

CPO 4303 The Politics of South America
Spring 2017
5:00 -6:15 pm
254 College of Business Complex

Professor Eduardo A. Gamarra
Email: gamarrae@fiu.edu
Office: SIPA 409

Department of Politics and International Affairs
Twitter: @gamarrae
Hours: TTH 3:30-5 pm or by appointment

The Course

This is a course on the politics of contemporary South America. The course begins with a broad introductory framework to place the region in context and to provide students with a road map to better understand the region. This road map involves a brief historical overview to situate the contextual dimensions of the course. Students are exposed to a discussion of contemporary issues affecting the course of governance in this sub region. These issues include the state and quality of democracy following three decades of democratization; the policy choices that political actors have made; and, a discussion of the main challenges that democratic governments face including citizen security, poverty reduction, and consolidating democracy.

Goals:

1. The principal goal of this course is for advanced undergraduate students to hone their analytical skills to better understand the challenges of governance faced by contemporary South American democracies.
2. A second objective is to allow students to develop a good critical grasp of the main body of literature about South America generally and about each country specifically.
3. A third goal is to enable students to analyze the specific policy challenges in each country.

Requirements:

Students are expected to attend each and every class session and are expected to complete the reading assignments beforehand. Students are also expected to participate regularly in class lectures, discussions and engage with the professor in online sessions. Class attendance and participation will constitute fully 10 percent of the final grade.

CPO 4303 The Politics of South America (Spring 2007)

Two exams will be given during the course of the semester. A mid-term examination will be given at the end of the sixth week of class and will count for 30% of the final grade. A final examination will be given on the scheduled final exam date and will also count for 30% of the final grade.

An analytical 10-12-page research paper will be due on the final day of class. This paper will also count for 30% of the grade. The professor will provide a detailed guideline for the completion of this assignment. The paper does involve outside research and must be submitted through Turnitin.com.

Resources:

Students must purchase the following books:

Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson, eds., *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

Jorge I. Dominguez and Michael Shifter, *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013)

All additional recommended course readings are available on the following Website: CPO4303.info

You will be provided with the specific Username and Password on the first day of class.

(January 9, 11)

Introduction to the Course

Required Readings:

Jorge Dominguez, "Early 21st Century Democracy Governance in Latin America in Dominguez and Shifter

Michael Shifter, "New Issues in Democratic Governance" in Dominguez and Shifter.

Suggested Online Readings:

Steven Levitsky and María Victoria Murillo, "Building Institutions on Weak Foundations." *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 24, Number 2, April 2013, pp. 93-107.

Scott Mainwaring, Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, "Cross Currents in Latin America,"
Journal of Democracy, Volume 26, Number 1, January 2015, pp. 114-127

(January 16)

Quality of Democracy in South America

Required Readings

Lucia Dammert, "Security Challenges for Latin American Democratic Governance" in Shift and Dominguez

Enrique Peruzzotti, "Populism in Democratic Times: Populism, Representative Democracy and the Debate on Democratic Deepening," in De la Torre and Arson.

Javier Corrales, "Constitutional Rewrites in Latin America: 1987-2009," in Dominguez and Shifter

Kenneth M. Roberts, "Parties and Populism in Latin America, in de la Torre and Arson.

Suggested Online Reading:

Scott Mainwaring, Aníbal Pérez-Liñán "Democratic Breakdown and Survival,"

(January 23 and 25)

South American Political Economy

Required Readings:

Sebastian Maszluca, "Natural Resources Boom and Institutional Curses in the New Political Economy of South America, " in Dominguez and Shifter.

Kurt Weyland, "Populism and Social Policy in Latin America," in De la Torre and Arson.

De la Torre and Arson, Introduction and Concluding Chapters.

Suggested Online Readings:

Kurt Weyland, "Neoliberalism and Democracy."
Kurt Weyland, "The Threat from the Populist Left."

(January 33 and February 1)

Ecuador

Required Readings

Cesar Montufar, Rafael Correa and his Plebiscitary Citizen's Revolution," in De la Torre and Arnsion

Carlos de la Torre, "Technocratic Populism in Ecuador," Journal of Democracy, Volume 24, Number 3, July 2013, pp. 33-46

Suggested Online Readings

Carlos de la Torre, "Technocratic Populism in Ecuador," Journal of Democracy, Volume 24, Number 3, July 2013, pp. 33-46

Carlos de la Torre, Populism and Democracy: Political Discourses and Cultures in Contemporary Ecuador Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 24, No. 3, Ecuador, Part 1: Politics and Rural Issues(May, 1997), pp. 12-24.

