

Syllabus: Issues in Latin American Development

Instructor: Thomas W. O'Donnell

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Graduate Program in International Affairs
Development Concentration
Course number: 5425 – NINT 5169

Mon, 6:00 - 7:50 PM. Aug 29 – Dec 15, 2011
Room 615, 66 W. 12th Street
Academic Calendar: [Fall 2011](#)

Jump to: [COURSE DESCRIPTION](#)

Jump to: [REQUIRED BOOKS](#)

Grading policy: Participation, preparation and attendance 33%, Research Blog 33%, Report in-class presentations and final report (posted on blog) 33% (Unlikely but possible: Multiple choice midterm if required to test for reading/comprehension of assigned material; but only if too many students tend not to prepare properly for in-class discussion. This would reduce each other category by 8% for 24% weight.)
Note: Participation includes attendance, and regularly contributing to class discussions, including when assigned to lead/initiate discussion on a Reading – these must be well prepared and coordinated with any co-presenter(s) . Missing class is serious problem.. More than two absences seriously risks failure – speak with the instructor immediately if a problem arises.

SYLLABUS: -- click on dates here to jump to syllabus --

| Class | Date | Research Paper & Assignments Due |
|-------|------------------------|---|
| 0 | | Classes cancelled due to hurricane Irene |
| 0 | | Labor Day, no class |
| 1 | 12Sep | 1 st meeting fall 2011; pick a research-blog country |
| 2 | 19Sep | |
| 3 | 26Sep | |
| 4 | 03Oct | |
| 5 | 10Octt | |
| 6 | 17Oct | |
| 7 | 24Oct | Outline of research-blog country report due – in class |
| 8 | 31Oct | X |
| 9 | 07Nov | |
| 10 | 14Nov | |
| 11 | 21Nov | Thanksgiving break is 23-27 Nov. No effect here. |
| 12 | 28Nov | |
| 13 | 05Dec | |
| 14 | 12Dec | Presentations in class, Group I |
| 15 | 19Dec | Makeup if needed Semester ends Mon 13Dec |

SULLABUS: Readings & Assignments

| Class Week | Date | Reading Assignment | Country-Specific Topic | Approx Amount of Pages |
|------------|-----------------------|--|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 12Sep | Development: Assessing its stages and drivers (as vs. prescriptions and policies). 1. <i>Historical Overview of Human Economic, Political and Social Development</i> : PowerPoint | None | |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>(2Mb). T. O'Donnell, Lecture, Faculty of Economics, U. of Algiers, May, 2005.</p> <p>2. World Values Survey and works by R. Inglebert et al,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Look over: Research website Look over: The WVS Cultural Map of the world (updated to 2010 vs article above in 2000) NOTE inks on left hand side to data and graphs. Look over: Collection of Graphs presenting WVS data Read: Inglehart and Baker, ASR, February 2000, Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values (33 pp.) FYI: A Critique of Inglehardt and Baker: <p>3. Look over: Wikipedia entry Standard measures of societies differential 'development':</p> <p>4. Look: UNDP Human Development Index reports</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Look: Human Development Index correlates with GDP/capita at 0.95. (Freconomics) <p>5. Look: World Bank's World Development Indicators, '09</p> <p>6. Look: Economic Survey of Latin America and the Caribbean 2009-2010, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) of the United Nations, July 2010, accessed 13 August 2010</p> <p>7. Look: World Competitiveness Report 2010-2011 from World Economic Forum. Entire report, Produce charts. Options include bar and scatter charts, Google Maps overlay, etc.</p> | <p>Source: Economic Survey of Latin America & the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2009-2010 (Selected states) – T.O'D.</p> | |
| <p>2</p> <p>19Sep</p> <p>NOTE: This and first class use online sources, in case books have not arrived</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Crow, John A. 1992 (original 1946). <i>The Epic of Latin America</i>. Fourth Edition. Berkeley : University of California, 1992 (original 1946). <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Read: Introduction & Prologue, pp. xi-xxviii. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Students 1,2,3 Read: Chapter 52: Ariel and Caliban, pp. 673-697; <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Students 4,5,6 Read: Chapter 53: The 20th Century: Deep Womb, Dark Flower, pp. 698-720 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Students 7,8,9 Continue in-class discussion of "Historical Overview of ... Development" PowerPoint and of Inglehart and Baker from Class 1. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Students 10, 11, 12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Student research-blog and/or current affairs updates (at start of class, ~ 7 minutes each): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> México Colombia Venezuela Note: Links to blogs are on class homepage. Click on these links for articles Prof. Tom suggests on current affairs To see prof's other postings from this week: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Brazil Argentina Chile Andean Central America Cuba Overall: blogs_US/China/EU relations... | <p>22+24 +24</p> <p>133+4 1 =174</p> |
| <p>3</p> <p>26Sep</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (de Las Casas 1992 (1552)) <i>The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account</i>. [trans.] Herma Briffault. Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University, 1992 (original 1552). Introduction by Bill M. Donovan. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Read: <i>Entire book – purchase version listed above</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Students Mexico: Intro Students Colombia: p 27 – 53 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Student research-blog and/or current affairs updates (at start of class, ~ 7 minutes each): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Brazil Argentina Chile Note: Links to blogs are on class homepage. Click on these links for articles Prof. Tom suggests on current affairs To see prof's other postings from this week: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> México Colombia Venezuela Andean Central America Cuba | <p>17+93 =110</p> |

