

Advice

- Prep summaries of readings rather than highlighting
- Attendance sheets will be signed
- Send messages to email not moodle address
- Powerpoints posted

Dates

- Midterm October 17
- Paper November 28
- Final (*not* cumulative) *after page 23

Midterm

- Choose 4 out of 6 mini essay questions
- 2.5 hours to write it
- Answer in essay form but smaller
- Focus on content.....intro/conclusion not necessary
- Make outline for your essays to structure the ideas
- Questions focusing around **concepts** from the class
- Focus on broad concepts (6 concepts, 6 weeks....think 1 concept per week) and be able to provide 3 examples (ex: 3 examples of the regime or 3 examples of the guerilla movement, or 3 examples of the insurgency.....ones rootes in Mauist/communist society) COMPARE AND CONTRAST!

ex) not about one country specifically but about the regime

- Bring some key points/author names from readings
- Historical accuracy is important: decades, names
- Think how concepts interrelate

Week 1: September 5

No notes

Week 2: September 12

★ POWERPOINT 1 STARTS

Colonization

- Origins of the State and Political Order
- COLOMBUS expedition made landfall in San Salvador (present day Bahamas)
- Taino Indians received him warmly
- “So retractable, so peaceful are these people that I swear to your Majesties there is not in the world a better nation.....they should be made to work, sow, and do all that is necessary” (COLOMBUS to the KING/QUEEN of Spain, 1492)

Pre-Columbian civilizations

- Mayan had written language; advanced architecture; math; astronomy (peaked 250-900 BCE)
- extensive commerce links with neighbouring civilizations

Inca Empire: “We can assure you your majesty that it is so beautiful and has such fine buildings that it would be remarkable even in Spain”

Spanish Conquest of the Inca Empire

- PIZZARO landed in modern day Peru January 1531
- inca empire was in turmoil
- PIZZARO kidnapped Emperor Atahualpa
- murdered him July 1533
- Inca empire declines thereafter; Spanish conquest accelerated

Key question: why were numerically inferior Europeans so easily able to overpower established civilizations in the western hemisphere?

JARED DIAMOND *Guns, Germs and Steel* (1999)

- Smallpox and other disease introduced by Europeans against which native americans had no immunity, greatly facilitated the Euro conquest of the Americas

Spanish and Portuguese Colonization of the Americas

- “America” derived from the italian explorer AMERIGO VESPUCCI (1454-1512)
- Spain’s “reconquest of muslim Spain (722-1492) set stage for the Spanish conquest in the “new” world

Spanish/Portuguese political/military organization

- Both Iberian countries (especially Spain) had developed a well oiled military and administrative machine to conquer, rule, christianize Muslim Iberia (722-1492)
- This machine then turned on the new colonies

Path dependency

- Institutional patterns established at the outset of a countrys political trajectory are difficult to break

Fragment theory

- Settlers reproduce aspects of political/social order derived from their countries of origin when conquering new lands
- It brought economic, social, political aspects with it from the metropo (being the colonizing country)

The Catholic Church

- Extremely powerful institutions
- instrumental in arranging forced labour systems for Indians and slavery for blacks/Africans

The Adelantado

- hidalgos: were like warlords who controlled small expeditionary forces that conquered, settled, and worked the land
- encomienda: system according to which Indians worked Hidalgo land in exchange for Christianity
- Repartimiento: the dividing up of conquered people based on this labor system

Early forms of colonial violence

- ex) de las Casas 1513
- BARTOLOME DE LAS CASAS (1484 to 1566)
 - arrived as a youth in Hispaniola (presentday Haiti & D.R.) and became a slave owner
 - witnesses Spanish atrocities against Tainos, gradually became convinced slavery was wrong
 - recommended African slaves replace indigenous Americans
 - later decided that was wrong, too

Conquest of Latin America

- Was based on exploitation of natural resources
- Land : vast agricultural plantations (“latifundia”) and mines
- This required vast reserves of cheap labour

Nature of colonialism in Latin America

- As opposed to a century or less of Euro colonialism in Asia/Africa, most Latin American countries endured 4-5 centuries of colonialism!

Trans Atlantic slave trade

- Caribbean/South American plantations grew cotton, coffee, cocoa
- By 1740 Saint-Domingue & Jamaica provided most of the worlds sugar
- Black slaves outnumbered white masters by a factor greater than 10-1
- Violence was integral to slavery

Saint-Domingue (Haiti)

- 1 million slaves in Caribbean by 1789; half of them in Haiti
- 40000 whites; 28000 free blacks and mixed race
- Haiti produced 60% coffee, 40% sugar in world
- Slave death rate exceeded birth rate so constant influx of slaves from Africa

Haitian Revolution (1791 - 1804)

- Inspired by American (1766) & French (1789) Revolutions
- Featured widespread slave revolts against the plantation system, ultimate defeat of French forces
- 1825 France forced Haiti to pay reparations to slaveholders of 150M gold francs (paid off 1947)

1810-25 Spanish American Revolutionary Wars

- elites in the colonies were tired of paying out all their resources to the metropole
- uprising was led by SIMON BOLIVAR (“the liberator”) - Spanish born administrators

Gran Colombia Significance

- Gran Colombia (1819-1831)
- Included parts of: Colombia, Panama, Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana, Nicaragua, Venezuela
- Represented rejection of Spanish rule
- Dissolved due to internal divisions

Timeline of Latin American independence

- 1791 Haiti
- 1810 Chile, Colombia, Mexico

- 1811 Paraguay, Venezuela
- 1816 Argentina
- 1821 Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica
- 1822 Brazil

Trans Atlantic chain reaction

- After losing Haiti, NAPOLEON gave up on Americas, started conquering Europe
- conquest of Spain/Portugal in Peninsular War (1808) led latin Americans to question ties to metropole
- Triggered widespread revolt

Caudillismo

- Caudillos: small scale bosses who used force to conquer and control land and resources and then paid these resources out to ensure loyalty. This system of caudillos shaped governance because it left legacies that carried forward moving into the twentieth century and in some instances up until today
- Patronage

Centralization of Rule

- Caudillismo: gradually faded in most of Latin America
- Was replaced by increasingly centralized governments that set up political/economic infrastructure
- This was caused mainly by increasing reliance on FI (foreign investment) and exports to the global market (which was disrupted by ww1)

Guerra (1994) : European roots of Representation

- Bolivarian Revolution across south America overthrew old systems of “absolutism” and “despotism”
- Replaced with national sovereignty: elite driven, constitutionalist, representative institutions

Patrician Logic / Suffrage

- Early 1800s political representation & voting became available BUT
- Only an aristocratic minority could participate. “The oldest and most distinguished members of the city, proud of the status of their lineage, fortune, culture and social influence”

Constitutional representation / Indigenous populations (1800s)

- Countries w/ tended to be less free ; no universal suffrage in Ecuador, Bolivia aneru
- Chile & Argentina in contrast were among the most free (but had the fewest native people)

The Brazilian Monarchy

- The seat of the Portuguese empire was transplanted to brazil (1808) by emperor Dom Joao IV, fleeing Napoleon
- When JOAO returned to Portugal he left his eldest son, PEDRO, to serve as Brazilian king
- PEDRO waged a successful independence war against his fathers kingdom in 1822
- Crowned PEDRO I, he returned to Portugal in 1831 leaving his 5 yr old son to govern
- 1840 PEDRO II was sworn in

Brazil as Constitutional monarchy

- Brazil had robust economic growth, railroads, shipping, telegraph lines (huge step needed for communication) + heavy industry
- Constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech and civil rights enshrined in law
- But denied these rights to women / slaves

Slavery in Brazil

- As a percentage of the POP, slaves were 29% in 1823, 24% 1854, 15% 1872, 5% 1887
- Involved in sugar, rice, cotton production, gold mining
- Abolitionists and pro slavery advocates were divided along left/right lines in Brazilian politics

19th century Brazilian Democracy

- Economic prosperity began attracting European immigration by mid 19th c
- Unlike most of Europe at the time, Brazil had no minimum income nor literacy test for voting
- 10.8% of POP voted in 1872 (compared to 7% UK, 2% Italy, 9% Portugal, 2.5% Netherlands)

Brazil's FIRST Republic

- PEDRO II deposed by military coup 1889
- Military installed the "First Republic" federal system
- Brazilian politics was rife with corruption & a form of caudillismo known as "coronelismo".....voting POP decline to 2.5%
- Landed oligarchies exercised great power
- Pattern of military involvement in politics

Mexican Monarchy

- 1861 France invaded Mexico
- French installed emperor MAXIMILIAN (younger brother of the Austrian emperor) as emperor of Mexico 1864 (he lived 1832-67)
- Overthrown by Mexican govt then executed in 1867

The Mexican revolution

- Mexico was ruled by PORFIRIO Diaz from 1876-1880 and again from 1884-1911 (lived 1830-1915)
- DIAZ was a war hero but he rigged elections and raised a militia, the Rurales, to crush opposition
- Became increasingly unpopular in certain sectors!

