



Political Management in Latin America

SPRING 2009

PMG 265, 13

Tuesdays 7:10PM

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Fridays 8:00am to 10:00am

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Introduction: This course will approach Latin American politics by analyzing the performance of the different political systems in the region and sustaining the thesis that throughout history, the majority of the region's governments have failed to design policies that have made an impact on the majority of their population. This leads to a situation of systemic exclusion, which progressively generates social vacuums among ample sectors of the society. These vacuums develop into fertile ground for the emergence of anti-system political movements, defying the very existence of democracy.

This course will study the reasons why some Latin American political systems have failed to fulfill their promises. It will also explore how the failure to meet these promises has led to the appearance of different movements, which, either by electoral or violent means seek to create new forms of political intervention in the region. Special emphasis will be placed on recent political events that reveal wide differences among Latin American states.

Objective: This course offers a local perspective on Latin American politics taking into account historical and contemporary issues. In addition to lectures, students will have the opportunity to engage regional leaders involved in the political processes as these will frequently be invited as guest lecturers.

Readings: Required readings will be both in English and Spanish and they will include newspaper articles and articles from scholarly journals, all of which will be accessible through Black Board. Students are also expected to be up-to-date in the regional matters as their class participation will be partly evaluated based on the relevance of their comments with regards to the events being covered by the media (explained further in Class Participation).

Grading and Methodology:

Attendance: (10%): Attendance will be taken at the beginning of every class. More than two (2) unexcused absences will lower the student's final grade by one full letter grade (from an A to a B). Absences for medical reasons are considered excused upon the submission of a written note by a physician. Absences for religious reasons will only be excused if the student by the third (3rd) week of class has gotten a written clearance from me. Please if that is the case approach to me *before* the end of the third week.

Class Participation (15%): The professor will take note of students who actively participate in class with *valuable* comments, no matter which language (Spanish or English) the student wishes to use. Such comments will often contain elements such as in depth analysis of a given issue, mention of a current event and the source of such information, and relevant comparison between a regional occurrence with a global event or trend. Participation is crucial in this class, for it fosters debate and stimulates the different perspectives that we will all bring to the course.

Essay (25%): Essay will be a short (5-8 pages) assignment that will analyze a topic of your choice that is connected to one of the themes of the course. However, please send me your topic for approval. The essay will have a flexible due date: It needs to be handed in before April 28th, 2009. Please submit both an electronic copy and hard copy of your paper the *same* day. Sources should be properly documented.

Midterm (25%): March 10th, 2009.

Final (25%): TBD

Grading Scale: A (93-100), A- (90-92), B+ (87-89), B (83-86), B- (80-82), C+ (77-79), C (73-76), C- (70-72), D (60- 69), F (0-59).

****This class will strictly enforce the GW Code of Conduct****

Sequence of Topics:

I. Political systems: performance and governability

- a. Question: Can an underperforming political system with weak governability endure through time?

Linz, JJ. Crisis, breakdown & reequilibration. Johns Hopkins University Press
Baltimore. 1978

Easton, D. A systems analysis of political life. Wiley New York. 1965

Dahrendorf, R. Effectiveness and legitimacy: on the governability of democracies. The Political Quarterly, 1980

Optional: Kersbergen K.V.; Waarden F.V. 'Governance' as a bridge between disciplines: Cross-disciplinary inspiration regarding shifts in governance and

problems of governability, accountability and legitimacy. European Journal of Political Research, Volume 43, Number 2, March 2004, pp. 143-171(29)

II. Comparative Politics

- a. Question: What factors cause the performance of Latin American political systems to differ? Do these differences influence the countries' governability?

Coppedge, M. | Party Systems, Governability and de Quality of Democracy in Latin America. Mimeo, 2001.

Hofmeister, W. (Coord.). Reformas Políticas en América Latina. Fundación Konrad Adenauer. Brasil. 2004

Lijphart, A. Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries Yale University Press. 1999

III. From the exploitation of subversion to changes in the system through democratic means

- a. Question: Have insurgencies found a way to transform the political system through democratic means after having struggled through violent ones? Do violent means of attaining power lead to the establishment of authoritarian and personalistic systems?

- i. The case of Venezuela
- ii. The case of Bolivia
- iii. Exporting the Bolivarian model

Garrido, A. La historia secreta de la revolución bolivariana, segunda edición - Mérida, Venezuela, Editorial, 2000

Garrido, A. Guerrilla y conspiración militar en Venezuela. José Agustín Catalá, Editor. Venezuela, 1999

Carrasquero, J. Gobernabilidad democrática y reformas políticas en Venezuela. En: Hofmeister, W. (Coord.). Reformas Políticas en América Latina. Fundación Konrad Adenauer. Brasil. 2004

Asamblea Constituyente. <http://www.apostamosxbolivia.org/axb/index.asp>

IV. The evolution of democracy due to the performance of the political system:

- a. Question: What influence does the performance of the political system have on citizens' democratic attitudes?

