

CPO 3303 Introduction to Latin American Politics Fall 2014

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Office hours: MW 3:15-4:15 (or by appointment), 317 Anderson

Class schedule/location: MWF 7 (1:55-2:45), NRN 0331

Summary & objectives:

In the words of the award-winning Puerto Rican music duo Calle 13, Latin America is “*un pueblo sin piernas, pero que camina*” (literally: “a people without legs, but who walks”). We may take this as a metaphor for the region as a whole: as a place that has survived recurring economic crises, years of authoritarian rule, and heavy-handed domination by numerous outside powers, but that continues to flirt with a more promising future.

Unsurprisingly, the region’s famously turbulent and perhaps dialectical political and economic histories – ranging from trailblazing democratic experiments to tidal waves of authoritarianism, and including both spectacular economic booms and devastating busts – have long been of interest to scholars. Indeed, outside of Europe, Latin America seems to have attracted more attention in the field of comparative politics than any other region.

The aim of this course is to present a broad overview of the culture, history, politics, and economics of Latin America. In so doing, we will engage with the long history of intellectual works that have analyzed and critiqued the region’s trajectory. We will place particular emphasis on how thinkers from a variety of fields, perspectives, and locations have sought to make sense of the Latin American experience. Throughout, we will highlight the diversity of Latin America and link the region to broader debates and conversations in the field of comparative politics as well as in the humanities and social sciences more broadly.

Five units – organized both chronologically and thematically – move us through space and time as we grapple with the Latin American experience:

- I. What is Latin America and how should we study it?
- II. Early Latin America: the making of nations, states, and societies
- III. Latin America’s long Cold War: class struggle, imperialism, and the death of democracy
- IV. Contemporary Latin America: a new era for a new region?
- V. Conclusion: future horizons/possibilities, and us

Course format:

To the greatest possible extent, this course will ideally function as a discussion-oriented seminar. That is, your comments and reactions to readings and other materials are to play a fundamental role in guiding the trajectory of the class. As such, participation and deep engagement are expected and will factor

heavily into your final grade. I will also aim to bring guest speakers into class several times during the semester.

While we will briefly review the basic contours of the fields of Latin American studies and comparative politics at the beginning of the course, time constraints prevent us from doing so in any depth. If you lack background in either area, you may wish to consult the following reference sources (many others exist as well). I also encourage you to speak to me about this during office hours.

Latin America

Benjamin Keen and Keith Haynes. *A History of Latin America*.

Thomas Skidmore, et al. *Modern Latin America*.

Comparative Politics

Patrick H. O'Neil. *Essentials of Comparative Politics*.

Ruth Lane. *The Art of Comparative Politics*.

Books & readings:

As befits a course of this nature, the reading load is relatively heavy. I make no apologies for this. I have selected the readings with great care and expect you to read them accordingly. As there are no exams in this class, your ability to read, digest, engage with, and react to the readings will be of great importance both for your grade and our collective experience in this class.

This syllabus draws from an eclectic mix of texts. You will read works from scholars, protagonists, and activists; from Latin Americans reflecting on their own region, and U.S. thinkers for whom Latin America is the "Other"; and from Latin Americanists who are interested in the region for its own sake, as well as those who seek to understand it within a more general (and theoretical) context.

To minimize your financial burden, only one (relatively) inexpensive book is required. It may be purchased from the UF bookstore or obtained elsewhere. The other readings will be available through the course webpage (details below).

Required text:

Iván Márquez. *Contemporary Latin American Social and Political Thought: An Anthology*.

News & current events:

You are expected to follow current events relating to Latin America on your own. Throughout the semester, we will discuss news stories and relate them to course materials. Prominent news stories will also be "fair game" for the quizzes (details below). Though there is a dearth of quality English-language coverage of Latin America, palatable sources include:

- *BBC* (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/latin_america/)
- *New York Times* (<http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/americas/>)
- *Al Jazeera* (<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/americas/>)
- *The Economist* (<http://www.economist.com/world/americas>)

Course requirements & grades:

A	93-100	B+	87-89.9	B-	80-82.9	C	73-76.9	D+	67-69.9	D-	60-62.9
A-	90-92.9	B	83-86.9	C+	77-79.9	C-	70-72.9	D	63-66.9	E	<60

20 percent: attendance & participation

In addition to attending class, you are expected to make substantive contributions to discussions, particularly in such a way that shows you have grappled with course materials. As part of this grade, you are required to come see me during office hours at least once during the semester.

20 percent: reading & current event quizzes

In the spirit of “trust but verify,” I will randomly administer quizzes throughout the semester to determine how faithfully you are keeping up with the reading assignments as well as the news. I will grade them on a “pass/fail” basis.

