

LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

MARCO CEPIK – 2019

CONTENTS

1. History
2. Violence
3. Development
4. Democracy
5. Emancipation
6. International
7. Mexico
8. Venezuela
9. Brazil
10. Argentina
11. Coda

1. HISTORY





-
- ▶ 42 million square kilometers (20 million is land)
 - ▶ 33 sovereign countries, plus 20 dependencies
 - ▶ POP: 645 million (2017), 66.90% in BR, MX, CO, and AR
 - ▶ Ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural diverse (50.8% mestizos)
 - ▶ Highly unequal societies and 200 year old states w low capacity
 - ▶ Semiperipheral status in world economy hinders integration

HISTORICAL PERIODIZATION

- ▶ Pre-Columbian (2000 BCE – 1492 CE)
- ▶ The Conquest (1492 – 1550)
- ▶ Colonial Rule (1551 – 1700)
- ▶ Reforms and Revolts (1701 – 1808)

-
- ▶ **Independence (1809 – 1828)**
 - ▶ **State “Consolidation” (1829 – 1890)**
 - ▶ **Oligarchies and Revolutions (1891 – 1945)**
 - ▶ **Cold War (1946 – 1989)**
 - ▶ **Violent Peace (1990 – 2020)**

PRE COLUMBIAN (1600 BCE – 1492 CE)

- ▶ OLMEC civilization (1600 BCE – 400 BCE)
- ▶ MAYAN civilization (2600 BCE – 1697 CE)
 - ▶ Language: 30 derived from Proto-Mayan
 - ▶ Population: 5–10 million (1539)
 - ▶ Area: South MX, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras
- ▶ Maya Classic (c. 250–950 CE) and Post Classic (950–1539 CE)

- ▶ **AZTEC culture (1300 BCE – 1821 CE)**

- ▶ **Language: Nahuatl**

- ▶ **Population: 5 million (1519)**

- ▶ **Area: Valley of Mexico (Lake Texcoco)**

- ▶ **Aztec empire (1427–1521 CE): Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan**

-
- ▶ **INCA empire (1438–1572 CE)**
 - ▶ **Languages: Quechua (Aymara, Puquina, Jaqi etc)**
 - ▶ **Population: 10 million (1527)**
 - ▶ **Area: PE, EC, BO, parts of Argentina, Chile and Colombia**
 - ▶ **Civil war between Huáscar and Atahualpa (1529–1532)**



THE CONQUEST (1492 – 1550)

- ▶ Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) Castile and Portugal
- ▶ Columbus, Vespucci, Cabral: explorers and conquerors
- ▶ Waldseemüller names the “New World” as America in 1507
- ▶ Tainos, Aztecs, Incas, Mayas, Tamoios: resistance and genocide
- ▶ Smallpox outbreaks in the Caribbean (1507) and Peru (1524)
- ▶ 37 to 65 million Indians in 1492, 09 million in 1650

-
- ▶ **Cortez, Pizarro, Sousa: conquerors and exploiters**
 - ▶ **“We came here to serve God and the King, and to get rich.”**
 - ▶ **Conquest of Aztec Empire (1519 – 1521)**
 - ▶ **Conquest of Inca Empire (1530 – 1537)**
 - ▶ **First African slaves in Hispaniola (1501) and Brazil (1538)**

-
- ▶ From Brazil wood extraction to hereditary captaincies (1534)
 - ▶ Hapsburg Spain establishes the Consejo de las Indias (1524)
 - ▶ Viceroyalty of Nueva España (1535)
 - ▶ Viceroyalty of Peru (1544)
 - ▶ Portugal appoints the first Governador Geral (1549)

COLONIAL RULE (1551 – 1700)

- ▶ **Economic Foundations**
 - ▶ **Mercantilism**
 - ▶ **Mining (silver, gold, copper, emeralds etc)**
 - ▶ **African Slavery and Indian Forced Labor**
 - ▶ **Plantations (sugar can, tobacco, cacao etc)**
- ▶ **Trans Atlantic Triangular Commerce and Beyond**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rjhlzemLdos>

-
- ▶ Expansion to Inner lands: fields, supplies, minerals
 - ▶ Catholic Church and the Inquisition
 - ▶ Spanish Rivalry with Great Britain, France, and
is
 - ▶ Dutch Wars:
 - ▶ Northeast Brazil (1624 – 1654)
 - ▶ Curacao (1634) and Guyana (1621)
 - ▶ Resistance: Palmares BR (1605 – 1694) and Pueblo MX (1680)

REFORMS AND REVOLTS (1701 – 1808)

- ▶ **Spanish America:**
 - ▶ Bourbon Monarchs after the War of Spanish Succession (1700–1713)
 - ▶ Viceroyalty of New Granada (1717 and 1739)
 - ▶ Tax Reforms encomienda (1720)
 - ▶ Treaty of Madrid (1750)
 - ▶ Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires (1776)
 - ▶ Tupac Amaru II 80,000 Indian Revolt in Peru (1780)
 - ▶ Tensions between peninsulares and criollos, Jesuit expulsion (1767)
 - ▶ New Spain in 1800: 6,000 army, 23,000 creoles militia
 - ▶ Venezuela's Miranda insurgence (1806)

▶ **Portuguese America:**

▶ Mascate (Peddlers) War in Brazil (1711)

▶ Inconfidencia Mineira (1789)

▶ Napoleon invades Portugal (1807), Braganza's fled to Rio (1808)

▶ **Caribbean:**

▶ From piracy and great power wars to slave uprisings

▶ Haitian Revolution (1791 - 1804)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZBw35Ze3bg8>

INDEPENDENCE (1809 – 1828)

- ▶ American (1775 – 1783) and French (1789 – 1799) influence
- ▶ Napoleonic Wars and the Spanish Crisis (1808 – 1810)
- ▶ Britain exports more to Brazil than to Asia (1812)
- ▶ Anti-Spanish juntas and cabildos in South America (1810)

-
- ▶ Hidalgo, Morelos, Guerrero, and Iturbide in Mexico (1810–1821)
 - ▶ Artigas starts the revolutionary movement in Uruguay, but... (1811–1815–1828)
 - ▶ José San Martín's war in Argentina, Chile, Peru and Bolivia (1812–1822)
 - ▶ Simon Bolívar's military campaigns (1813 – 1825)
 - ▶ Prince Dom Pedro I and the Independence of Brazil (1822)

-
- ▶ **Republic of Gran Colombia (1819–1831)**
 - ▶ **Uruguay's Independence: from Spain, Argentina, and Brazil (1828)**
 - ▶ **Federal Republic of Central America (1823)**
 - ▶ **End of Spanish resistance: Peru (1824), Chile (1826), Mexico (1829)**
 - ▶ **Challenges: war recovery, capital flight, social unrest, centrifugal thrust**
 - ▶ **New Republics, failed constitutions, and Iberian legacies**



STATE “CONSOLIDATION” (1829 – 1890)

- ▶ Double challenge
- ▶ INTERNALLY:
 - ▶ intra–elite conflicts and popular revolts
 - ▶ Liberals x Conservatives, Federalists x Unitarians
 - ▶ End of Slavery: USA (1863), Cuba (1886), Brazil (1888)

▶ EXTERNALLY:

- ▶ new great powers, new regional powers
- ▶ United States after the Monroe Doctrine (1823)
- ▶ Great Britain and the export-led South American economies
- ▶ Ecuador and Venezuela secede from Gran Colombia (1830)
- ▶ Chile fights a War against Peru and Bolivia (1836)
- ▶ Dissolution of United Central America (1838)

-
- ▶ **Mexican–American War (1846 – 1848)**
 - ▶ **Francisco Bilbao and the “Latin” America in Paris (1856)**
 - ▶ **Triple Alliance War (1864 – 1870)**
 - ▶ **Brazil–Argentina–Uruguay vs Paraguay**
 - ▶ **Pacific War of Chile vs Bolivia and Peru (1879 – 1884)**
 - ▶ **Wars based on debts and limited mobilization = enfeebled states**

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v6xi8_7Fy6Y&t=15s

OLIGARCHIES AND REVOLUTIONS (1891 – 1945)

- ▶ Industrial revolution and growing demand for LAC products
- ▶ Social impact: AR 1.7 (1869), 4 (1895), 8 million (1914)
- ▶ Oligarchy: dictatorship or limited competitive regimes
- ▶ Brazilian Republican Coup (1889 and 1891)
- ▶ Spanish–American War (1898)

-
- ▶ **Mexican Revolution (1911 – 1920)**
 - ▶ **Chaco War (1932) between Bolivia and Paraguay**
 - ▶ **Populism: Cardenas (MX), Vargas (BR), Perón (AR)**
 - ▶ **Economic Development and the “Decision Center”**
 - ▶ **World War I and II : strategic Latin America**

COLD WAR (1946 – 1989)

- ▶ USA:
 - ▶ School of the America's (1946)
 - ▶ Rio Treaty (1947)
 - ▶ Organization of American States (1948)
- ▶ Bolivian Revolution (1952–1953)
- ▶ Cuban Revolution (1953 – 1959)

-
- ▶ **Nicaraguan Revolution (1962 – 1990)**
 - ▶ **The Malvinas/Falklands War (1982)**
 - ▶ **Military dictatorships, including**
 - ▶ **Paraguay (1954 – 1989)**
 - ▶ **Brazil (1964 – 1985)**
 - ▶ **Argentina (1976–1983)**
 - ▶ **Chile (1973 – 1988)**

VIOLENT PEACE (1990 – 2020)

- ▶ Civilian-led democracies Southern Cone
- ▶ End of civil war in El Salvador (1991)
- ▶ MERCOSUR (1991) and NAFTA (1994)
- ▶ Andean Region and War on Drugs (1990 – 2014)
- ▶ Terrorist attacks in Buenos Aires (1992)
- ▶ Zapatista rebellion in Mexico (1994)

-
- ▶ **Bolivarian Regime in Venezuela (1999 – 2018) and the Pink Tide**
 - ▶ **World Social Forum in Porto Alegre (2001–2003)**
 - ▶ **ALBA (2004), UNASUR (2008), and Pacific Alliance (2011)**
 - ▶ **LAC Population reaches 513 million (2000)**
 - ▶ **Political Crisis in Brazil (2015 – 2018)**
 - ▶ **LAC: 8% of world's population, 38% of homicides (2017)**
 - ▶ **Peace Agreement in Colombia (2017), but ...**
 - ▶ **From Pink Tide to Brown Tide? Contrast Brazil and Mexico ...**



2. VIOLENCE

A. Concepts

B. Types

A. CONCEPTS

VIOLENCE

“THE INTENTIONAL USE OF PHYSICAL FORCE OR POWER, THREATENED OR ACTUAL, AGAINST ONESELF, ANOTHER PERSON, OR AGAINST A GROUP OR COMMUNITY, WHICH EITHER RESULTS IN OR HAS A HIGH LIKELIHOOD OF RESULTING IN INJURY, DEATH, PSYCHOLOGICAL HARM, MALDEVELOPMENT, OR DEPRIVATION.”

World Health Organization (2014, p. 84)

POWER

- ▶ **Structural (capabilities and patterns)**
- ▶ **Relational (B is affected by A)**
- ▶ **Material (scope and domain)**
- ▶ **Subjective (influence and moral direction)**
- ▶ **Positive (compellence)**
- ▶ **Negative (deterrence)**

THREAT

- ▶ Intent to inflict harm, pain, or loss
- ▶ Dimension of power: credible threat
- ▶ Interpretative and subjective nature
- ▶ Interact with vulnerability
- ▶ Threats: existential and otherwise



SECURITY

- ▶ Condition of relative protection where one actor is capable of neutralize discernible threats.
- ▶ Defensive (safety) and active measures to secure: information, installations, communications, personnel, equipment and operations.
- ▶ Securitization is a process, not a *datum*.

POLARITY

- ▶ Global distribution of power
- ▶ Great Powers (necessary and sufficient conditions):
 - ▶ Conventional Forces (inexpugnability)
 - ▶ Nuclear forces: second strike capability
 - ▶ Command of space to sustain operations
- ▶ USA – RUSSIA – CHINA – INDIA (?)
- ▶ Regional Powers (how to compare?)

POLARIZATION

- ▶ Patterns of amity and enmity (alliances)
- ▶ Level of Conflict (low, medium, high)
- ▶ War is “nothing but a continuation of politics with the admixture of other means” (Clausewitz, 2007)
 - ▶ Friction, uncertainty and disorder
- ▶ Ultimate interaction: interstate nuclear war

B. TYPES

INTERSTATE WARFARE

- ▶ Latin America as WMD free zone (Tlateloclco Treaty and ABBAC)
- ▶ Territorial issues and ideological disputes as main causes
- ▶ War was a decisive factor shaping the RSC after Independence
- ▶ Interstate warfare has declined since US became hegemonic
- ▶ *Uti Possidetis* and other international norms against aggression
- ▶ Poor power projection and logistical capabilities
- ▶ Defense spending as % of GDP: 1.28 in 2014
- ▶ 84% of weapons acquisitions in 1993 – 2013 made by AR BR CH VE

“LATIN AMERICA HAS SEEN 15 WARS BETWEEN SOVEREIGN STATES IN ITS HISTORY. MOST OF THESE WARS WERE FOUGHT IN THE 19TH CENTURY IN SOUTH AMERICA AND AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE LIST OF INTERSTATE WARS DOES NOT FULLY EXHAUST LARGE-SCALE POLITICAL VIOLENCE BETWEEN STATE-LIKE ENTITIES, AS 13 NONSTATE WARS OCCURRED BETWEEN ENTITIES VYING TO ORGANIZE AND CREATE MODERN STATES IN THE REGION IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY. THE CHACO WAR (1932–1935) WAS THE LAST INTERSTATE WAR WITH LARGE NUMBERS OF CASUALTIES. THE LAST WAR IN CENTRAL AMERICA WAS THE FOOTBALL WAR (1969), THE LAST WAR IN THE SOUTHERN CONE WAS ARGENTINA’S WAR WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM OVER THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS (1982), AND THE LAST WAR IN THE ANDEAN SUBREGION WAS ALSO THE ENTIRE REGION’S LAST WAR BETWEEN ECUADOR AND PERU (1995) IN THE CENEPA VALLEY.”

Cameron Thies, in MARES & KACOWICZ (2015, p. 116)

-
- **PKO troops from LAC: 2.5% in 2000 to 8.9% in 2010**
 - **Three main reasons to participate:**
 - **Democratization impetus for military reform**
 - **International reputation and status**
 - **Evolving international norms about intervention**
 - **PKO has better record than peace-building**
 - **Quality vs quantity: PKO doctrine and training**
 - **From Haiti to Brazil: combating crime in the *favelas***
 - **How to strengthen regional organizations?**

Table 27.2 Latin America's contributions to UN peacekeeping operations, 2000–2010

<i>Ranking in LA</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Committed troops</i>	<i>World ranking</i>
1	Uruguay	20,934	8
2	Brazil	9,614	20
3	Argentina	8,633	22
4	Chile	3,688	42
5	Bolivia	2,950	49
6	Peru	1,642	59
7	Guatemala	1,503	61
8	Ecuador	550	78
9	Paraguay	532	79
10	El Salvador	440	82
11	Honduras	131	99
12	Colombia	54	105
13	Dominican Republic	46	106
14	Venezuela	11	120

Source: Adapted from Sotomayor (2014: 26–27).

MILITARIZED INTERSTATE DISPUTES

- ▶ The “zone of peace” conception ignores MIDs
- ▶ Acts of interstate violence persist: CO bombing FARC camp in EC
- ▶ War in LAC as rare as in Europe and East Asia since 1947
- ▶ 47 MIDs in LAC since 2000 according to MARES (2015)
- ▶ Current Venezuela–Colombia MID related to non–traditional issues
- ▶ Brazil has decided to quit the UN migration pact: MID with VE ?
- ▶ US border with Mexico as MID?
- ▶ Why MID? Moral hazard, third part intervention, and escalation risk

Table 9.1 Militarized interstate disputes (MIDs) in Latin America, 1826–2010

<i>Time Period</i>	<i>All MIDs</i>	<i>Territorial MIDs</i>	<i>Great Power MIDs</i>
1826–1899	122 (1.6 per year)	39 (33% of total)	77 (63% of total)
1900–1945	164 (3.6 per year)	56 (34% of total)	82 (50% of total)
1946–2010	205 (3.2 per year)	75 (37% of total)	69 (34% of total)
Totals	491 (2.7 per year)	170 (35% of total)	228 (47% of total)

Source: Correlates of War Project, <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>.

INTRASTATE ARMED CONFLICTS

- ▶ 14 Civil Wars during the Cold War (1947–1992)
- ▶ Social–economic development and class struggles
- ▶ Non–ethnic profile, apart Guatemala and Nicaragua
- ▶ Long civil wars, short interstate wars
- ▶ Conflict resolution tend to endure, but... CO
- ▶ Discrimination and inequality as motivations
- ▶ Local opportunities and foreign sponsors?
- ▶ LAC future as a zone free of civil war?

