

James McGuire
(860) 685-2487
<http://jmcguire.faculty.wesleyan.edu/>
jmcguire@wesleyan.edu

Government 302
Wesleyan University
Fall 2021

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

Class Meetings:
Tues. & Thurs, 10:20-11:40 AM
Fisk 302

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, democratic consolidation, and horizontal accountability. 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) Did the transition from authoritarian rule and the deepening and consolidation of democracy 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 21 (Th)	20%
Research Design	Nov 5 (Fr)	10%
Second Exam	Dec 9 (Th)	20%
Term Paper	Dec 16 (Th)	20%
Class Participation		10%

Honor Code

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

Electronics

Cell phones, laptops, tablets, digital assistants, and other potentially disruptive or distracting electronic devices should be stowed away and not consulted at any time during the class session.

Reading Quizzes

The quizzes are posted on the Moodle segment for each class session. They involve multiple-choice questions on each reading. Most of the class sessions have two readings, although several sessions have either one reading or three readings. The multiple-choice questions have four possible answers, only one of which is correct. The total number of questions you will get on the quiz for each class session varies from 2 to 4, depending on how many readings were assigned and how many good questions I thought up. The quizzes are designed (1) to highlight important issues in the reading, (2) to acquaint you with the method of multiple working hypotheses, (3) to teach you to mine as well as to read, and (4) to communicate information. The quiz questions can be challenging, but are never deliberately tricky or funny. If you keep up and do the reading attentively, they are doable. You are allowed, indeed encouraged, to see your questions *before* you do the reading, the better to learn how to mine the reading. The quizzes on each class session open up a few minutes after the previous class session ends, and must be completed by 9:00 AM on the day for which the reading is assigned.

You will hardly ever have much luck Googling for the answer to a quiz question, because most of the questions are not about factual matters, but about an author's interpretation of an historical process or event. Also, you are honor-bound not to ask your classmates or anyone else for assistance on the 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 for it are that you may neither request assistance from anyone on your quiz questions, nor may you give assistance to anyone else on their quiz questions. That said, asking a classmate for assistance isn't going to do you much good, because the questions you will get on each reading are selected randomly from a much larger pool of questions. There are between 8 and 20 multiple-choice questions in the pool for each class session, and the random process will select only 2 to 4 of them. Accordingly, it is statistically unlikely that whomever you might ask for assistance will have gotten the same questions that you have received.

Examinations

Each exam is closed-book, closed-note. The first exam will be given during the class period on Thursday, October 21. It will cover the material to date. The second exam will be given during the class period on Thursday, December 9. It will cover the material in the second part of the course.

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 5. The term paper should be uploaded by 5:00 PM Thursday, December 16.

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. Except for online academic journals, internet sources don't count. Correct bibliography form is required. Any standard format -- APA, Modern Language Association, Turabian -- is fine (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.

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. 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). For an individualized research session with a reference librarian go to <http://www.wesleyan.edu/library/howdoi/makeanappointment.html>

The main sources of cross-national statistical data are linked at <http://jm McGuire.faculty.wesleyan.edu/welcome/cross-national-data/>

Obtaining Course Readings

All readings are available on the course Moodle site. No books are required for this course.

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, rooms 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 reach out to Rabbi David 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 fully participate 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

Tu Sep 7	Introduction to the Course
Th Sep 9	Democracy and Democratic Consolidation
Tu Sep 14	Argentina: Distributive Conflict, Political Parties, and Democracy
Th Sep 16	Argentina: Prelude to Perón
Tu Sep 21	Argentina: Peronism and Its Legacy
Th Sep 23	Argentina: Military Rule and the Transition to Democracy
Tu Sep 28	Argentina: Alfonsín to the Kirchners, 1983-2015
Th Sep 30	Argentina: Contemporary Politics
Tu Oct 5	Brazil: Geography and History
Th Oct 7	Brazil: Social Structure and Politics
Tu Oct 12	Brazil: Military Rule and the Transition to Democracy
Th Oct 14	Brazil: Politics under Civilian Rule, 1985-2018
Tu Oct 19	Brazil: Bolsonaro and the Coronavirus, 2019-2021
Th Oct 21	First Examination
Th Oct 28	Revolution: Definition and Causes
Tu Nov 2	Cuba: Causes of Revolution
Th Nov 4	Cuba: Did Life Improve After 1959? [Research design due Friday Nov 5, 5 PM]
Tu Nov 9	Cuba: Is Revolutionary Cuba Democratic?
Th Nov 11	Cuba: Economy and Society Since 1989
Tu Nov 16	Nicaragua: Causes of Revolution
Th Nov 18	Nicaragua: Was Revolutionary Nicaragua Democratic?
Tu Nov 23	Nicaragua: Were Nicaraguans Better Off After the Revolution?
Tu Nov 30	Nicaragua: The Quality of Democracy, 1990-2006
Th Dec 2	Nicaragua: Dismantling Democracy, 2007-2018
Tu Dec 7	Nicaragua: Protest and Pandemic, 2018-2021
Th Dec 9	Second Examination
Th Dec 16	Term paper due: please upload to Moodle by 5 PM

TOPICS AND READINGS

Tu Sep 7 Introduction to the Course

No assigned reading

Th Sep 9 Democracy and Democratic Consolidation

Dahl, Robert. *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
Chapter 4 (35-43), Chapter 8 (83-99).