60 percent: reaction papers & final paper

After each of the first four units, you will write a response to the corresponding material. I will send prompts, as well as provide additional information, as the relevant dates draw near. These papers are designed to gauge whether you have been following along and contemplating the issues under consideration. The absolute maximum for each of these assignments is 500 words. To receive full credit, they *must be received by midnight* on the specified date. They will each be worth 10 percent of your final grade.

At the conclusion of the last unit, you will write a final paper responding to a prompt that will ask you to synthesize and think critically about the entirety of this semester’s course material. Again, I will provide more information closer to the date. The maximum length will be 1500 words. It is worth 20 percent of your overall grade.

Reaction paper	Date of posting of question(s)	Due date
Unit 1	September 3	September 8
Unit 2	September 24	September 29
Unit 3	October 13	October 20
Unit 4	November 21	November 25
Final (cumulative)	December 5	December 10

Course policies:

- All assignments must be turned in via the course website (<https://lss.at.ufl.edu/>).
- Late submissions will be penalized at a rate of 10 percent (e.g. from 95 to 85) every 12 hours.
- You can format assignments as you wish so long as the output is easy on my eyes.
- You may use your preferred citation style, provided it is applied consistently. Political science majors are encouraged to adopt APSA style (<http://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/DocAPSA.html>).
- In all of your writing assignments, style, syntax, grammar, etc. all count.
- Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results/>.

- Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found at: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>.

University policies:

Academic honesty

Violations of the Student Honor Code (including, but not limited to, copying and plagiarizing) will be reported to the Dean of Students Office for consideration of disciplinary action. For more information, see: <http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>.

Counseling and wellness

A variety of counseling, mental health and psychiatric services are available through the Counseling and Wellness Center, whose goal is to help students be maximally effective in their academic pursuits by reducing or eliminating emotional, psychological, and interpersonal problems that interfere with academic functioning. For more information, call 392-1575 or visit <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc>.

Students with disabilities

The University of Florida is committed to providing academic accommodations for students with disabilities. Students requesting accommodations should register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/) as soon as possible by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students should present me with their accommodation letter.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Availability of readings:

*- from Márquez book

All other readings are either available on the course site (<https://lss.at.ufl.edu/>) or via the below links.

8/25 (M) Course introduction

I. WHAT IS LATIN AMERICA AND HOW SHOULD WE STUDY IT?

8/27 (W) Introducing Latin America: diverse visions of a diverse region
Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost. *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. Pp. 1-16.
Ronaldo Munck. *Rethinking Latin America*. Pp. 17-37.

8/29 (F) Deconstructing "Latin" America
Walter Mignolo. *The Idea of Latin America*. Pp. 57-94.

9/1 (M) **NO CLASS – LABOR DAY**

9/3 (W) How to study Latin America: generalities, particularities, and the area studies debate
Robert H. Bates. "Area Studies and the Discipline: A Useful Controversy?" Pp. 166-169.
Chalmers Johnson. "Preconception vs. Observation, or the Contributions of Rational Choice Theory and Area Studies to Contemporary Political Science." Pp. 170-174.

Jorge Larraín. *Identity and Modernity in Latin America*. Pp. 191-207.

II. EARLY LATIN AMERICA: THE MAKING OF NATIONS, STATES, AND SOCIETIES

- 9/5 (F) Conquest, colonialism, and indigeneity
 Thomas Skidmore, et al. *Modern Latin America* (7th ed.). Pp. 14-41.
 Bartolomé de las Casas. *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*. Pp. 7-12.
- 9/8 (M) The slave trade and Afro-Latin America
 George Reid Andrews. *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*. Pp. 11-52.
Reaction paper #1 due
- 9/10 (W) The Haitian Revolution
 Philippe Gerard. *Haiti: The Tumultuous History - From Pearl of the Caribbean to Broken Nation*. Pp. 39-58.
 C.L.R. James. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. Pp. 241-263.
- 9/12 (F) Race and *mestizaje*
 José Vasconcelos. "The Cosmic Race." Pp. 15-19.
 Darcy Ribeiro. *The Brazilian People: The Formation and Meaning of Brazil*. Pp. 1-6; 316-322.
 Jeffrey Lesser. *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*. Pp. 1-16.
- 9/15 (M) State-building, consolidation, and internal colonialism
 Domingo F. Sarmiento. *Facundo (or, Civilization and Barbarism)*. Pp. 9-27.
 Mario Vargas Llosa. *The War of the End of the World*. Pp. 3-16.
- 9/17 (W) Nationalism and pan-Latin Americanism
 Simón Bolívar. "Letter from Jamaica."
<http://faculty.smu.edu/bakewell/BAKEWELL/texts/jamaica-letter.html>.
 José Martí. "Our America." Pp. 122-127.
 Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities*. Pp. 47-65.
- 9/19 (F) Economic (under)development, part I: the case of Argentina and a theory of underdevelopment
The Economist. "The Tragedy of Argentina: A Century of Decline."
<http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21596582-one-hundred-years-ago-argentina-was-future-what-went-wrong-century-decline>.
 Raúl Prebisch. *The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems*. Pp. 1-14.
- 9/22 (M) Economic (under)development, part II: dependency theory and its critics
 *Theotonio Dos Santos. "The Structure of Dependence." Pp. 231-239.
 *Plinio Apuleyo Mendoza, et al. "Guide to the Perfect Latin American Idiot." Pp. 240-261.