Table 9.3 Intrastate wars in Latin America

<i>State</i>	<i># Civil War</i>	<i>Civil War Years</i>	<i>Total Deaths</i>
Argentina	10	1841–42, 1861, 1863, 1866–67, 1870–71, 1874, 1879–80, 1880, 1955, 1975–77	10050+
Bolivia	3	1862, 1870–71, 1952	?
Brazil	7	1835–37, 1835–45, 1837–38, 1893–94, 1893–94, 1896–97, 1932	8500+
Chile	3	1851, 1891, 1973	9100+
Colombia	8	1840–42, 1860–61, 1876–77, 1884–85, 1895, 1899–1902, 1948–58, 1989–	164031+
Costa Rica	1	1948	2000
Cuba	2	1912, 1958–59	4050
Dominican Rep.	1	1965	2500+
Ecuador	2	1895, 1912–14	1000+
El Salvador	2	1932, 1979–92	3500+
Guatemala	3	1966–68, 1970–71, 1978–84	8000
Honduras	1	1924	?
Mexico	14	1832, 1835–36, 1841, 1848–55, 1855–56, 1858–61, 1867, 1876, 1899–1900, 1910–14, 1914–20, 1923–24, 1926–29, 1929	148800+
Nicaragua	2	1978–79, 1982–90	36200
Paraguay	2	1911–12, 1947	5000+
Peru	6	1853–55, 1856–58, 1885, 1894–95, 1932, 1982–92	?
Uruguay	1	1904	?
Venezuela	5	1848–49, 1859–63, 1868, 1899, 1901–03	27600+

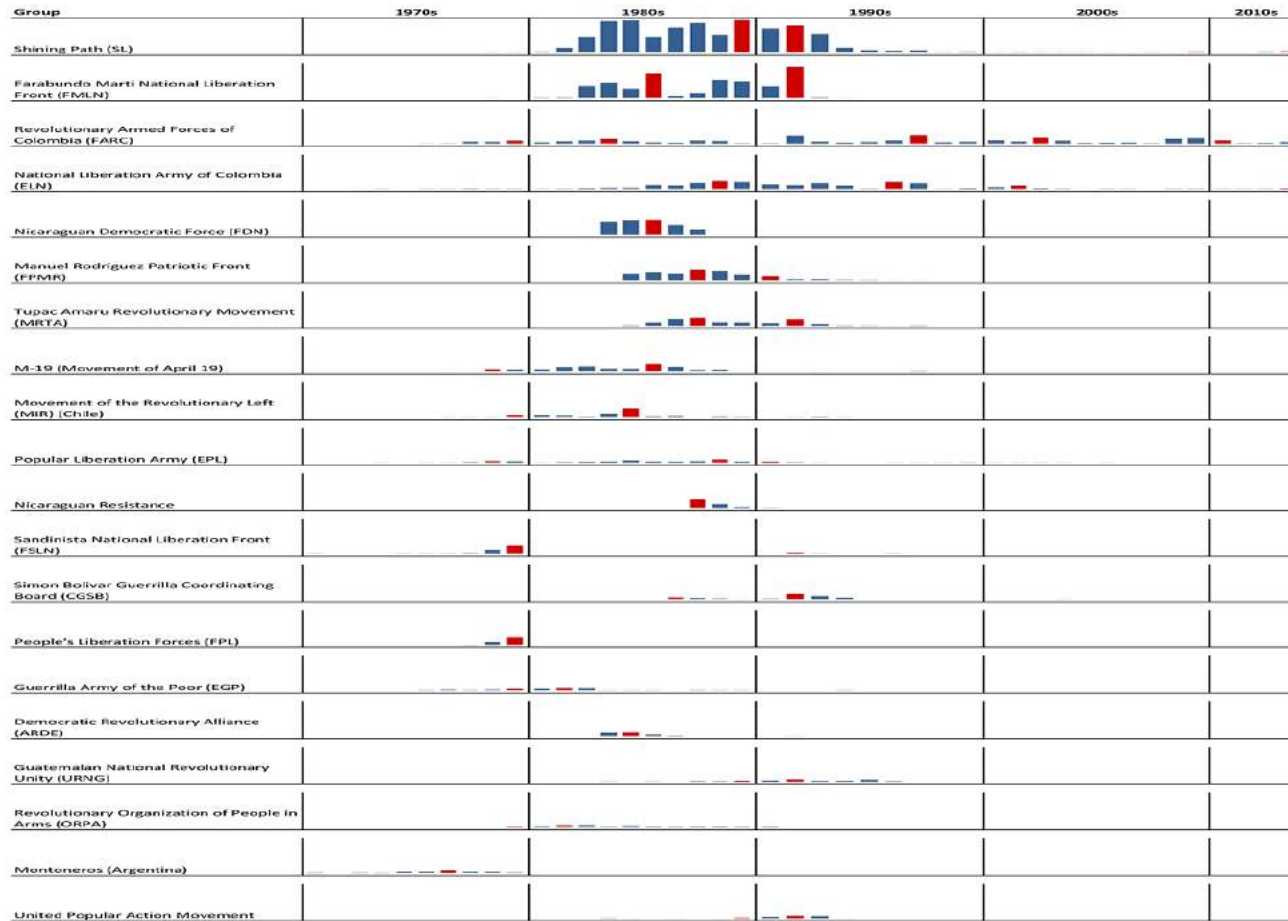
Note: There are 74 total intrastate wars in Latin America out of a total of 334 for the entire world through 2007.

Source: Correlates of War Project, <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>.

ANTISTATE VIOLENCE

- ▶ Terrorism as a specific form of use of force
- ▶ State terrorism in the 1960s and 1970s
- ▶ Guerrillas also called terrorists by Military Dictatorships
- ▶ 1989 bombing of Avianca flight by the Medellin Cartel
- ▶ 1992 attacks against Jewish center and Israeli embassy in AR
- ▶ 2019 car bomb in Bogota
- ▶ From Hezbollah in the Triple Border to Trump's wall claims
- ▶ 2003 OAS Conference on Multidimensional Security and CICTE
- ▶ Political killings against Social leaders and State officers

Twenty Most Active Groups in Latin America, 1970-2013



INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE

- ▶ Cause injury, death, harm, maldevelopment, and deprivation
- ▶ 475,000 homicides in 2012, 60% males aged 15–44, 3rd cause
- ▶ 1.3 million die each year from violence, 2.5% of global mortality
- ▶ Women, children and elderly: fatal, non–fatal, and abuse
- ▶ Intimate violence by family, partner, friends, or acquaintances
- ▶ Average homicide rate (per 100,000): World 7, LAC 21.5
- ▶ 43 of 50 top murder rates cities are Latin America
- ▶ Denver (7.8), St. Louis (65.8), Porto Alegre (40.9), Caracas (111)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xD6Egoe7rz8>

THE COCAINE VALUE CHAIN



-
- ▶ What should be the role of Armed Forces?
 - ▶ Can or should LAC countries defend against external threats?
 - ▶ What happened with the GWAT, is it a LAC problem?
 - ▶ Why homicide is a more frequent cause of death than war?
 - ▶ 2017: 64,000 homicides in BR, 31,000 in MX, 39,000 in Syria
 - ▶ Violence and illegal markets: 4 tier (street, gang, cartel, state)
 - ▶ Drugs: 240 million users, resilient demand, 80/20 ratio
 - ▶ Cocaine: price increases 200% per Kg from CO to Australia



3. DEVELOPMENT

A. Concepts

B. Legacy

A. CONCEPTS

ECONOMIC GROWTH

“A SIMULTANEOUS GRADUAL INCREASE IN QUANTITIES SUCH AS GDP, POPULATION, SAVINGS, AND WEALTH.”

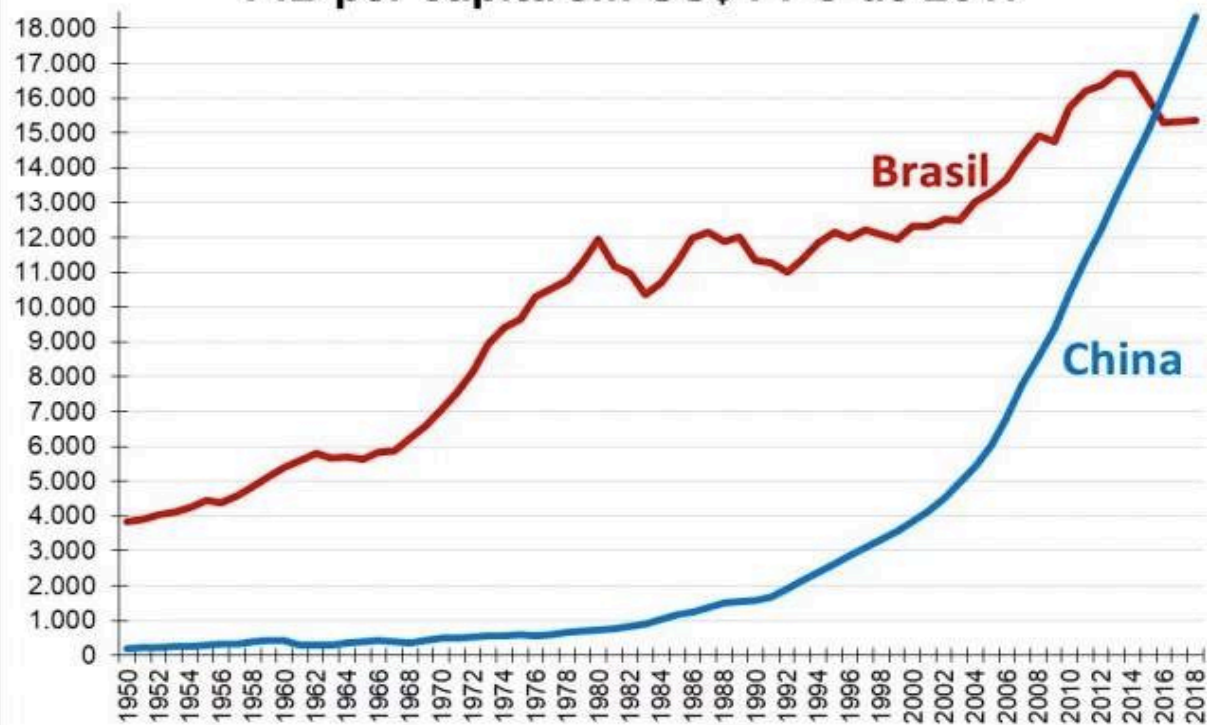
OBS: DEFINITIONS SUCH AS THIS PUT EMPHASIS ON INFLATION-ADJUSTED MARKET VALUE OF GOODS AND SERVICES PRODUCED BY AN ECONOMY OVER TIME. HOWEVER, PHYSICAL CAPITAL DEPRECIATION, NON-MARKET HOME PRODUCTION, UNDERGROUND / ILLEGAL ECONOMY, LEISURE, AND NEGATIVE EXTERNALITIES ARE NOT ACCOUNTED... AND THEY ALSO IMPACT AGGREGATE GROWTH, PRODUCT FACTOR ALLOCATION, PRODUCTIVITY, AND LIVING STANDARDS.

FRANKO, Patrice. The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development, 2019.

	GDP PER CAPITA		AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH (%)
	1960	2010	
UNITED STATES	15,398	41,365	2.00
MEXICO	4,914	11,939	1.79
BRAZIL	2,483	8,324	2.45
GUATEMALA	2,930	6,091	1.47

SOURCE: ACEMOGLU & LAIBSON (2016: 522)

PIB per capita em US\$ PPC de 2017

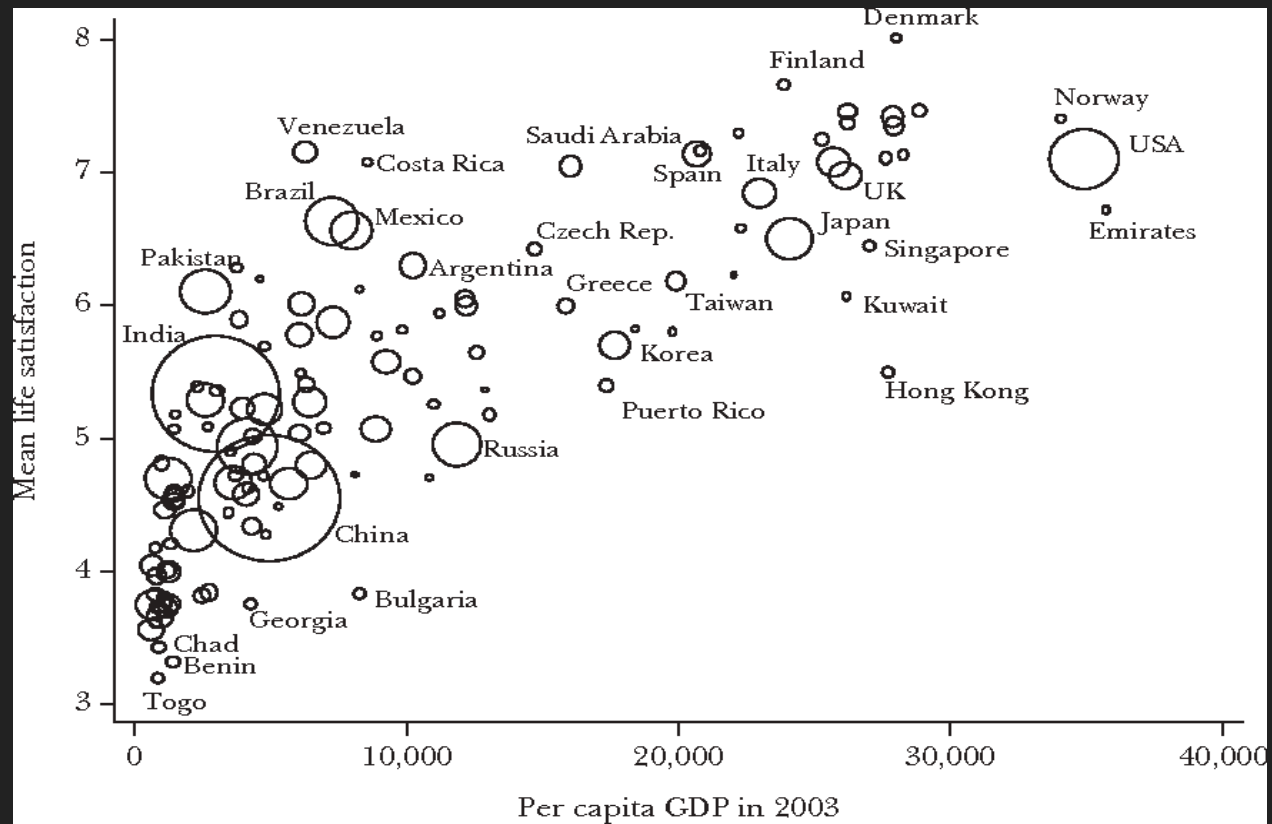


Fonte: Conference Board. Elaborado por Paulo Morceiro para o Blog Valor Adicionado.

YET, ECONOMIC GROWTH IS NOT ENOUGH . . .

“(. . .) IN THE 1950 DECADE THE BRAZILIAN ECONOMY EXPANDED ON AN AVERAGE OF ABOUT 7.5 PERCENT A YEAR, WITH AN ANNUALIZED INDUSTRIAL GROWTH OF 11 PERCENTAGE POINTS. DESPITE THESE AMBITIOUS ECONOMIC GOALS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENTS, AT THE DECADE’S END BRAZIL WITNESSED HEIGHTENED IDEOLOGICAL POLARIZATION AND A GROWING DISTRUST IN MUCH OF THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS – A POLITICAL TREND THAT ULTIMATELY HELPED PAVE THE WAY TO THE RIGHT-WING MILITARY COUP OF MARCH 1964 AND THE ENSUING TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AUTHORITARIAN RULE AND ENCROACHING EXCLUSIONARY ECONOMIC POLICIES.”

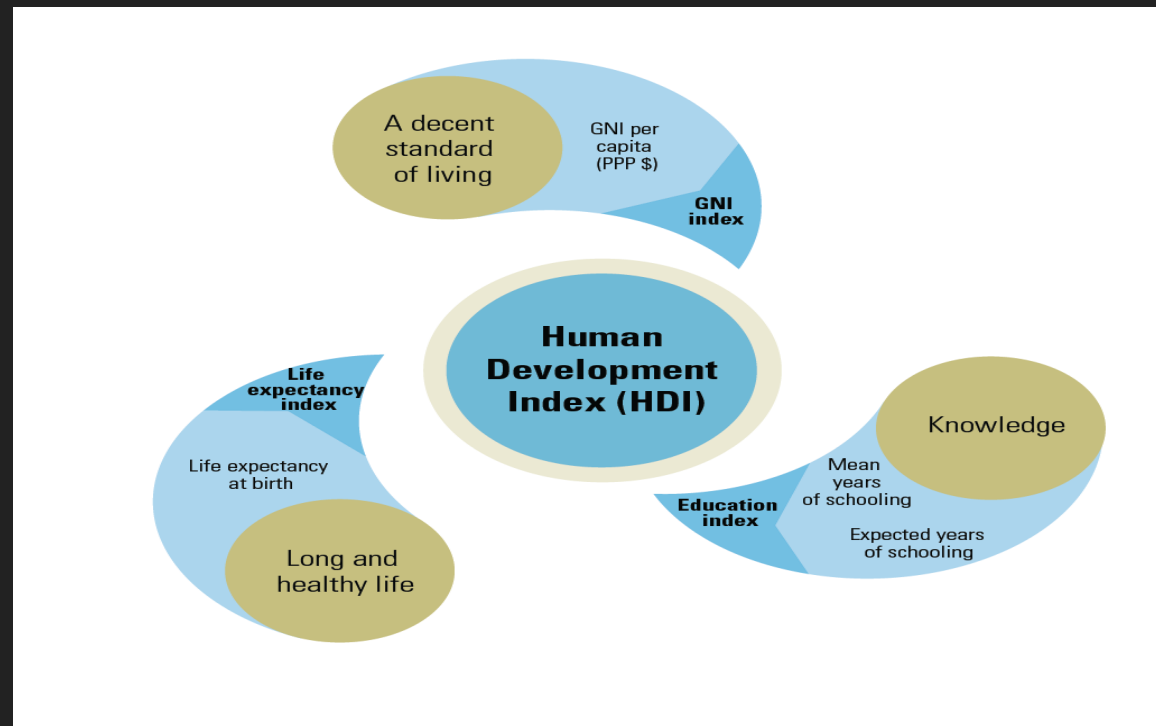
Rafael IORIS. *Transforming Brazil: A History of National Development in the Post War Era*, 2014, p. 03.



HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

“ (...) ECONOMIC GROWTH IS AN IMPORTANT MEANS TO HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, BUT NOT THE END. HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE THROUGH BUILDING HUMAN CAPABILITIES, BY THE PEOPLE THROUGH ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESSES THAT SHAPE THEIR LIVES AND FOR THE PEOPLE BY IMPROVING THEIR LIVES.”

UNDP. Human Development Report, 2016, p. 02.



Source: UNDP (2018)

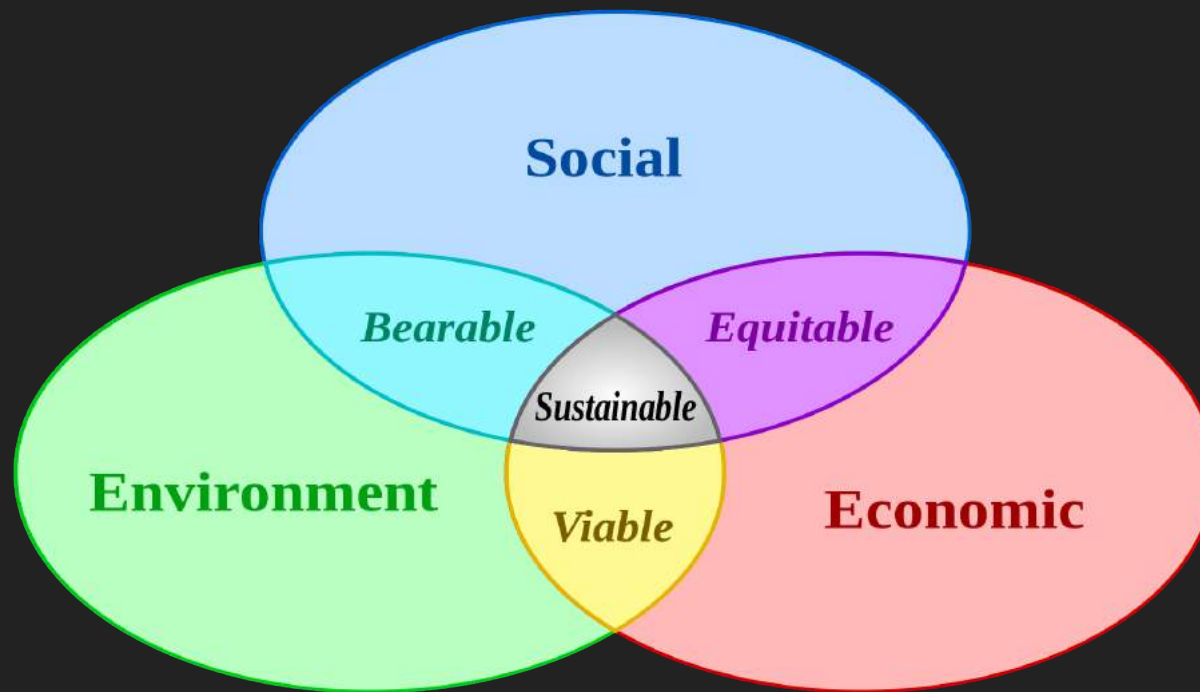
	HDI			
	2000	2010	2017	Change in Rank
UNITED STATES	0.885	0.914	0.924	- 5
MEXICO	0.702	0.743	0.774	- 1
BRAZIL	0.684	0.727	0.759	7
GUATEMALA	0.546	0.611	0.650	4

SOURCE: UNDP (2018)

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

“ (...) SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IS A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT AND TO MANAGE NATURAL, PRODUCED, AND SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR THE WELFARE OF THEIR OWN AND FUTURE GENERATIONS. THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGS) ARE A UNIVERSAL CALL TO ACTION TO END POVERTY, PROTECT THE PLANET AND ENSURE THAT ALL PEOPLE ENJOY PEACE AND PROSPERITY.”