Lead up to Revolution

- DIAZ policy spurred economic growth and infrastructure via attracting foreign investment
- But they were to the detriment of peasants and workers
- Wealth = concentrated into the hands of ruling elites "hacendados"
- A majority of the population were poorly paid and landless peasants

The Political opposition

- The Mexican Liberal Party started challenging Diaz
- The party criticized him and mocked his constant re-election in widely distributed newspapers
- Leftist ideology grew among peasants and workers
- This led to massive strikes by copper miners (1906) and textile workers (1907)
- Strikers faced harsh government repression

The Cananea Strike

- Mexican workers at the USA owned Cananea copper mine were paid less than USA nationals
- They were only allowed to spend their wages at the company store
- 23 people were killed in the strike
- Opposition to DIAZ became increasingly organized and vocalized
- 1907 Cananea Strike

End of DIAZ

- DIAZ threw his opponent (FRANCISCO MADERO) in jail to win the rigged 1910 election by a landslide
- MADERO launched a call for “Free suffrage & no re-election” with a vague plan for land redistribution
- Rebellions began throughout Mexico
- Pancho Villa & Emiliano Zapata = the rebel leaderzzzzz

EMILIANO ZAPATA (1879-1919)

- Led the peasant revolt against hacendados in MORELOS state
- Founded the liberation army of the South which won battles vs. DIAZ troops
- Put forth the Plan Ayala which called for massive land redistribution to the poor
- MADERO came to power 1911 and distance himself from Zapata’s “bandits” and their program.....

MADERO Presidency

- MADERO was an unskilled novice and preserved intact the structure of DIAZ government - this led to rising tensions
- MADERO sent federal troops commanded by VICTORIANO HUERTA to crush rebellions in the countryside
- He was challenged by labor strikes
- Madero resigned & was assassinated in 1913, succeeded by VICTORIANO HUERTA

Political Violence and Turmoil

- MADERO had sent HUERTA troops to crush ZAPATISTAS in MORELOS State
- ZAPATISTAS and allied rebels repulsed them and overthrew HUERTA after he took power in 1914
- Victorious rebel leaders, CARRANZA, VILLA, ZAPATA then grew divided

Stabilization

- Carranza’s Constitutionalist Army attacked Villa and Zapata....defeating Villa in 1915
- Carranza obtained USA govt endorsement and military supplies
- Carranza became president in 1917 with the passing of the Mexican constitution
- Strongly nationalist constitution called for Mexican control of land & resources

Aftermath of Revolution

- ZAPATA held MORELOS but was killed in an ambush organized by CARRANZA 1919
- Generals of ZAPATA helped to overthrow CARRANZA 1920
- They instituted some of the land reforms Zapata had envisioned
- CARRANZA’s general (ALVARO OBREGON) elected in 1920.....Assassinated 1928

Conclusion

- Some aspects of constitutionalism & democracy have long been entrenched in Latin American history

BUT

- So are inequalities on the basis of class, race, and land ownership

Path Dependency (revisited.....)

- Endurance (in various forms and places(of
 - Economies reliant on natural resources
 - Economies geared towards exports
 - Racial oppression and marginalization of indigenous & blacks
 - Violent coercion of labour force

This gives us a theoretical framework for analyzing and understanding history

Week 3: September 19

★ POWERPOINT 2 STARTS

Defining populism

- populism: anti elite politics. Politics and political ideology based on the perceived interests of the ordinary people, as opposed to those of a privileged elite
- Leader interprets will of the masses
- executive undermines legislative and judiciary branches
- it can pop up anywhere at anytime....it is not restricted to one Latin America or any group of people
- not always, but often, left winged

Peronism in Argentina

- the quintessential example of populism in LA & globally
- over the last decade LA has experienced a 2nd wave of populism (Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Uruguay)

Argentina's Industrialization

- international trade grows after 1852 constitution guarantees property rights
- Buenos Aires becomes global port
- POP increases fourfold to 7.8 million from 1869 to 1914 - lots of immigration to Europe

Industrialization and politics

- the European immigrants work in factories
- they bring along European workers ideologies like marxism and socialism
- 1910: Argentine men get suffrage and the race for votes starts

1929 Great Depression hits.....

- Argentina responded to scarcity of importing goods by expanding its own manufacturing sector
- it implements the system Import-Substitution industrialization
- this triggered a flood of rural labor to Buenos Aires

Import-Substitution Industrialization

- state imposes high tariffs on imported goods
- state also subsidizes locally manufactured goods, encouraging local production
- lack of competition, inefficiency, can make this a poor model

Rise of JUAN PERON (1895-1974)

- a military officer who takes control of the labour ministry after the Argentine army seizes power in 1943
- PERON rules in favour of workers, introduced laws to protect their rights
- army tries to arrest him but masses demand his freedom

PERON Golden Years

- elected to power in 1946
- support in Labor Party, some sectors of the army + the Catholic church
- expands Argentinean industry, social welfare benefits
- strong economy helps PERON

Good times in Buenos Aires - Controlling Labor

- PERON creates General Directorate of Labor and Direct Social Action (DGTASD) to control all aspects labor & union politics
- This meant workers were free to organize, but not outside of the state
- Unions had to register under the General Confederation of Labor (govt)

PERON expands ISI

- He nationalized banks, railroads, and utilities like electricity and gas to expand import-substitution industrialization
- But most of these industries fail to take off and the state runs low on cash

EVA DUARTE PERON (1919-1952)

Dark Side of PERSON

- Cracking down on opposition
- Imposes censorship
- Corruption evidently proliferates

Decline of PERONISM

- The army overthrows PERON in 1955
- He nearly makes a comeback in 1959 and actually gets reelected 1973
- He dies the following year - army seizes power soon after and begins reign of terror (1976-83)

HUGO CHAVEZ of Venezuela (1954-2013)

- Army officer who gets elected in 1998
- Hugely popular in some sectors of Venezuelan politics because of his willingness to spend state resources on the poor
- Anti american, anti capitalist, anti neoliberal

Constitutional conventions

- These are referendums Chavez has held in which Venezuelans had voted to increase presidential power

- Judges, legislators, lose power
- Similar trends in Bolivia, Ecuador, elsewhere

CHAVEZ foreign policy

- Spending Venezuelan oil money to win friends and influence
- Playing an important role in shaping politics in Nicaragua (by subsidizing ORTEGA government) and in Bolivia (by inspiring President Morales)
- Was also friends with : Iran AHMADINEJAD

CHAVEZ: “A Bona fide Robin Hood”

- But not even all the poor (about 60% of Venezuelan households) loved him
- So what strategies did CHAVEZ use to stay in power?

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Week 4: September 26

Competitive Authoritarianism

- imprisoning opposition figures/rivals
- use of excessive force v. protesters
- suspected electoral fraud
- claims of foreign destabilization plots

After CHAVEZ

- CHAVEZ endorsed FM NICHOLAS MADURO who assumed power
- MADURO narrowly won 2013 elections; opposition leader claimed fraud
- Venezuela’s oil dependent economy has shrunk 4.5% and inflation has soared (141% in Jan2017)
- centre right opposition won majority in legislative elections (Dec 2015)
- widespread Destitution
- TRUMP (Aug 2017) “We have many options for Venezuela, and by the way I’m not going to rule out the military option”

Venezuela’s slide to disorder

- Goods costs set to increase 700% this year
- Mounting waves of protest against MADURO hard line policies
- 100s of protesters have been killed by security forces, thousands more arrested
- Opposition leaders have been arrested or killed
- MADURO held rigged elections for a special legislative body that supplanted the country’s parliament

★ POWERPOINT 3 STARTS

Right wing Authoritarianism Regimes in LA / Spectrum of Authoritarianism in LA

- Some regimes have allowed more political freedoms
- Others have been more repressive and violent

Note: we will talk about authoritarianism as it relates to LA in the past half century or so. There have been different forms of authoritarian regimes some more oppressive than others.

Dictatorship according to “degree” (dictadura)

- Dictadura: harsher form of authoritarianism (literally means “dictatorship” in Spanish); repression of labour; no freedom of press/speech; constant risk of arrest; death squads
- Examples: Argentine military dictatorship (1976-1983); Paraguayan dictatorship (1954-89); many others

(dictablanda)

- Dictablanda: relatively gentler form of authoritarianism (“blanda” means soft); civil society permitted to organize; certain degree of free speech; greater judicial branch freedom; arrest and disappearance less likely
- Examples: Mexico under PRI (1929-2000); Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-85); PERON Argentina; CHAVEZ’s Venezuela
- The term is subjected and disputed

Corporatism

- Corporatism: system whereby the state organizes the lower/middle classes (Workers) into vertical state structures
- The state uses the structures to control organized labour directly and to channel workers political activity

Uses of Corporatism

- Less repressive regimes rely on corporatism to organize the masses

ex) PERON made sure labor could only organize through the state; all unions had to be registered with the state

- This organizes relations between the state and society

Extreme Authoritarian regimes & labor

- Rather than organizing labour to support the government, more extreme authoritarian regimes (ie: PINOCHET’s Chile, Paraguay’s STROESSNER, Nicaragua’s SOMOZA) violently repressed organized labour

Authoritarianism and Industry

- Instead of nationalizing industry through ISI, extreme authoritarian regimes privatize it
- Laws protecting workers rights are usually gutted
- These regimes protect elite interests instead

Case study : Chile 1973

- From socialist democracy → military dictatorship

Chilean Political history

- Democracy for 150 years...virtually uninterrupted (1820s to 1970s)
- Abnormally large middle class provided stability

Note: because of large we have less inequality & better economic stability (better economic stability also encourages chance of having large middle class) & promotes upward mobility too (in which case they would not want to overturn the current system if it provides chance of upward advancement - Why overthrow the government if you could simply flourish within the existing system?)