03Oct

- (till Nicaragua)
- iii. *Students Venezuela* : p 53 – 79 (till Kingdom of Yucatán)
 - iv. *Students Brazil* : p. 79 – 101 (till River Yuyapari)
 - v. *Students Chile*: p. 101-132
- Note: The book is available in pdf ([download PDF](#)); This is an old translation with difficult language, lacking the Introductions by Donovan and translator that we discuss, so BUY THE CORRECT BOOK.
2. Critique of this translation:
 - a. **Read:** R. Adorno, The politics of publication: Bartolomé de las Casas The Devastation of the Indies, New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids 67 (1993), no: 3/4, Leiden, 285-292. [PDF download](#)
 - i. *Students Argentina*
 - b. **Read:** Chapter 1: *Colonial Foundations*, pp. 13-41.
 - i. *Students Colombia*

- o [Overall: blogs, US/China/EU relations...](#)

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 - o [Andean](#)
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 - o [Cuba](#)
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Venezuela I.

2. **Read:** (Wiarda and Kline 2007), *David J. Myers*, Chapter 11. *Venezuela: Consolidating a Different Democracy*, pp. 268-304.
 - a. **Students Venezuela**
 3. **In-Class discussion:**

Petroleum: Venezuelan historical issues with foreign oil companies, internal *rentismo*, oil mono-economy and Dutch disease; 1976 nationalization, 1990's neo-liberal *apertura*, 2003 *paro* (oil strike); chavista hydrocarbon reform and migration to mixed companies, Chavez oil funds to social programs vs. investments, relations with U.S., Chinese, Iranian Russian and foreign companies; PDVSA production decline; sovereignty and the future.
 4. **In-class presentation:** T.O'D.: O'Donnell, T.W., Talk at *Asociación Venezolano de Hidrocarburos (AVHI)*, Caracas, April 2009 [download PPT](#)
 5. **Read:** (Mares and Altamirano 2007) *Venezuela's PDVSA and World Energy Markets*, [download PDF](#) from Rice U., or [local PDF](#)
- NOTE: The following page numbers are the PDF reader's page numbers. The numbers written on the printed pages are about 10 less:
6. **Students:** *Brazil Introduction*, pp. 1-13. & *Conclusions* pp. 94-96.
 7. **Students Chile:** *Chapter 1, Overview of PDVS*, pp. 13-32
 8. **Students Argentina:** *Chapter 2, PDVSA's*