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainable_development.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainable_development)

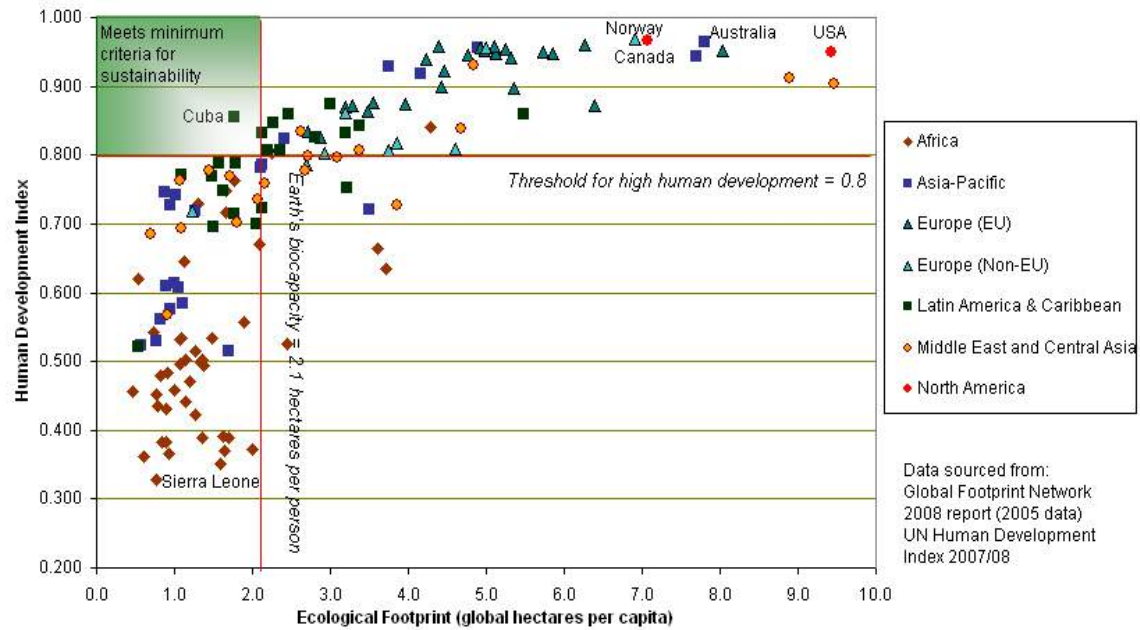


Source: UNDP (2018)

<https://youtu.be/aLrLcODGMmo>

Source: UNDP (2018)

Human Welfare and Ecological Footprints compared



INEQUALITY

“(...) THREE AXES: (I) ETHNIC AND RACIAL, AND THEIR CONNECTIONS WITH GENDER INEQUALITIES. (II) INEQUALITIES OVER THE LIFE CYCLE.(III) TERRITORIAL INEQUALITIES. INEQUALITY REPRODUCES ITSELF: INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT, SOCIAL PROTECTION AND CARE, EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES (DRINKING WATER, SANITATION AND ELECTRICITY). SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IS RELATED TO DIFFERENT CAPACITIES OF AGENCY (AT THE INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE LEVELS) IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES, AND TO THE ENJOYMENT OF RIGHTS AND AUTONOMY IN DECISION-MAKING.”

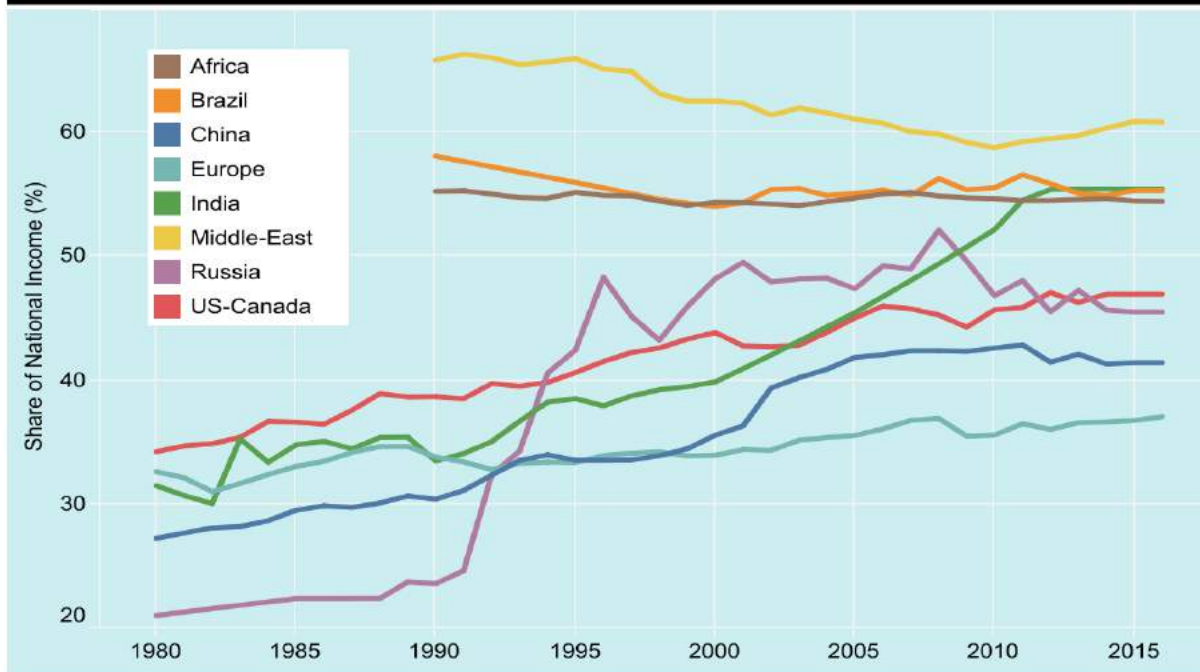
UN (2016) Social Inequality Matrix Latin America , p. 17.

	Income Gini	Wealth Gini	Share of World GDP (%)
UNITED STATES	37.80	85.90	21.67
MEXICO	45.90	73.20	2.08
BRAZIL	44.90	83.20	2.88
GUATEMALA	44.5	77.90	0.10

SOURCE: WEF. Inclusive Development Inequality Index, 2018, p. 12-23.

Inequality is Rising or Staying Extremely High Nearly Everywhere

Top 10% income shares across the world, 1980-2016



Source: World Inequality Lab, World Inequality Report, 2018

The Richest 1% Own 45% of the World's Wealth

Global adult population and share of total wealth by wealth group, 2018



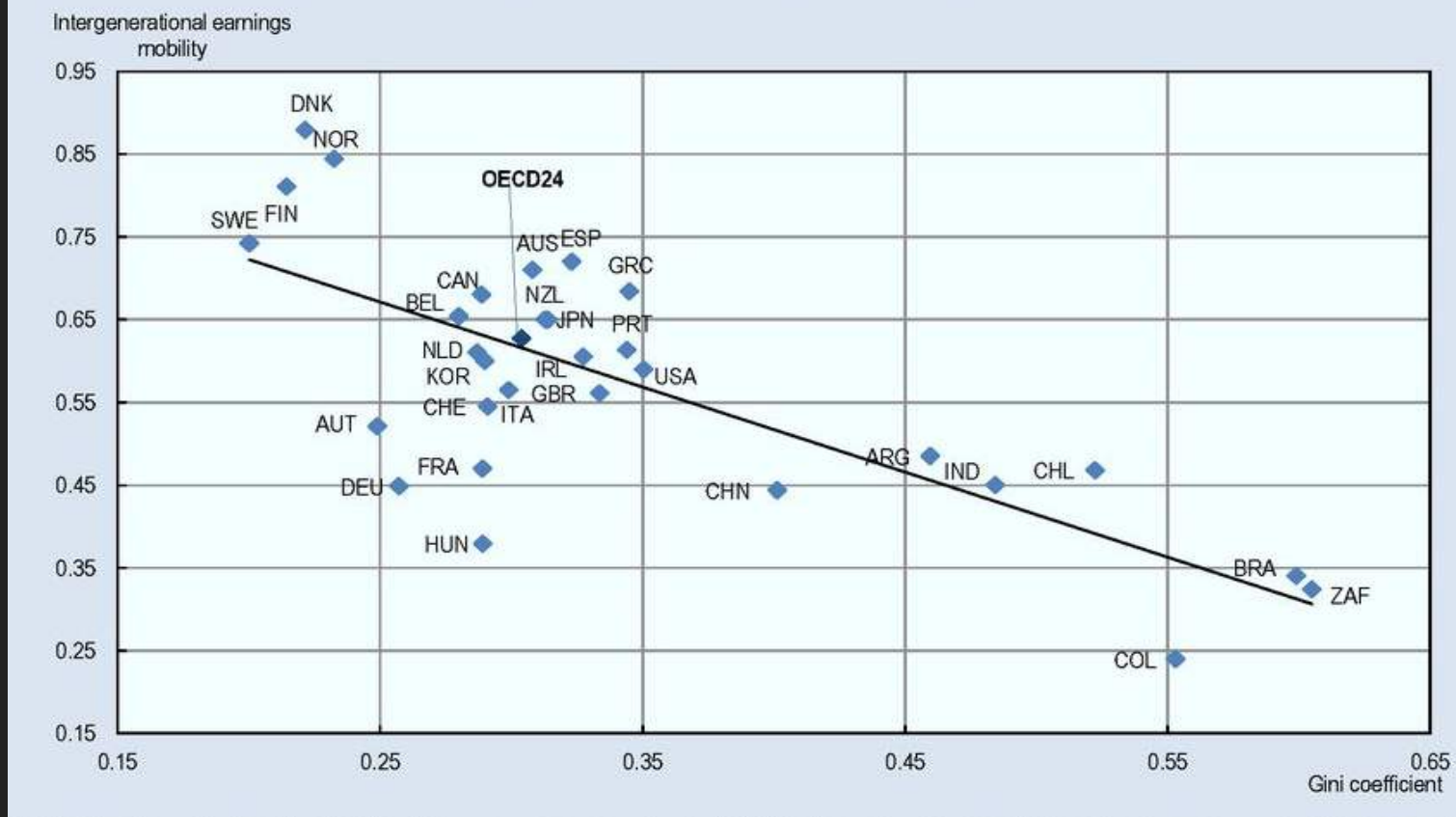
Source: Credit Suisse, Global Wealth Databook, 2018

“REDISTRIBUTION IS CRITICAL IN ADDRESSING HORIZONTAL INEQUALITY (...) DEPRIVATION IS A DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS (WHICH HAVE INTRINSIC VALUE), AND OVERCOMING IT IS ALSO INSTRUMENTAL IN ENJOYING OTHER RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS. EQUALITY HAS INTRINSIC VALUE (ANCHORED IN THE NOTION OF JUSTICE) AS WELL AS INSTRUMENTAL VALUE BECAUSE IT AFFECTS OTHER ACCEPTED OBJECTIVES. INEQUALITY IS JUSTIFIED ONLY IF IT IMPROVES THE POSITION OF THE POOREST OR IF IT ARISES THROUGH LEGITIMATE PROCESSES.”

UN (2016) Human Development Report, p. 33.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Figure 4.9. Intergenerational earnings mobility and income inequality



Source: OECD (2018), A Broken Social Elevator? How to Promote Social Mobility. Paris, OECD, p. 196

Gráfico 1 – Número esperado de gerações que levariam para um descendente de uma família situada entre os 10% de menor rendimento alcançasse a renda média de seu país



Nota: Essas estimativas são baseadas em simulações e pretendem ser ilustrativas. Elas não devem ser interpretadas como fornecedoras do tempo exato que uma pessoa vinda de família de baixa renda vai precisar para atingir a renda média. As estimativas são baseadas em ganhos continuados (elasticidades) de pais e filhos e o atual nível de renda familiar do decil mais pobre e a média, assumindo elasticidades constantes, seguindo Bowles e Gintis (2002). A baixa renda é definida aqui como o primeiro decil de renda, ou seja, os 10% mais pobres da população.

Fonte: “A Broken Social Elevator? How to Promote Social Mobility” (OCDE, 2018); Banco de Dados OCDE.

Thanks to Bruno Lazzarotti, for calling my attention to such rigidity

POVERTY

“POVERTY IS A SHORTAGE OF INCOME. IN ADDITION TO MATERIAL CONSUMPTION, DEPRIVATION WITH RESPECT TO HEALTH, EDUCATION, SOCIAL LIFE, ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, SPIRITUAL AND POLITICAL FREEDOM CAN BE CALLED POVERTY. TWO FURTHER CONCEPTUAL ISSUES: ABSOLUTE VERSUS RELATIVE; AND TEMPORARY VERSUS PERMANENT. ABSOLUTE POVERTY IS MEASURED AGAINST SOME BENCHMARK — SUCH AS THE COST OF GETTING ENOUGH FOOD TO EAT, OR BEING ABLE TO WRITE YOUR OWN NAME FOR LITERACY. RELATIVE POVERTY IS MEASURED AGAINST SOCIETAL STANDARDS. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TEMPORARILY AND THE PERMANENTLY POOR IS LINKED TO THE NOTION OF VULNERABILITY. THE VULNERABLE ARE THOSE AT RISK OF FALLING INTO POVERTY.”

DESAI & POTTER (2008) *Companion to Development Studies* , p. 25.

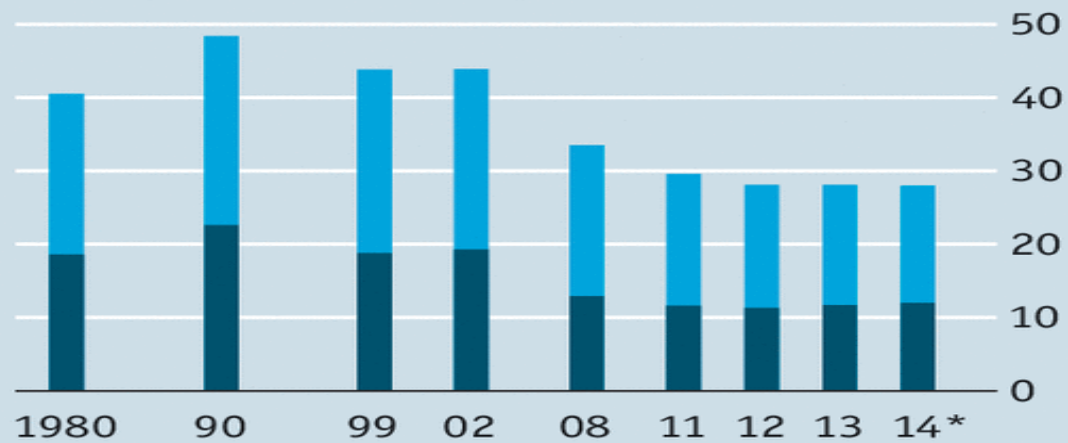
% POP Living PPP 2011	< USD 1.90	< USD 3.20	< USD 5.50	Year
UNITED STATES	1.3	1.3	2.0	2016
MEXICO	2.5	11.2	34.8	2016
BRAZIL	3.4	8.0	19.4	2015
GUATEMALA	8.7	24.2	48.8	2014

SOURCE: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_percentage_of_population_living_in_poverty

Don't quit now

Poverty in Latin America, % of population

Poor, of which: ■ Indigent



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

*Estimate

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jbkSRLYSojo>



B. LEGACY

COMMODITIES...

“IN A COUNTRY RICH IN MINES AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, WHICH CAN SUSTAIN A CONSIDERABLE AND BENEFICIAL EXPORT TRADE, THE LATTER SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO ENCOURAGE INDUSTRIES THAT DISTRACT THE INHABITANTS FROM AGRICULTURAL AND MINING OCCUPATIONS... WE SHOULD OFFER EUROPE RAW MATERIALS AND OPEN OUR DOORS TO HER MANUFACTURES, TO FACILITATE TRADE AND THE PROFIT IT BRINGS, AND TO PROVE THE CONSUMER, AT A REASONABLE PRICE, WITH THE PRODUCTS OF THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.”