Signs of trouble

- Rising tensions/polarization between Left and Right in 1960s
- Starts of US meddling to assist the ride of the christian democrats and to prevent ‘another Cuba’

- CIA starts backing EDUARDO FREI with \$\$

Note: as Chile increasingly became unstable, USA watched with concern hoping they would not undergo a communist revolution as Cuba had experienced

Land expropriation

- When FREI arrives in power in 1968 he redistributes rural land from rich → poor
- This causes huge upheaval
- New elections in 1970; SALVADOR ALLENDE = doctor turned politician; comes to power with a slim majority

ALLENDEs risky path

- ALLENDE United Party was elected 1970
- Only had a slim margin in govt after his election
- But still embarked on an ambitious campaign to nationalize the copper mines & other industries

ALLENDE reforms

- ALLENDE increasingly concentrates power into the hands of Popular Unity & Socialist party activists, and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR)
- Chilean elites started to believe democracy didnt work and wanted ALLENDE overthrown

Economic crisis

- Ideology based state overspending causes businesses to go bankrupt; inflation to skyrocket
- Govt starts rationing food; this shocks Chilean upper & middle classes
- USA also slashes foreign aid

National Security Advisor: HENRY KISSINGER, on Allende

- “I don’t see why we need to stand idly by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people”

USA intervention in Chile

- Overt: diplomatic pressure to isolate ALLENDE
- Covert: massive CIA spending on propaganda and media manipulation to cause financial/political panic

9/11 of 1973

- Led by general PINOCHET, the military launched a coup; bombs the presidential palace
- ALLENDE dies (shootout? suicide?)
- Heavy repression began; army cracks down on many elements of society

Military Ideology

- “Anti communism, patriotism, and duty”
- Many who initially supported the coup didnt realize that the military regime would take on its own dynamics

FRIEDMAN’s “Shock Therapy”

- FRIEDMAN seized this opportunity to implement his privatization policies
- PINOCHET govt embraced them
- Regulatory state was dismantles, state spending slashed, and private enterprises encourages

Capitalism in a time of Repression

- “In my country, people were put in prison so markets could be free” - EDUARDO GALEANO, Uruguayan novelist

PINOCHET & THATCHER

- British PM, MARGARET THATCHER, saw PINOCHET as a Cold War ally
- She had implemented similar domestic economic reforms
- PINOCHET also backed by American president REAGEN

1979-1982 Economic crisis

- In 1979, PINOCHET govt established a fixed exchange rate for the Chilean peso
- Overvalued currency hampered foreign direct investment, led to massive consumption of foreign goods
- In 1982 Chilean debt soared and economic production declined
- Anti-government protest grew/continued after economy recovered

1985: arrest of an anti-PINOCHET protestor



Pope JOHN PAUL II visit to Chile 1987

- Called govt ‘dictatorial’ ; called for democracy/human rights

1988 Plebiscite

- Army called referendum for Chilean citizens to decide if PINOCHET should remain in power
- If not the army would step aside and hold elections for a civilian leader
- NO WINS - 55.99% to 44.01%

Film dramatization



NO campaign slogan:

- “Joy is coming”
- Before voting day on October 5, 1988, the no coalition led as massive grassroots effort to register 92% of the electorate

Civil Society: Who sided with who?

- According to ARRIGIADA, a pro democracy activist “PINOCHET had the support of the army and support of the businesses community”. We had the students, we had human rights, we had very well structured political parties, and we had the people in the street in order”

Transition and Compromise

- PATRICIO ALYWIN sworn in 1990
- Chilean military officers remained immune from persecution
- PINOCHET still Chief of Armies 1990-1998
- PINOCHET arrested in London 1998 for crimes against humanity
- Released 1999 on humanitarian grounds



- Pinochet dead 2005

“Dictablanda” and state violence: Mexico 1968

- Mexico spent 150m\$ (1b\$ today) on 1968 Mexico city olympics; unpopular with workers, farmers, students, poor people ← because the money could have been used for the poor and on other more important stuff
- Pres. GUSTAVO DIAZ ORDAZ ordered a crackdown on universities, freedom of assembly; students founded National Strike Council
- Student protests on 2 October results in 30-300 killed & 1300 arrested
- Govt & press blamed student provocations for massacre; details only emerging decades later (blaming the victims / silencing protest / crushing dissent)
- this illustrates one of the key ways Mexico represented characteristics of authoritarian regime even though it had hallmarks of a democratic one

Brazilian Military Dictatorship 1964-85

- democratically elected PRE. OULART had instituted Basic Reforms plan which socialized corporate profits to pay for social programs
- he was labeled a socialist threat by rightwing & army generals (Taking from the rich to give to the poor seemed almost communist within rightwing elements...very controversial)
- US govt secretly encouraged the coup; military on standby to invade Brazil incase civil war broke out between pro/anti coup elements
- no civil war...US didn't invade
- Brazilian dictatorship not as brutal as Chilean

PRI Mexico	Brazil 1964-85	Chile	Argentina 1976-83
Dictablanda (democratic end)		Dictadura (competitive authoritarianism)	

note: in lieu of the chart, some are more systematically violent, some behave in more democratic ways even if they fall in the realm of competitive authoritarianism....

“Dictadura” : Paraguays ALFREDO STROESSNER 1954-1989

- Paraguayan army COL. STROESSNER seized power in a 1954 coup; overthrown in 1989
- implemented a state of siege that was renewed each 90 days during his rule; amounted to military rule
- his anti-communist stance won him strong USA support, including military training and intelligence cooperation
- 3000-4000 murdered; 400-500 disappeared; 1000s more arrested/tortured (same murdered as Chilean but more disappeared/tortured)

note: in a state of siege you can arrest or detain people without reasons, suppress freedom of the press, and whatever else in order to maximize the governments power

Bolivias HUGO BANZER 1971-1978

- Led a coup against left leaning government of JUAN JOSE TORRES in Aug 1971
- received support from USA NIXON admin
- 1000s arrested; 100s killed; 1000s tortured; rivals/competitors murdered
- deposed in 1978 coup; elected as president 1997-2001

Nazi with a new purpose: KLAUS BARBIE (alias = KLAUS ALTMANN)

- “Butcher of Lyons” responsible for deaths of tens of thousands of jews and personally torturing resistance fighters in WWII France
- served as US counterintelligence agent and West german spy; immigrated to Bolivia in 1966
- under MANZER he became interrogator/torturer; also trained Peruvian forced
- promoted to LT.-COL (lieutenant colonel?) in Bolivian army
- plotted the murders of dissidents, even priests
- he had an ideology, as a nazi, completely consistent with that of the Bolivian dictatorship

★ POWERPOINT 4 STARTS

Communist / Leftist Insurgencies : examining cases of Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Peru

- Which sectors of society have generated revolutionary movements?

- lower classes, workers, especially peasantry

- there are obstacles to uniting and mobilizing them however

note: one thing to share an ideology and another to mobilize and develop a coherent movement capable of affecting real change

What are these revolutions aiming to overthrow?

- 2 distinct components:

1) state/govt structure

2) class structure

- this usually requires coalition building among various classes and interest groups (MIDLARSKY & ROBERTS 1985) ← these authors compare how a group of people were able to build this coalition and overthrow the regime (a successful revolution)

Land scarcity

- in most rural societies land scarcity is a key form of inequality
- the greater polarization between the classes the more you get a 0-sum game (where winner takes all and there is no common ground to be had) between them AKA landowners continue to control everything or if they give anything at all they could be overthrown
- this polarization makes conflict and violence likely to occur

Nature of the state

- MIDLARSKY/ROBERTS identified 2 key types of states that have been the target of uprisings/revolutions:

a) instrumentalist: represents the interest of the upper class and is thus an instrument of their hand to wield power essentially

b) personalist: more patrimonialist (the leader establishes rule from a very personal vantage point, handing favours to allies & crushing rivals...the authority of the state flows very much from the person of the leader...it is A hereditary dictatorship, or family dictatorship, in political science terms a personalistic regime, is a form of dictatorship that occurs in a nominally or formally republican or socialist regime, but operates in practice like an absolute monarchy, in that political power passes within the dictator's family)

Cuba

- highly influential for inspiring other movements and striking fear in the USA that there would be more leftist revolutions as in Cuba which prompted the US to crack down on these movements with ferociousness

Cuban Revolution

- CASTRO organized a revolution against unpopular BATISTA regime
- not all CASTRO fighters were communist
- guerilla warfare in the hills of eastern Cuba
- BATISTA fled 1/1/1959; CASTRO and revolutionaries took over
- “Revolutionary” Cuban state benefitted from Soviet/Eastern bloc support

note: crazy to have this happening in US just a stone throw from Miami

note: CHE GAUVERA was part of the revolution too but was not Cuban. He became a professional revolutionary until he was tracked down in Bolivia right before BANZAR came to power

- CASTRO died 2016 finally!!!!!!!!!!!!

note: comprador elite: member of the business/political elite; expatriating profits to an exploiter country; local elite getting rich helping other people overseas to get rich from a project

What are the components of Cuban communism?