12+28
+
13+3+
X
=56+X

10Oct

1. (Skidmore and Smith 2006 (1984)) Chapter Two: *Transformation of Modern Latin America, 1880-2000*,
 - a. **Read:** pp. 42-67.
 - i. **Students** Venezuela
2. (Crow 1992 (1946))
 - a. **Read:** [Chapter 52: Ariel and Caliban](#), pp. 673-697. (We already read this; look it over) ...
 - b. **Read:** [Chapter 53: The 20th Century: Deep Womb, Dark Flower](#), pp. 698-720. **Be prepared to compare to Skidmore**
 - i. **Students** Brazil

Historical Evolution pp. 32-63

9. **Students** Mexico *Chapter 3, Relation to Government and Other Political Actors*, pp. 63-73.
10. **Students** Colombia: *Chapter 4, Strategies and Behaviors Under Chavez*, pp. 63-93

Resources:

11. Presentation by (Mares and Altamirano 2007) [download PDF](#) from Rice U. or [local PDF](#)
12. Film, (*El Reventón: Los inicios de la producción petrolera en Venezuela* (1883-1943) Author unknown
13. Film, *El Reventón II* (1943-)

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15+4+
7+3+
3+14=
46

Venezuela II.

Society and Politics: Three recent Venezuelan elections, chavista electoral base reaction to problems in social programs, insecurity, corruption; theoretical-historical assessment of chavista organizational model vs. other revolutions in LatAm and elsewhere; previous institutional decline & chavista dependence on mass mobilization & personal leadership/authority vs. civil service &/or party of the revolution.

1. T.W. O'Donnell, *An Analysis of Three Venezuelan Elections, 2007-2009*, **in-class presentation:** [download PPT](#) ; Article preprint, 2010
2. *Revista: Harvard Review of Latin America*, Fall 2008. [download PDF](#)
 - a. **Read:** *Introduction & Overview*, by Editor and Fernando Coronil, pp. 1-4
 - b. **Read:** *After the Referenda: Reading the Defeat*, by Margarita López Maya, p. 5-7
 - i. **Students** Chile (pp 1-7)
 - c. **Optional:** *The Politics of Identity: Bolívar and Beyond*, by Colette Capriles, p. 8-10
 - d. **Read:** *Elections and Political Power: Challenges for the Opposition*, by Teodoro Petkoff p.11-13
 - i. **Students** Argentina
 - e. **Optional:** *A "Revolutionary Process" Unfolds in the Absence of a Well Defined Plan:* by Steve Ellner p. 14-16
 - f. **Read:** *Oil and Revolution: It's the Oil, Stupid!!!* (Coronil, *Oil and Revolution: Overview & Viewpoint* (interviews) 2008), by F. Coronil, p.19-20
 - i. **Students** Mexico

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17Oct

1. (Wiarda and Kline 2007), *Latin American Politics and Development*. Sixth Edition. Bolder: Westview Press, 2007.
 - a. **Optional:** Part I: *The Latin American Tradition and Process of Development*, pp. 1-94. Chapters:
 - b. **Optional:** The Context of Latin American Politics, pp 3-16
 - c. **Optional:** The Pattern of Historical Development, pp 17-3
 - d. **Will Read Later:** Interest Groups and Political Parties, pp 33-58
 - e. **Optional:** Government Machinery, the Role of the State and Public Policy, pp 59-80
 - f. **Optional:** The Struggle for Democracy in Latin America, pp. 81-94

- g. *Viewpoints* (Interviews by F. Coronil), p. 21-33

i. **Students Colombia**

3. **Optional:** (León and Smilde 2009), [two articles](#) from the W. Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., or [download PDF](#)

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México, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Argentina:

2. (Crow 1992 (1946)), [Chapter 54: The Postwar Years:](#)

- a. **Read:** *A Country by Country Survey*, pp. 721-880 But skip 750-792.

