

The Politics of South American
CPO 4303
www.cpo4303.info
Spring 2009

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DM 487A Department of Political Science

Office Hours: 5-6:15 pm MW

Or by Appointment

The Course

South America is one of the most politically dynamic regions in this hemisphere. This course analyzes these dynamics by focusing on the contemporary themes that characterize political change in the region. One approach to political change involves what some observers classify as “neopopulism” a development strategy which characterizes the governments of diverse countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela. A second development strategy involves countries such as Brazil, Uruguay and to a certain extent Chile, whose leaders have opted for a more “social democratic” approach to public policy that combines market oriented reforms and a more active state role in both addressing social grievances and in regulating the economy. A third approach is a continuation of the so-called “neoliberal” approach that dominated the process of democratization and is being pursued in countries such as Chile, Colombia, and Peru.

This course analyzes these three approaches to public policy and development in South America. In the first section we will explore the principal explanations surrounding each of these approaches. Our primary goal is to attempt to understand the contexts and the actors that provided the impetus for the adoption of these diverse policy options. A secondary aim is examine how these approaches were implemented and how each fared. In the second section of the course we will assess these three dimensions in specific case studies. In each case we will examine issues ranging from the extent of state and market involvement in the development process, to state and institutional reform, and how each approach addressed basic issues such as the growing problems of public security, poverty and inequality, and health and educational policy.

Course Requirements

As a student in this course you are expected to attend class and participate actively in discussions on a regular basis. You are also expected to complete assigned readings before each class session. We will have **two take home** exams: a mid-term exam at the end of section one; a final exam to be administered on the final week of class. Students

will have exactly one week to respond to the exam questions. The guidelines for the exams will be provided on the day of the assignment.

This course has a website (www.cpo4303.info) which provides you with all of the information you will need to complete it successfully. All course readings are included on the website. Only additional suggested readings have been placed in the reserve room of the Green Library

Tentative Lecture and Reading Schedule

(January 5) Introduction to the Course	
(January 7) The General Context Under Neoliberalism and Representative Democracy	
Readings:	Williamson, "The Washington Consensus as Policy Prescription for Development." Kanbur, "The Co-Evolution of the Washington Consensus and the Economic Development Discourse." Robinson, "Global Crisis and Latin America."
Suggested Readings:	Zurbriggen, "The Technocratic Fallacy." Magaloni and Romero, "Support for Globalization."
January 12 and 14 No Class but continue readings	
(January 19) Martin Luther King Day No Class	
(January 21) Policy options under Neoliberalism	
Readings:	Malloy, "Statecraft, Social Policy and Governance." Ffrench Davis, "Reforming the Reforms in Latin America." Kregel, "The Perils of Globalization."
Suggested Readings:	Gamarra, "State, Drug Policy and Democracy." Basombrio, "The Military and Politics in the Andean Region."
(January 26 and 28) The Impact of Neoliberalism and Representative Democracy	
Readings:	Weyland, "Neoliberalism and Democracy." Diamond, "Is the Third Wave of Democracy Over?" Seligson, "Political Culture and Democratization." Valenzuela, "Is Presidentialism part of the Problem?" Boas and Ganse-More, "From Rallying Cry to Whipping Boy." Justino, Litchfield, and Whitehead. "The Impact of Inequality in Latin America."
Suggested Readings:	Gerefi, "The Global Economy: Organization, Governance, and Development." O'Donnell, "Poverty and Inequality in Latin America." Valenzuela, "Latin America's Interrupted Presidencies."
(February 2 and 4) The General Neopopulist Context	
Readings:	Castañeda, "Latin America's Left Turn." Rodrik, "After Neoliberalism What?" Roberts, "Latin America's Populist Revival." Petras, "The Paradox of Latin American Development." Seligson, "The Rise of Populism and the Left in Latin America."
Suggested Readings:	
(February 9 and 11) Policy Options under Neopopulism	
Readings:	Walker, "Democracy and Populism." Mayorga. "Outsiders and Neopopulism: The Road to