- nationalization/confiscation of private property, industry, banks, businesses
- collective agriculture
- “democracy” via One-party rule
- above average social services
- economic growth usually stagnates

“we are democratic...just democratic within a 1-party system”

these factors together act as promoters of communism

Cuban internationalism

- During the Cold war, Cuba achieved an outsized status due to their contribution to struggles around the globe
- this included sending troops to Angola (1975-1989), Ethiopia (1977) and military advisors to Vietnam.
- Cuba has also sent doctors throughout the developing world to provide basic medical care

Definition of the Personalist state (ex Nicaragua)

- “personalist leaders and small clique of collaborators monopolize economic activity”
- this can alienate others, even from upper class, who seek power and influence

Nicaraguan Revolution

- relatively more land, so less class tension
- coalition of FSLN (“Sandinistas”)/other groups and classes united against Somoza regime
- Sandinistas took power 1979; prioritized medical care and literacy for rural areas
- Coalition began to fracture after that; business class/landowners were unhappy with nationalization

Sandinista roots

- Sandinistas claimed a direct ideological lineage to AUGOSTO SANDINO (1895-1934) who led a guerrilla war against the nicaraguan government and their US backers
- SANDINO killed by Nicaraguan National Guard forces

Nicaragua under fire 1980s

- in 1980s, US formed/armed/trained “contra” rebels to destabilize Sandinista government in Nicaragua
- based in Honduras/Costa Rica, contras waged guerrilla war
- Sandinistas signed agreements with Soviets for economic/military/diplomatic support

End of Nicaraguan War

- 1990 elections held amidst economic turmoil and domestic chaos resulting from Contra War
- Sandinista president DANIEL ORTEGA was favored in polls, but lost to national opposition union candidate VIOLETA CHAMORRO (more conservative)
- CHAMORRO ended the war, stabilized the economy, reintegrated Nicaragua into global trade

note: easy to end war because the Contras weren't trying to overthrow the government

DANIEL ORTEGA

- elected to power in 1984 and again in 2006....won a 3rd term in 2016 with 70% majority

Definition of the Instrumentalist State (Ex: El Salvador)

- the state serves as an instrument of class domination
- the state acts to maintain the conditions necessary for capital accumulation
- El Salvador as “The Protection Racket State”
- the govt serves like a mafia ring to maintain wealth and extract resources....

roots of state repression in El Salvador

- El Salvador embodied “latifundista” land ownership dynamics ← main economic driver/engine
- in 1920s, 90% of Salvadoran land was owned by 14 families “Los Catorce” who used the land to grow coffee
- reformist ARTURO ARAUJO won 1931 elections
- overthrown in a coup by army officers
- communists started an insurrection
- how did the state respond to this rebellion? repression.....

“La Matanza” 1932

- rebels, mainly Pipil indians, led by FARABUNDO MARTI seized territory in eastern El Salvador, killing less than 100
- state responded with “La Matanza” violence, killing 10-40,000 peasants in Jan 1932
- the vast majority of them being indigenous
- sharp class inequalities persisted from then onward
- afterward the indigenous feared the state
- FARABUNDO MARTI led the peasant uprising “La Matanza”

Dynamics of Salvadoran Civil war

- brutal military regime backed by landowning classes 1932-79
- land was scarce - 0-sum game
- socialist FMLN rebels launched war against the military regimes (1980)
- regime survived with USA support; civil war ending in 1992

Onset of Salvadorean civil war

1977: Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) increased activities in response to human rights violations by govt troops/death squads

1979-81: govt death squads kill about 30,000

1980: army stages coup; installs civilian president DUARTE

1980: death squad assassinates human rights activist ARCHBISHOP ROMERO; civil war starts

1982: extreme right wing National Republic Alliance (Arena) party elected amidst violence

Saladorean civil war Timeline

- 1984: DUARTE wins elections amidst war
- 1986: DUARTE seeks negotiations with FMLN
- 1989: FMLN launches offensive; A.R.E.N.A candidate ALFREDO CHRISTIANI wins (seemingly rigged) elections
- 1991: FMLN recognized as political party; government and FMLN sign UN sponsored peace accord
- 1992: formal end of hostilities

The massacre at El Mozote

- On 11 December 1981 the US trained Atlacatl battalion of the Salvadoran army attacked town of El Mozote
- the inhabitants were accused of collusion with rebels
- approx 1200 people (almost every inhabitant) were killed!
- massacre was denied domestically and in USA
- 1993 MARK DANNER breaks the story to America

Emotional Benefits of Insurgency (WOOD, 2001)

- Salvadoran peasants were risking their lives by joining armed struggle
- in rational choice terms, this risk did not make sense
- what explains people choice to join the insurgency?

"Pleasure in Agency" explanation

- Salvadoran regime used violence indiscriminately to repress resistance
- out of the 75,000 people killed in the war, 85% were killed by the govt (Source: UN)
- having nothing to lose, and faced with repression whether they existed or not, many "campesinos" (peasants) joined the insurgency
- WOOD finds this choice brought them "pleasure in agency"

Peru's "Sendero Luminoso" (shining path)

- Marxist guerilla group that terrorized Peru from 1980-96
- Claimed to represent the interests of Peru's (mostly indigenous) peasants
- Bloody insurgency killed approximately 70k people (about half by SL)
- Far more extreme than FMLN & Sandinistas 222

SENDERO LUMINOSO: contradictions

- He claimed to stand for poor workers but was founded and commanded by a white urban intellectual (ABIMAE L GUZMAN)
- He disregarded local culture and traditions, adhering to externally-derived ideology (Maoism)

Peruvian civil war

- SENDERO & Peru government exchanged atrocities
- Government created brutal paramilitary "self-defense units"

- SENDERO killed peasants, workers, trade unionists, and all critics
- It never had more than 15% support

1992 GUZMAN arrest

Week 6: October 10

★ POWERPOINT 5 STARTS

US Hegemony and Predatory states: from Banana Republics to Operation Condor

- Transnational
- to eliminate threats to perceived Western/Christian values (a rationale put forth by the architects of Condor itself; they claimed to be defending something noble; these values were contrasting to communism)
- Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, Argentina and Bolivian values
- denying exiles a place to hide (they would flee one country assuming they'd be safe in another)

Some key definitions

- Insurgency and counterinsurgency
 - Insurgency means 2 particular things: it is a rebellion with the aim of overthrowing the government (and SOMETIMES changing society)
 - Counterinsurgency: anti insurgent government campaigning (sometimes low level operations, sometimes full on war)

Note: computers enabled the creation of databases and sharing of information at a very secret level.

People coordinated with each other

- Plausible deniability
 - Untraceability of crime/violence

Note: how do you go about assassinating someone, for example, and ensuring it won't be traced back to you? With suppression of evidence; outsourcing (of violence...for example hiring others to do it.....subcontracting violence through death squads & paramilitaries); → 'the deep state' (referring to parallel state institutions acting with a right wing agenda)

- Death squads and paramilitaries
 - Operating silently; highly trained; normally wearing civilian clothing
 - LA states involved in operation Condor relied on these death squads and paramilitaries
 - This was transnational because teams would often go abroad or recruited people from elsewhere

Examples of bloody repression before Cold War

- Violence in LA increased during Cold War but there were lots of examples prior
 - "Tragic Week" in Argentina (1919)
 - La Matanza in El Salvador (1930s)
 - La Violencia in Colombia (1940s)
- Who were the targets of state violence? People with left-wing ideology (leftists, workers, trade unionists, the poor)

USA Dimension

- 1823 Monroe doctrine: USA would seek to defeat, replace European powers influence in the Western hemisphere
- 1893 Manifest Destiny Credo: USA consolidated its regional economic control

- 1898 Spanish American war: Philippines/Guam/Cuba an aging empire with no capacity to defeat major European powers. They invaded Cuba, kicked the Spanish out (the last Spanish colony standing in the western hemisphere) and at the same time seized the Philippines ← which led up to the events of the 20th century and increased USA presence in the region

'Banana Republic' Era

- United Fruit Corporation, other multinationals, used their power and influence to buy and sell governments
- They historically grew bananas and used aggressive advertising to ensure people were eating them. This is political because it meant the United Fruit Corporation was growing bananas and selling them cheaply in LA. Their profit margins were ensured only if they had access to cheap land and cheap labor. UFC became so powerful it could basically buy and sell governments (by encouraging a candidate to come to power, and ensuring cheap land)
- US invasions and occupations in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Dominican Republic
- These countries were occupied on behalf of private corporate interests desire to have the markets liberalized so theyd have access to the markets
- Liberalization of MARKETS!

Cold War

- 'National Security Doctrine': nations at war with internal enemy as opposed to external enemy
- All around the world, countries in the USA were at war with an internal enemy; they didnt have to worry primarily about the SU - they had to worry local populations may become activated in the ideology of the communists and that the threat would emerge from within (perhaps with material/ideological support from the Soviets)
- 1950s, early 60s: USA supplied economic and military aid; after JFK, USA aid became more militarized
- Training/equipping/arming/organizing the security forces (aka military, police, intelligence services all working in concert together as security forces....

The Truman Doctrine 1947

- Involved "containing" the USSR via the "adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical/political points" - GEORGE KENNAN 1947
- Triggered by the Greek Civil war, the doctrine called for USA to assume the responsibility of assisting nations struggling to resist communism, lest it spread and cause regional instability
- This was happening all over the globe, it was a global phenomenon...this agenda had a transnational (of Operation Condor) dimension

National Security Council report (NSC) #68

- Called for (specifically military) containment of communism through military buildup
- Rise of communism in domestic contexts around the globe was seen as Soviet aggression
- Doctrine established for intervention in the 3rd world, *especially* LA

Note: LA regarded as particularly imp due to proximity to USA

- NSC #68 report highlights
- "The Soviets preferred technique is to subvert by infiltration & intimidation"
- "The doubts and diversities that in terms of our values are part of the merit of a free system...(what does this mean for democracy?) the rights/privileges that free men enjoy...all are but opportunities for the Kremlin to do its evil work" (these rights/privileges are used as opportunity by SU to take advantage of you...)

Note: when the SU are doing things secretly, the best thing is to do things secretly and have your own clandestine policies.....

- The document framed the challenge as a 'total struggle' (had to be challenged at every level....)