[NOTE: read only sections on our countries of interest:

| Read | Students assigned |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| México, pp. 721-749, | Mexico group |
| Venezuela, pp. 792-798 | Venez. group |
| Colombia, pp. 799-805 | Colombia |
| Chile, pp. 831-840, | Chile |
| Argentina: 841-854 | Argentina |
| Brazil, 862-880], | Brazil |
| Cuba, pp. 777-791, | |

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24Oct

1. **Read:** (Santiso 2007), pp. 1 – 116.

| Read | Students assigned |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| Intro & Chapt 1 | Mexico |
| Chapter 2 | Colombia |
| Chapter 3 | Venezuela |
| Chapter 4 | Brazil |

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Brazil I

1. (Skidmore and Smith 2006 (1984)),
 - a. **Optional:** Chapter 5, *Brazil: Development for Whom?* pp. 139-178.
 - b. **Optional:** (Wiarda and Kline 2007), *Iéda Siqueira Wiarda*, Chapter 7, *Brazil: The Disorders of Progressive Democracy*, pp. 127-164

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31Oct

Mexico I:

Guest Speaker: Naomi Darembaum (NYU).
Development WWII to present

1. **Read:** Jorge Castañeda, *Paralyzed Democracy: How to move Mexico into the future*. Newsweek, Feb 12, 2010, magazine date Feb 22, 2010.
[docx file](#) **Students Chile**

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 - [Brazil](#)
 - [Argentina](#)

2. **Read:** Enrique Krauze, *Furthering Democracy in Mexico*, Foreign Affairs, January/February 2006. [doc file](#) **Students Argentina**
3. **Read:** Luis Rubio and Jeffrey Davidow, *Mexico's Disputed Election*, Foreign Affairs, September/October 2006. [doc file](#) **Students Mexico**
4. **Read:** (Skidmore and Smith 2006 (1984)), Chapter 8, *Mexico: The Taming of a Revolution*, pp. 254-295. **Students Colombia**
Read: (Wiarda and Kline 2007), *George W. Grayson: Chapter 16, Mexico: The Emergence of a Messianic Reformer*, pp. 385-402. **Students Venezuela**

- o [Chile](#)
- o [Andean](#)
- o [Central America](#)
- o [Cuba](#)
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Chile I

1. (Skidmore and Smith 2006 (1984)),
 - a. **Optional:** Chapter 4, *Chile: Socialism, Repression, and Democracy*, pp. 109-138.
2. (Wiarda and Kline 2007),
 - a. **Optional:** Chapter *Paul E. Sigmund*, Chapter 8: *Chile*, pp. 165-1998

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07Nov

1. **Read:** (Santiso 2007), class presentations by:

| Read | Students assigned |
|-----------|-------------------|
| Chapter 5 | Chile |
| Chapter 6 | Argentina |
| Chapter 7 | Mexico |
| Chapter 8 | Colombia |

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14Nov

1. **Read:** (Naim 1993), First half of book, i-xiv and pp. 1- 98

| Read | Students assigned |
|------------------|-------------------|
| i-xiv & Chapt. 1 | Venezuela |
| Chapter 2 | Brazil |
| Chapter 3 | Argentina |
| Chapter 4 | Chile |

5.

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Colombia I

1. (Skidmore and Smith 2006 (1984)),
 - a. **Optional:** Chapter 7, *Colombia: Discord, Civility, and Violence*, pp. 221-253.
 - b. **Optional:** (Wiarda and Kline 2007), *Harvey F. Kline and Vanessa Joan Gray*, Chapter 9, *Colombia: A Resilient Political System with Intransigent Problems*, pp. 199-233

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21Nov

1. **Read:** (Naim 1993), Chapters and page 98-160 (end)

| Read | Students assigned |
|-----------|-------------------|
| Chapter 5 | Mexico |
| Chapter 6 | Colombia |
| Chapter 7 | Venezuela |
| Chapter 8 | Brazil |