	Plebiscitarian Authoritarianism.”
Suggested Readings:	
(February 16 and 18) The Impact of Neopopulism	
Readings:	Alcántara, “Politics and Society at the Start of the New Millenium.” O’Donnell, “Delegative Democracy?”
Suggested Readings:	
(February 23 and 25) Is Social Democracy a Third Way?	
Readings:	Roberts, “Is Social Democracy Possible in Latin America?” Huber, “New Left versus Neoliberalism”
Suggested Readings:	Moura Castro, “The Stubborn Trainers vs the Neoliberal Economists: Will Training Survive the Battle?”
Take Home Mid Term Exam February 25. Due on March 2	
Case Studies in Neoliberalism	
(March 2) Chile	
Readings:	Santos, “The Chilean Dilemma: Between Economic Development and the Deepening of Democracy.” Navia, “Neo-Liberal and Socialist: Lessons from the Ricardo Lagos Government for Leftist Leaders in Latin America.” Angell, “Democratic Governability in Chile.”
Suggested Readings:	Fourcade-Gourinchas, “The Rebirth of the Liberal Creed: Paths to Neoliberalism in Four Countries.”
(March 4) Peru	
Readings:	Ruben Berrios, “Growth without Development.” McMilland and Zoido, “How to Subvert Democracy: Montesinos in Peru.” Moises Arce, “The Politics of Regional Grievance in Peru.” Moron and Sandburn, “The Pitfalls of Policymaking in Peru: Actors, Institutions and Rules of the Game.” Crabtree, “Politics of Social Protest.”
Suggested Readings:	Weisbrot, “Peru´s Election: Background on Economic Issues.” CRS, “Peru: 2006 Elections and Issues for Congress.” Bury, “Mining mountains: Neoliberalism, Land tenure, Livelihoods, and the new Peruvian mining industry in Cajamarca.”
(March 11) Colombia	
Readings:	CSIS, “Back from the Brink.” International Crisis Group, “Colombia: Making Military Progress Pay Off.” Wilson Center, “Colombia´s Peace Processes.” Murillo-Castaño and Gómez Segura, “Institutions and Citizens in Colombia.” Castaneda Angarita, “Market Reform and Veto Players.”
Suggested Readings:	Pardo, “Colombia en los últimos días de 2008.” Arnson, et.al. “The Peace Process in Colombia.”
March 16-21 Spring Break	
Case Studies in Neopopulism	

March 23 Argentina	
Readings:	Levitsky, "Transforming Labor Based Parties." Schamis, "Crisis and Democratic Consolidation." Ronchi, "The Neoliberal Myth." Rosenwurcel, "Reasons for the success or failure of structural reforms: Argentina and Chile's contrasting experiences revisited." Llamazares, "Patterns in Contingencies: The Interlocking of Formal and Informal Political Institutions in Contemporary Argentina." Arias, "Charismatic Leadership and the Transition to Democracy: The Rise of Carlos Saúl Menem in Argentine Politics."
Suggested Readings	Calvo and Murillo, "How Many Clients does it take to win and election? Estimating the Size and Structure of Political Networks in Argentina and Chile." Peruzzoti, "Redefiniendo la representación política: la sociedad civil argentina y el sistema representativo en los noventa"
(March 23) Bolivia	
Readings:	Albro, "The Future of Culture and Rights for Bolivia's Indigenous Movements." Barr, "Bolivia: Another Uncompleted Revolution." Gamarra, "Bolivia on the Brink." Evia and Laserna, "Socio-Political Conflict and Economic Performance in Bolivia." Larson, "Democratic Progress or Peril?" Gray Molina, "Bolivia's Long and Winding Road." Whitehead, "Bolivia and the Viability of Democracy."
Suggested Readings:	Robert Albro, "The Indigenous in the Plural in Bolivian Oppositional Politics." <i>Bulletin of Latin American Research</i> . Volume 24, Number 4, October 2005, pp. 433-453(21). Sachs, "The Bolivian Hyperinflation and Stabilization." Morales, "Inflation Stabilization in Bolivia." Morales, "Bolivia's Economic Crisis."
(March 30) Ecuador	
Readings:	Conaghan, "The Permanent Campaign of Rafael Correa." Bonilla and Montufar, "Two Perspectives on Ecuador." Spurrer, "Understanding Populism: A New Look of the 'New Left' in Latin America. <i>Participatory Democracy in Ecuador.</i> "
Suggested Readings:	Lucero, Jose Antonio, <i>Crisis and Contention in Ecuador</i> <i>Journal of Democracy</i> - Volume 12, Number 2, April 2001, pp. 59-73.
(April 6) Venezuela	
Readings:	Corrales, "Venezuela's Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy: Current Trends" Corrales, "Crowding out the Opposition." Briceno-Leon, "Petroleum and Democracy in Venezuela." Whitehead. "Does Clientelism Work?" Coupal, "Macroeconomic Populism in Venezuela." Weisbrot and Sandoval, "The Venezuelan Economy in the

	Chavez Years.” International Crisis Group, “Chavez’s Revolution.”
Suggested Readings:	Corrales, “In search of a Theory of Polarization.”
Case Study on the Social Democratic Approach	
(April 8 and 13) Brazil	
Readings:	Samuels, “Brazilian Democracy under Lula and the PT.” Bianchi, “Brazil: The Lula Government and Financial Globalization” Cardim de Carvalho, “Lula’s Government in Brazil: A New Left or the Old Populism?” De Souza, “Political Reform in Brazil.” Goertzel, “Eight Years of Pragmatic Leadership in Brazil.”
Suggested Readings:	Hagopian, “The (Too-Low but) Rising Quality of Democracy in Brazil and Chile?”
(April 15) Conclusion	
(April 20-25) Final Exam week Take Home Exam due on Wednesday April 22	