

LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS: AUTHORITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY

Politics and Government 380

University of Puget Sound

Fall 2015

Tuesday and Thursday, 2-3:20 pm., Wyatt Hall 307



Professor Don Share

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Office Hours: T, Th, 9:00-11 and Thursday, 3:30-4:30, or by appointment

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Course Moodle Site: <http://moodle.pugetsound.edu>

My Website: <http://projects.pugetsound.edu/share/>

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. It explores some of the major approaches to Latin American politics by focusing on political institutions, political culture, public opinion, non-state actors, and civil society. The course is organized around key themes that are illustrated using numerous cases of Latin American authoritarianism and democracy. 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 authoritarian regimes in Central America, and the unusual case of Mexico. A third theme briefly 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 the leftist challenges to democracy presented by non-state actors in Colombia, and the “pink tide” revolutions led by Hugo Chávez in Venezuela and Evo Morales in Bolivia, in an attempt to determine whether the regimes resulting from these revolutions are 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 80 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.

Films: Films are an integral part of the course because they allow students to visualize the people, geography and events of the regions under study. 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: here 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.

- e. You may discuss the assignments with your classmates, but your written work must be your own. Otherwise you are committing academic dishonesty, which will result in your failing the course.
2. **Two in-class examinations** covering all course materials (films, lectures, guest speakers, readings), and including objective and essay components. The first exam is Thursday, October 8, and the second exam is Tuesday, December 8
 3. **Current Events Presentation.** 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., Thursday, December 3, 2015. Students must have their topics approved by Tuesday, October 6.
 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 during the semester you should not take this course.

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

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

I won't use a curve 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 6	Essay Topic Approval Deadline, 2 p.m.
Thursday, October 8	First Examination
Thursday, December 3	Final Essay Due at 2 p.m. on Moodle
Tuesday, December 8	Second Examination (in class)

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 11, 2015, 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 for your information—you may find lower prices on used editions (just make sure you get the most recent editions specified below).



Rory Carroll, *Comandante: Hugo Chávez's Venezuela*. Penguin, 2013. A very engaging and readable treatment of the late Venezuelan leader by a journalist from the UK's *Guardian*. \$14.17

Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl, *Evo's Bolivia: Continuity and Change*. University of Texas Press, 2014. \$24.95. A well-written and jargon-free overview of Morales' Bolivia

Harry Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. Fifth Edition, 2015. Oxford University Press. \$55.95. 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, and can be ordered as a reading packet at the bookstore, or printed elsewhere (a zipped file containing all readings will be posted on Moodle).

Latin America Weekly Report: An outstanding and authoritative weekly 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 11, 2015 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. **You may use a laptop or tablet to take notes in class as long as you don't surf the web, email, etc.**
4. **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!
5. **Feel free to express your opinions, even if you think they are unpopular or "politically incorrect."**
6. **Treat me and your fellow students with respect.**

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, Sept. 1	Introductions and Overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read the syllabus carefully!
Thursday, Sept. 3	Models and concepts for understanding Latin America. Current Events Presentation Overview <u>We'll meet in Library 118 today</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"> • Vanden and Prevost, Chapters 1 and 8, pp. 1-17, and 188-209. • Seymour Martin Lipset, "Democracy in the Americas.", pp. 6-9📄 • Reading Brief #1 due.
Tuesday, Sept. 8	What students of Latin American politics and need to know about Latin American history. Final Essay Overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 18-81. • Reading Brief #2 due.

II: AUTHORITARIANISM IN LATIN AMERICA






Today authoritarianism is a rare beast in Latin America, but only a few 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. 10	Bureaucratic Authoritarianism in Argentina, Brazil and Chile Film: <i>Chile: Facing the Past</i> (26 minutes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, pp. 343-356, 381-388, and 409-415. • "Chile: The Reasons of the Junta."📄 • "Brazil: Speech by Humberto Castelo Branco."📄 • John Lee Anderson, "The Dictator."📄 • Reading Brief #3 due.

Tuesday, Sept. 15	Authoritarianism in, Central America, and Mexico Film: <i>Revolution in Nicaragua</i> (50 minutes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vanden and Prevost, pp. 315-329, 539-557, and 571-580. Reading Brief #4 due.
Thursday, Sept. 17	Authoritarianism in Latin America: Conclusions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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" . Reading Brief #5 due.

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 briefly 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. 22	The Cataclysm of the Cuban Revolution Film: <i>Fidel Castro (part 1)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vanden and Prevost, pp. 515-537 Alma Guillermoprieto, "The Harsh Angel"  Reading Brief #6 due.
Thursday, Sept. 24	Film: <i>Fidel Castro (Part 2)</i> Current Events Presentation #1 (Cuba)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alma Guillermoprieto, "Fidel in the Evening José Azel, "The Illusion of Cuban Reform.and Antonio Rodiles, "Change by Attrition."  Jon Lee Anderson, "Opening For Business."  Reading Brief #7 due
Tuesday, Sept. 29	Nicaragua under the Sandinistas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vanden and Prevost, pp. 580-582 Rosenberg, Ch. 5, "The Triumph."  Stephen Kinzer, <i>Blood of Brothers</i>, chapters 6 and 11.  Reading Brief #8 due.