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Argentina I

1. (Skidmore and Smith 2006 (1984)),
 - a. **Optional:** Chapter 3, *Argentina:*

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28Nov

Panel of Guest Speakers on Venezuela

1. Nathan Crooks: On his second stint as a reporter in Caracas, now with Bloomberg, dealing with energy and other matters there. Nathan has also spent a good deal of time in Chile, where he was a reporter for Business News America and with Bloomberg. (will participate via Skype from Caracas)
 2. JoJo Farrel: worked on the "Venezuela Speaks" book we've read. Jojo is now an elementary school teacher in NYC.
 3. Michael Fox is now the editor of NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America). But, now is the magazine's deadline, and Michael can't be sure he'll get there.
 4. Lisa Viscidi, Market Intelligence Manager - Americas Energy and Resources at Deloitte. Lisa formerly was New York Bureau Chief for Intelligence Weekly group of publications, for Latin America
- ASSIGNMENT, devise three questions before class about Venezuela and/or the region to ask our guests. The readings till now and the Venez. group's research blog are useful, and also especially Moises Naim's book from last week, and this week's reading "Venezuela Speaks: Voices from the Grassroots." (Martinez, Fox and Farrell 2010)
- Send to me in the body of an e-mail, which will help me prepare the class in a way that addresses your questions.

13

05Dec

Begin final presentations (powerpoint). Post them on your research blogs after presentation.

14

12Dec

Finish presentations.

15

19Dec

NO CLASS.

Country-Report Papers Due Friday 16 December- Also post on Group Research Blogs.

Prosperity, Deadlock, and Change, pp. 69-108.

2. (Wiarda and Kline 2007), *Linda Chen*,
 - a. **Optional:**Chapter 6: *Argentina in the Twenty-first Century*, pp. 95-126

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Venezuela III

1. *Venezuela Speaks! Voices from the Grassroots*.
 - a. **Read:** (Martinez, Fox and Farrell 2010), *Prologue (by Greg Wilpert)* pp. v-ix,
 - b. *Introduction and Introductory History*, pp. 1-28;
 - c. Part II *Land and Housing Reform*, pp. 29-64.
 - d. Part III *Workers & Labor*, pp. 109-150.
 - e. Part VII *Community Organizing*, pp. 269-296. [Download PDF](#) (4.6 Mb)

REQUIRED BOOKS

1. **de Las Casas, Bartolomé. 1992 (original 1552).** *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*. [trans.] Herma Briffault. Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University, 1992 (original 1552). Introduction by Bill M. Donovan.
2. **Skidmore, Thomas, E. and Smith, Peter, H. 2006 (original 1984).** *Modern Latin America*. Sixth Edition. New York : Oxford University, 2006 (original 1984).
3. **Naim, Moisés. 1993.** *Paper Tigers and Minotaurs: The Politics of Venezuela's Economic Reforms*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment, 1993. (Introduction by Jeffrey Sachs). PDF or hardcopy available at:

<http://carnegieendowment.org/1993/01/01/paper-tigers-and-minotaurs-politics-of-venezuela-s-economic-reforms/1iy>

4. **Wiarda, Howard J. and Kline, Harvey F., [ed.]. 2007.** *Latin American Politics and Development*. Sixth Edition. Bolder : Westview Press, 2007.
5. **Santiso, Javier. 2007.** *Latin America's Political Economy of the Possible: Beyond Good Revolutionaries and Free-Marketeers*. [trans.] Cristina Sanmartin and Elizabeth Murry. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2007.