1954 Coup v. ARBENZ in Guatemala

- EISENHOWERs administrations "Operation Success"
- ARBENZ was seen to threaten USA interest in the region
- The chief of the CIA of USA at the time was actually a board member of the United Fruit Corporation and he arranged to overthrow ARBENZ which would trigger a cycle of political violence leading to a civil war that would last for 36 years....
- The date of this coup (1954) predates the Cuban revolution (an event that made the USA concern about spread of communism in LA.....so the concern was there already)

Targets and fears

- USA national security strategists 'feared another Cuba'
- Especially feared leftist or nationalist leaders who were popularly elected, thus giving their ideas legitimacy" (MCSHERRY p.3)
- Militaries had the mission to "remake their states and societies and eliminate subversion" (a total program, not just to remove the few people standing in the way, but to completely reshape state/society....it was a mission which by the USA would promote in its foreign policy by backing those leaders). This led to a domino effect across the region.....

"Domino Effect"

- across the region, 1 country after the other fell to military dictatorships ("the domino effect")
- The military leadership considered itself to be the most qualified institution to govern (elites thought the military was legitimate and was there to safeguard their interest...this was the platform upon which the military could claim their legitimacy)
- HUNTINGTON provided an academic rationale - essentially some countries are not ready to be democratic; democracy can bring instability (different parties arguing against each other leading to countries; at times its better to have order out of which democracy can perhaps eventually arise
← this acted as justification for supporting military dictatorships

Operation Condor

- Represented increasing coordination, sophistication and secrecy of Latin American =military regimes
- Inter-states cooperation to defeat leftist guerillas/activists
- Facilitated by USA
- International "hunter/killer" squads (operating in concert to track down dissidence in another country to kill them)

Condor and criminality

- Condor was in effect "a transnational criminal organization"
- Consisted of three levels
 - 1) Mutual cooperation among security forces
 - 2) Covert action: clandestine operations to detain/arrest subversives
 - 3) "PHASE III" Assassination by death squads

MANUEL CONTRERAS: Chief of Chiles DINA

- Helped organized Operation Condor
- Played a role in orchestrating the assassination of ATELIER in BC
- Key figure of political power in Chile, considered 2nd to PINOCHE himself

Variation in USA support/policy towards LA

- 1977: PRESIDENT CARTER elected as “human rights president”; criticizes dictatorships; brief pause from communism

Note: nickname CASTRO because he was soft on communism

- PINOCHET mocks him
- 1981: REAGAN in power; USA support for killing back on track (removed sanctions of right wing ideologies)

DOCUMENTARY

- School of the Americas: provides military training to military personell of central/south American countries
- The school strives to enhance military professionalism, foster increased cooperation among military forces, expand military knowledge of customs/traditions
- A guy, ROY BORGEOIS, speaks who was part of the naval amy and was asked to go to Vietnam.”We have to go there to fight communism”
- While he did this...the School of Americas made sure communism wasnt spreading in LA
- WWII colonialism was being replaced by dictatorships and regimes
- Got a purple hurt and returned it. Left Bolivia when they told him it wasnt safe anymore. Became a Catholic priest
- The school gave counterinsurgency training
- BORGEOIS wanted to meet ElSalvadorean soldiers to better understand their disjustice. He dressed up as high ranking officer and penetrated a region where El Salvadoreans were located. They climbed trees and played BISHOP ROMERO (?). They were charged with criminal trespassing, incriminating army officers/etc and put in prison for 18 months. He was in solitary confinement, cut off. He reached a spiritual enlightenment and requested to serve full sentence in confinement.
- 1989 massacre: BORGEOIS felt compelled to come to the place of the guilty killers. He found hundreds of ElSalvadorean soldiers (along with 18 LA countries training from School of the Americas) ; saw soldiers being taught with rifles; got apartment closeby to watch the School of Americas
- Many of the murderers trained at the school
- Does the school have responsibility for what its graduates do afterwards? It responsible for its curriculum (“I believe its the best curriculum on human rights” ← no fkn way)
- “We cannot destroy the school because of its graduates. The possibility to educate 1000s of LAs is invaluable and does not remove the good from the school”
- There was a vote to have the school closed
- When people find out their money being used to train LA soldiers in combat they become mad
- Not 1 head of state from the School of Americas was democratically elected “We dont want to be associated with the killing or torturing of LAs”
- OG headquarters of school abandoned today (human guinea pigs for torture training when school was based in Panama)

Over 900 people slaughtered (virtual entire POP of “Ezalota?)

- BORGEOISE contacted a human rights leader in Paraguay; there were files proving the School of Americas trained people in techniques of torture (ex: how to keep torture victims alive)
- 1996 board of Whitehouse creates report about School of America and its condoning of torturing (extortion physical abuse, false imprisonment, etc)
- BORGEOISE & other people trespassed on property to re-enact one of the killings by attendees of the school and were sentenced to imprisonment
- BORGEOISE has served over 3 years for his peaceful protests while none of the people responsible for the crimes he protested against were imprisoned for their crimes

Transformation of Conflict

- LA old class conflicts now becoming redefines and reframed in terms of ideology and the fight against “communism”

Note: class conflicts not related to communism or Cold War or SU or any external subversion became classified as such...

- People and groups struggling for a wide range of rights and freedoms became the enemy

View of Poor as enemy of State

- The anticommunist crusade became a war against progressive/democratic force as well as communists and guerillas

Week 7: October 17

MIDTERM

Week 8: October 24

★ POWERPOINT 6 STARTS

Dependencia : Economic theories of development, modernization, and marginalization

Modernization Theory

- arose among social scientists 1950s north America & Europe
- brought a set of policy prescriptions to make “developing” countries more like “developed” ones
 - Aimed to transform economies by changing societies and value systems (from traditional → modern)

Class notes

- Traditional had small economies based on the main economic engine of agriculture and agrarian society

Traditional society

- Kinship based political structured based on a traditional hierarchy
- Not much spatial/social mobility
- Mostly rural POP
- “Primary” economic activity

“Modern” society

- Predominance of achievement; mostly urbanized; lots of job mobility; lots of spatial mobility
- “Secondary” economic activity

World Systems Theory

- Timing of industrialization benefited early “core” states
- After successive waves of industrialization there's not much opportunity for the poorer countries
- Ongoing dependence on natural resources

Class notes

- WALLAS (?) argued that countries who industrialized earlier had a benefit and became the core state. If you were lucky enough to modernize/industrialize early on, you could gain a comparative advantage in a certain field
- WST says if you are trying to industrialize NOW you face comparative disadvantage because whatever you want to do/build is being done by others already cheaply (ex: China) so it's more difficult for you to penetrate the market when other people are buying things at low costs
- WALLAS emphasizes this of the ongoing vulnerability of late industrializing countries relative to history of countries who started industrializing in the 19th century (or even earlier for competing European countries)

Dependency theory

- African & LA response to modernization theory: thought it required critique; also built on Marxist theories & WST by highlighting what they saw as the core-periphery dynamic in the political economy
- Arose in 1960s & 70s
- Elaborated the notion of “underdeveloped” rather than “developing” countries

Class notes

- Underdevelopment in this context holds that, rather than having some countries be richer and some poor because the richer ones are somehow more fortunate or more industrious than the others, dependency theory states that the global north (core) countries got rich through exploitation of the global south (aka the undeveloped countries of the global south was not due to lack of development or effort but the presence of underdevelopment because they had been exploited in a way that actively kept them down)

THEOTONIO DOS SANTOS 1970s (VALENZUELA)

“Dependency is a situation in which a certain number of countries have their economy conditioned by the developments and expansion of another....placing the dependent countries in a backward position exploited by the dominant countries”

BISHOP MURRY

- Argument against France enslaving the slave trade and giving freedom to its slave colonies

“If you were to lose each year more than 200m livres that you now get from your colonies; if you had not the exclusive trade with your colonies to feed your manufactures, to maintain your navy, to keep your agriculture going, to repay your imports, to provide for your luxury needs, to advantageously balance your trade with Euro/Asia...then I say clearly, the kingdom would be irretrievably lost”

WALTER RODNEY 1970s

- Guayense dependency theorist
- Travelled to teach in East Africa
- Emphasized the solidarity within the global south within south America, Caribbean, Africa

“It is necessary to re-emphasize that devlpt & underdevlpt are not only comparative terms, but that they also have a dialectical relationship one to the other: that's to say, the 2 help produce each other by interaction”

Modernization theory & LA (VALENZEULA 1970s)

- MT focused on cultural characteristics of 'new' nations
- 1960s USA studies of LA emphasized "Catholic values, large Indian POPs, and aristocratic elites" as obstacles to development
- Exogenous outside influences are needed to make change possible

Class notes

- To change this is through outside influences; to have specialists come teach the locals the ways of development (through outside pressures); if left to their own devices, the people would be happy to live day in and day out with their basic form of production

Dependency theory emerges

- Rejects national society as the unit of analysis
- Emphasizes a countrys historical 'insertion into the worldwide political economic system which emerged with the wave of Euro colonizations of the world'

Class notes

- Modernization theory is hung up on culture, dependency theory aint

Dependency Theorys critique

- "Dependent, peripheral development produces an opportunity structure such that personal gain for dominant groups and entrepreneurial elements is not conducive to the collective gain of balanced employment" (VALENZUELA)
- Modernization theorys perspective is behavioural and microsociological, while dependency theory is structural or macrosociological (VALENZUELA)

IFIs (International Financial Institutions)