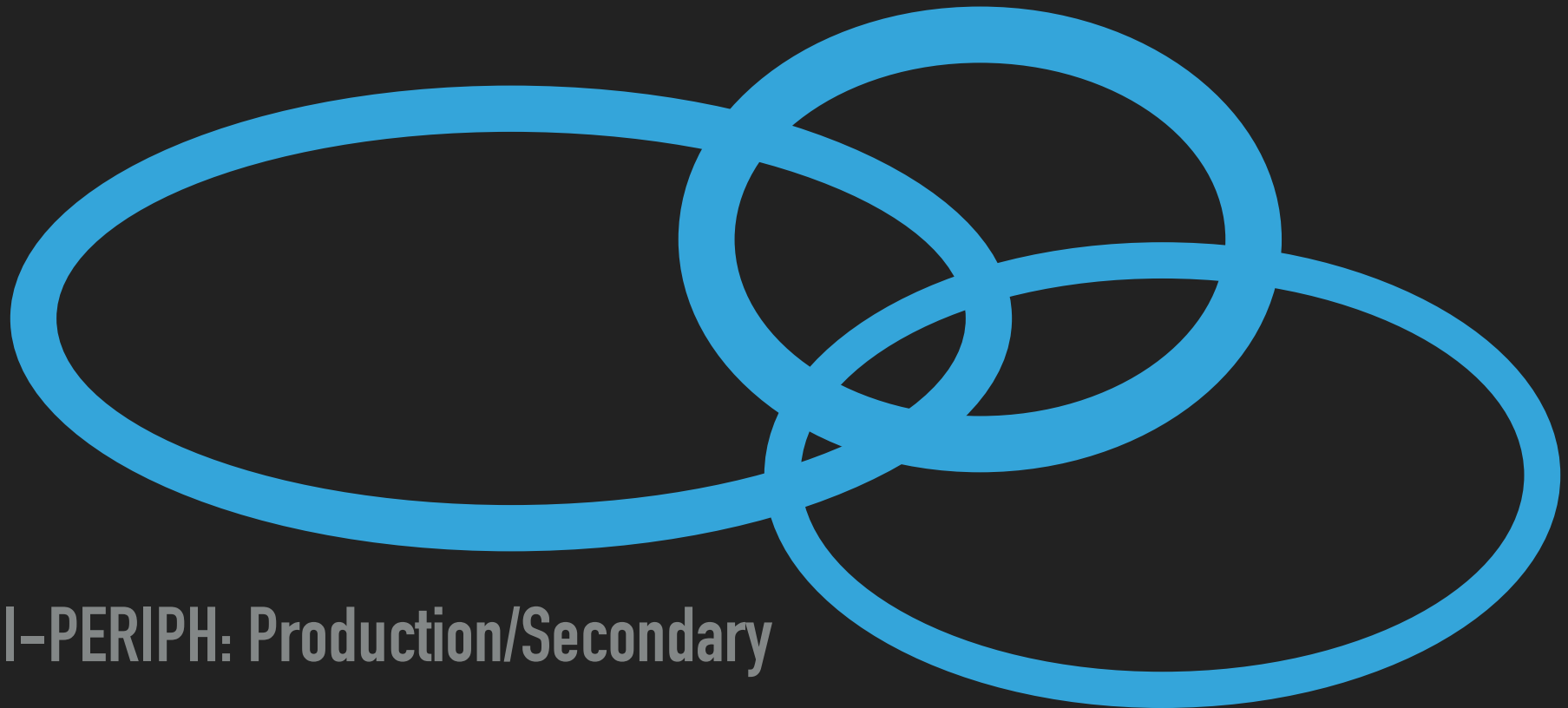
Colombian Treasury Secretary Florentino González, 1847

% Export Commodity Ratio	1913	2014	Main Products 2013/2014
MEXICO	40.6	17.5	Silver-Copper / Oil-Cars
VENEZUELA	73.4	80.1	Coffee-Cacao / Crude-Refined Oil
BRAZIL	78.2	22.1	Coffee-Rubber / Iron-Soybean
ARGENTINA	43.2	22.8	Maize-Wheat / Soybean-Trucks

SOURCE: KLINE & WADE & WIARDA (2018) Latin America Politics Development, pages 61 and 67

GLOBAL CAPITALISM

CORE: Innovation/Knowledge



SEMI-PERIPH: Production/Secondary

PERIPHERY: Consumption/Primary

NOT SPONTANEOUS, BUT POLITICALLY BUILT...

"BY THE END OF THE 1800S, THE PER CAPITA INCOME IN LATIN AMERICA WAS US\$ 245, AT A TIME WHEN IT REACHED ONLY US\$ 239 IN NORTH AMERICA. UNFORTUNATELY FOR NATIONAL GROWTH, INCOME WAS CONCENTRATED, AND REINVESTMENT OF PROFITS IN ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITY WAS LIMITED. THE LACK OF POLITICAL CHANGE HINDERED ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION. GIVEN THE CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM BY ELITES, IT MADE LITTLE SENSE TO VENTURE INTO RISKY INVESTMENTS. THE SECURITY OF THE LATIFUNDIA SYSTEM MITIGATED AGAINST ECONOMIC RISK TAKING."

FRANKO, Patrice. *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development*, 2019

AND THERE IS THE GEOGRAPHY...

“BEFORE THE COMPLETION OF THE PANAMA CANAL IN 1914, ANDEAN ECONOMIES WERE SERIOUSLY DISADVANTAGED IN DISTANCE FROM TRADE MARKETS; MOVING A TON OF GOODS FROM LIMA TO BOGOTA COST 52.9 POUNDS AS COMPARED TO 2 POUNDS TO BUENOS AIRES OR MONTEVIDEO. 4 TRADE WITH PORT CITIES PROMOTED AN OUTWARD FOCUS IN A REGION WHERE OVERLAND SHIPPING COULD BE AS EXPENSIVE AS SENDING GOODS HALFWAY AROUND THE WORLD. IN BOLIVIA AND ECUADOR, FOR EXAMPLE, COSTS FROM THE PORT CITY TO THE CAPITAL WERE BETWEEN FOUR AND FIVE TIMES THE COST OF SHIPPING FROM ENGLAND.”

FRANKO, Patrice. *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development*, 2019

ALL WITH DIRE, LONG TERM CONSEQUENCES

- Commodity booms and busts before and after 1929
- High dependency of international markets and capital
- Declining terms of trade after 1930
- Is agro pop? weak backward and forward linkages
- Deforestation and environment depletion
- Mass poverty versus elite's conspicuous consumption

GETULIO VARGAS IN 1940...

“TO CONQUER THE LAND, TAME THE WATERS AND SUBJUGATE THE JUNGLE, THESE HAVE BEEN OUR TASKS. AND IN THIS CENTURIES-OLD BATTLE, WE HAVE WON VICTORY UPON VICTORY.”

Apud FRANKO, Patrice. *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development*, 2019

PERSISTENT EDUCATIONAL DEFICITS

LAC	1980	2000	2017
Progression to Secondary School (%)	84.02	93.70	94.30
Industrial Design Applications (N)	2,916	4,708	7,266
High Technology Exports (% of Manufactured Goods)	–	15.79	12.13
ICT Services Exports (% services)	–	17.25	25.94

IMPORT SUBSTITUTION INDUSTRIALIZATION

- Active Industrial Policy and SOEs (> 50% BR 1973)
- High Tariff Walls: 671 % for fertilizers in Mexico 1970
- Overvalued Exchange Rates and licensed imports
- Targeted Lending by CORFO (Chile) and BNDES (Brazil)
- Multinational select activity: 43% manufacture CO 1970
- Loose monetary policy, but taxes on consumption

-
- Plus: quotas, subsidies, local content etc
 - LAC population doubled, GDP quintupled (1945–1980)
 - 1970–1979 Average Growth: BR 6.1, MX 3.2, EC 7.0
 - Local manufactured products 266 % up (1949–1964)
 - Economic growth and urbanization, but...

FROM ISI TO DEBT CRISIS AND LOST DECADE

- ISI troubles with bureaucracy and political infighting
- Lack of regional integration: no economies of scale
- Weak fiscal basis and increased inequality
- Consumer patterns of new middle classes mimic core
- Overvalued exchange rates and hard currency needs

-
- Inflationary biases and large external borrowing
 - Oil prices: 2.7 USD per barrel (1973) to 35.52 (1980)
 - From negative US prime rates to Volcker's 18.8 in 1981
 - Mexico's default in 1982 and the "confidence erosion"
 - Capital Flight: 76.9 % of Argentina's external debt 1984

-
- **IMF contractionary conditionalities and debt service**
 - **Big recessions in 1981 and 1984 fueled social conflict**
 - **Crises forced military regimes into democracy**
 - **LAC external debt reached USD 434 billion by 1989**
 - **Brady Plan to restructure LAC external debts in 1989**
 - **In early 1990s annual inflation rates exceed 1,000%**

WASHINGTON CONSENSUS ?

- Fiscal discipline
- Public expenditure with economic returns
- Tax reform (to lower marginal rates)
- Interest rate liberalization
- Exchange rate fluctuation

-
- **Trade liberalization**
 - **Liberalization of capital inflows**
 - **Privatization**
 - **Business deregulation**
 - **Enforcement of property rights**

GLOBALIZATION, AND ITS FIRST DISCONTENTS...

“IN COCHABAMBA, BOLIVIA A “WATER WAR” BROKE OUT IN 2000 AFTER THE BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT APPROVED A LAW PRIVATIZING THE COUNTRY’S STATE-OWNED WATER UTILITY. A SEVERE RATE HIKE BY THE MULTINATIONAL AGUAS DE TUNARI RESULTED IN WIDESPREAD, AND SOMETIMES VIOLENT, PROTESTS IN THE REGION..”

**KLINE & WADE & WIARDA (2018) Latin America Politics Development,
page 65**

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS FIRST RESPONDERS . . .

“IN 1992 REPRESENTATIVES FROM 178 GOVERNMENTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY REPRESENTATIVES FROM AROUND THE GLOBE GATHERED IN RIO DE JANEIRO FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT. “DEVELOPMENT WHICH MEETS THE NEEDS OF THE PRESENT WITHOUT COMPROMISING THE ABILITY OF FUTURE GENERATIONS TO MEET THEIR OWN NEEDS.”

**KLINE & WADE & WIARDA (2018) Latin America Politics Development,
page 69**

CAF MACROECONOMIC REGIONAL PROJECTIONS...

- ▶ LA projection GDP real growth % from 1.7 (2018) to 2.4 (2019)
- ▶ GDP real growth % in 2017: BR (0.9) / MX (3.0) / CO (1.8) / AR (2.8)
- ▶ GDP per capita (current USD): 10,541 (2018)
- ▶ Exports (million USD): 960,894 (2018)
- ▶ Imports (million USD): 909,716 (2018)
- ▶ Global Fiscal Result / GDP: from - 6.2 % (2017) to - 5.4 % (2018)
- ▶ Current Account / GDP: from -1.7% to - 2.2%
- ▶ Urban unemployment rate: 8.2 %

POVERTY AND INEQUALITIES TO OVERCOME

- ▶ LAC – 10 of 15 most unequal countries, 182 million poor
- ▶ VE – HDI 0.76 / Gini 46.9 / 87% poor and desperate in 32 million
- ▶ MX – HDI 0.77 / Gini 43.4 / 42.3% poor in 130 million
- ▶ BR – HDI 0.76 / Gini 51.3 / 11.2 % poor in 210 million
- ▶ AR – HDI 0.82 / Gini 42.4 / 33 % poor in 43 million
- ▶ Age, race, ethnicity, gender, territory, and other inequalities
- ▶ Outsized effects of Climate Change in the Global South
- ▶ How to build strong micro and macroeconomic foundations?

EPPUR SI MUOVE ?



4. DEMOCRACY

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY TO YOU?

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_7t1jg_1o-o

A. Concepts

B. Praxis

A. CONCEPTS

POLITICAL REGIMES

“(...) THE SET OF INSTITUTIONS THAT REGULATE THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND ITS EXERCISE, AS WELL AS THE PRACTICE OF THE VALUES THAT ANIMATE SUCH INSTITUTIONS. INSTITUTIONS CONSTITUTE, ON THE ONE HAND, THE ORGANIC STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL POWER, WHICH CHOOSES THE RULING CLASS AND ASSIGNS TO EACH OF THE INDIVIDUALS ENGAGED IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE A PECULIAR ROLE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS RULES AND PROCEDURES THAT GUARANTEE THE CONSTANT REPETITION OF CERTAIN BEHAVIORS AND THUS MAKE POSSIBLE THE REGULAR AND ORDERLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER, THE EXERCISE OF POWER AND THE SOCIAL ACTIVITIES LINKED TO IT.”

BOBBIO & MATTEUCCI & PASQUINO, Dicionário de Política, 1983, p. 1081.

-
- **Classified by mode of production, scale, numbers, structure . . .**
 - **Anarchy / Confederation / Federation / Empire / Regional / Global**
 - **Autocracies: Absolutism / Oligarchy / Technocracy / Totalitarianism**
 - **Democracies: Direct / Representative / Participative / Deliberative**
 - **Intermediate: Democraduras y Dictablandas in various forms . . .**
 - **Political Demophobia: Klepto, Pluto, and Techno Kratos**
 - **Political Ochlophilia: Populism, Fascism, Fanaticism**

"THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS A SOCIALIST STATE UNDER THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP LED BY THE WORKING CLASS AND BASED ON THE ALLIANCE OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS."

Article 1 of the PRC Constitution, as amended (2004)

"WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENCE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

Preamble of the USA Constitution as amended (1992)

DEMOCRATIC REGIMES: LIJPHART (2012)

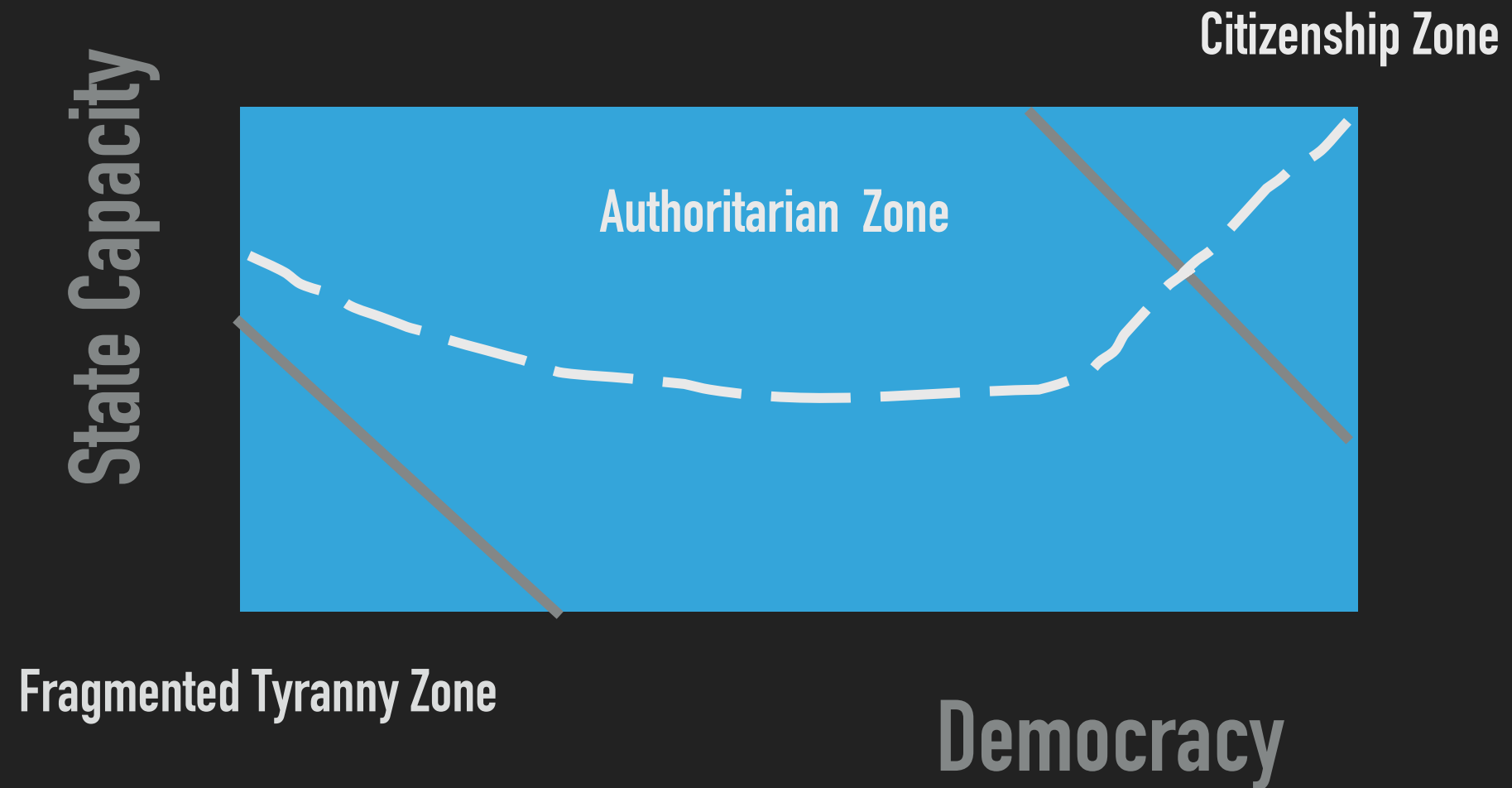
DIMENSION	WESTMINSTER DEMOCRACY	CONSENSUS DEMOCRACY
Horizontal Executive-parties	Single-party majority Cabinet	Multi-party coalitions Cabinet
	Executive dominant	Executive-Legislative balance
	Two-party system	Multiparty system
	Majoritarian electoral system	PR electoral system
	Pluralist interest groups	"Corporatist" concertation
Vertical Federal-unitary	Unitary centralized	Federal decentralized
	Unicameral Legislative	Two strong houses
	Flexible Constitution	Rigid Constitution
	Legislative review laws	Judiciary review laws
	Dependent Central Banks	Independent Central Banks

LIJPHART et al (2014)

Variable	USA (86)	URUGUAY (98)	BRAZIL (78)
Cabinet concentration	Single-party majority	Single-party majority	Broad Coalition
Executive-legislative	Balance	Balance	Balance
Party system	$NpL = 1.98 / Nv = 32$	$NpL = 4.4 / Nv = 7$	$NpL = 16.7 / Nv = 35$
Electoral system	FPP majoritarian	Proportional List	Proportional Open
interest mediation	Asymmetric pluralism	Corporatism	Corporatism ?
Government Levels	Federal decentralized	Unitary centralized	Federal decentralized
Legislative Structure	Two strong houses	Two strong houses	Two strong houses
Constitution	1789 (230 years)	1967 (51 years)	1988 (30 years)
Law Review	Supreme Court	Suprema Corte Justicia	STF
Central Bank	Independent FED	Dependent BCU	Dependent BCB

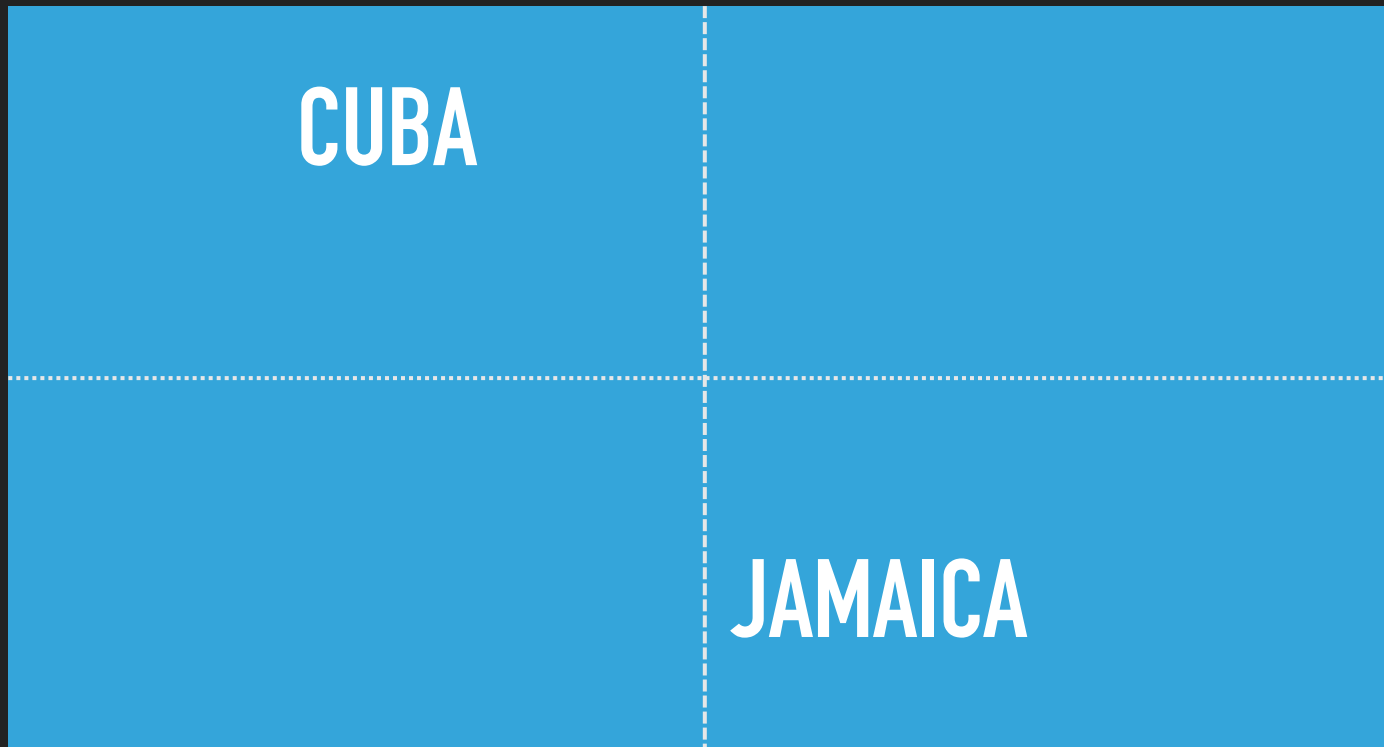
-
- **Complex societies have many actors with diverse goals / interests**
 - **Power is about how to effectively articulate ends and means**
 - **Accumulation of power over nature and humans is problematic**
 - **Any political regime needs some legitimacy to survive ?**
 - **Legitimacy sources may be traditional, legal, charismatic (Weber) ...**
 - **Legitimacy is contested, therefore it also depends on performance**
 - **History, resources, stratifications, culture, and ideology matter**
 - **How to process social conflicts, ensure loyalty and tolerate dissent?**
 - **How to decide about common goals in a global scale?**