- i. The case of Chile
- ii. Perú under Fujimori
- iii. Colombia and Uribe
- iv. The Transition in Cuba
 - a) Is a transition to democracy occurring in Cuba?

1) Raúl Castro's public announcements

2) Internal reality: disagreement within the regime.

- 3) How do Cubans who live abroad perceive the island.
- b) People's new needs for new circumstances.
- c) Venezuela's "aid"
- d) Civil Society's role

Transition from Authoritarianism to Democracy.

- b. Question: Can it be said that authoritarian regimes establish order with the objective of instilling a democracy?
 - i. The case of Chile
 - ii. The case of Peru
 - iii. Political evolution in Cuba: Is it denial?

Lagos, Marta "Latin America's Smiling Mask" *Journal of Democracy* - Volume 8, Number 3, July 1997, pp. 125-138

Barr, Robert. The persistence of Neopopulism in Peru? From Fujimori to Toledo. *Third World Quarterly*. Volume 24, Number 6 / December 2003. pp. 1161-1178.

Dugas, Jhon. The emergence of Neopopulism in Colombia? The case of Alvaro Uribe. *Third World Quarterly*. Volume 24, Number 6 / December 2003. pp. 1117 – 1136

Fuentes, Carlos A. After Pinochet: Civilian Policies toward the Military in the 1990s Chilean Democracy. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Autumn, 2000), pp. vi+111-142

Ducatenzeiler y Oxhorn. Democracia, Autoritarismo y el Problema de la Gobernabilidad en América Latina. *Desarrollo Económico*, Vol. 34 #133. 1994.

Taylor, Lewis. From Fujimori to Toledo: The 2001 Elections and the Vicissitudes of Democratic Government in Peru. *Government and Opposition* Volume 40 Page 565, Autumn 2005.

V. The Argentinean pendulum: crisis-bonanza-crisis

- a. Question: How are the changes in the performance of the Argentinean political system explained throughout the last twenty years?

Escudé, Carlos. Argentina, a 'Parasite State' on the Verge of Disintegration. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* Volume 15, Number 3 / October 01, 2002

Feldstein, Martin. Argentina's Fall: Lessons from the Latest Financial Crisis. *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2002

VI. Brazil and the battle against poverty

- a. Question: How can we explain the differences among the Brazilian social classes?

Hunter, Wendy "Brazilis New Direction" Journal of Democracy - Volume 14, Number 2, April 2003, pp. 151-16

VII. Unlawful opposition in Latin America

- a. Question: Are Latin American democracies at the mercy of unlawful opposition groups?
 - i. Guerrilla movements
 - 1. FARC in Colombia
 - 2. EZLN in Mexico
 - ii. Anti-system movements
 - 1. Piqueteros in Argentina
 - 2. Cocaleros in Bolivia
 - 3. The Sin Tierra in Brasil

Murphy, John. The IRA and the FARC in Colombia. International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Volume 18, Number 1, Number 1/Spring 2005, pp. 76-88(13)

Harvey Neil 001961,. Chiapas Rebellion the Struggle For Land And Democracy. Duke University Press,. 1998

Massetti, Astor. Piquetero, Protesta Social e Identidad Colectiva. Primera Edición. Buenos Aires. 2004

Barr, Robert R. "Bolivia: Another Uncompleted Revolution" Latin American Politics & Society - Volume 47, Number 3, Fall 2005, pp. 69-90. University of Miami

Welch, Cliff "Movement Histories: A Preliminary Historiography of the Brazil's Landless Laborers' Movement (MST)" Latin American Research Review - Volume 41, Number 1, 2006, pp. 198-210 University of Texas Pres

VIII. Governability in perspective

- a. Question: What are the challenges for Latin American governability? Construct your argument with examples.

IX. Are there reasons for the USA to be concerned about what occurs in Latin America?

- a. Question: Does Latin America represent a threat or an opportunity to the USA?
 - i. Poverty as a weight on economic growth
 - ii. Poverty fostering anti-American sentiment
 - iii. Poverty as a defiant of the development of democratic political systems and the pathway to authoritarian ones

Kurtz-Phelan, Daniel. "Coca Is Everything Here": Hard Truths about Bolivia's Drug War. World Policy Journal. Volume XXII, No 3, Fall 2005

Sweig, Julia E. What Kind of War for Colombia? *Foreign Affairs*,
September/October 2002.

Note: This syllabus is subject to change.