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School of Diplomacy and International Relations

Spring 2021

DIPL 4803 Politics and Society in Latin America and the Caribbean

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DIPL 4803: Politics and Society in Latin America and the Caribbean School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Spring 2021 Thursdays, 5 – 7:30 p.m., via Zoom: <u>https://us02web.zoom.us/j/83535577463</u>

Professor: Benjamin Goldfrank

Student Hours: Wednesdays, 2:00–5:30, or by appointment; sign up here: <u>tinyurl.com/y4gptfxn</u> Office: McQuaid Hall 112, but student hours here: <u>https://us02web.zoom.us/j/86868225269</u> Phone: 973-275-2095 Email: benjamin.goldfrank@shu.edu

Course Summary:

This seminar provides an overview of major approaches to the study of Latin American politics and society. It emphasizes both a historical perspective and an analysis of current trends and issues. Using various analytical lenses, the course focuses on the different kinds of political regimes and the patterns of political change that have characterized Latin American countries in the past century. We will take up several specific questions: Why have some countries in Latin America enjoyed more stable political systems than others? Why have some countries faced severe threats from guerrilla movements and even major social revolutions, while others succumbed to military coups? What explains the strengthening and then weakening of democracy in the region over time? In answering these questions, the course provides a survey of the region's political and social development with particular emphasis on four countries – Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela – and on the specific issues and countries that students choose.

Requirements and Grading:

- 1. Class Participation (20 percent of course grade): Students are expected to attend all class sessions, **read** all assigned materials prior to class, attend at least one student hours meeting, take part actively in class and group discussions, and contribute to group responses. The quality of the discussion will largely depend on student preparation.
- 2. Map Quiz (5 percent): how this will be done via Zoom TBD.
- 3. Mid-Term Exam Essays (15 percent each): Two take-home exam essays for which questions will be provided in advance; 3-4 pages each.
- 4. Presentation (15 percent): Present final paper argument in class during weeks 12-14.
- 5. Final Paper (30 percent): Research or policy paper on a topic of your choice (*please consult with me during student hours*), 7-9 pages.

Evaluation of assignments will be based on students' ability to convey their understanding and critical analysis of the course material.

Important Notes:

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here: http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/community-standards.cfm http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm.

Resources for academic integrity are on the course Blackboard page.

((From another era, but keeping for future use when things get better: Use of electronic devices for non-class purposes is not appropriate during class time. It distracts other students and the professor and will result in a lowered grade.))

Citation Style

Papers should utilize one of the Chicago Manual of Style citation formats: Author-Date (highly preferable) or Notes and Bibliography. The guidelines for these formats are on the course Blackboard page.

Late or Incomplete Assignments

Students who anticipate not being able to complete an assignment on time should inform me as soon as possible. Absent communication, failure to complete an assignment on its due date will result in a grade penalty by one-third letter grade per day (i.e., an A assignment turned in one day late is an A-, two days late a B+, etc.) except in cases of medical/family emergency or COVID-related issues. See COVID Ground Rules.

COVID Ground Rules

We're (still) in a global pandemic. These are scary times. If you tell me you are struggling or anxious, I will understand. No judgment. If you have to miss a class, need extra help, or more time on an assignment, please let me know and I will work with you. You do not owe me personal information about your health (mental or physical) or living circumstances. If I can't help you, I may know someone who can. There are lots of campus resources (both virtual and inperson) available; please use them. More than ever, communication is key this semester, so I have extended student hours. I will try my best and I hope you will be able to try your best as well. I will cut you some slack, provided you communicate with me. And I expect you to cut me some slack, too.

CAPS

As part of our commitment to the health and well-being of all students, Seton Hall University's Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers initial assessments, counseling, crisis intervention, consultation, and referral services to the SHU community. The CAPS office is located on the second floor of Mooney Hall, room 27. Appointments can be made in-person or by calling 973-761-9500 during regular business hours, Tuesday-Friday, 8:45 a.m. - 4:45 p.m. In case of a psychological emergency, call CAPS (973-761-9500) at any time to speak to a crisis counselor. For more information, please visit:

https://www.shu.edu/counseling-psychologicalservices/index.cfm

Disability Services Statement

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

Required Readings:

All course readings are on Blackboard; required denoted with •; recommended denoted with *

Major Approaches to the Study of Latin American Politics

Week 1 – Thu., Jan. 28: Introduction (In 2021, first class tried to do too much)

***No readings this week – Start Week 2's readings. If you are completely new to Latin American politics or want a refresher, the following article is recommended: Sergio Amaral, "U.S.-Latin America Relations Over the Last Decade," in Inter-American Dialogue, A Decade of Change Political, Economic, and Social Developments in Western Hemisphere Affairs (2011, 89-111).