Amy Kennemore and Gregory Weeks, Twenty-First Century Socialism? The Elusive Search for a Post-Neoliberal Development Model." Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 267–281, 2011

Catherine M. Conaghan, "Prosecuting Presidents: The Politics within Ecuador's Corruption Cases," Journal of Latin American Studies / Volume 44 / Issue 04 / November 2012, pp 649 - 678

(February 6 and 8)

Colombia

Required Readings

Eduardo Posada-Carbo, "Democratic Governance Amidst and Armed Conflict," in Dominguez and Shifter

Ana Maria Bejarano, "Politicizing Insecurity: Uribe's Instrumental Use of Populism," in de la Torre and Arson

Suggested Online Readings:

John C. Dugas, "The Emergence of Neopopulism in Colombia? The Case of Álvaro Uribe, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (Dec., 2003), pp. 1117-1136

Robert H. Dix, "The Varieties of Populism: The Case of Colombia" *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Sep., 1978), pp. 334-351

Eduardo Posada-Carbó, *Colombia After Uribe*, *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 22, Number 1, January 2011, pp. 137-151

Steffen W. Schmidt, *La Violencia Revisited: The Clientelist Bases of Political Violence in Colombia*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (May, 1974), pp. 97-111

Francisco E. Thoumi, *Illegal Drugs in Colombia: From Illegal Economic Boom to Social Crisis*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 582, *Cross-National Drug Policy* (Jul., 2002), pp. 102-116

Jemima García Godos- and Knut Andreas O. Lid. "Transitional Justice and Victims' Rights before the End of a Conflict: The Unusual Case of Colombia," *Journal of Latin American Studies* / Volume 42 / Issue 03 / August 2010, pp 487 - 516

(February 13 and 15)

Venezuela

Required Readings

Angel Alvarez, *Political Governance and Regime Change*," in Dominguez and Shifter.

Lopez Maya and Panzarelli, "Populism, Rentierism and Socialism in the Twenty First Century," in de la Torre and Arson.

Suggested Online Readings:

Javier Corrales, "Autocratic Legalism in Venezuela," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 26, Number 2, April 2015, pp. 37-51

Manuel Hidalgo, Hugo Chavez's Petro Socialism, *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 20, Number 2, April 2009, pp. 78-92

Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, "Venezuela: Crowding Out the Opposition."

Dick Parker, Chávez and the Search for an Alternative to Neoliberalism Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 32, No. 2, Venezuelan Exceptionalism Revisited: The Unraveling of Venezuela's Model Democracy (Mar., 2005), pp. 39-50.

Mariana Rodríguez, "Democracy in Hard Times: Venezuela."

Manuel Hidalgo, Hugo Chávez's "Petro-socialism," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 20, Number 2, April 2009, pp. 78-92

Harold Trinkunas, "The Transformation of Venezuela," *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 45, Number 3, 2010, pp. 239-247

Antonio Lecuna, "From Chavismo to a Democratic Left," *Dissent*, Number 60, Number 3, Summer 2013, pp. 27-29

Javier Corrales, "A Setback for Chavez," *Journal of Democracy*, " Volume 22, Number 1, January 2011, pp. 122-136

Henry Dietz, "Party Collapse in Venezuela."

Other Useful Links

The Hugo Chavez Show

(February 20 and 22)

Peru

Required Readings

Steven Levitsky, "The Challenges of a Democracy without Parties," in Dominguez and Shifter.

Cynthia McClintock, "Populism in Peru: From APRA to Ollanta Humala," in de la Torre and Arnson.

Suggested Online Readings:

Robert R. Barr, "The Persistence of Neopopulism in Peru? From Fujimori to Toledo," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (Dec., 2003), pp. 1161-1178

Steven Levitsky and Maxwell A. Cameron, "Democracy without Parties? Political Parties and Regime Change in Fujimori's Peru." *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Autumn, 2003), pp. 1-33.

Steven Levitsky, "A Surprising Left Turn," *Journal of Democracy* Volume 22, Number 4, October 2011, pp. 84-94

Kenneth M. Roberts, "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case," *World Politics*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Oct., 1995), pp. 82-116.

Raul L. Madrid (2011). *Ethnic Proximity and Ethnic Voting in Peru*. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 43, pp 267-297

(February 27, March 1)

Bolivia

Required Readings

George Gray Molina, "Keeping the Coalition Together." in Dominguez and Shifter.

John Crabtree, "From the MNR to the MAS: Populism, Parties, the State, and Social Movements in Bolivia Since 1952," in de la Torre and Arnson.

Suggested Online Readings:

James Petras, Bolivia Under Evo Morales.
<http://dissidentvoice.org/2013/12/bolivia-under-evo-morales/>

James Dunkerley, "Evo Morales, the Two Bolivias and the Third Bolivian Revolution." in *Journal of Latin American Studies* 39, pp. 139-166.

Eduardo A. Gamarra, "Bolivia on the Brink.

Nancy Postero, "The Struggle to Create a Radical Democracy in Bolivia," *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 45, Special Issue, pp. 59-78

Robert Barr, "Bolivia: Another Uncompleted Revolution."

