</i>, "Revolution in Retreat" (special report from March 2012). </li> </ul>









Thursday, Oct. 4	Nicaragua under the Sandinistas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, pp. 546-551</li> <li>• Rosenberg, Ch. 5, "The Triumph." </li> <li>• Stephen Kinzer, <i>Blood of Brothers</i>, chapters 6 and 11. </li> <li>• <b>Reading Brief #9 due.</b></li> </ul>
Tuesday, Oct. 9	Nicaragua under the Sandinistas (II)  Mid-term exam review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stephen Kinzer, <i>Blood of Brothers</i>, chapters 12 and 17. </li> <li>• Alma Guillermoprieto, "Managua, 1990." </li> <li>• Bring all course materials and notes to class.</li> <li>• <b>Reading Brief #10 due.</b></li> <li>• <b>2 p.m. deadline to upload final essay proposals to Moodle</b></li> </ul>
Thursday, Oct. 11	Mid-term Examination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bring a laptop with a charged battery, a power cord, and a jump drive if you want to write your essay on your laptop.</li> </ul>

### IV: DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA: ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

We have a busy agenda for this final section of PG 380, with three main goals. First, we take a broad look at the state of democracy in Latin America, with a focus on key democratic institutions. Second, through readings and current events presentations we familiarize ourselves with some of Latin America's most interesting democracies in order to assess how well they have overcome the inauspicious legacies of authoritarian rule and inequality.




DATE	CLASS TOPIC & ACTIVITY	ASSIGNMENT DUE IN CLASS
Thursday, Oct. 18	<p>What is "democracy" and does Latin America have it?</p> <p>Film: "Awakening from the Sorrow" (40 minutes)</p> <p><b>Current Events Presentation #2 (Argentina)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, pp. 202-207 and pp. 436-457.</li> <li>• Fukuyama, Chapter 4, pp. 72-96 (Jorge Domínguez, "Explaining Latin America's Lagging Development in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century.")</li> </ul> <div style="text-align: center;">  <p>search ID: amn242</p> <p>© Original Artist Reproduction rights obtainable from www.CartoonStock.com</p> </div>

<p>Tuesday, October 23</p>	<p>The Presidency in Latin America: The Problem or the Solution?</p> <p><b>Current Events Presentation #3 (Brazil)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, pp. 207-208, and pp. 403-423.</li> <li>• Fukuyama, Chapter 5, pp. 99-133 (Adam Przeworski and Carolina Curvale, “Does Politics Explain the Economic Gap between the United States and Latin America?”)</li> <li>• <b>Reading Brief #11 due.</b></li> </ul> 
<p>Thursday, Oct. 25</p>	<p>Legislatures in Latin America: Paper Tigers or Safeguards of Democracy? Chile’s “success” story in perspective.</p> <p><b>Current Events Presentation #4 (Chile)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, pp. 208-9 (section on legislatures) and 467-479</li> <li>• Evelyne Huber, et. al., “The Chilean Left in Power: Achievements, Failures, Omissions.”</li> </ul> 
<p>Tuesday, Oct. 30</p>	<p>Challenges to The Rule of Law in Latin America: Lessons from Mexico.</p> <p><b>Current Events Presentation #6 (Mexico)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, pp. 209-225 (section on courts), and 353-364.</li> <li>• William Finnegan, “The Kingpins, Letter from Mexico”</li> <li>• Fukuyama, Chapter 8, pp. 194-221 (Fukuyama, “Do Defective Institutions Explain the Development Gap between the United States and Latin America?”)</li> <li>• <b>Reading Brief #12 due.</b></li> </ul> 

<p>Thursday, Nov. 1</p>	<p>Political Parties and Elections in Latin America.</p> <p><b>Current Events Presentation #7 (Nicaragua)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, pp. 226-234, and 549-563.</li> <li>• Fukuyama, Chapter 10, pp. 268-295 (Fukuyama, Conclusion)</li> </ul> 
<p>Tuesday, Nov. 6</p>	<p>Democracy, Human Rights, and Civil War: The case of Colombia.</p> <p><b>Current Events Presentation #8 (Colombia)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, chapter 19, pp. 509-535.</li> <li>• Fukuyama, Chapter 6, pp. 135-158 (Riordan Roett and Francisco González, "The Role of High-Stakes Politics in Latin America's Development Gap.")</li> <li>• View the film <i>The Two Escobars</i> (link to the video stream will be on Moodle)</li> <li>• <b>Reading Brief #13 due</b></li> </ul> 
<p>Thursday, Nov. 8</p>	<p>Democracy and Indigenous rights in Bolivia</p> <p><b>Current Events Presentation #9 (Bolivia)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 21, pp. 567-602</li> <li>• George Gray Molina, "The Challenge of Progressive Change under Evo Morales."</li> <li>• <b>Reading Brief #14 due.</b></li> </ul> 
<p>Tuesday, Nov. 13</p>	<p>Democracy and the Trauma of Political Violence: The case of Peru.</p> <p><b>Film: State of Fear</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 4, pp. 79-103</li> </ul>

**V: CONCLUSION: MAKING SENSE OF HUGO CHAVEZ’S VENEZUELA: DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITARIANISM, SOCIALISM, POPULISM?**

What better way to end the course and make sense of what we have learned than to examine Hugo Chávez’s Venezuela? This controversial political experiment has deeply polarized Venezuela, but is it best viewed as democratic or authoritarian?

<p>Thursday, Nov. 15</p>	<p>From coup plotter to president: the rise of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela.</p> <p><b>Film: <i>The Hugo Chavez Show</i>, pt. 1.</b> (30 minutes)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 18, pp. 483-507</li> <li>• Corrales and Penfold, Chapter 1, pp. 1-13.</li> <li>• <b>Reading Brief #15 due</b></li> </ul>
<p>Tuesday, Nov. 20</p>	<p>Venezuela under Chávez: Democracy, authoritarianism, socialism?</p> <p><b>Current Events Presentation #9 (Venezuela)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Corrales and Penfold, chapters 2 and 3, pp. 14-70.</li> <li>• <b>Reading Brief #16 due.</b></li> </ul> 
<p>Tuesday, Nov. 27</p>	<p>The politics of the “Bolivarian Revolution”</p> <p><b>Film: <i>The Hugo Chavez Show</i>, pt. 2.</b> (30 minutes)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Corrales and Penfold, Chapter 6, pp. 137-162</li> <li>• Gregory Wilpert, “Venezuela’s Experiment in Participatory Democracy.” </li> <li>• <b>Reading Brief #17 due</b></li> </ul>
<p>Thursday, Dec. 29</p>	<p>Chávez’s International Profile</p> <p><b>Film: <i>The Hugo Chavez Show</i>, pt. 3</b> (30 minutes)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Corrales and Penfold, Chapter 5, pp. 98-136</li> <li>• Thomas Ponniah, “The Conceptual Revolution in Venezuela.” </li> </ul>
<p>Tuesday, Dec. 4</p>	<p>Final Examination Review</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bring all your books and materials from the course for the exam review</li> <li>• Final Essay due at the start of class. Upload a copy to Moodle by 2 p.m.</li> </ul>
<p>Tuesday, Dec. 11, <b>4-6 p.m.</b></p>	<p>Final Examination</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bring a self-addressed, stamped, 8x10 envelope, if you want me to send your final exam, final essay, and final grade breakdown.</li> <li>• Bring a laptop with a charged battery, a power cord, and a jump drive if you want to write your essay on your laptop.</li> </ul>