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Government 302
Wesleyan University
Fall 2023

Office Hours:
Tues. & Weds., 2:00-3:30 PM
110 Mt. Vernon Street, Office 204

Class Meetings:
Mon. & Weds., 10:50 AM-12:10 PM
Zilkha 202

Latin American Politics

This course explores democracy, revolution, economic development, and living standards in Latin America. In the first part of the course we analyze the emergence, breakdown, and current state of democracy in Argentina and Brazil. In the second part we examine the causes and consequences of revolution in Cuba and Nicaragua. In each part of the course we assess the progress each country has made toward creating a more affluent, educated, healthy, and equitable society.

The course begins by exploring the concepts of democracy, autocracy, democratization, and autocratization. Using case studies and comparative analyses, we investigate: (1) How deeply was democracy implanted in Argentina and Brazil during the first half of the twentieth century? (2) Why did democracy break down in these countries during the 1960s and 1970s, and why was it restored in the 1980s? (3) How stable and democratic were the civilian regimes that emerged in each country in the wake of authoritarian rule? (4) How did democracy and democratization, as well as autocracy and autocratization, affect the will and capacity of Argentine and Brazilian governments to enact more effective and more just economic and social policies?

The second half of the course examines the character, causes, and consequences of revolution, focusing on the Cuban Revolution, which ousted the Batista government in 1959, and the Nicaraguan Revolution, which overthrew the Somoza dynasty in 1979. We examine the causes of each revolution; debate how to characterize each revolutionary political regime; assess whether each revolutionary government raised living standards; and identify each country's recent challenges.

Course Requirements

The course grade is based on reading quizzes for each class session, two exams, a research design, a final paper, and class participation.

Summary of Due Dates and Final Grade Weightings

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----|
| 23 Reading Quizzes | One each class | 20% |
| First Exam | Oct 18 (Wednesday) | 20% |
| Research Design | Nov 3 (Friday) | 10% |
| Second Exam | Dec 6 (Wednesday) | 20% |
| Term Paper | Dec 13 (Wednesday) | 20% |
| Class Participation | | 10% |

Honor Code

Any instance of cheating or plagiarism will suffice for a grade of "F" for the entire course.

Reading Quizzes

The quizzes are posted on the Moodle segment for each class session. They involve multiple-choice questions on each reading (one, two, or three depending on the class session). The questions have four possible answers, of which only one is correct. Usually you will get two questions, but sometimes three or four, depending on how many readings were assigned and how many questions I thought up.

The quizzes are designed to highlight important issues in the reading and to introduce the method of multiple working hypotheses. The quizzes can be challenging, but are not intentionally tricky or funny. You are allowed, indeed encouraged, to see your questions *before* you do the reading. The quiz on each class session opens ten minutes after the previous class session ends. It must be completed by 10:00 AM on the day for which the reading is assigned.

Do not use artificial intelligence (ChatGPT etc.) at any point while taking the quiz -- whether to find out the answer, to double-check your answer, etc. In class from time to time, however, we'll watch Chat GPT answer quiz questions and see how it does vs. the class consensus. You are honor-bound not to ask artificial intelligence, your classmates, or anyone else for help on quizzes.

"Deception concerning adherence to the conditions set by the instructor for a formal academic exercise" is [Provision 5 of the Wesleyan Honor Code](#). The quiz is a formal academic exercise, and the conditions I am setting are: you may not request assistance from anyone (e.g., your classmates) or anything (e.g., Chat-GPT) on the quiz questions you have been asked to answer, nor may you give assistance to anyone else on quiz questions that *they* have been asked to answer. The questions you will get on each reading are selected randomly from a larger pool of questions, so whomever you might ask for assistance is in any case unlikely to have gotten the same questions that you received.

Together the exams are worth 40 percent of your grade; the quizzes only 20 percent. So, don't stress about a single quiz result. Think about the issues introduced on the first page of the syllabus.

Examinations

You'll write out each exam by hand in a blue book during a single class period, without notes or electronic devices. The first exam takes place during the class period on Wednesday, October 18. It will cover the material to date. The second exam takes place during the class period on Wednesday, December 6. It will cover the material in the second part of the course. You may use ChatGPT (etc.) to prepare for the exams if you think it will help you, but (of course) not during the exam.

Research Project

The research project proceeds in two stages: a research design followed by a research paper involving democracy, revolution, or human development in a Latin American country or countries. The research design should be uploaded to the course Moodle by 5:00 PM Friday, November 3. The term paper should be uploaded by 5:00 PM Wednesday, December 13.