CHARLES TILLY (2007)



CHARLES TILLY (2007)

State Capacity



Democracy

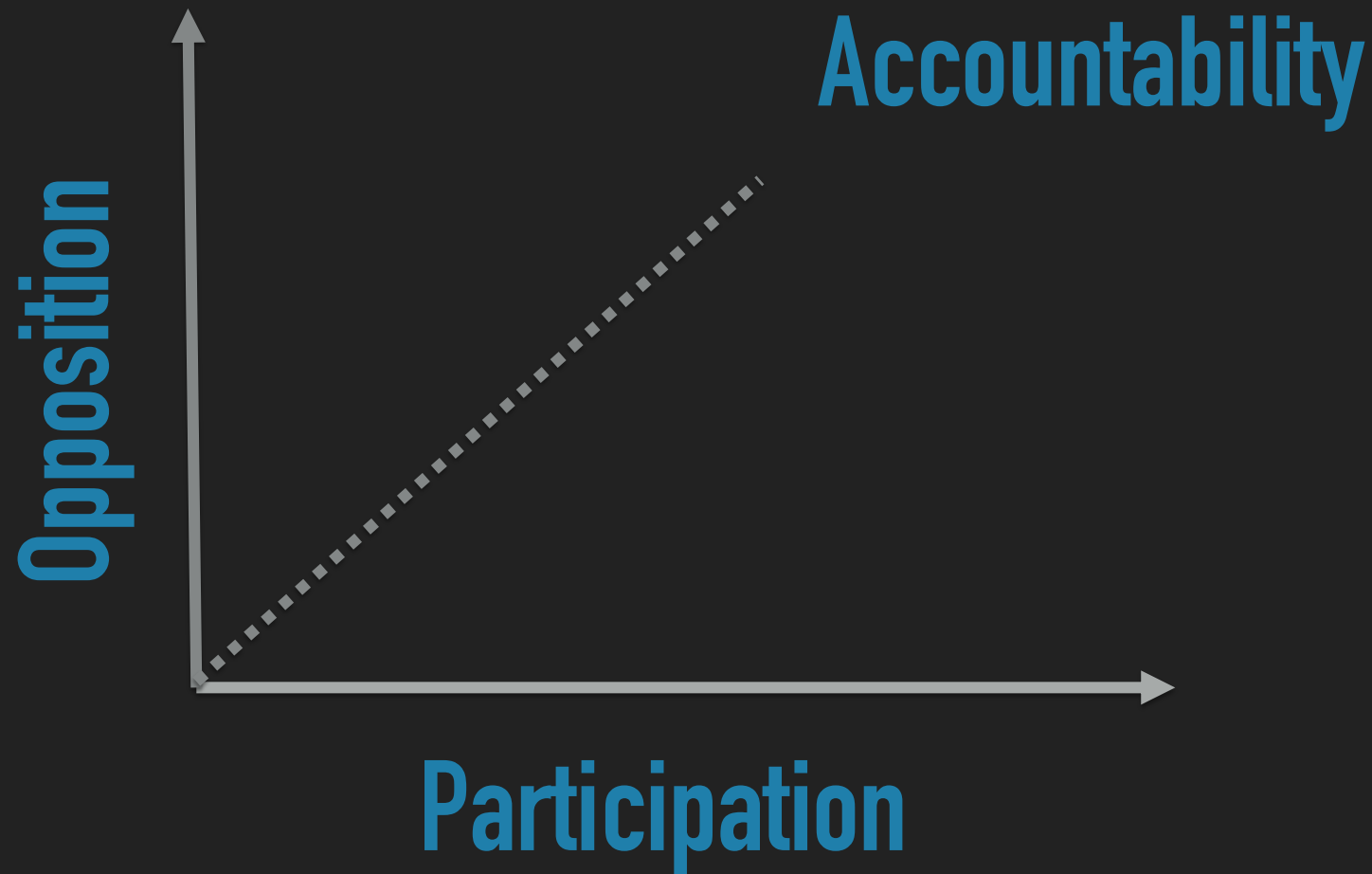
POLYARCHY

- Polyarchy is a way to control power and account for diversity
- Dialect between solidarity and interests (Reis, 2007)
- Mass society require at least thin solidarity among strangers
- State enforcement (institutions) and reflexive norms (ethics)
- Civil (rights) and civic (obligations) dimensions of democracy
- Polyarchy as actual or realistic democracy, far from ideal
- Robert Dahl (1956, 1961, 1971, 1986, 1989, 1990, 2002, 2006)
- Critics: Power Elite (Mills), Global Capitalism (Robinson) ...

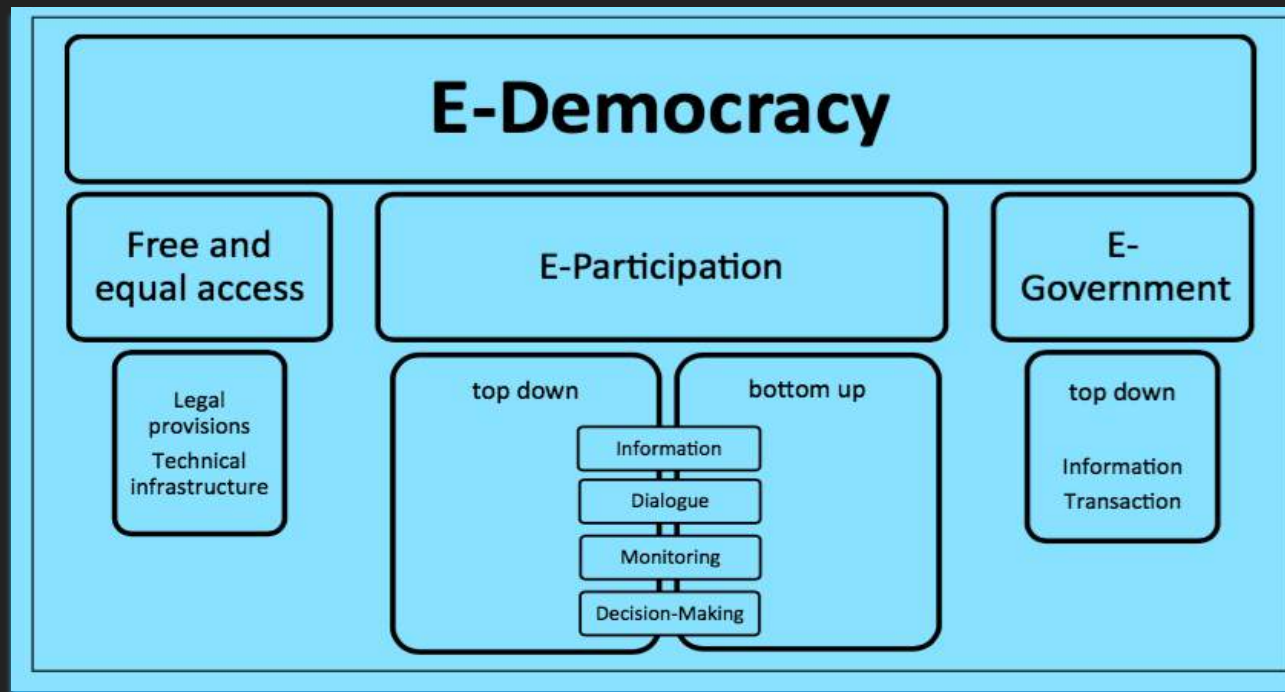
DAHLSIAN PROCEDURES

1. freedom to form and join organizations
2. freedom of expression
3. the right to vote
4. eligibility for public office
5. the right of political leaders to compete for support and votes
6. alternative sources of INFORMATION
7. free and fair elections
8. institutions for MAKING GOVERNMENT POLICIES DEPEND ON VOTES and other expressions of preference

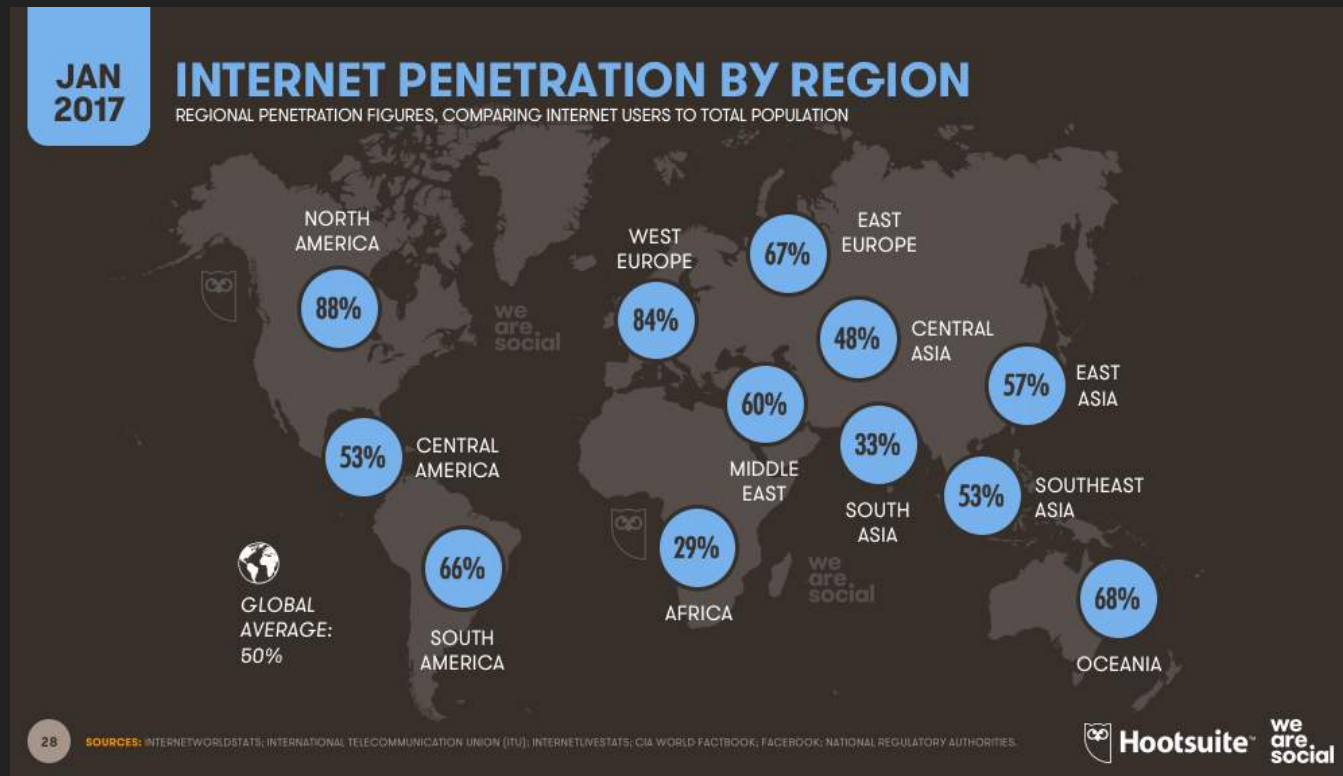
FROM 2D TO 3D PRINCIPLES – WG SANTOS



POLYARCHY AS OPEN-ENDED PROCESS



REMEMBER, MATERIAL INEQUALITIES MATTER



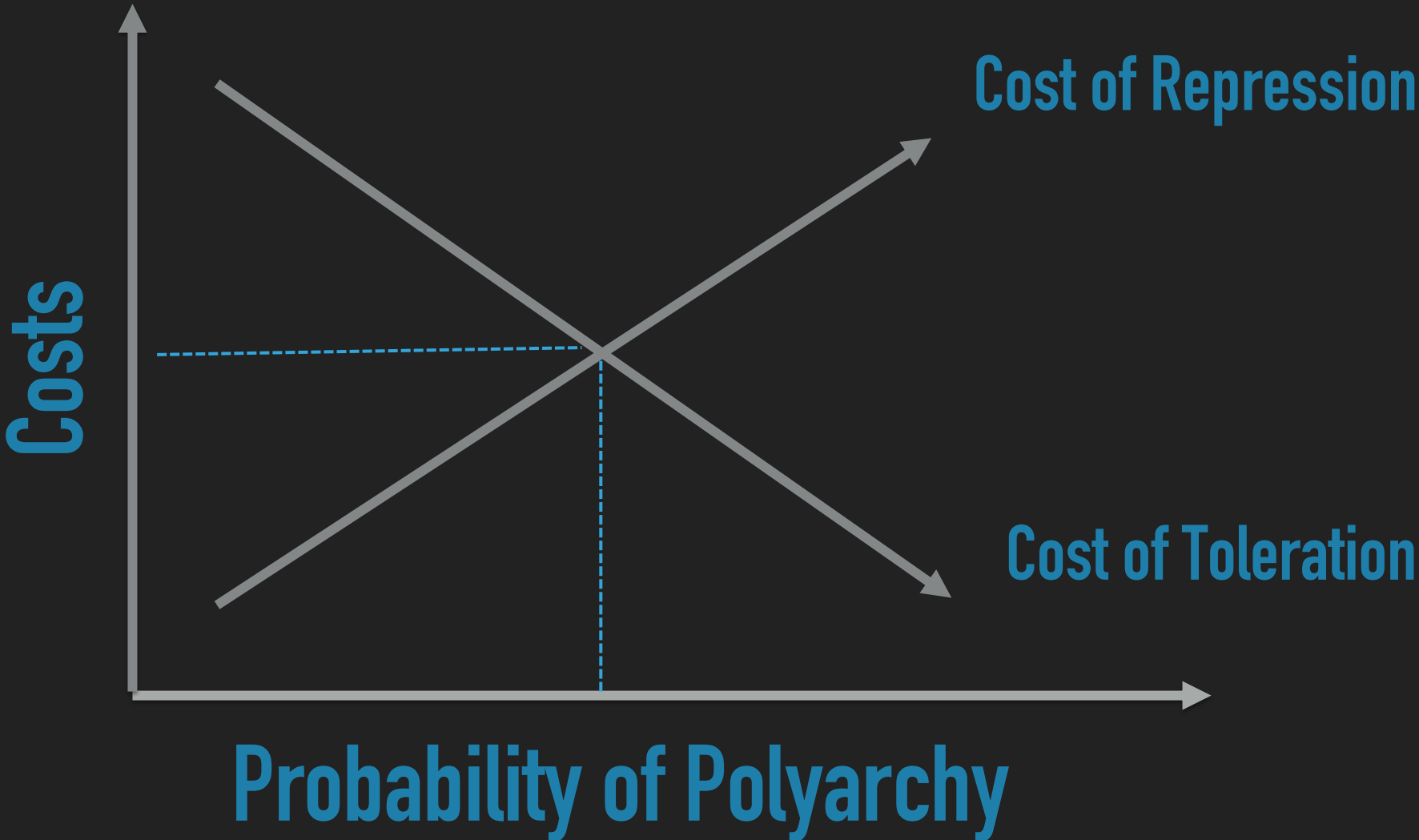
Fonte: <https://goo.gl/images/VK0ns4>

POLITICAL CULTURE

“RECENT POLITICAL CULTURE THEORY HAS THUS DEMONSTRATED THAT SOCIAL LIFE IS AN ONGOING REPRODUCTIVE PROCESS. NEW POLITICAL CULTURE ANALYSTS IN PARTICULAR HAVE FOCUSED NOT ONLY ON HOW POLITICAL ACTS SUCCEED OR FAIL TO OBTAIN SOME MATERIAL ADVANTAGE BUT ALSO ON HOW IN DOING SO THEY PRODUCE, REPRODUCE, OR CHANGE IDENTITIES. ”

DARITY JR. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. 2nd edition, 2008, Volume 06, p. 302..

DAHL AS A REALIST...