- 9/24 (W) Breaking the chains? Revolutionary thinkers
 *Ernesto "Che" Guevara. "Socialism and Man in Cuba." Pp. 265-276.
 Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker. *José Carlos Mariátegui: An Anthology*. Pp. 11-18; 69-74; 237-242.
 Eduardo Galeano. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Pp. 1-8.

III. LATIN AMERICA'S LONG COLD WAR: CLASS STRUGGLE, IMPERIALISM, AND THE DEATH OF DEMOCRACY

- 9/26 (F) U.S. interventionism: an overview
 Benjamin Keen and Keith Haynes. *A History of Latin America*. Pp. 559-592.
- 9/29 (M) Guatemala and the Central American wars
 Greg Grandin. *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*. Pp. 100-110.
 *Rigoberta Menchú. "I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala." Pp. 32-49.
 Edgar Chamorro. *Packaging the Contras: A Case of CIA Disinformation*. Pp. 72-79.
- Reaction paper #2 due**
- 10/1 (W) The Cuban Revolution
 Thomas Wright. *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*. Pp. 21-38.
 Piero Gleijeses. *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington and Africa, 1959-1976*. Pp. 12-29.
- 10/3 (F) Chile: from the peaceful *vía chilena al socialismo* to an authoritarian nightmare
 Peter Winn. *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism*. Pp. 197-205.
 Salvador Allende. "Final Speech." Pp. 1-4.
 Gabriel García Márquez. "Why Allende Had to Die."
<http://www.newstatesman.com/world-affairs/2013/04/why-allende-had-die>.
- 10/6 (M) The political economy of Latin America's authoritarian regimes: external influences, neoliberalism, and *la década perdida*
 Juan Gabriel Valdés. *Pinochet's Economists*. Pp. 1-15.
 David Harvey. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Pp. 1-4.
 Corey Robin. "Hayek von Pinochet."
<http://coreyrobin.com/2012/07/08/hayek-von-pinochet/>.
- 10/8 (W) Culture during the Cold War
 Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart. *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*. Pp. 9-10; 48-60; 95-99.
 Lisette Balabarca. "Social Denunciation of the Politics of Fear: Rock Music through the Eighties in Argentina, Chile and Peru." Pp. 77-88.
 Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara. "Lyrics of the New Song Movement." Pp. 371-375.
- 10/10 (F) The memory struggle

Steve J. Stern. *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989–2006*. Pp. 348-356.
 National Commission on Political Detention and Torture. "Women and Torture." Pp. 459-464.
 Patricia Verdugo. "Pinochet's Caravan of Death." Pp. 454-458.
 Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. "I Never Looked for Power." Pp. 555-559.
 Patricio Aylwin Azócar. "Justice 'To the Degree Possible': The Rettig Report." Pp. 527-533.

- 10/13 (M) Transitology, transitional justice, and authoritarian legacies
 Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Pp. 3-15.
 Jaime Guzmán. "Protected Democracy and the 1980 Constitution." Pp. 468-473.
 Elin Skaar. *Judicial Independence and Human Rights in Latin America*. Pp. 1-8.

IV. CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICA: A NEW ERA FOR A NEW REGION?

- 10/15 (W) Government, part I: the "left turn"/"pink tide"
 Jorge Castañeda. "Latin America's Left Turn." Pp. 1-8.
 Emir Sader. *The New Mole: Paths of the Latin American Left*. Pp. 1-28.

10/17 (F) **NO CLASS – HOMECOMING**

- 10/20 (M) Government, part II: the Venezuela debate
 Steve Ellner. "Hugo Chávez's First Decade in Office: Breakthroughs and Shortcomings." Pp. 77-94.
 Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold. *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chavez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*. Pp. 1-11.