BIBLIOGRAPHY - "Latin America in Development," Prof. T.W. O'Donnell

- *04 de Febrero*. Produced by Unknown. Unknown.
- Baptista, Asdrubal, and Bernard Mommer. *El Petróleo en el Pensamiento Económico venezolano*. Caracas: Ediciones IESA, 1987.
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- Branford, Sue, and Bernardo Kucinski. *Lula and the Workers Party in Brazil*. New York: The New Press, 2003, 2005.
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- Chasteen, John Charles. *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence*. Oxford: Oxford, 2008.
- Conniff, Michael, L., ed. *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1999.
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- *El Caracazo*. DVD. Produced by Universal Studios. unknown.
- *El Reventón: Los inicios de la producción petrolera en Venezuela (1883-1943)*. DVD. Produced by Colección Cine Archivo, BF. Unknown.
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- Hirsch, Michael. "The End of Oil?" *New York Times Book Review*, September 27, 2009: 16.
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- Kozloff, Nikolas. *Hugo Chávez: Oil, Politics, and the Challenge to the U.S.* New York: Palgrave, 2007 (original 2006).
- *La Revolución No Sera Transmitida*. DVD. unknown.
- León, Luis Vincente, and David Smilde. "Understanding Populism and Political Participation: the Case of Venezuela." *Update on the Americas*, April 2009.
- Leonard, Honathan Norton. *Men of Maracaibo*. New York: Putnam, 1933.
- Lucca, Rafael Arráiz. *VenezuelaÑ 1830 a Nuestros Días*. Caracas: Editorial ALFA, 2007.
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- Márquez, Gabriel García. *News of a Kidnapping*. Translated by Edith Grossman. Penguin, 1997 (original 1996).

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- Polanco Díaz, Jorge. *Salud y Hegemonía en Venezuela: Barrio Adentro, continente afuera*. Caracas: Editorial Torino CA, 2008.
- Rochlin, James, F. *Vanguard Revolutionaries in Latin America: Peru, Colombia, Mexico*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003.
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RETURN to _ — these must be well prepared and coordinated with any co-presenter(s) . Missing class is serious problem.. More than two absences seriously risks failure – speak with the instructor immediately if a problem arises.

SYLLABUS:

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Issues: We will immerse ourselves in development issues being debated in contemporary Latin America. How are we to understand the last three decades spanning right-wing coups and dictatorships, U.S. interventions, democratic resurgence, neo-liberalism, globalism, the leftist resurgence in the new populism and the new resource nationalism, and etc.? As capitalist relations have alternately stagnated and expanded through booms and crises, in sync with specific political trends, what of this development trajectory is attributable to Latin-America's objective material-economic nature and what to its historical ideological-political nurture? What has indigenous origins/responsibility and what has foreign origins/responsibility?

How will glaring class, national/racial and gender inequalities be reduced, and the scientific, technical and productive capacity of societies be raised to developed-world levels? Is this possible under purely capitalist free markets, under capitalism tempered by social-democratic controls, or is "21st century socialism" or another socialist direction necessary?

Methods: So as to attain some specificity with which to judge theories about "Latin American development," we must first ground ourselves. This includes:

- Understanding the region's (a) natural resources, especially petroleum, but also minerals and agriculture; (b) the political-economic organization of its societies, and (c) examining objective comparative data on social-economic development over time within the region and compared to other regions.
- Conducting, as a class, case studies of a subset of Latin American states: tentatively Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, México and Colombia. This encompasses their past few decades' general economic and political history (policies,

controversies, outcomes, etc.) and topics such as: energy and/or natural resource extraction sectors (especially oil), social movements (including revolutions as in Venezuela, and armed conflicts as in Columbia and México; barrios, workers, rural sector, etc.), medical care, corruption, infrastructure (water, electricity, services), crime and citizens' security, education, political parties, military affairs, etc.

Next, with this concrete knowledge of events and conditions, we turn to an introductory critique of regional ideological-political trends and theories for sustainable and just social-economic development within a regime of democratic norms and broad participation.

Assigned work: Students will attain significant expertise in a particular Latin American state/society chosen in conjunction with the instructor, which they will analyze across the spectrum of issues discussed above. This will include following its recent and current affairs very closely, a term paper developed through a number of drafts, presentations and debates in class, a comprehensive mid-term and occasional brief critiques of readings and/or debates. Careful reading of materials, attendance at all classes and active participation in discussions is necessary for success. There should be occasional regional-expert speakers (via video link or when visiting NYC).

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SYLLABUS:

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