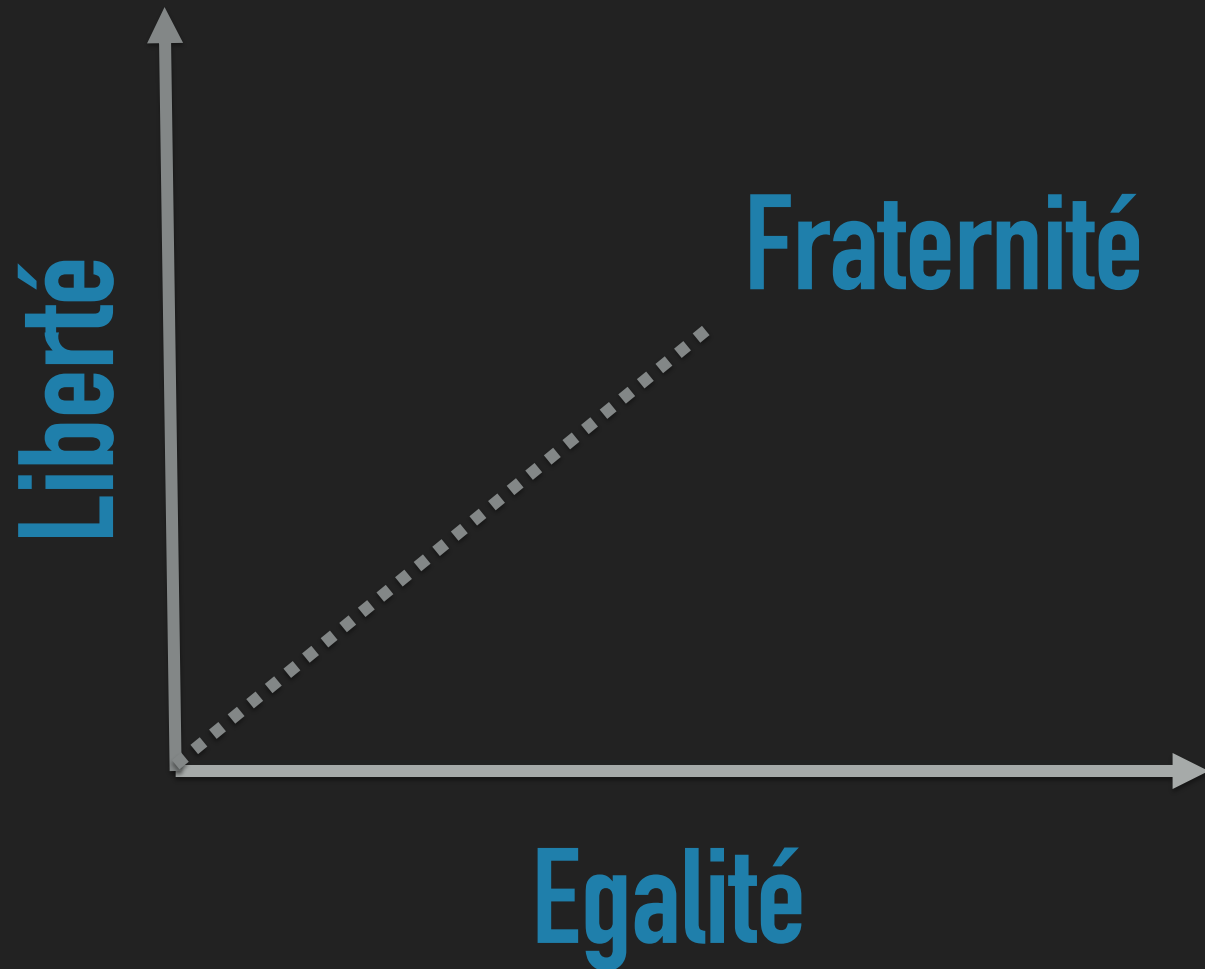


EMBEDDED RISKS

“TOLERANCE AND FORBEARANCE HELP TO FOSTER CROSS-PARTY CONSENSUS AND COOPERATION, ON A GOOD DAY, OR CARTELISATION AND COLLUSION, ON A BAD DAY. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY ARE PART AND PARCEL OF THE LEARNED RELATIONSHIP THAT EVOLVES AMONG ESTABLISHED POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICIANS. DEEP DOWN, THEY REST ON A MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE GROUP AND HENCE A FUNDAMENTAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEED FOR EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AMONG THOSE WHO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS..”

JONES, Erik, Democracies don't die, they are killed. *Survival*, 60:2 (201-210), 2018.

WHICH VALUES?



STATE CAPACITY – A STRANGE CONCEPT?

“WHEN AN AMERICAN THINKS ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT-BUILDING, HE DIRECTS HIMSELF NOT TO THE CREATION OF AUTHORITY AND THE ACCUMULATION OF POWER BUT RATHER TO THE LIMITATION OF AUTHORITY AND THE DIVISION OF POWER. ASKED TO DESIGN A GOVERNMENT, HE COMES UP WITH A WRITTEN CONSTITUTION, BILL OF RIGHTS, SEPARATION OF POWERS, CHECKS AND BALANCES, FEDERALISM, REGULAR ELECTIONS, COMPETITIVE PARTIES--ALL EXCELLENT DEVICES FOR LIMITING GOVERNMENT. THE LOCKEAN AMERICAN IS FUNDAMENTALLY ANTI-GOVERNMENT.”

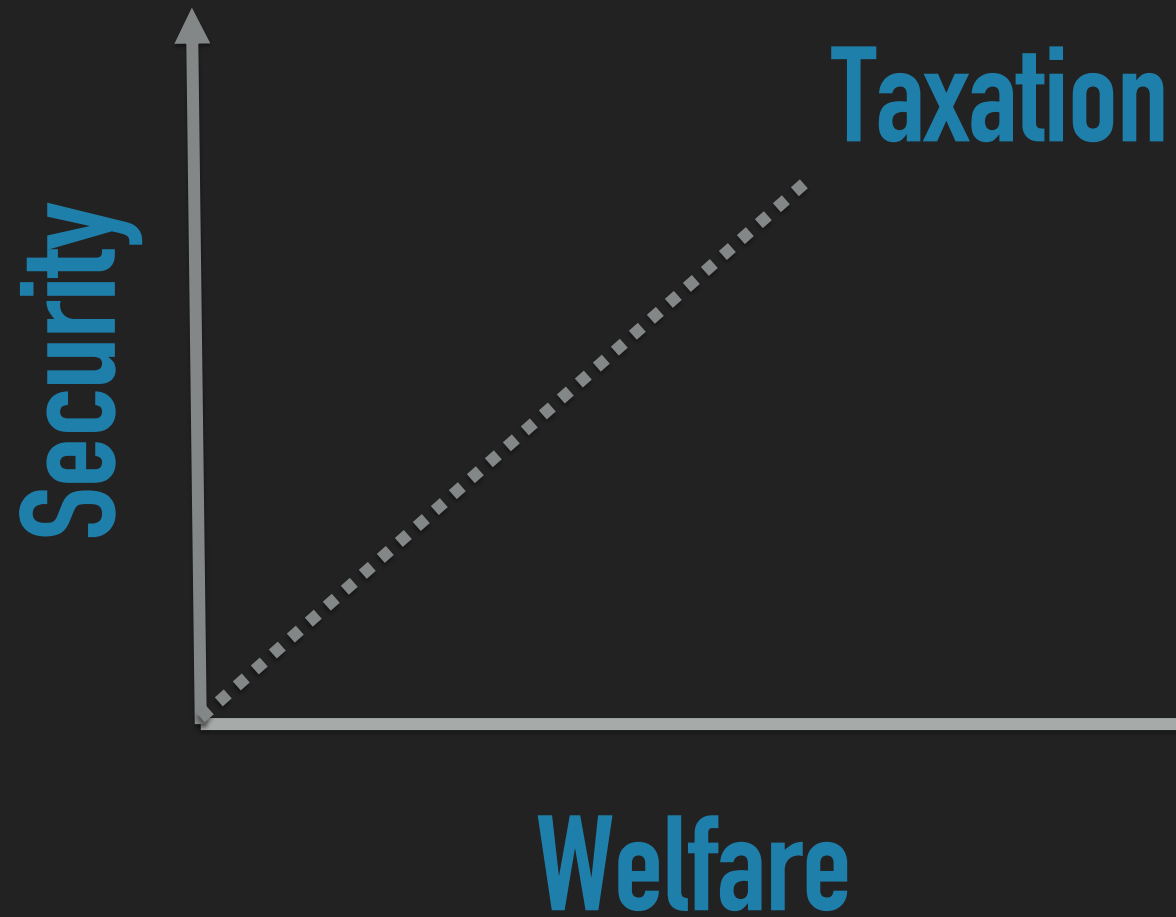
Samuel HUNTINGTON, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 1968, p. 07.

STATE CAPACITY – A DEFINITION

“STATE CAPACITY MEANS THE EXTENT TO WHICH INTERVENTIONS OF STATE AGENTS IN EXISTING NON-STATE RESOURCES, ACTIVITIES, AND INTERPERSONAL CONNECTIONS ALTER EXISTING DISTRIBUTIONS OF THOSE RESOURCES, ACTIVITIES, AND INTERPERSONAL CONNECTIONS AS WELL AS RELATIONS AMONG THOSE DISTRIBUTIONS.”

Charles TILLY, *Democracy*, 2007, p. 16.

STATE CAPACITY – 3D PERSPECTIVE



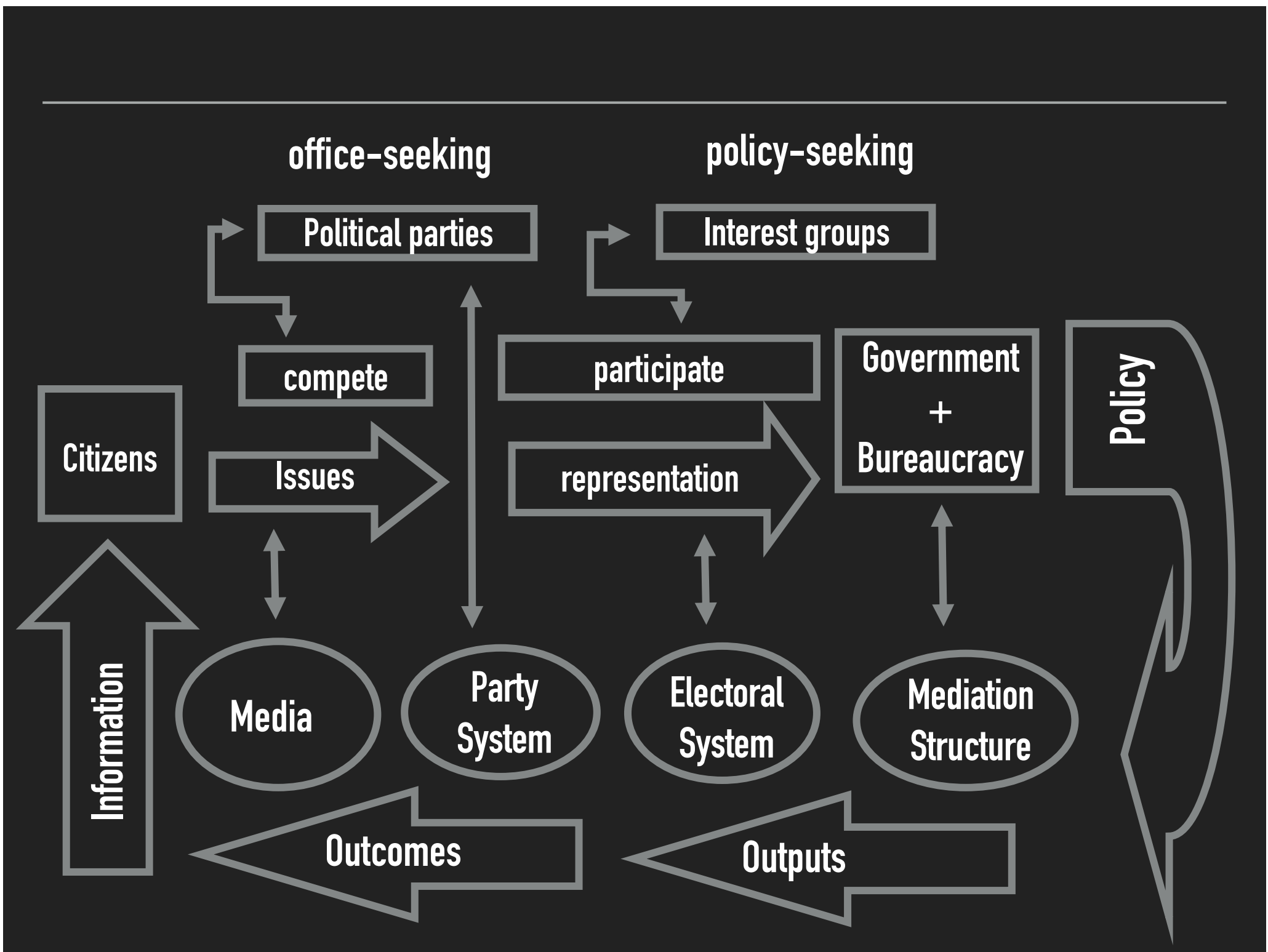
TAXATION AND STATE-BUILDING

“TAXES EXPRESS IN FISCAL TERMS THE WAY GROUPS ORGANIZE AND ADVANCE A PROJECT FOR THEIR STATE, AND IT IS IN TAXES THAT WE CAN FIND EVIDENCE THAT STATE-BUILDING IS OCCURRING, OR NOT, AND IN WHAT WAYS. TAXES INSTITUTIONALIZE WHO PAYS FOR WHAT BENEFITS ENJOYED BY WHOM.”

Aaron SCHNEIDER. State-Building and Tax Regimes in Central America, 2012, p. 02.

INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS – HELMKE & LEVITSKY (2006)

OUTCOMES OF INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS	WHEN EFFECTIVE FORMAL INSTITUTIONS	WHEN INNEFFECTIVE FORMAL INSTITUTIONS
CONVERGENT	COMPLEMENTARY USA Constitution Routines / Operating Procedures	SUBSTITUTIVE Peru's Rondas Campesinas Mexico's Electoral Disputes
DIVERGENT	ACCOMMODATING Dutch Consociationalism Chilean cuoteo politico	COMPETING Brazil's Extrajudicial Killings Clientelism / Patrimonialism



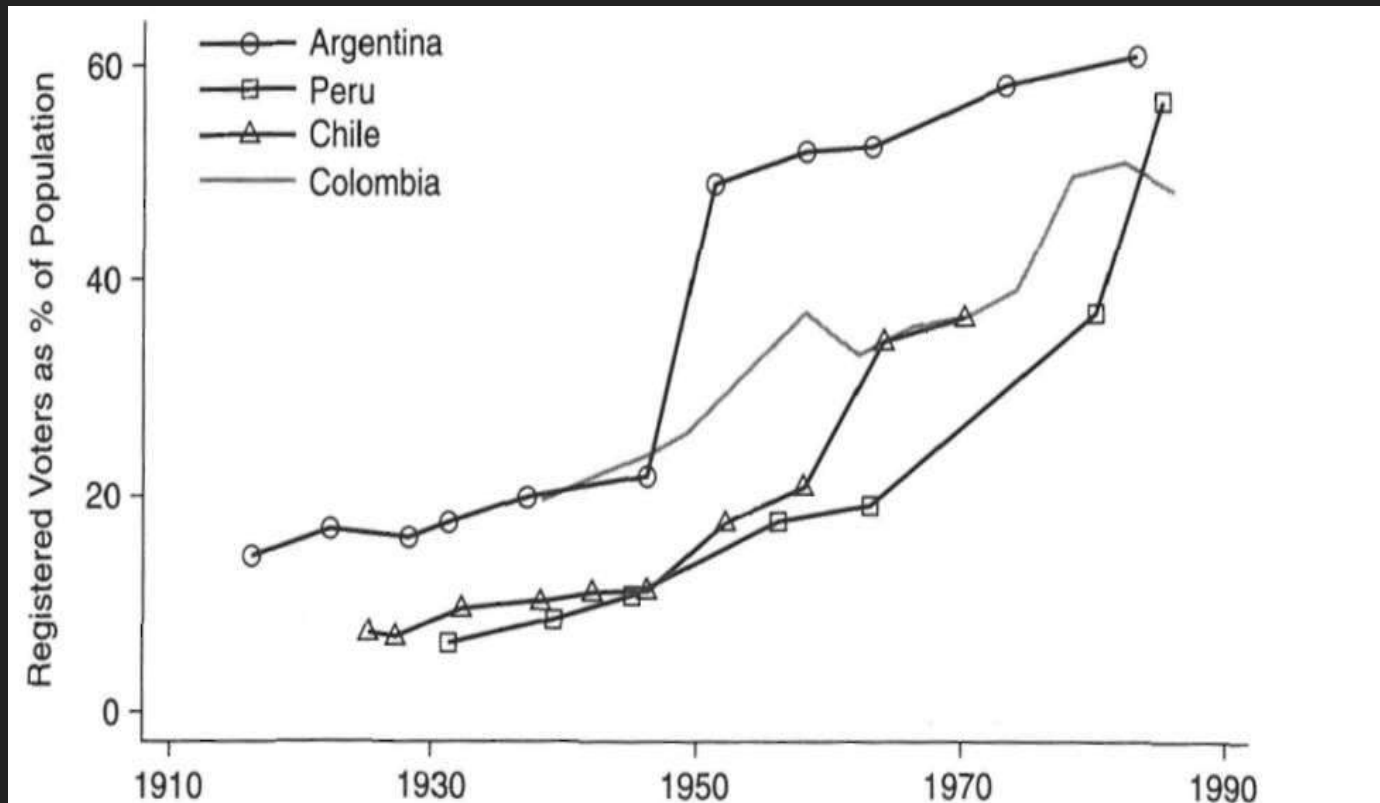
B. PRAXIS

ELECTORAL REGIMES – SMITH & SELLS (2016)

DEMOCRACY	Free and fair elections at the national level
SEMIDEMOCRACY	Elections free but not fair or elections not the real basis of political power
COMPETITIVE OLIGARCHY	Elections fair but not free, limited to dominant elites and restricted to less than half the adult male population
NONDEMOCRACY	Elections neither free nor fair, or no direct vote for president

	MX	VE	BR	AR
DEMOCRACY	1911-1912 2000-2015	1946-1948 1958-1998	1946-1953 1956-1964 1990-2015	1916-1929 1946-1950 1973-1975 1983-2000 2003-2015
SEMIDEMOCRACY	1917-1919 1924-1928; 1988-1999	1999-2015	1985-1989	1932-1942 1951-1954 1958-1961 1963-1965 2001-2002
COMPETITIVE OLIGARCHY	-	-	1900-1919	1900-1915
NONDEMOCRACY	1900-1910; 1913-1916 1920-1923 1929-1987	1900-1945 1949-1957	1930-1945 1954-1955 1964-1984	1930-1931 1943-1945 1955-1957 1962; 1966-1972; 1976-1982

COEXTENSIVE DEMOS AND POLIS ?



Fonte: SMITH & SELLS (2016), p. 181.