Reaction paper #3 due

- 10/22 (W) Government, part III: democratic experiments
 Marc Becker. "Correa, Indigenous Movements, and the Writing of a New Constitution in Ecuador." Pp. 47-60.
 Brian Wampler. *Participatory Budgeting in Brazil*. Pp. 1-17.
- 10/24 (F) Government, part IV: the specter of populism?
 Francisco Panizza. "What Do We Mean When We Talk about Populism?" Pp. 85-115.
- 10/27 (M) Government, part V: regionalism and pan-Latin Americanism
 Olivier Dabène. *The Politics of Regional Integration in Latin America*. Pp. 3-24.
- 10/29 (W) People and society, part I: Latin America's "immigrant" communities
 Misha Klein. *Kosher Feijoada and Other Paradoxes of Jewish Life in São Paulo*. Pp. 82-98.
 Brenda Elsey. *Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Chile*. Pp. 149-164.
- 10/31 (F) People and society, part II: Afro-Latin Americans and "racial democracy"

Ernesto Sagás. "Black - but Not Haitian: Color, Class, and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic." Pp. 323-341.

Esteban Morales Domínguez. *Race in Cuba: Essays on the Revolution and Racial Inequality*. Pp. 163-187.

- 11/3 (M) People and society, part III: religion
*Ernesto Cardenal. "The Gospel in Solentiname." Pp. 137-147.
R. Andrew Chesnut. *Competitive Spirits: Latin America's New Religious Economy*. Pp. 39-63.
- 11/5 (W) People and society, part IV: gender and sexual politics
Javier Corrales and Mario Pecheny. *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America*. Pp. 10-27.
*Domitila Barrios de Chungara. "Let Me Speak! Testimony of Domitila: A Woman of the Bolivian Mines." Pp. 50-58.
- 11/7 (F) People and society, part V: sports
Eduardo Galeano. *Soccer in Sun and Shadow*. Pp. 20-34.
Joshua H. Nadel. *Fútbol! Why Soccer Matters in Latin America*. Pp. 1-16.
- 11/10 (M) People and society, part VI: crime, violence, and the War on Drugs
Maria Helena Moreira Alves and Philip Evanson. *Living in the Crossfire: Favela Residents, Drug Dealers, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro*. Pp. 33-50.
Anabel Hernández. *Narcoland: The Mexican Drug Lords and Their Godfathers*. Pp. 1-8.
- 11/12 (W) Social movements, part I: the world's most unequal region
Raúl Zibechi. *Territories in Resistance: A Cartography of Latin American Social Movements*. Pp. 13-20; 101-108; 121-126.
- 11/14 (F) Social movements, part II: indigenous mobilization
*Zapatista Army of National Liberation. "Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona." Pp. 282-300.
Benjamin Dangl. *The Price of Fire: Resource Wars and Social Movements in Bolivia*. Pp. 37-52.
- 11/17 (M) A new development model, part I: Costa Rica as the Silicon Valley of Latin America?
Luciano Ciravegna. *Promoting Silicon Valleys in Latin America: Lessons from Costa Rica*. Pp. 1-20.
- 11/19 (W) A new development model, part II: The Chilean Miracle/Jaguar/Tiger?
Robert A. Packenham and William Ratliff. "What Pinochet Did for Chile."
<http://www.hoover.org/research/what-pinochet-did-chile>.
Andrés Solimano. *Chile and the Neoliberal Trap: The Post-Pinochet Era*. Pp. 74-92; 149-155.
Tomás Moulián. "The Credit-Card Citizen." Pp. 547-552.
- 11/21 (F) Latin America, globalization, and neoliberalism
William I. Robinson. *Transnational Conflicts: Central America, Social Change, and Globalization*. Pp. 64-86.

V. CONCLUSION: FUTURE HORIZONS/POSSIBILITIES, AND US

- 11/24 (M) Rising Latin America?
Óscar Guardiola-Rivera. *What if Latin America Ruled the World?* Pp. 1-18.
Gian Luca Gardini. *Latin America in the 21st Century*. Pp. 1-5; 130-132.
Reaction paper #4 due (11/25)
- 11/26 (W) **NO CLASS - THANKSGIVING**
- 11/28 (F) **NO CLASS - THANKSGIVING**
- 12/1 (M) "To cease being what we are not": Latin America, comparative politics, and Eurocentrism
Aníbal Quijano. "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America." Pp. 533-574.
- 12/3 (W) Future vision (and liberation)
Frantz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Pp. 311-316.
Enrique Dussel. *Twenty Theses on Politics*. Pp. 94-107; 131-138.
- 12/5 (F) Intellectual trajectories in comparative politics
James Scott. "Peasants, Power, and the Art of Resistance." Pp. 351-391.
- 12/8 (M) Conclusions and remainders
- 12/10 (W) Class cancelled (work on final papers)
Final paper due