Thursday, Oct. 1	Nicaragua under the Sandinistas (II)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stephen Kinzer, <i>Blood of Brothers</i>, chapters 12 and 17. • Alma Guillermoprieto, "Managua, 1990." • Forrest Colburn and Arturo Cruz, "Personalism and Populism in Nicaragua." • Bring all course materials and notes to class. • Reading Brief #9 due.
Tuesday, Oct. 6	First exam review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 p.m. deadline to upload final essay proposals to Moodle
Thursday, Oct. 8	First Examination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bring a laptop with a charged battery, a power cord, and a jump drive if you want to write your essay on your laptop.

IV: DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA: SUCCESSES AND FAILURES


We have a busy agenda for this 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
Tuesday, Oct. 13	<p>What is “democracy” and does Latin America have it?</p> <p>Film: <i>Weathering the Storm: Argentina’s Economic Success.</i> (26 minutes)</p> <p>Current Events Presentation #2 (Argentina)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost. 354-379 • Scott Mainwaring and Anibal Pérez-Liñán, “Cross-Currents in Latin America” • Steven Levitsky and María Victoria Murillo, “Building Institutions on Weak Foundations.” • Reading Brief #10 due.

<p>Thursday, Oct. 15</p>	<p>Political Institutions in Latin America; The Presidency and Legislatures</p> <p>Film: <i>Brazil: A Racial Paradise?</i> (50 minutes)</p> <p>Current Events Presentation #3 (Brazil)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 9, pp. 210-245 and pp. 386-405 • Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, "Manipulating Term Limits in Latin America." ✓
<p>Thursday, Oct. 22</p>	<p>Chile: Democratic Success Story or Stunted Democracy?.</p> <p>Current Events Presentation #4 (Chile)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, pp. 415-431 • Roland Benedikter, Katja Sieppman, and Migue Zlosilo, "Chile: Country or Change?" ✓ • Emily Achtenberg, "Elections in Chile: Confronting the Legacy of Dictatorship" ✓ • Reading Brief #11 due
<p>Tuesday, October 27</p>	<p>Challenges to The Rule of Law in Latin America: Lessons from Mexico</p> <p>Current Events Presentation #5 (Mexico)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, 325-341. • William Finnegan, "The Kingpins, Letter from Mexico" ✓ • Rodric Ai Camp, <i>Politics in Mexico</i>, pp. 10-24, pp. 189-219. ✓ • Reading Brief #12 due. 
<p>Thursday, Oct. 29</p>	<p>Latin American Political Economy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, chapter 7, pp. 154-187. • Reading Brief #13 due

V: CHALLENGES TO LATIN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY? NON-STATE ACTORS AND THE PINK TIDE IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin America is currently composed of almost entirely democratic. But the persistence of non-state actors in the Colombia, and the rise of leftist leaders who seek to “revolutionize” democracy may pose a challenge to democratic rule. We end the course by looking at the decades-old armed conflict in Colombia, and the election of socialist revolutionaries in Venezuela and Bolivia.

Tuesday, Nov. 3	Democracy, Human Rights, and Civil War: The case of Colombia. Current Events Presentation #6 (Colombia)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, chapter 16, pp. 433-535. • View the film <i>The Two Escobars</i> (link to the video stream will be on Moodle) • Reading Brief #14 due
Thursday, Nov. 5	The Rise of Hugo Chavez Film: <i>The Hugo Chavez Show</i>, pt. 1. (30 minutes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carroll, prologue and chapters 1-4, pp. 1-83 • Vanden and Prevost, chapter 17, 459-479 • Reading Brief #15 due
Tuesday, Nov. 10	Chavez in Power Film: <i>The Hugo Chavez Show</i>, pt. 2 (30 minutes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carroll, chapters 5-9, pp. 107-223 (This is a large assignment—plan accordingly!) • Reading Brief #16 due
Thursday, Nov. 12	Venezuela after Chavez Film: <i>The Hugo Chavez Show</i>, pt. 3 (30 minutes) Current Events Presentation #7 (Venezuela)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carroll, Chapters 11-12, pp. 251-292 • Javier Corrales, "Autocratic Legalism in Venezuela."  • Reading Brief #17 due
Tuesday, Nov. 17	Democracy in Bolivia, Indigenous rights, and Evo Morales Current Events Presentation #8 (Bolivia)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 18, pp. 481-513 • Farthing and Kohl, Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-34. • Reading Brief #18 due.
Thursday, Nov. 19	Evo's Revolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 4, pp. 82-106 • Farthing and Kohl, Chapters 3 and 4, pp. 35-77 • Reading Brief #19 due
Tuesday, Nov. 24	Evo's Revolution 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farthing and Kohl, Chapters 5-7, pp. 78-127 • Reading Brief # 20 due

<p>Tuesday, Dec. 1</p>	<p>Current Events Presentation #9 (Nicaragua)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanden and Prevost, 582-599 
<p>Thursday, Dec. 3</p>	<p>Final Examination Review</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bring all your books and materials from the course for the exam review • Final Essay due at the start of class. Upload a copy to Moodle by 2 p.m.
<p>Tuesday, Dec. 8</p>	<p>Second Examination</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bring a self-addressed, stamped envelope if you want me to return your exam via US mail.