- Founded by USA & Europe 1944
- World Bank & IMF (also known as Bretton Woods institutions)
- Intended for the post war reconstruction of Europe
- Began lending to 3rd world in 1960s

IFIs and the Global South

- World Bank & IMF lending to southern countries alot after 1973 oil crisis
- 1980s lower global prices for primary commodities triggered "lost decade" for global south (decade of lost economic production where economies slowed to almost a halt and in some cases actually shrank - in this context of less cash inflow through exports of natural resources, these countries started borrowing heavily from these international financial institutions to repay debt on terms which would require them to repay interest continuously. The institutions also made them launch national SAPs)
- Countries became highly dependent on World Bank/IMF loans

SAPS (Structural Adjustment Programs)

- IFI loans conditional on "structural adjustment" - states had to cut their spending; privatize; orient their economies towards exports
- In many cases, states slashed subsidies for food, education, healthcare, infrastructures
- Issues with SAPS:
 - In 1970s & 80s, IFIs loaned \$\$\$ to brutal regimes (Uruguay, Chile, Argentina)
 - Much of the spending was never accounted for (corrupt leaders could embezzle)

- Large scale environmental devastation like programs to clear the Amazon rainforest
- Bright side of IFIs
 - In some cases they ended wasteful and inefficient ISI (where tariffs are places to protect domestic economic production), government support to industries
 - By 2000s they started putting more emphasis on poverty alleviation, education, health care, empowerment of females
- Impact of SAP
 - Encourages countries to find a niche in the global economy to gain a comparative advantage
 - For smaller countries (Jamaica) this was easily lost
 - Free trade can destroy local industries

Austerity measures

- Govt spending and subsidies slashes; workers laid off; projects requiring public financing are shelves; state owned enterprises sold
- Money saved goes to pay down foreign debts

ISI and indigenous manufacturing

- In 1960/70s many LA countries dvlpt indigenous countries (in Brazil/Mexico even steel/cars)
- The jobs these created were outweighed by costs of buying and maintaining machinery
- Countries started borrowing money; using foreign exchanged reserves to buy western goods

1980s Debt crisis and the “Lost decade”

- 1973-74: oil crisis boosted oil costs
- Large USA bank(s) made big loans to LA countries
- Regions debts went from <30b\$ 1970 → over 230b\$ in 1980
- Interest rates outstripped growth; 1982 Mexico threatened to default
- IFIs stepped in; no one spoke of dependencia anymore

Washington Concensus

- Post Cold War economic approach by US/UK
- Recommends same policies as IFIs : cut budget deficits, privatize state enterprises; reduces tariff protection; emphasizes export dvlpt; cut subsidies and reduced regulations; broadened the tax base

DOCUMENTARY (Jamaica)

- 1944 war coming to end
- key international institution set up was IMF (to have a bank they could turn to for short term borrowing to serve short term trading interests)
- Used to be ruled by a Queen
- When they wished for independence from Great Britain we had something else in mind
- “Is the Jamaica I see before me, self-ruled, a worse off place?” - once they became free they had every kind of economic problem because they needed strength and time to build economies
- 1973: world convulsion caused by oil prices (had to find crazy amounts of money to make ends meet)
- First you go to find loans because youre strapped for cash.
- If youre leader of the country and the private banks wont lend to you, you need to do something (ex: cutback spending or go to IMF)

- New global economy: the reason that Jamaica is how it is
- Detriments to economy

Week 9: October 31

★ POWERPOINT 7 STARTS

Haiti: from Revolution to Predatory state / Internal and local Dimensions)

Haiti: Key facts

- Often ranked poorest country in world
- Over half of population lives on less than \$1/day; 80% lives on <@2 a day
- Unemployment rate is 40.6%
- Ranks 159/176 countries in terms of corruption

The Myth of Haitian isolation

- Haiti has long been portrayed as prototypically immiserated 3rd world country
- “Haiti in 1950 was in general what it has been in 1900 - a preindustrial society inhabited by ignorant & diseased peasants oblivious to the outside world”
- Yet Haiti is the creation of the expansionist Euro empires - a quintessentially western entity” (PAUL FARMER)
- 18th c it was a most lucrative French possession in the western hemisphere; 1770s it generated more revenue than 13 USA states combines

Social order, race, class

- French colonization and the slave economy produced socio-economic classes ordered by race
- Beginning of 19th c: landowning whites sat at the top; then the white colonial govt functionaries; then value collar whites (40000 whites in all)
- Beneath them, mixed race (“mulattos”) + free blacks, who owned some land/property, but had fewer rights than whites (28000 total)
- At the bottom, 452000 slaves, whose lifespans were notoriously short

Revolt & independence

- Slave revolt of 1791 laid waste to plantations, killing over 1000 whites
- Freed slaves fled to the hills and waged guerilla war under the command of ex slave GENERAL TOUSSAINT OUVERTURE
- By 1796, Haiti had gained de facto independence
- In 1801 NAPOLEON sent a 20000 strong military force to retake Haiti + reimpose slavery; OUVERTURE captured, dies in exile

TOUSSAINT OUVERTURE (1743-1803)



The meaning of Haitian Independence

- OUVERTURE's deputy, JEAN DESSALINES, took up the fight and defeated NAPOLEON's army, weakened by yellow fever; Haitian casualties heavy too
- DESSALINES then ordered the massacre of 1000s of surviving Haitian whites in 1804
- "I have given the French cannibals blood for blood...I have avenged America" - DESSALINES 1804
- By defeating colonialism through a slave uprising "Haiti was the first free nation of free men to arise within, and in resistance to, the emerging constellation of the western European empire" (PAUL FARMER)
- But Haiti would be punished by external forces, and unable to overcome entrenched patterns of violence and inequality"

International reactions to Haitian Independence

- American govt and general white public observed this successful slave revolt with fascinated horror
- France humiliated by loss of its prize colony; starting in 1825 the French exacted exorbitant annual reparations from Haiti (forcibly) until 1947 in order to compensate slave owners' loss of property

Historical role of USA 19th century

- "Haiti is a public nuisance at our door" ALVEY ADDEE (USA assistant secretary of state 1886-1924)
- For American slaves, Haiti became a symbol of resistance & TOUSSAINT OUVERTURE a heroic figure
- Haiti was a major US trading partner by mid 19th c
- Southern states viewed Haiti as a thorn in their side; US delayed the recognition of Haiti until 1862 (58 yrs after independence)
- US PRESIDENT JOHNSON wanted to annex Hispaniola so US could have a foothold in the Caribbean

Post-revolutionary ruling elites

- DESSALINES assassinated 1806 by rebellious troops
- Haitian govt falls under control of a ruling political class allied with small commercial elite (in Marxist terms "a comprador bourgeoisie")
- Emergence of an export-oriented economy that exploited the vast peasant class turns into a predatory state (FATTON 2002)

Haitis post independence Turmoil

- 1865: GEFFRARD govt suppressed revolt with aid of the British ← the first instance in a long history of foreign intervention on behalf of Haitis ruling elites and their commercial interests
- US/French/British/German forced also extorted precious resources from Haiti in the era of gunboat diplomacy, crippling Haiti with foreign debt.
- Early 20th c: by now the US frequently stationed gunboats in Haitian waters
- 1910-1915: crippled by continuous expatriation of resources and domestic misrule, Haitian politics veered from crisis to crisis

Debt, Instability, US Occupation

- 1915-34: US military occupied Haiti; US marines suppressed resistance/rebellion; killed 1000s of Haitians
- 1915: PREZ WILSON ordered US marines to remove \$500000 from Haitians central bank for 'safekeeping' in NYC; WILSON forced Haitian parliament to dissolve after it refused to grant foreign land ownership; under US pressure this policy was overturned forcibly
- North American companies hurried to execute plantations in Haiti and exploit cheap local labor
- 1934: US forced depart under FDR but control Haitian treasury until 1947

Duvalier era (1956-1986)

- 1956: with the Cold War on, USA backed military coup that brought to power FRANCOIS "PAPA DOC" DUVALIER brutal regime
- 1964: DUVALIER declared himself president for life, enforcing power with "Tonton Macoutes" militia; Haitis predatory state is perfected as PAPA DOC plunders state coffers (coffer: box for holding valuables?)
- 1971: PAPA DOC death; his 19yr old son, JEAN CLAUDE "BABY DOC" DUVALIER comes in, declaring himself president for life; backed by Tonton Macoutes; US PREZ CARTER resists him and then REAGAN supports him.
- 1986: DUVALIER flees to France aboard USAF plane to escape the uprising; comes back to Haiti 2011 amid calls for him to face justice for his crimes; is charged but never convicted; 2014 dies

Tonton Macoutes: DUVALIERIST death squad

- PAPA DOC DUVALIER founded this death squad as a personal militia after a coup attempt in 1958 because he did not trust own army/police
- US trained Tonton Macoutes intimidated voters in fraudulent 1961 and 1964 elections; killed political opponents and members of civil society, often in broad daylight; killed 30000-60000 Haitians altogether
- Founding commander CAMBRONNE became known as "the vampire of the Carribean" leaving in 1971 to live out last days in Miami
- Funded themselves through criminality/extortion
- After BABY DOC fled in 1986, the Macoutes stayed, reinventing themselves as the *Front for Advancement and Progress in Haiti (FRAPH)* in 1990s; spawned deadly gangs that controlled most of Haiti today

Pro-DUVALIER rally 1986 by Tonton Macoutes



Haitis Predatory Republic (FATTON 2002)

- After DUVALIER falls in 1986, remaining economic elites - the “quasi borgeoise bloc” tolerated an opening for minimal liberal democracy
- However Haitian society were “overly assertive” making the elites feel threatened
- PREZ BERTRAND ARISTIDE’S LAVALAS party enjoyed a great current of support from civil society; economic elites thus welcomes GENERAL RAOUL CEDRAS military coup 1991
- “The balance of class power is thus determinant in the making of a democracy”

2010 earthquake - widespread devastation (30000 dead)



Back to the future: BABY DOC visits Haiti 2011



Truth and political violence in Latin America: exploring ethnographic & cultural Paths to Knowledge

Overview of Guatemalan case

- 1944-54: civil and labor rights
- CIA organizes military coup on PRESIDENT JACOBO ARBENZ, led by GENERAL CARLOW CASTILLE ARMAS
- labor unions + left wing political parties = banned
- racism v. indigenous Maya, mostly in rural areas

Class notes:

- after a decade of increased rights and representations of Guatemalan citizens, ARBENZ was elected with a plan to nationalize the lands that belonged to the UFC (United Fruit Company). He was overthrown.