Fabrice Lehoucq, "Bolivia's Constitutional Breakdown." *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 19, Number 4, October 2008, pp. 110-124

Jeffrey Sachs, "The Bolivian Hyperinflation and Stabilization."

Other Useful Online Links.

No Fourth Term Plans: Evo Morales

Bolivia's Indigenous Bourgeoisie

Bolivia's Subway in the Sky

(MARCH 13 AND 15 SPRING BREAK)

(March 20 and 22)

Chile

Required Readings:

Camila Jara, "Democratic Legitimacy Under Strain."

Peter M. Siavelis, "Beyond Transitional Models of Politics." in Dominguez and Shifter

Ryan E. Carlin, "Distrusting Democrats and Political Participation in New Democracies: Lessons from Chile." *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (SEPTEMBER 2011), pp. 668-687

Suggested Online Readings:

Eduardo Silva, Capitalist Coalitions, the State, and Neoliberal Economic Restructuring: Chile, 1973-88, *World Politics*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Jul., 1993), pp. 526-559

Angell, "Democratic Governability in Chile."

Kurt Weyland, "Economic Policy in Chile's New Democracy." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Autumn, 1999), pp. v+67-96

Antonia Santos, *The Chilean Dilemma: Between Economic Development and the Deepening of Democracy*

(March 27 and 29)

Argentina

Required Readings:

Calvo and Murillo, "Democratic Consolidation, Partisan Dealignment and Institutional Weakness." in Dominguez and Shifter.

Hector E. Schamis, "From the Perons to the Kirchners: Populism in Argentine Politics in de la Torre and Anson.

Suggested Online Readings:

Arias, "Charismatic Leadership and the Transition to Democracy: The Rise of Carlos Saúl Menem in Argentine Politics."

Steven Levitsky and María Victoria Murillo, *Argentina: From Kirchner to Kirchner*, *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 19, Number 2, April 2008, pp. 16-30

Javier Corrales, *The Politics of Argentina's Meltdown*

Celia Szusterman, Carlos Saul Menem: Variations on the Theme of Populism Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 19, No. 2, Special Issue: Old and New Populism in Latin America (Apr., 2000), pp. 193-206

(April 3 and 5)

Brazil

Required Readings:

David Samuels., "Democracy in the PT Era." in Dominguez and Shifter.

Leslie Berthell, "Populism, Neopopulism and the Left in Brazil: From Getulio Vargas to Lula." in de la Torre and Arnson. Suggested Readings:

Suggested Online Readings:

Timothy Power, "Democracy as a Late Bloomer: Re evaluating the Regime in the Cardoso-Lula Era," Latin American Research Review, Volume 45, Special Issue, pp. 218-247

John French and Alexandre Fortes, Nurturing Hope, Deepening Democracy, and Combating Inequalities in Brazil: Lula, the Workers' Party, and Dilma Rousseff's 2010 Election as President

Amaury de Souza, The Politics of Personality in Brazil, Journal of Democracy Volume 22, Number 2 April 2011

Samuels, "Brazilian Democracy under Lula and the PT."

Wendy Hunter and Timothy J. Power, Rewarding Lula: Executive Power, Social Policy, and the Brazilian Elections of 2006, Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Spring, 2007), pp. 1-30.

Lourdes Sola, Politics, Markets, and Society in Lula's Brazil, Journal of Democracy, Volume 19, Number 2, April 2008, pp. 31-45

Cardim de Carvalho, "Lula's Government in Brazil: A New Left or the Old Populism?"

Scott Mainwaring, The Transition to Democracy in Brazil, Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), pp.149-179

(April 10 and 12)

Uruguay

Required Readings:

Juan Pablo Luna, Frente Amplio and the Crafting of a Social Democratic Alternative in Uruguay, *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Winter, 2007), pp. 1-30.

Suggested Online Readings:

Cultura Política de la Democracia en Uruguay, 2012 Chapter 5

Jeffrey Cason, Electoral Reform, Institutional Change, and Party Adaptation in Uruguay, *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Autumn, 2002), pp. 89-109.

Juan Pablo Luna, Frente Amplio and the Crafting of a Social Democratic Alternative in Uruguay, *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Winter, 2007), pp. 1-30.

Howard Handelman, Labor-Industrial Conflict and the Collapse of Uruguayan Democracy, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Nov., 1981), pp.371-394.

(April 17 and 19)

Paraguay

Required Online Readings:

Democratic Values: 1998

Cultura política y gobernabilidad en Paraguay

Diego Abente, Prospects for Democratization in Paraguay

Leiv Marsteintredet, Mariana Llanos, Detlef Nolte "Paraguay and the Politics of Impeachment" *Journal of Democracy* Volume 24, Number 4, October 2013, pp.110123

Cultura Política de la Democracia en Paraguay 2014 Chapter 8 only