EXPECTED EFFECTS – DEEPENING DEMOCRACY



MILITARY COUPS 1900–2015 – SMITH & SELLS (2016)

19 LAC countries	MX	VE	BR	AR
N = 167	03	05	06	06
1.6 per year	1913 1914 1920	1908; 1936 1945; 1948 1952	1930; 1937 1945; 1954 1955; 1964	1930; 1943 1955; 1962 1966; 1976
8.8 per country	No Military Regime	1948–1958 Military Regime	1964–1985 Military Regime	1966–1973 1976–1983 Military Regimes

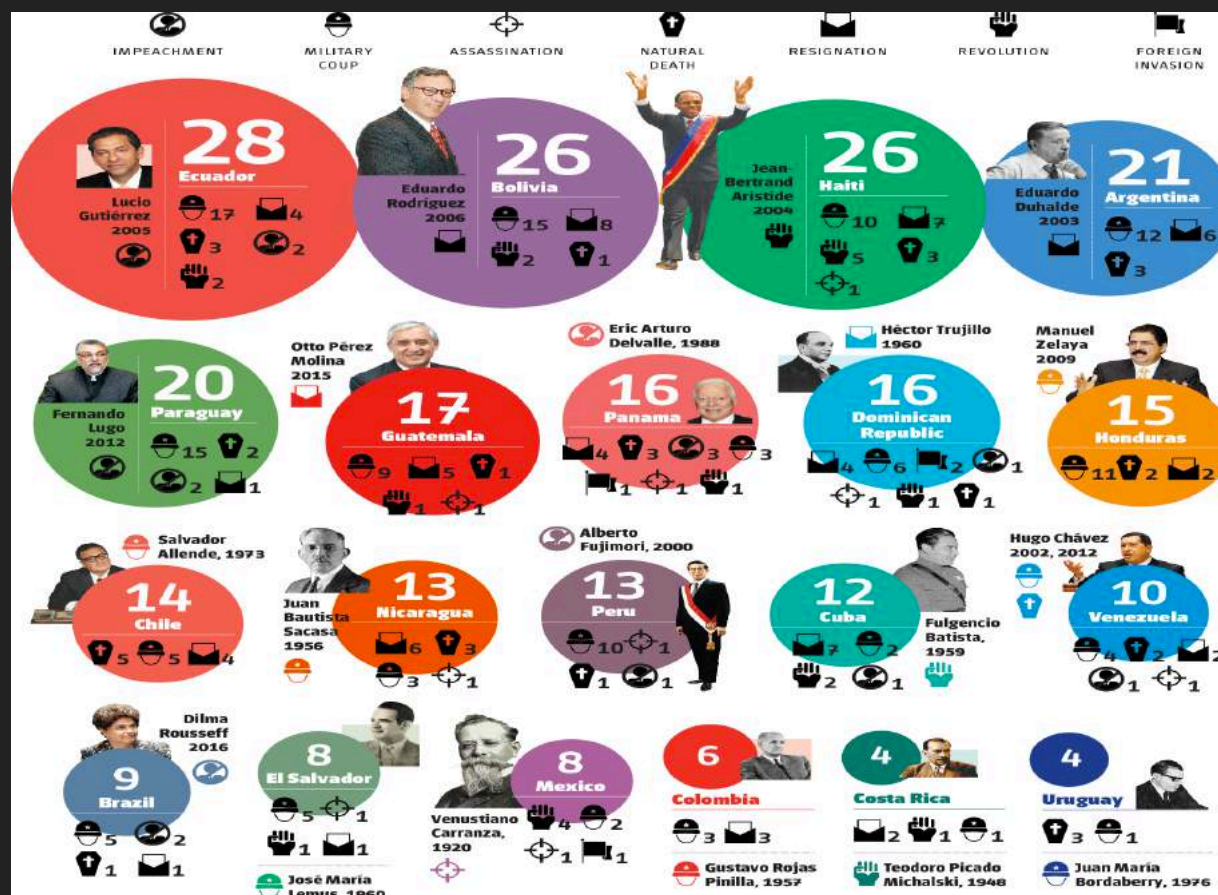
PREATORIANISM AS POLITICAL DECAY

“IN A PRAETORIAN SYSTEM SOCIAL FORCES CONFRONT EACH OTHER NAKEDLY; NO POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, NO CORPS OF PROFESSIONAL POLITICAL LEADERS ARE RECOGNIZED OR ACCEPTED AS THE LEGITIMATE INTERMEDIARIES TO MODERATE GROUP CONFLICT. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, NO AGREEMENT EXISTS AMONG THE GROUPS AS TO THE LEGITIMATE AND AUTHORITATIVE METHODS FOR RESOLVING CONFLICTS. (...) EACH GROUP EMPLOYS MEANS WHICH REFLECT ITS PECULIAR NATURE AND CAPABILITIES. THE WEALTHY BRIBE; STUDENTS RIOT; WORKERS STRIKE; MOBS DEMONSTRATE; AND THE MILITARY COUP.”

Samuel HUNTINGTON, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 1968, p. 196.

CIVILIAN PREATORIANISM AND IMPEACHMENT

- 13 /15 nonconstitutional power grabs led by civilians (1990–2004)
- Military shirking ? from conditional subordination to tutelage
- Coup? Chavez (2002), Zelaya (2009), Lugo (2012), Rousseff (2016)
- Colored Revolutions: legitimate grievances and covert operations
- Against Rousseff: funds for social programs without Congress ok.
- Against Lugo: police murder of 17 farmers, 5 hours trial
- Against Zelaya: non-binding poll on holding a referendum, ousted
- Against Chavez: won the 2000 election and the 1999 Constitution



Fonte: <https://www.americasquarterly.org/content/president-no-longer>

CORRUPTION AND DEMOCRACY

“THE BIGGER CHAINS OF CORRUPT TRANSACTIONS ARE NOWADAYS TRANSNATIONAL. ESPECIALLY SO UNDER FINANCIAL DEREGULATION AND THE PROLIFERATION OF TAX HAVENS AND SECRECY, THAT ALLOWS FOR STAGGERING FIGURES OF TAX EVASION AND ILLICIT INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL FLOWS. I SIMPLY CANNOT SEE HOW CAN WE HOPE FOR A LESS CORRUPT POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT AT THE NATIONAL OR TRANSNATIONAL LEVEL IF WE ADOPT THE RHETORIC OF PURGING ENTIRE POLITICAL SYSTEMS THAT NEW DEMOCRACIES MANAGE, HOWEVER PRECARIOUSLY, TO BUILD.”

Bruno REIS, *The Fight Against Corruption as a Threat to Democracy*, 2018.

ELECTORAL CYCLE – 2018

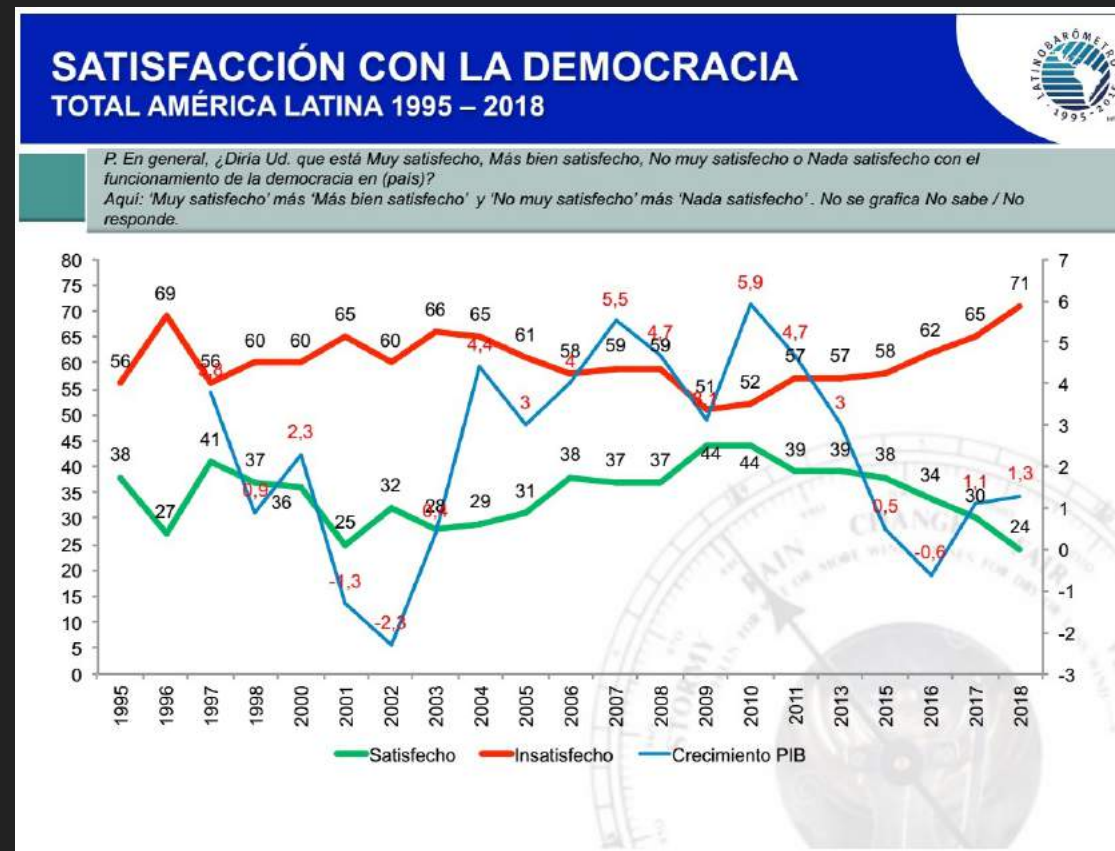




ELECTORAL CYCLE – 2019



ANGER AND FEAR – WITHER GOVERNABILITY ?



HOW IS DEMOCRACY ERODING ?

- Party Systems are weaker and challenged as representation tools
- Electoral competition heavily dependent on money and internet
- Programmatic differences exist, but are narrowed by TINA claims
- Labor-mobilizing parties challenged by fragmented social scene
- Violence, corruption, and economic crisis empower authoritarians
- Judiciary: either excessive politicization or lack of accountability
- Human Rights abuses and environment crimes are tolerated
- Tax reforms enhance collection, not burden redistribution
- Changing international context and de-democratization surge

SO, DOES DEMOCRACY MATTER ?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w8ugs0rdhq8>



5. EMANCIPATION

“(...) I DO ORDER AND DECLARE THAT ALL PERSONS HELD AS SLAVES WITHIN SAID DESIGNATED STATES, AND PARTS OF STATES, ARE, AND HENCEFORWARD SHALL BE FREE. (...) AND UPON THIS ACT, SINCERELY BELIEVED TO BE AN ACT OF JUSTICE, WARRANTED BY THE CONSTITUTION, UPON MILITARY NECESSITY, I INVOKE THE CONSIDERATE JUDGMENT OF MANKIND, AND THE GRACIOUS FAVOR OF ALMIGHTY GOD.”

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, January 1st, 1863.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iu7-1gxd71g>

“(. . .) WHEN, IN THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT, CLASS DISTINCTIONS HAVE DISAPPEARED, AND ALL PRODUCTION HAS BEEN CONCENTRATED IN THE HANDS OF A VAST ASSOCIATION OF THE WHOLE NATION, THE PUBLIC POWER WILL LOSE ITS POLITICAL CHARACTER. POLITICAL POWER, PROPERLY SO CALLED, IS MERELY THE ORGANISED POWER OF ONE CLASS FOR OPPRESSING ANOTHER. (. . .), WE SHALL HAVE AN ASSOCIATION, IN WHICH THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF EACH IS THE CONDITION FOR THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL. (. . .) LET THE RULING CLASSES TREMBLE AT A COMMUNISTIC REVOLUTION. THE PROLETARIANS HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT THEIR CHAINS. THEY HAVE A WORLD TO WIN.”

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, February, 1848.

Go Back to Your Home

Marisa Monte and Arnaldo Antunes (1991)

Here in this house nobody wants your politeness
On the days when there's food, we eat it with our hands
And when the police, the disease, the distance or any
discussion

Separate us from a brother

We feel that heartaches never stop fitting into our hearts

But we don't cry in vain

We don't cry in vain

Here on this tribe nobody wants your catechization

We speak your language but we don't get your point

We laugh out loud, we drink and we curse people

But we don't smile in vain

We don't smile in vain

Here on this boat nobody wants your guidance

We have no perspective, but the wind gives us guidance

Life that goes adrift is our conduction

But we don't walk in vain

We don't walk in vain

Go back to your home

Go back there.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wq3haXP2YGU>

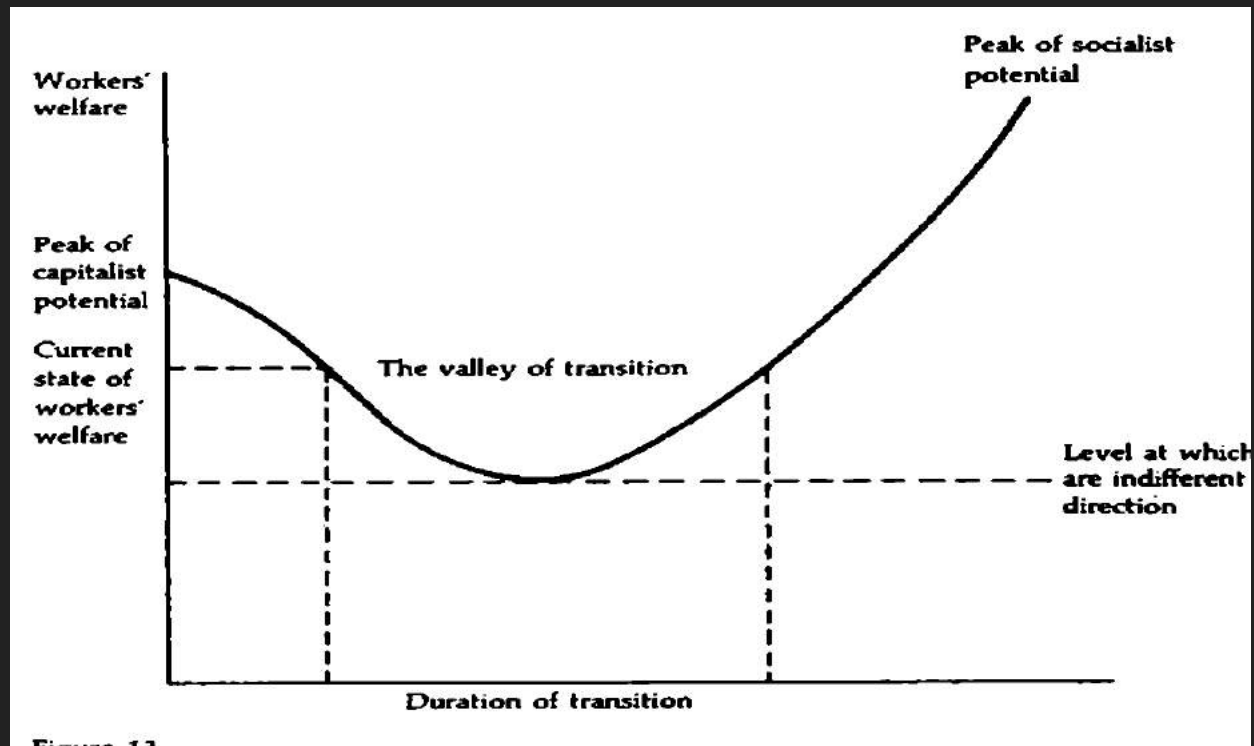
“THERE IS NO ESSENTIAL LINK BETWEEN LIBERAL FREEDOM AND EITHER PRIVATE PROPERTY OR EGOISM; NEITHER ECONOMIC COMPETITION NOR EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIPS ARE INHERENTLY INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE FREEDOM OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED. (...) THE LIMITED CHARACTER OF BOURGEOIS POLITICAL AND LEGAL FREEDOMS DOES NOT MAKE THEM ANY THE LESS GENUINE. (...) UNMASKING BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY ENTAILS SHOWING THEM TO BE IN SOME CASES (SUCH AS THE FREEDOM TO ACCUMULATE PROPERTY) PRECLUDING OTHER MORE VALUABLE FREEDOMS AND IN OTHERS (SUCH AS THE FREEDOM TO DISSENT) AS APPLIED IN FAR TOO LIMITED A FASHION.”

Steven LUKES, “Emancipation”. A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, 1991, p. 173.

SO, WHAT PRECLUDES JUSTICE?

- From unequal prerogatives to unequal provisions
- Economic exploitation, wealth accumulation, *de facto* privileges
- LAC's inequality matrix: income, race, and gender
- Additional Bio Vulnerabilities: childhood, youth, old age
- Political oppression, veto powers, and control of agenda setting
- Human Rights: civil, political, social, and informational conflicts
- Cultural impoverishment, ideological manipulation, *entfremdung*
- Artificial Intelligence, Climate Change, Homo Sapiens?

PZEWORSKI'S MODEL OF CLASS COMPROMISE



SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, A DEFINITION ...

“SOCIAL MOVEMENTS INVOLVE EFFORTS TO ACTIVATE PEOPLE AND OTHER RESOURCES THEY CAN REACH THROUGH SOCIAL NETWORKS, AND TO GENERATE PUBLICITY THROUGH THEIR ACTIONS, IN SUCH A WAY AS TO GAIN LEVERAGE OVER THE ACTIONS OF MORE POWERFUL ACTORS. THIS MAY INVOLVE DIRECT CHALLENGES, THROUGH PROTEST OR OTHER MEANS, TO THE POLICIES OF STATES OR OTHER POWER-HOLDERS.”

Margareth KECK, in: ROSSI & BULOW, *Social Movements Latin America* (2015, p. 217)

COLLECTIVE ACTORS AND SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

- Unions
- Associations
- Alliances
- Fora
- Networks
- Parties
- Movements
- Churches
- Both Legal and Clandestine
- Physical and Digital
- From Local to International...

MASS PROTESTS ARE A FORM OF SOCIAL POWER...

“IN MOMENTS OF CRISIS, RECENT “POPULIST” PRESIDENTS IN BOLIVIA, VENEZUELA, ARGENTINA, AND ECUADOR HAVE CALLED SUPPORTERS INTO THE STREETS TO DEFEND THEM AGAINST THREATS TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS FROM OPPOSITION FORCES. THUS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROTEST AND STATE POWER IN LATIN AMERICA HAS OFTEN BEEN COMPLICATED. WHILE MASS MOVEMENTS HAVE SOMETIMES PROTESTED THE ACTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, THEY HAVE EQUALLY OFTEN PROTESTED INACTION. THUS THEY MIGHT INSIST THAT THE STATE’S POWER BE USED (POSITIVELY) TO COUNTER THE ACTIONS OF OTHER POWERFUL ACTORS – BUSINESS, FOR EXAMPLE, OR INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS – OR TO RESOLVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT WERE NOT NECESSARILY CAUSED BY THE STATE, BUT FOR WHOSE RESOLUTION IT IS DEEMED RESPONSIBLE..”

Margareth KECK, in: ROSSI & BULOW, *Social Movements Latin America* (2015, p. 218)

WOMEN'S MARCH IN DENVER (2018)



WOMEN'S MARCH IN BRASILIA (2018)



TEACHERS' STRIKE IN DENVER (2019)



TEACHERS' STRIKE IN LIMA (2019)



LGBT RIGHTS IN NEW YORK (2017)



LGBT RIGHTS IN BUENOS AIRES (2018)



BLACK LIVES MATTER IN SACRAMENTO (2018)



BLACK LIVES MATTER IN RIO DE JANEIRO (2018)



HOMELESS MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK (2018)



HOMELESS MOVEMENT IN SAO PAULO (2018)



INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT IN SEATTLE (2018)



INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT IN LA PAZ (2018)



AND SLOWLY IT CHANGES... FOR THE GOOD

WOMEN in LAC's Lower Houses of National Congress (% of Total)	MX	VE	BR	AR
1990	12	10	5	5
2000	16	10	6	27
2010	26.2	-	8.8	38.5
2015	42	17	9.9	36.6

Source: Peter SMITH & Cameron SELLS. Democracy in Latin America. 2016, p. 250

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN 2019	MX (12.8 %)	VE (2.7 %)	BR (0.4 %)	AR (2.4 %)
To preserve language and culture	Y	Y	Y	Y
To decide about social organization	Y	Y	Y	Y
To collectively “possess” the land	P	P	P	P
To elect representatives / delegates	Y	Y	P	P

Source: José Antonio Lucero. “Indigenous Politics”. In: KINGSTONE & YASHAR (2012). Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics.