- remember, CIA head ALLEN DULLES was on the board of directors for the UFC (which meant people in very high places in USA wanted to see efforts to nationalize land/industry in Guatemala thwarted). GENERAL ARMAS was the first of many military dictators who would take power in Guatemala and adopt severe indigenous/worker policies

Guatemalan civil war

- breaks out 1960 when guerrilla groups rise up against govt
- guatemalan military targeted Mayan communities in the highlands (40-50000 disappeared/200000+ killed)
- death squads and army units conducting violence
- war ends finally in 1996

class notes:

- violence by military targeted through various strategies (think conventional death squads)

MENCHU'S testimonial ('testimonio')

- writes book "I RIGOBERTA MENCHU, an Indian in Guatemala"
- narrative style relating a collective experience
- MECHU family accused of communism
- they scattered to avoid endangering their own community, joining Army of Poor Guerrillas
- her brother was betrayed/tortured/killed for 15 quetzals
- army accused tortured prisoners of belonging to SU, Cuba, Nicaragua
- her father dies in Spanish embassy fire
- MENCHU flees into exile in Mexico; wins Nobel Peace Prize 1992

Class notes

- the testimonial relates to the collective experience of her community (multiple experiences, narratives & POV collapsed to one person's voice)

Book by DAVID STOLL opposing MENCHU'S testimonial

- IN his 1998 book "RIGOBERTA MENCHU and the story of all poor Guatemalans" anthropologist DAVID STOLL asks the question "What if much of RIGOBERTA story is not true?"
- he claims her book increased support for a guerrilla group unrepresentative of most poor Guatemalans "it is not the eyewitness account it purports to be" and involves "mythic inflation"
- her brother was not killed in the way she describes and that she could not have been an eyewitness to his killing
- STOLL asks what came first: the insurgency or the government repression?

Class notes

- mythic inflation distorts our ideas

BEVERLY defence of testimony

- “something of the experience of the body in pain or danger or hunger....a trace of the real.... also inheres in testimony”
- claims STOLL wants MENCHU to be a native informant, and STOLLS book “functions as a text of counterinsurgency”
- BEVERLY juxtaposes “a posture of benevolent paternalism or liberal guilt” with "effective solidarity which presumes in principle a relation of equality and reciprocity between the parties involved”

class notes

- BEVERLY is saying there is a lot of power built into the researchers (STOLL) ability to decide what is admissible & inadmissible. STOLL is complicit with counter insurgency efforts by the Guatemalan govt and US Backers

Epistemology

- how do we acquire knowledge?
- some researchers noted the inherent power relations in the study of political processes
- ethnography : the researcher is embedded within a community for a while to observe, and even firsthand participate, in political processes

Research/Data collection

- interviews with people whom felt/saw the events can be the only way to find out more about them
- as a researcher you need to trust your interviewees; sometimes you can verify the testimony sometimes you can't

JESSICA PISANO “How to tell an Axe Murderer” 2009

“The study of the margins (marginal people) is important not only for communicating and interpreting the voices of less powerful people but also because the knowledge produced in the margins may sometimes be, in the world of truth claims, more accurate than that generated at the centre”

The "Subaltern”

- historically disadvantaged, marginalized or colonized populations
- these have often been written about by others but have rarely and the opportunity to tell their own personal history
- even researchers sympathetic to them end up speaking FOR them (colonial construction of the ‘other’)

Solidarity / truth

- does solidarity between researcher + interviewee undermine the objectivity and accuracy?
- BEVERLY argues there is shared interests between intellectuals with subaltern populations and that MENCHU is reaching out to form an alliance, relying on the support and solidarity of intellectuals within Guatemala and elsewhere in order to ensure her peoples (and her cultures) survival

★ POWERPOINT 9 STARTS

Gender and Citizenship in Latin America / Demanding rights from the state and civil society

Womens Suffrage

- Ecuador the 1st LA country to enfranchise women 1929
- Paraguay was the last 1961
- reformist/revolutionary govt often implemented this change

Women Heads of State

- examples: ROUSSEFF, Brazil, 2001; KIRCHNER, Argentina, 2007; CHAMORRO, Nicaragua, 1990; MOSCOSO, Panama, 1999
- not all have promoted women rights
- some have held office due to family ties to prominent politicians or businesspeople
- Michelle BACHELET: arrested and tortured during military dictatorship
- Some of the female leaders only political experience was being married to a man who had been a political leader. Stemming chiefly from being related to a male politician suggests that women break through into political power in ways that remain attached to a patriarchal framework of male political power. Few had political background in their own right
- implementing quota laws which mandate minimum number of women candidates (Especially for the legislative branch) can be a powerful way of ensuring female representation. Countries with quotas have almost doubled female representation, and tripling female rep in senate seats

Women in civil society

- women have organized not human rights groups (ex: Madres de la Plaza de Mayo)
- and also economic support organizations, such as communal kitchens, in times of economic crisis
← but still falls into the traditional gender roles created (cooking)

Madres de la Plaza de Mayo

- 1976-1983: Argentine military officers staged a coup, installed a dictatorship
- 30000 killed by regime in 'Dirty war' in secret, 1000s more arrested or tortured
- many of those killed "disappeared" (bodies never found because regime systematically hid the bodies)
- 1977: mothers & other relatives if the disappeared found las Madres
- they gathered weekly in front of the Casa Rosada presidential palace of Buenos Aires (heart of Buenos Aires); they wore white veils; there was no outcry, just presence, to continuously act as thorn in side of regime; IR human rights organizes began to take note and champion the cause (it raised their profile, building pressure against government); overtime protests brought together the mothers of those who disappeared and their relatives
- People had a hunch their relatives were not alive but had no way to prove it without finding the body. Also, resisting the brutal Argentine government could cost you your own life
- as mothers these women *subverted* the racist regimes claim to protecting family values/patriotism
- they drew international renown and brought pressure to the regime
- regime infiltrated them, kidnapped/tortured/killed 3 of their founders
- but it could not crack down on the, overtly
- these women were the wedge which pried the regimes grip of power. (the pillar of the family the regime CLAIMED to protect; the symbol of this traditional society that the regime CLAIMED to be standing for)
- the regime kidnapped 3 of the founding members

- most analyses of the end of Argentina's military regime will identify las Madres as one of the first wedges that took the regime's power away; las Madres (the mothers) caused the regime to hesitate and opened room for outcry/protest

Las Madres ongoing resistance

- many fans still don't know their loved ones fate
- 100s of children of the "disappeared" were given away to be raised by military families
- such cases continue to surface
- las Madres remains active
- Question: Does women's participation in non-governmental activity translate into greater participation within the state?
- Many women fought within rebel groups, organizing protests against authoritarianism
- These same women were NOT guaranteed power after their transitions
- State institutions have required transformation from within...

Women in the Sandinistas

- Nicaragua's Sandinista rebels had the highest % of women combatants of all modern forces (35%)
- In the key final battle v. SOMOZA forces at Leon, 4/7 rebel commanders actually were female

Sandinistas come to power

- After seizing power women played a key role in defending against Contras (50000)



Was transformation of women's role complete?

- "Economic development, on its own, is not enough to achieve the liberation of women, and neither is the mere fact women are organising. There must be a struggle against the habits, traditions, prejudices of women/men. We must launch a difficult and prolonged ideological struggle - a struggle equally undertaken by men and women: - TOMAS BORGE, Sandinista commander

Locating Gender at grassroots

- Much scholarship sees democratization as negotiation between elites
- By ignoring grassroots, they ignore women & gendered relationships
- Women mobilizing under authoritarianism
- Post transition, gender equalities tend to remain

Women & democratization

- You can make a state democratic, but to make a democracy flourish to all, you need a more thorough going process of consolidation
- Democratizing institutions is NOT same as democratizing society
- Groups (such as women) who play key roles during the transition may be sidelined during consolidation
- Minimalist v. maximalist definitions of democracy (minimalist definition would satisfy with the fact that the nation allows voting; maximalist definition would relate to the notion of building a democracy which encompasses transformation, rights, representation for ALL)

Political agency of female workers

- Women are often stu

Citizenship rights

- property ownership, doing business, joining the workforce
 - Political rights: participating in govt (through voting or running for office)
 - Social rights: benefits of welfare state housing/healthcare/education/etc

Note: the minimalist will start at civil rights and as it becomes maximalist work its way down to social rights

Women's union networks in Mexico

- Promoting female rights as citizenship rights (rather than just womens rights in order to promote not only their own status, but the whole of democracy)
- Challenging gender inequality within unions
- Demanding rights from the state AND from within their own unions

Women rights as human rights

- Social rights often preceded civil and political rights in LA
- Since 3rd wave of democratic transitions, political rights often exceeded social and civil rights
- In this context women have had to struggle harder for social/civil rights

Workforce participation as key

- Access to the workforce ensures access to social rights (like healthcare, social security)
- Workforce as gateway/outlet to material/political benefits as well as opportunity for political participation

Ciudad Jarez city murders

- The city is a center for free trade factories (maquiladoras) near American border
- <370 women killed 1993-2007
- Murky nexus of drug gangs and the state
- Violence unfolds against a socio-economic context of rural displacement, urban insecurity, questions of state indifference and complicity
- Remember, the target is crime, not political, but the state is involved in its apparent complicity and absence (lack of meaningful intervention to halt the killings)

Any notes after this?