Week 2 – Thu., Feb. 4: Modernization, Culture, & Dependency

- Thomas Skidmore and Peter Smith, "The Transformation of Modern Latin America, 1880s-2000s," *Modern Latin America* (2005: 42-67).
- Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, "How Development Leads to Democracy: What We Know About Modernization," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2009), pp. 33-48.
- Henry Veltmeyer and Raúl Delgado Wise, "Rethinking Development from a Latin American Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 39:3 (2018: 335-352).
- * Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, "Beyond Modernization Theory," Annals of Comparative Democratization (Sept 2018: 25-31).
- * Howard Wiarda, "Whatever Happened to Corporatism and Authoritarianism in Latin America?" in Wiarda, ed., *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America* – *Revisted* (2004: 1-26).
- * Susanne Jonas, "Dependency and Imperialism: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment," in Katznelson, et al., eds., *The Politics & Society Reader* (1974: 171-201).

Week 3 - Thu., Feb. 11: Structure, Agency, Institutions, & Critical Junctures Map Quiz

- * David Collier, "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model," in Collier, ed. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (1979: 19-32)
- Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñan, "Democratic Breakdown and Survival," *Journal* of *Democracy* (April 2013: 123-137).
- Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* (1993: 198-228).
- Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, "Overview," *Shaping the Political Arena* (2002: 3-20).
- * Guillermo O'Donnell, "Toward an Alternative Conceptualization of South American Politics," in *Promise of Development* (1973/1986: 239-275).

Stability and Instability of Political Regimes

Week 4 – Thu., Feb. 18: Brazil and Chile

- Michael Conniff, "Introduction" and "Brazil's Populist Republic and Beyond" in Coniff, ed., *Populism in Latin America* (1999: 4-14; 43-62).
- Kenneth Erickson and Patrick Peppe, "Dependent Capitalist Development, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Repression of the Working Class in Chile and Brazil," *Latin American Perspectives* (Winter 1976: 19-41).
- Arturo Valenzuela, "Party Politics and the Crisis of Presidentialism in Chile: A Proposal for a Parliamentary Form of Government," in Juan Linz & Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy* (1994: 165-184; 211-217).
- Jack Devine, "What Really Happened in Chile," Foreign Affairs (July/Aug 2014: 26-35).
- Peter Kornbluh, "Showdown in Santiago," Foreign Affairs (Sep/Oct 2014: 168-174).
- * Henry Kissinger, "National Security Decision Memorandum 93 (1970)," in Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (2004:129-131).
- * Peter Kornbluh, "Kissinger Blocked Demarche on International Assassinations to Condor States," National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 312 (April 10, 2010).
- * Scott Mainwaring, "A Legacy of Party Underdevelopment, 1822-1979," *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil* (1999: 63-87).
- * Alfred Stepan, "Political Leadership and Regime Breakdown: Brazil," in *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America* (1978: 110-137).
- **Documentary recommendation: "Battle of Chile, Part 1: The Insurrection of the Bourgeoisie" (1975; about the Allende government).

Week 5 - Thu., Feb. 25: Mexico and Venezuela Mid-Term Essay 1 Questions Passed Out

- David Shirk, "The Democratization of Mexican Politics" in Shirk, *Mexico's New Politics: The PAN and Democratic Change* (2005: 15-48).
- * Judith Teichman, "Violent Conflict and Uneven Development: The Case of Mexico," in Ascher and Mirovitskaya, eds., *Economic Development Strategies and the Evolution of Violence in Latin America* (2012: 41-69).
- Steve Ellner, "The Heyday of Radical Populism in Venezuela and Its Aftermath," in Coniff, ed., *Populism in Latin America* (1999: 117-37).
- Michael Coppedge, "Venezuela: Democratic Despite Presidentialism" in Linz and Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy* (1994: 396-421).
- * Judith Adler Hellman, "A Ruling Party is Formed," Mexico in Crisis (1983: 33-57).
- * Daniel Levy, Kathleen Bruhn, and Emilio Zebadúa, "The State and the Market," *Mexico: The Struggle for Democratic Development* (149-165).