Research Design

The research design is a summary of ideas for your term paper. It should include the following components:

1. A title that captures the argument to be made or question to be answered. ("Race Relations in Socialist Cuba: Progress or Stagnation?" beats "Race Relations in Socialist Cuba.")
2. One paragraph describing the question you will answer and/or argument you will make.
3. One paragraph explaining the theoretical and/or practical significance of your topic.
4. A list of the steps by which you will answer your question or make your argument. Think of these steps as the headings and subheadings of the different sections of your paper. Stay focused: in particular, avoid long background descriptions of national history.
5. A bibliography consisting of six or more high-quality books, book chapters, and/or articles you have already read or skimmed. Correct bibliography form is required. Any standard format -- APA, Modern Language Association, Turabian -- is fine, as long as it is used properly and consistently. For these and other formats go to <http://libguides.wesleyan.edu/citing>.
6. A one-paragraph statement, for each of the three most promising sources in your bibliography, of how you will use its information and/or arguments in writing your paper.

Research Paper

The research paper is a 10-12 page expansion of the research design.

Artificial Intelligence

You may not use ChatGPT or any other artificial intelligence platform ("AI") on the quizzes or (of course) on the two in-class handwritten exams, although you can use AI to prepare for the exams if you think it will help you. On the research design and term paper, you may use AI for insight but not in the writing. All students must include a statement indicating whether AI was used at any point in the assignment. If you didn't use AI, just write "I didn't use AI at any point in this assignment." If you did use AI for insight, describe how you used it.

Finding Sources

For books and chapters in books, search the online catalog. For articles and manuscripts try the "Online Indexes and Databases" on the library web page as well as Google Scholar. Useful cross-country statistical data are linked at <http://jmcguire.faculty.wesleyan.edu/welcome/cross-national-data/>. Wesleyan will have access to many of the materials you find in these databases, but some may be available only through the CTW consortium or interlibrary loan (articles usually take only a couple of days; books may take a couple of weeks). You can also find sources by following up footnotes and bibliographical references (recent books and articles are best). To consult a librarian well-versed in research strategies, fill out a [Personal Research Session Request Form](#). If you've read this far in the syllabus, send me an email. The first student to email me gets extra credit.

Obtaining Course Readings

All readings are available on the course Moodle site. No books are required for this course. I've arranged with Cardinal Print to have a **Course Pack** put together for this course. There will be two volumes, the first covering Argentina and Brazil and the second Cuba and Nicaragua. It will take at least a week to prepare the two volumes, so download the first week's readings from Moodle; the first week's readings are omitted from the first volume. When the course pack is ready, you may either view a digital file for free or order a printed copy for a charge. As of January 2022, up to 100 double-sided pages cost \$15.00, up to 150 cost \$22.00, up to 200 cost \$30.00, etc. No returns, refunds, or exchanges are permitted. To view a digital copy or purchase a printed copy, log into WesPortal and select Course Packs, which is listed under Courses. If you wish to purchase a printed copy, click Order Print. Your printed course packs will be delivered through Wes Station's package delivery system and billed to your student account. You will typically receive your course pack within three business days of placing your order. Course pack billing occurs toward the end of the semester. You will receive an email prior to billing so that you may review the charges.

Accessibility Services

Wesleyan University is committed to ensuring that all qualified students with disabilities are afforded an equal opportunity to participate in, and benefit from, its programs and services. To receive accommodations, a student must have a disability as defined by the ADA. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible.

If you have a disability, or think that you might have a disability, please contact [Accessibility Services](#) in order to arrange an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. Accessibility Services is located in North College, room 021 or can be reached by email (accessibility@wesleyan.edu) or phone (860-685-2332).

Religious/Spiritual Observance Resources:

If you anticipate that your religious/spiritual observance may conflict with academic obligations such as attending class, taking examinations, or submitting assignments, you can work directly with your professor to make reasonable arrangements. Should you require additional support or guidance, please feel free to contact Rabbi David Leipziger Teva, Director of the Office of Religious and Spiritual Life at dleipziger@wesleyan.edu, or any of the chaplains in the Office of Religious and Spiritual Life at <https://www.wesleyan.edu/orsl/index.html>.

For a list of a religious holidays celebrated by members of the Wesleyan community, go to Wesleyan's Multifaith calendar which can be found at: <https://www.wesleyan.edu/orsl/multifaith-calendar.html>.

Title IX Resources

If trauma inhibits your ability to participate fully in class, please contact Debbie Colucci, Title IX Coordinator, at dcolucci@wesleyan.edu, or your class dean. Additionally, and if you are comfortable, you can work directly with your professor to make reasonable arrangements.