Week 12: November 21

The 3rd wave of democracy

- beginning in the late 1970s and ending mid 90s
- Argentina; Bolivia; Brazil; Chile; Ecuador; El Salvador; Nicaragua; Peru; Guatemala, Honduras, Uruguay ← all became at least partially democratic
- what factors were to explain the timing: domestic factors (local populations being fed up with military dictatorships)

TERRY LYNN KARL 1990 (author)

- the problem of defining democracy as a category depends how broadly or narrowly it is defined
- this gave rise to a variety of ‘democracies with adjectives’.

ex: electoral democracies, representative democracy (related to electoral democracy.. there are diff POPS who make their voices heard in elections), simulated democracies <— if you add qualifiers to the term democracy you dilute the meaning of the word

- does democracy require prerequisites or are these better understood as outcomes?: economic prosperity and social transformation are prerequisites for democracy (if you haven’t achieved that you aren’t ready for it yet). However, later studies show that these things are outcomes of democracy and it is very much possible to democratize X country if you’re poor and straight out of war. Prosperity & social transformation could come after

Do wealth and democracy come hand in hand?

- Early poli-sci (ex: LIPSET 1959) argued wealth makes a democracy alot easier to achieve
- Also argued pro-democratic

Framing economic development in political terms

- IS there a necessary tradeoff between economic and sociopolitical progress?
- HUNTINGTON famously argued that development should come before democratization - was he right? There are challenges to these assumptions
 - Peru has fulfilled many criteria of democracy during times of poverty & hardship
 - Argentina did not democratize for many years despite relatively high per capita GDP
 - Evolution of theory
 - I. modernization theory: economic development needs to come first
 - II. Democratic transitions literature: education for the masses and the welfare state are the CONSEQUENCES not the precondition of democracy itself

Revisiting class and urban-rural dynamic.

- KARL (1990 author) finds:
 - In order for democracy to flourish the land owning class must not play a key role in the export economy
 - Where agriculture is a key economic factor, labor must not be heavily repressed

Prerequisites for democratic transitions (O’DONELL & SCHMITTER 1986)

- Military elites agree to leave politics in exchange for amnesty
- Capitalists agree to labor laws in exchange for expropriation of property
- Political parties agree to electoral “rules of the game”
- “Pacted transitions”

How do democracies consolidate?

- Institutionalization of electoral competition is necessary but NOT sufficient
- You also need : rule of law, institutions of civil society, and horizontal accountability to the legislative branch
- Democracy as a combination of state institutions & mass participation

democracy and Uncertainty

- Democracy institutionalizes uncertainty (O’DONNELL & SCHMITTER)
- WHO will occupy the positions of power?
- To what use will their authority be applied ?

- 'Democratization' : limited political democracy (electoral democracy)

Democratization case study : Uruguay

- 1973: military junta seized power ; most political prisoners per capita in the world
- 1973-5: Junta imposes free-market economic policies: tariffs were lowered to weed out weaker industries; workers wages were suppressed to attract FDI; favorable interest rates and unregulated banking would attract overseas capital

Uruguay pressures to democratize

- 1980: Junta holds a plebiscite to grant the military's National Security Council permanent political power loses 58% to 42%
- 1981-83: GDP fell 20%; unemployment and foreign debt soared
- Military agreed to hold internal party elections in 1982; presidential and congressional elections held in 1984; formal transfer of power to elected civilian government in 1985

Impunity: the price of stability

- In 1986 the legislative branch approved amnesty law for 360 military officers guilty of human rights violations
- Civil society groups launched campaign to force a referendum on the issue
- 1989 Uruguayan citizens voted 57-43% to maintain the 'full stop' law guaranteeing immunity for the officers; 85% of the POP votes
- They chose stability & peaceful transition over justice

Brazil's 'Abertura'

- 1964-85: military junta would choose generals to serve as the head of state
- GENERAL FIGUEREIDO, the last junta leader, began the 'abertura' ("opening") of the political system; claimed that he wanted to make Brazil a democracy
- Hardliners launched terrorist attacks to destabilize government which only increased popular demand for change

Return to democracy : Brazil

- Like Uruguay Brazil had soaring inflation, declining productivity, and rising debt
- Widespread labor strikes rocked the country through early 80s ; massive protests demanding voting rights
- 1985: TANCREDO NEVES of PMDB party (which always opposed the junta) elected to power
- NEVES fell ill and died without taking oath of office ; JOSE SARNEY replaced him
- Until 88 the executive could pass laws by decree - leftover from junta

Class notes

- These transitions take a while as aspects of the previous nondemocratic regime remain and are gradually phased out

Brazil's transition

- 1986: SARNEY initiated process of drafting a constitution
- 1988: constitution adopted formally signifying end of authoritarianism; military's influence sidelined
- Economic instability continued, but popular 'buy in' to democracy has been total

Critique of democratization theory

- Do all democratizing countries go through an opening, breakthrough, and consolidation? Is democratization a NATURAL process? Do elections *generate broader democratic reforms*?
 - CARROTHERS (author) says no. its not a natural process. First and foremost, starting the process of democratization is often but many countries never make it further past that stage.
 - CARROTHERS (2002) warns of the ‘dangerous habit’ of assuming that post Cold war states will eventually become consolidated democracies
 - Do elections reinforce legitimacy and broaden participation?

End of the transition paradigm?

- Policymakers and scholars have assumed that democracies with adjectives” are all on a linear path towards democracy
- In reality many of them ARE NOT
- Instead they remain in a grey zone; not fully authoritarian nor fully democratic

Conclusions

- That democratic transitions may not be linear and are often quite slow
- Grey zone countries may not be “in transition” but in a category of their own
- Elections may not deepen democratic participation or accountability

Positive signs for democracy in Latin America

- Increased political representation of marginalized groups in certain countries like Bolivia & Peru
- Populism may be on the rise but military dictatorships are a thing of the past
- Many countries are coming to grips with their violent past

Cuba : democratic transition in the near future?

- FIDEL CASTRO death, aging of his leadership generation may give rise to change
- Increase of FDI/trade has already led to minor market liberalizations (example: small property ownership)
- Once politicians make limited concessions, pace can be difficult to control
- Change can take on a momentum of its own

Week 13: November 28

low intensity democracy

- the institutions of formal democracy which has recently re-emerged in many countries in the 3rd world have failed to broaden political participation in a meaningful way” (GILLS/ROCAMORA 1992)
- Democracy needs to incorporate social reform (not just about the political transition) or it will be undermined in the future
- question: is the freedom that democracy brings really for people, or for markets? (Ex: if it focuses on rights to property and enshrining free enterprise then it could end up being reforms primarily privileging wealthy/powerful but do not uplift the poor)
- low intensity conflict: conflicts happening in developing areas like 3rd world countries (for example civil war in El Salvador). These wars are not involving major superpowers, only poorer smaller ones’

pluralism / "neopluralism"

- pluralism: refers to political competition between various groups/units
 - some scholars say the seeds of pluralism in Europe was rooted in feudalism (where there were royalty and a sub strata of those beneath the elites like merchants) and that this was a precursor to pluralism
 - pluralism is a pre-cursor to democracy but not necessary for democracy
- neopluralism: refers to form of democracy where groups compete for control of the state but DO NOT represent popular voices
- OXHORN (author) says a lot of democracies of elite where select number of people compete for power but it is not a deep representation of the popular voice
- OXHORN asks what happens when/if democracy fails to deliver? (example, what political regimes would emerge?)
 - GILLS/ROCAMOR: market centered pattern of political incorporation (state exists mainly for overseeing of economy and giving more space to the powerful)
 - state does not provide incentives for collective action any longer (they are privatized)
 - lower class collective action has less impact v. economic interests
 - political rights safeguarded while social/civil rights are precarious
 - ultimately, even though democracies are emerging and valuing certain democratic things, such as political life, other aspects must be addressed too

securitized democracy

- LA states aren't building their authority on the protection of citizen rights
- rather they have 'armed encounters and insidious collusions' with violent actors' in the name of security
- this divides/fragments the polity

democracy & perverse state formation

- WEBER defined the state as having "a monopoly over the legitimate use of force"
- the lack of such monopoly has become a defining characteristic of LA states
- state responds to chaos/disorder by imposing authority through force (PEARCE 2010)
- disorder gives the state an opportunity to implement its authority by trying to impose order but without fully ever imposing authority
- Poverty has declined in all countries but with greaaaat variations

Challenges for the future

- Can LA countries reduce the gap between rich and poor?
- Can they break the pattern of economic reliance on natural resources, & actually develop local industries?
- Can they REDUCE violence levels and insecurity ?

Week 15: December 5

No class