Week 6 - Thu., Mar. 4: Guerilla Movements & Revolutions Mid-Term Essay 1 Due

- James Mahoney, "Path-Dependent Explanations of Regime Change: Central America in Comparative Perspective," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (Spring 2001: 111-141).
- Timothy Wickham-Crowley, "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements," in Susan Eckstein, ed., *Power and Popular Protest* (2001: 132-81).
- * Jeff Goodwin, "Between Success and Failure: Persistent Insurgencies," in *No Other Way Out* (2001: 217-49).
- * Che Guevara, "The Essence of Guerrilla Struggle," Che Guevara Reader (1960/2003: 64-69).
- * Peter Winn, "Making Revolution," Americas (1999: 499-549).

From here forward, syllabus is provisional – slight changes to readings weeks 7-11 are possible and readings for weeks 12-14 will be student-driven

Transitions to Democracy and New Issues

Week 7 - Thu., March 11: Democratization Challenges

- Karen Remmer, "The Process of Democratization in Latin America," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (Winter 1992/1993: 3-24).
- Kenneth Roberts, "The Politics of Inequality and Redistribution in Latin America's Post-Adjustment Era," UNU-WIDER Working Paper No. 2012/08 (Jan 2012: 23 pgs.).
- Steven Levitsky, "Democratic Survival and Weakness," *Journal of Democracy* (Oct 2018: 102-113).
- * Carlos de la Torre, "Populism Revived: Donald Trump and the Latin American Leftist Populists," *The Americas* (Oct 2018: 733-753).
- * Benjamin Goldfrank, "The Latin American Left's Missed Opportunity to Deepen Democracy," *Journal of International Affairs* (2017: 147-160).
- * Thomas D'Agostino, "Caribbean Politics," in Hillman & D'Agostino, eds., *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean* (2009: 87-130).
- **Movie recommendations about Chile: "Machuca" (2004; about life during the dictatorship) and "No" (2012: about the plebiscite in 1988)

Contemporary National Politics

Week 8 - Thu., March 18: Mexico

- Alberto Olvera, "The Elusive Democracy: Political Parties, Democratic Institutions, and Civil Society in Mexico," *Latin American Research Review*, Special Issue (2010: 79-107).
- Kenneth Greene and Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer, "Mexico's Party System Under Stress," *Journal of Democracy* (Oct 2018: 31-42).
- Denise Dresser, "Can Mexico Be Saved? The Peril and Promise of López Obrador," *Foreign Affairs* (Sep-Oct 2018: 157-168).
- Beatriz Magaloni and Zaira Razu, "Mexico in the Grip of Violence," *Current History* (Feb 2016: 57-62).
- * Gustavo Flores-Macías, "The Consequences of Militarizing Anti-Drug Efforts for State Capacity in Latin America: Evidence from Mexico," *Comparative Politics* (Oct 2018: 1-20).
- * Gerardo Esquivel Hernandez, "Extreme Inequality in Mexico: Concentration of Economic and Political Power," OXFAM, Mexico City (June 2015).
- * Yanina Welp, "The Mexican Movement #yosoy132," in EU-LAC Foundation, ed., Social Protest and Democratic Responsiveness: Assessing Realities in Latin America and the Caribbean and the European Union (2015: 163-179).

Week 9 - Thu., March 25: Brazil Mid-Term Essay 2 Questions Passed Out

- Peter Kingstone and Timothy Power, "A Fourth Decade of Brazilian Democracy: Achievements, Challenges, and Polarization," in Kingstone & Power, eds., *Democratic Brazil Divided*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh (2017, pp. 3-27).
- Benjamin Goldfrank and Brian Wampler, "Good Government and Politics as Usual: The Schizophrenic Path of the Workers' Party," in Kingstone & Power, eds., *Democratic Brazil Divided*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh (2017, pp. 53-73).
- Jan Hoffman French, "Rethinking Police Violence in Brazil: Unmasking the Public Secret of Race," *Latin American Politics & Society* (Winter 2013: 161-181).
- Omar G. Encarnación, "The Patriarchy's Revenge: How Retro-Macho Politics Doomed Dilma Rousseff," *World Policy Journal*, (Spring 2017: 82-91).
- * Benjamin Cowan, "Holy Ghosts of Brazil's Past," *NACLA Report on the Americas* (Winter 2016: 346-352).
- * Juliana Neuenschwander and Marcus Giraldes, "Marielle Franco: 1979-2018," and Marielle Franco, "After the Takeover," *New Left Review* (Mar-Apr 2018: 131-140).
- * Frederic Loualt, "Portrait of Jair Bolsonaro," Institute Montaigne (Dec 21, 2018: online).