Summary of Course Schedule

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| Mo Sep 4 | Overview of the Course |
| We Sep 6 | Democracy, Autocracy, Democratization, and Autocratization |
| Mo Sep 11 | Argentina: Distributive Conflict, Political Parties, and Democracy |
| We Sep 13 | Argentina: Prelude to Perón |
| Mo Sep 18 | Argentina: Peronism and Its Legacy |
| We Sep 20 | Argentina: Military Rule and the Transition to Democracy |
| Mo Sep 25 | Argentina: Alfonsín to the Kirchners, 1983-2015 |
| We Sep 27 | Argentina: Contemporary Politics |
| Mo Oct 2 | Brazil: Geography and History |
| We Oct 4 | Brazil: Social Structure and Politics |
| Mo Oct 9 | Brazil: Military Rule and the Transition to Democracy |
| We Oct 11 | Brazil: Politics Under Civilian Rule, 1985-2018 |
| Mo Oct 16 | Brazil: Bolsonaro to Lula, 2019-2023 |
| We Oct 18 | First Examination |
| We Oct 25 | Revolution: Definition and Causes |
| Mo Oct 30 | Cuba: Causes of Revolution |
| We Nov 1 | Cuba: Did Life Improve After 1959? |
| Fri Nov 3 | Research design due: please upload to Moodle by 5 PM |
| Mo Nov 6 | Cuba: Is Revolutionary Cuba Democratic? |
| We Nov 8 | Cuba: Economy and Society Since 1989 |
| Mo Nov 13 | Nicaragua: Causes of Revolution |
| We Nov 15 | Nicaragua: Was Revolutionary Nicaragua Democratic? |
| Mo Nov 20 | Nicaragua: Were Nicaraguans Better Off After the Revolution? |
| Mo Nov 27 | Nicaragua: The Quality of Democracy, 1990-2006 |
| We Nov 29 | Nicaragua: Dismantling Democracy, 2007-2018 |
| Mo Dec 4 | Nicaragua: Autocratizing Autocracy, 2018-2023 |
| We Dec 6 | Second Examination |
| We Dec 13 | Term paper due: please upload to Moodle by 5 PM |

TOPICS AND READINGS

Mo Sep 4 Overview of the Course

No assigned reading

We Sep 6 Democracy, Autocracy, Democratization, and Autocratization

1. Dahl, Robert. *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Chapter 4 (35-43), Chapter 8 (83-99).
2. Schedler, Andreas. "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy* 9 No. 2 (April 1998), 91-107.
3. Diamond, Larry (2021). "Democratic Regression in Comparative Perspective: Scope, Methods, and Causes." *Democratization* 28 No. 1, 22-42.

Mo Sep 11 Argentina: Distributive Conflict, Political Parties, and Democracy

1. McGuire, James W. "Political Parties and Democracy in Argentina." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995, 200-246.

We Sep 13 Argentina: Prelude to Perón

1. Potter, Anne L. "The Failure of Democracy in Argentina 1916-1930: An Institutional Perspective." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 13 No. 1 (May 1981), 83-109.

Mo Sep 18 Argentina: Peronism and Its Legacy

1. Winn, Peter. "A Second Independence?" Chap. 4 of *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean*. New York: Pantheon, 1992, 123-154.

We Sep 20 Argentina: Military Rule and the Transition to Democracy

1. Graziano, Frank. "The Dirty War in Thematic Context." Chapter 1 of *Divine Violence: Spectacle, Psychosexuality, and Radical Christianity in the Argentine "Dirty War."* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992, 15-59.

Mo Sep 25 Argentina: Alfonsín to Duhalde, 1989-2003

1. Levitsky, Steven. "Argentina: Democratic Survival Amidst Economic Failure." Chapter 2 in Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring, *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge, UK and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 63-89.

We Sep 27 Argentina: Contemporary Politics

1. Mainwaring, Scott, and Emilia Simison. "Economic Crises, Military Rebellions, and Democratic Survival: Argentina, 1983-2021." Chapter 7 in Scott Mainwaring and Tarek Masoud, eds., *Democracy in Hard Places*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022, 188-227.

Mo Oct 2 Brazil: Geography and History

1. Bethell, Leslie. "Politics in Brazil: From Elections without Democracy to Democracy without Citizenship." *Daedalus* 129 No. 2 (Spring 2000), 1-27.
2. Carvalho, José Murilo de. "Dreams Come Untrue." *Daedalus* 129 No. 2 (Spring 2000), 57-82

We Oct 4 Brazil: Social Structure and Politics

1. Mainwaring, Scott. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Brazilian Case*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. Chapter 6, "Patronage, Clientelism, and Patrimonialism," 176-218.

Mo Oct 9 Brazil: Military Rule and the Transition to Democracy

1. Skidmore, Thomas. *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Chapter 7, "Rule of the Military: 1964-1985," 159-188.