Schedler, Andreas. "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy* 9 No. 2 (April 1998), 91-107.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. "Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies." *Journal of Democracy* 9 No. 3 (July 1998), 112-126.

Tu Sep 14 Argentina: Distributive Conflict, Political Parties, and Democracy

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.

Th Sep 16 Argentina: Prelude to Perón

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.

Tu Sep 21 Argentina: Perónism and Its Legacy

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

Th Sep 23 Argentina: Military Rule and the Transition to Democracy

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.

Tu Sep 28 Argentina: Alfonsín to the Kirchners, 1983-2015

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.

Th Sep 30 Argentina: Contemporary Politics

Murillo, María Victoria, and Steven Levitsky. "Economic Shocks and Partisan Realignment in Argentina." In Noam Lupu, Virginia Oliveros, and Luis Schiumerini, eds., *Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2019. Chapter 2, 28-52.

Peruzzotti, Enrique, and Silvio Waisbord. "Public Sphere and Post-Populism in the Covid-19 Pandemic: The Short Life of Depolarisation in Argentina." *Javnost-The Public* 28 No. 2 (2021), 149-164.

Tu Oct 5 Brazil: Geography and History

Bethell, Leslie. "Politics in Brazil: From Elections without Democracy to Democracy without Citizenship." *Daedalus* 129 No. 2 (Spring 2000), 1-27.

Carvalho, José Murilo de. "Dreams Come Untrue." *Daedalus* 129 No. 2 (Spring 2000), 57-82

Th Oct 7 Brazil: Social Structure and Politics

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.

Tu Oct 12 Brazil: Military Rule and the Transition to Democracy

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

Th Oct 14 Brazil: Politics under Civilian Rule, 1985-2018

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.

Tu Oct 19 Brazil: Bolsonaro and the Coronavirus, 2019-2021

Hunter, Wendy and Timothy J. Power. "Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash." *Journal of Democracy* 30 No. 1 (2019), 68-82.

Smith, Amy Erica. "Covid vs. Democracy: Brazil's Populist Playbook." *Journal of Democracy* 31 No. 4 (2020), 76-90.

Neto, Felipe. "Trump is Not the Worst Covid-19 President." Video (6:25) accessed through NY Times, July 15, 2020. <https://nyti.ms/39036xi>. No quiz on this one.

Th Oct 21 **First Examination**

Th Oct 28 Revolution: Definition and Causes

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.

Tu Nov 2 Cuba: Causes of Revolution

Wolf, Eric. "Cuba." In *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper Colophon, 1969, 251-273.

Domínguez, Jorge. "Cuba Since 1959." In Leslie Bethell, ed., *Cuba: A Short History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 95-124.

Th Nov 4 Cuba: Did Life Improve After 1959? **Friday Nov 5: Research Design Due**

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

Tu Nov 9 Cuba: Is Revolutionary Cuba Democratic?

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.

Grant, Julienne E. "¿Qué Bola?: What's New (and What Isn't) in Cuba." *International Journal of Legal Information* 47 No. 3 (2019), 141-148

Th Nov 11 Cuba: Economy and Society Since 1989

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.

De la Fuente, Alejandro. "Recreating Racism: Race and Discrimination in Cuba's Special Period." In Philip Brenner et al., eds., *A Contemporary Cuba Reader: Recreating the Revolution*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008, 316-325.

Tu Nov 16 Nicaragua: Causes of Revolution

Dix, Robert. "Why Revolutions Succeed and Fail." *Polity* 16 No. 3 (Spring 1984), 423-446.

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.

Th Nov 18 Nicaragua: Was Revolutionary Nicaragua Democratic?

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.

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.

Tu Nov 23 Nicaragua: Were Nicaraguans Better Off After the Revolution?

Linfield, Michael. "Human Rights." In Thomas Walker, ed., *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Nicaragua*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991, 275-294.

Lancaster, Roger N. *Life is Hard: Machismo, Danger, and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, 1-21.

Tu Nov 30 Nicaragua: The Quality of Democracy, 1990-2006

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.

Th Dec 2 Nicaragua: Dismantling Democracy, 2007-2018

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.

Morris, Courtney Desiree. "Ortega Faces a New Nicaraguan Opposition Movement." *Current History* 118 No. 805 (February 2019), 62-67.

Tu Dec 7 Nicaragua: Protest and Pandemic, 2018-2021

Pearson, Andy A., Andrea M. Prado, and Forrest D. Colburn. "Nicaragua's Surprising Response to COVID-19." *Journal of Global Health* 10 No. 1 (June 2020), 1-5.

Thaler, Kai M. "Nicaragua and Covid-19: Authoritarian Indifference." In Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Haeran Lim, and Habibul Khondker, eds., *Covid-19 and Governance: Crisis Reveals*. London and New York: Routledge, 2021, 229-241.

Th Dec 9 **Second Examination**

Th Dec 16 **Term paper due: please upload to Moodle by 5 PM**