No Class Thursday, April 1; University Closed

Week 10 - Thu., April 8: Venezuela Mid-Term Essay 2 Due

- Steve Ellner, "Introduction: The Search for Explanations," in Ellner and Hellinger, eds., *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era* (2003: 7-26).
- Gabriel Hetland, "The Promise and Perils of Radical Left Populism: The Case of Venezuela," *Journal of World-Systems Research* (Summer/Fall 2018: 277-292).
- Margarita López Maya, "Populism, 21st-Century Socialism and Corruption in Venezuela," *Thesis Eleven* (Dec 2018: 67-83).
- Julia Buxton, "Defusing Venezuela," *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* (Spring 2018: 7-24).
- * Edgardo Lander, "The Implosion of Venezuela's Rentier State," New Politics Papers: 1, Transnational Institute (September 2016).
- * Moisés Naím and Francisco Toro, "Venezuela's Suicide: Lessons from a Failed State," *Foreign Affairs* (Oct 15, 2018: online).

Week 11 – Thu., April 15: Chile

- Rossana Castiglioni and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, "Challenges to Political Representation in Contemporary Chile," *Journal of Politics in Latin America* (October 2016: 3–24).
- Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, "The Political Economy of Inequality at the Top in Contemporary Chile," in Bértola & Williamson, eds., *Has Latin American Inequality Changed Direction*? (2017: 339-363).
- Kenneth Roberts, "(Re)Politicizing Inequalities: Movements, Parties, and Social Citizenship in Chile," *Journal of Politics in Latin America* (October 2016: 125-154).
- * Florencia Antía, "The Political Dynamic of Redistribution in Unequal Democracies: The Center-Left Governments of Chile and Uruguay in Comparative Perspective," *Latin American Perspectives* (Jan 2019: 152-166).
- * Peter Siavelis, "Crisis of Representation in Chile? The Institutional Connection," *Journal of Politics in Latin America* (October 2016: 61–93).

Weeks 12-14 topics and readings based on consultation with students: Week 12 – Thu., April 22: Student Presentations and Discussion Week 13 – Thu., April 29: Student Presentations and Discussion Week 14 – Thu., May 6: Student Presentations and Discussion

Thursday, May 13: Final Paper Due by 5 p.m.

An electronic copy should be uploaded to Blackboard; if you can, a hard copy placed in or sent to my mailbox would be incredibly kind.

More Important Notes:

Further Resources

<u>Journals</u>: Latin American Research Review, Latin American Politics and Society, Journal of Latin American Studies, Journal of Latin American Politics, Latin American Perspectives, NACLA: Report on the Americas, Bulletin of Latin American Research, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, World Politics, Politics and Society, Journal of Democracy Websites:

http://lanic.utexas.edu/ http://www.latinobarometro.org/ http://www.georgetown.edu/pdba/ http://library.shu.edu/latam http://latinamericadailybriefing.blogspot.com https://caribbeannewsupdates.blogspot.com/

(General site with hundreds of links)(Survey research)(Elections, constitutions, bibliographies)(Seton Hall Library Resource Guide)(Daily News Round-Up in Latin America)(Weekly Caribbean News Round-Up)

Primary Student Learning Outcomes

By the end of the semester, students should have acquired knowledge and understanding of: key concepts, models, theories, and debates involved in the study of contemporary international relations and diplomacy; the interaction between politics and economics in the international system; a particular region of the world (Latin America and the Caribbean); and prevailing global issues. Students should have developed the skills to: analyze complex situations and synthesize information; and communicate effectively in oral and written forms. Students should be able to deploy a global perspective to: recognize and understand differences among a diversity of cultures and viewpoints; and interact effectively with people of other cultures, backgrounds, and viewpoints.

Policy on Incompletes

Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor before the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an "FI" (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact academic standing.