We Oct 11 Brazil: Politics Under Civilian Rule, 1985-2018

1. Kingstone, Peter R., and Timothy J. Power. "A Fourth Decade of Brazilian Democracy: Achievements, Challenges, and Polarization." In Kingstone and Power, eds., *Democratic Brazil Divided*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017. Chapter 1, 3-23.

Mo Oct 16 Brazil: Bolsonaro to Lula. 2019-2023

1. Hunter, Wendy and Timothy J. Power. "Lula's Second Act." *Journal of Democracy* 34 No. 1 (April 2023), 126-140.

We Oct 18 **First Examination**We Oct 25 Revolution: Definition and Causes

1. Crahan, Margaret E., and Peter H. Smith. "The State of Revolution." In Alfred Stepan, ed., *Americas: New Interpretive Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, 79-108.

Mo Oct 30 Cuba: Causes of Revolution

1. Wolf, Eric. "Cuba." In *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper Colophon, 1969, 251-273.
2. Domínguez, Jorge. "Cuba Since 1959." In Leslie Bethell, ed., *Cuba: A Short History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 95-124.

We Nov 1 Cuba: Did Life Improve After 1959?

1. Domínguez, Jorge. "Cuba Since 1959." In Leslie Bethell, ed., *Cuba: A Short History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 124-148

Fri Nov 3 Research Design DueMo Nov 6 Cuba: Political System and Race Relations

1. Ritter, Archibald R. M. "The Organs of People's Power and the Communist Party: The Nature of Cuban Democracy." In Sandor Halebsky and John M. Kirk, eds., *Cuba: Twenty-Five Years of Revolution, 1959-1984*. New York: Praeger, 1985, 270-290.
2. de la Fuente, Alejandro, and Stanley R. Bailey. "The Puzzle of Racial Inequality in Cuba, 1980s–2010s." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 18 No. 1 (2021), 73-96.

We Nov 8 Cuba: Economy and Society Since 1989

1. Torres Pérez, Ricardo, and Claes Brundenius. "Cuban Socialism at 60: Old Aspirations and New Realities." In Claes Brundenius, ed., *Reflections on Socialism in the Twenty-First Century*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2020. Chapter 8, 167-188.
2. Bastian, Hope. "Cuba's Pandemic Crisis." *Current History* 122 No. 841 (2023), 56-62.

Mo Nov 13 Nicaragua: Causes of Revolution

1. Dix, Robert. "Why Revolutions Succeed and Fail." *Polity* 16 No. 3 (Spring 1984), 423-446.
2. Booth, John A., Christine J. Wade, and Thomas W. Walker. Chapter 5 ("Nicaragua") of *Understanding Central America: Global Forces, Rebellion, and Change*. 6th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2014, 97-136.

We Nov 15 Nicaragua: Was Revolutionary Nicaragua Democratic?

1. LASA (Latin American Studies Association). "The Electoral Process in Nicaragua: Domestic and International Influences." In Peter Rosset and John Vandermeer, eds., *Nicaragua: Unfinished Revolution*. New York: Grove Press, 1986, 73-107.
2. Kinzer, Stephen. "Action Democracy." In Kinzer, *Blood of Brothers: Life and War in Nicaragua*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1991. Chapter 15, 222-250.

Mo Nov 20 Nicaragua: Were Nicaraguans Better Off After the Revolution?

1. Linfield, Michael. "Human Rights." In Thomas Walker, ed., *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Nicaragua*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991, 275-294.
2. Lancaster, Roger N. *Life is Hard: Machismo, Danger, and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, 1-21.

Mo Nov 27 Nicaragua: The Quality of Democracy, 1990-2006

1. McConnell, Shelley A. "Nicaragua's Pacted Democracy." Chapter 5 in Cynthia Arnson, ed., *In the Wake of War: Democratization and Internal Armed Conflict in Latin America*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2012, 139-173.

We Nov 29 Nicaragua: Dismantling Democracy, 2007-2018

1. Close, David. "Dominant Power and Personalistic Rule, 2011-Present." Chapter 7 in Close, *Nicaragua: Navigating the Politics of Democracy*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2016, 135-161.
2. Morris, Courtney Desiree. "Ortega Faces a New Nicaraguan Opposition Movement." *Current History* 118 No. 805 (February 2019), 62-67.

Mo Dec 4 Nicaragua: Autocratizing Autocracy, 2018-2023

1. Thaler, Kai M., and Eric Mosinger. "Nicaragua: Doubling Down on Dictatorship." *Journal of Democracy* 33 No. 2, 2022, 133-146.

We Dec 6 **Second Examination**We Dec 13 **Term paper due: please upload to Moodle by 5 PM**