LGBT RIGHTS IN 2019	MX	VE	BR	AR
Same-Sex Marriage	Y	N	Y	Y
Anti-Discrimination Laws	Y	Y	Y	P
Gender Identity / Expression	P	N	Y	Y
Adoption by Same-Sex Couples	P	N	Y	Y

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LGBT_rights_in_the_Americas#Legislation_by_country_or_territory

... AND FOR THE BAD

Trade Union Density Rate (% of Total Workers)	US	MX	VE	BR	AR
2009	11.8	15.3	-	18.1	31.9
2012	10.8	13.5	0.2	16.9	30
2016	10.3	12.5	-	18.9	27.7
1989	22	21.9	24	27.6	44

Source: Peter SMITH & Cameron SELLS. Democracy in Latin America. 2016, p. 250

AND SOCIAL PROGRESS FACES REACTIONS

UNITE THE RIGHT IN CHARLOTTESVILLE (2017)



PRO MILITARY INTERVENTION IN BRAZIL (2016)



CLEAN BLOOD DEMONSTRATION IN WARSAW (2017)



FAR RIGHT HINDU RSS IN KARNATAKA (2018)



PRO DUTERTE RALLY IN MANILA (2018)



FROM TILLY TO VAN PARIJS . . .

- Tilly: equalization and public policies breed democratization
- Social movements: trust networks, pool risks, commitments
- Democratization promotes social movements as stakeholders
- But not all social movements are or want democracy, so . . .
- Need to combine expanded freedom and prevent intolerance
- Problems are international, so should be the movements
- NGO's as institutionalized, professional Social Movements?
- SMs' three kinds of claims: PROGRAM, identity, and standing

PROGRESSIVE SOLUTIONS REQUIRE CREATIVITY AND PERSISTENCY...

“WE ARGUED FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF A REGULAR CASH INCOME, PAID ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS, WITHOUT MEANS TEST OR WORK TEST, AS A CENTRAL INGREDIENT OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF A FREE, FAIR, AND SUSTAINABLE SOCIETY. (...) CREATING THIS UTOPIA OF A TRULY FREE SOCIETY CANNOT BE REDUCED TO INSTITUTING AN UNCONDITIONAL BASIC INCOME. NO LESS IMPORTANT ARE UNIVERSAL BASIC HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION, LIFELONG LEARNING, UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO QUALITY INFORMATION ON THE INTERNET, A HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT, AND SMART TOWN PLANNING. ALL THESE ARE VITAL TO ENHANCING WHAT WE CAN DO ON OUR OWN, BUT EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, TO EXPANDING WHAT EACH OF US CAN DO IN COLLABORATION WITH OTHERS, BUT THE STURDY FLOOR PROVIDED TO INDIVIDUALS BY AN UNCONDITIONAL BASIC INCOME IS KEY.”

Philippe Van PARIJS & Yannick VANDERBORGHT. *Basic Income: a Radical Proposal for a Free and a Sane Economy* (2017, p. 246)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ra2favrao2y>



Source: Antonio Berni. Manifestación, 1934. MALBA Buenos Aires

6. INTERNATIONAL

IS LATIN AMERICA LOST IN HELL?

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B9FzVhw8_bY

LAC CONTEXT

“LATIN AMERICAN SMALL GRAND STRATEGIES HAVE ATTEMPTED TO RESPOND IN FUNDAMENTAL TERMS TO SITUATIONS AND PROCESSES INVOLVING NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES; THAT IS, THEY HAVE BEEN CONCEIVED AND DEVELOPED TO FACE LOCAL CHALLENGES AND THREATS INDEPENDENTLY OF THE DYNAMICS TYPICAL OF THE GLOBAL POWER GAMES. HOWEVER, THEIR IMPLEMENTATION HAD A DIRECT AND IMPORTANT IMPACT ON THE DISPLAY OF THE STRATEGIC OPTIONS RELATED TO THE LOGICS OF AUTONOMY AND ACQUIESCENCE AND CONSEQUENTLY ON THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE REGION WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY WITH THE UNITED STATES.”

Russell & Tokatlian (2014, p. 62)

“WE DEFINE REGIONS AS THOSE SPACES IN WHICH A GROUP OF GEOGRAPHICALLY CONTIGUOUS STATES POSSESS BOTH THE OPPORTUNITY AND WILLINGNESS TO INTERACT WITH ONE ANOTHER AS A FUNCTION OF THEIR CAPABILITIES AND FOREIGN POLICY INTERACTIONS. (...) THE RESULT IS AN OPERATIONALIZATION OF REGIONS COMPRISED OF CONTIGUOUS STATES INTERACTING, TO A DEGREE, UNIQUELY APART FROM THE BROADER INTER- NATIONAL SYSTEM. FURTHERMORE, THE APPROACH HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF FLEXIBILITY AS REGIONAL COMPOSITION – BOTH THE NUMBER AND SCOPE OF REGIONS – MAY EVOLVE WITH CHANGES IN GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT”.

Volgy et al (2017, p. 459)

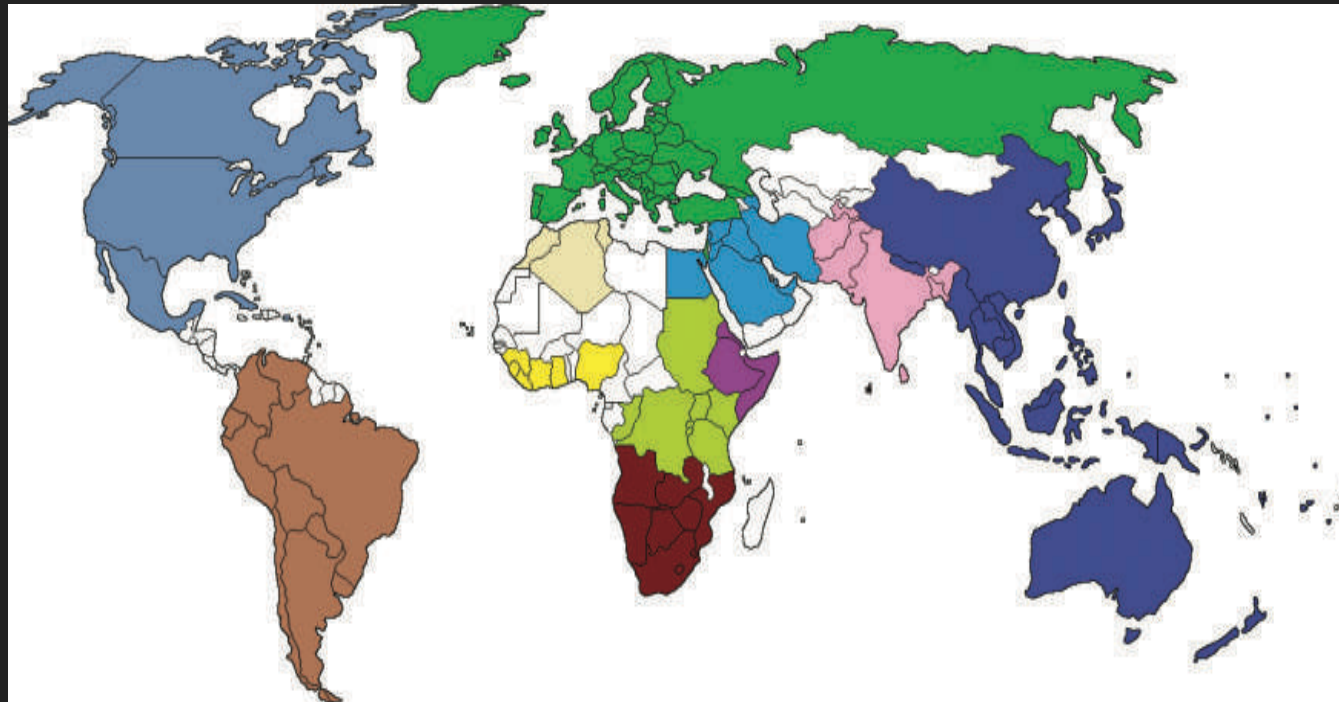
ABILITY TO REACH AND WILLINGNESS...

ABILITY follows Mesquita (1981) loss of strength gradient:

$$P_{ij} = \text{Power} \cdot \text{LOG} [(\text{MILES}) / (\text{MILES PER DAY}) + (10 - E)]$$

WILLINGNESS follows the proportion of foreign policy activity...

REGIONS 2001 – 2010



Source: Volgy et all (2017), page 460

REGIONAL EFFECTS

➤ SUBSTANCE:

➤ Conflict

➤ Cooperation

➤ Diffusion

➤ TYPES:

➤ Type I Regions reflect aggregate of state level features

➤ Type II Processes and characteristics enable effects

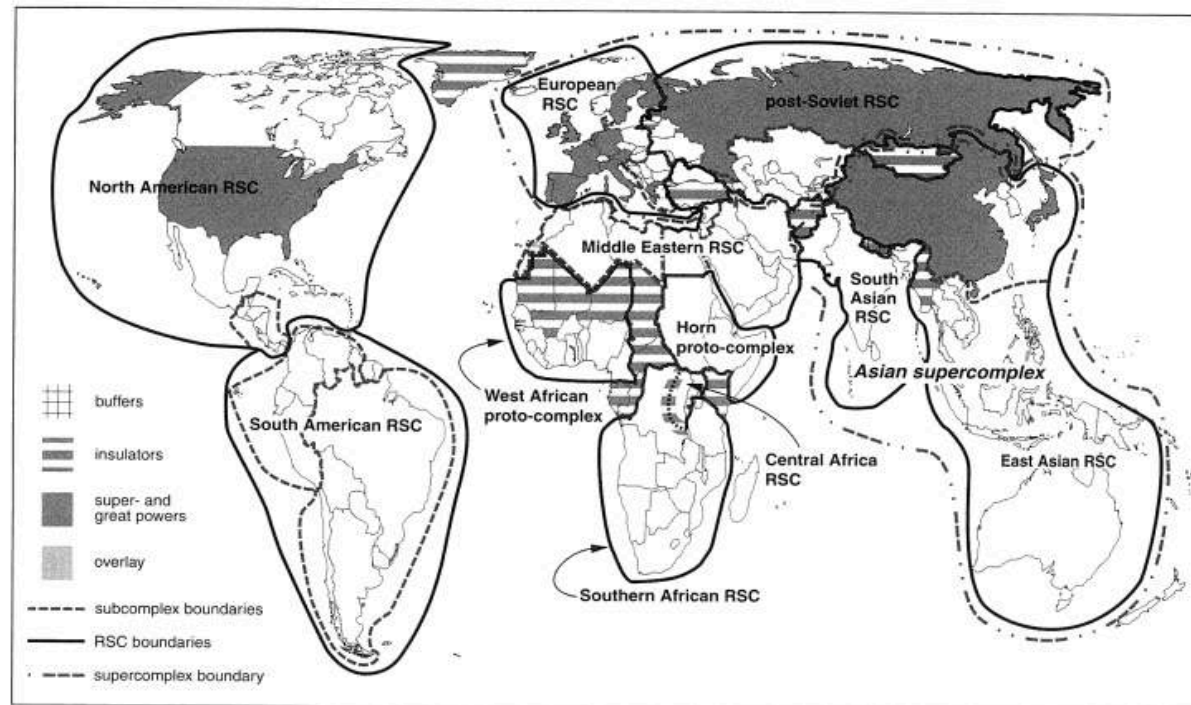
➤ Type III Differences are created by hierarchical relations

NUMBER OF SEVERE MID

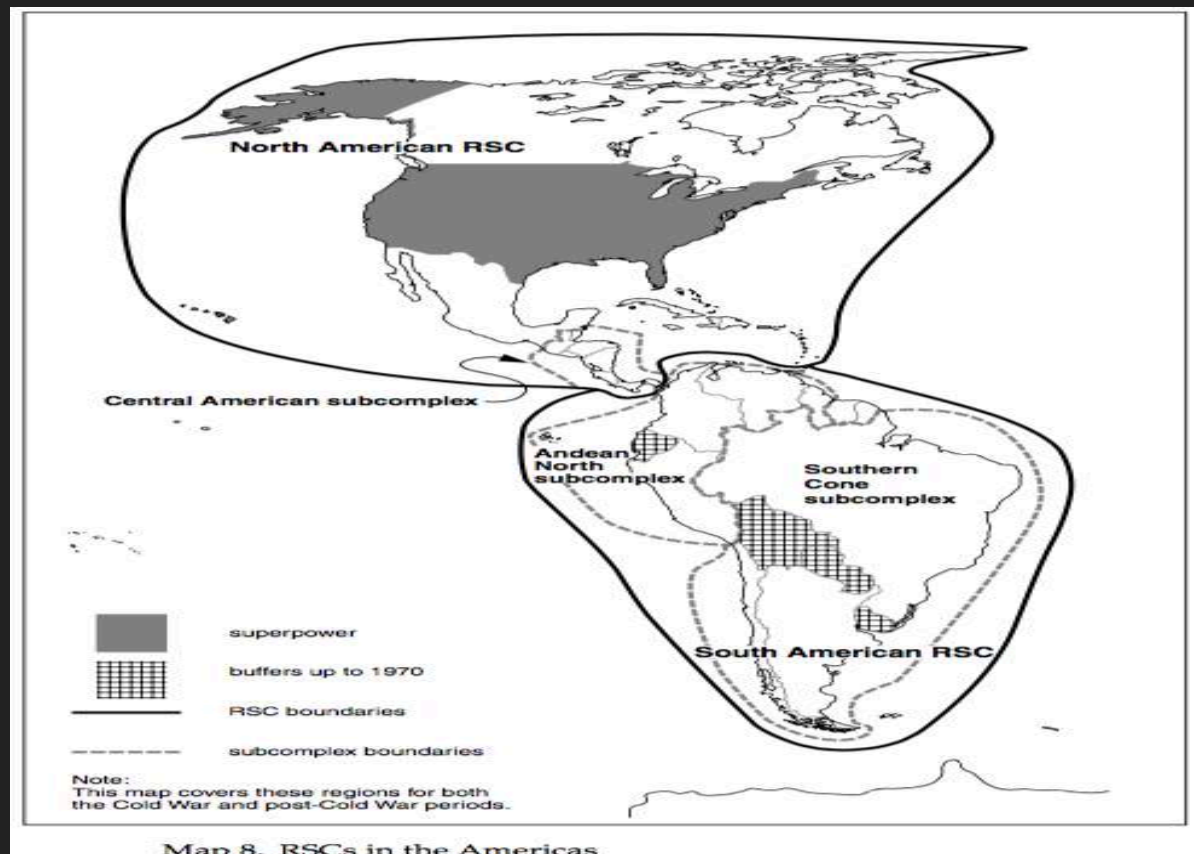
- Regions w/ Major Power = 0.5
- Regions w/ Regional Power = 1.5
- Regions w/ Major or Regional Power = 1.9
- Occurrences per country 2001 – 2010

REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX

- ▶ BUZAN & WEAVER (*Regions and Powers*, 2003)
- ▶ Region as a level of analysis?
- ▶ Four variables:
 - ▶ Borders
 - ▶ Anarchy (?)
 - ▶ Polarity (?)
 - ▶ Social construction (Polarization?)



Map 2. Patterns of Regional Security Post-Cold War



Map 8. RSCs in the Americas

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS

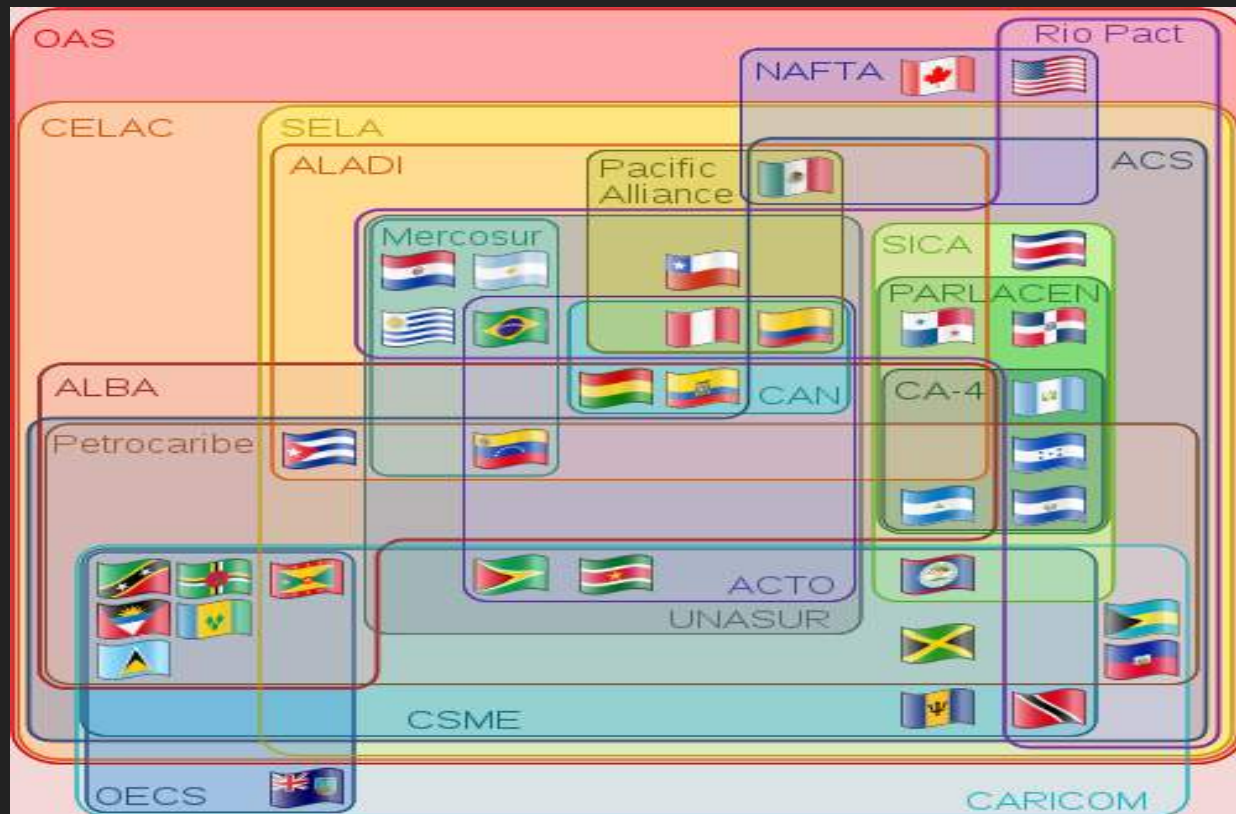
Rules, Tools, and Schools . . .

DUFFIELD (2006): Typology of International Security Organizations

Axis X: Purpose (Internally Or Externally Oriented)

Axis Y: Functioning (Operative Or Contingent Rules)

	INTERNALLY ORIENTED	EXTERNALLY ORIENTED
OPERATIVE RULES	Arms Control Confidence Building (ABM, NPT)	Export Control (NSG)
CONTINGENT RULES	Collective Security (UN)	Alliances (NATO, CSTO)



REGIONAL POWERS AND REGIONALISM

- ▶ Ability and willingness: around the Pink Tide
- ▶ Internal competence: Disputes
- ▶ Great powers interference / agenda overlay: US – CH
- ▶ OAS 1947; MERCOSUR 1985; OTCA 1995
- ▶ ALBA 2004; UNASUR 2007; CELAC 2010; PA 2012
- ▶ L. Whitehead (2006): LA as Mausoleum of Modernities

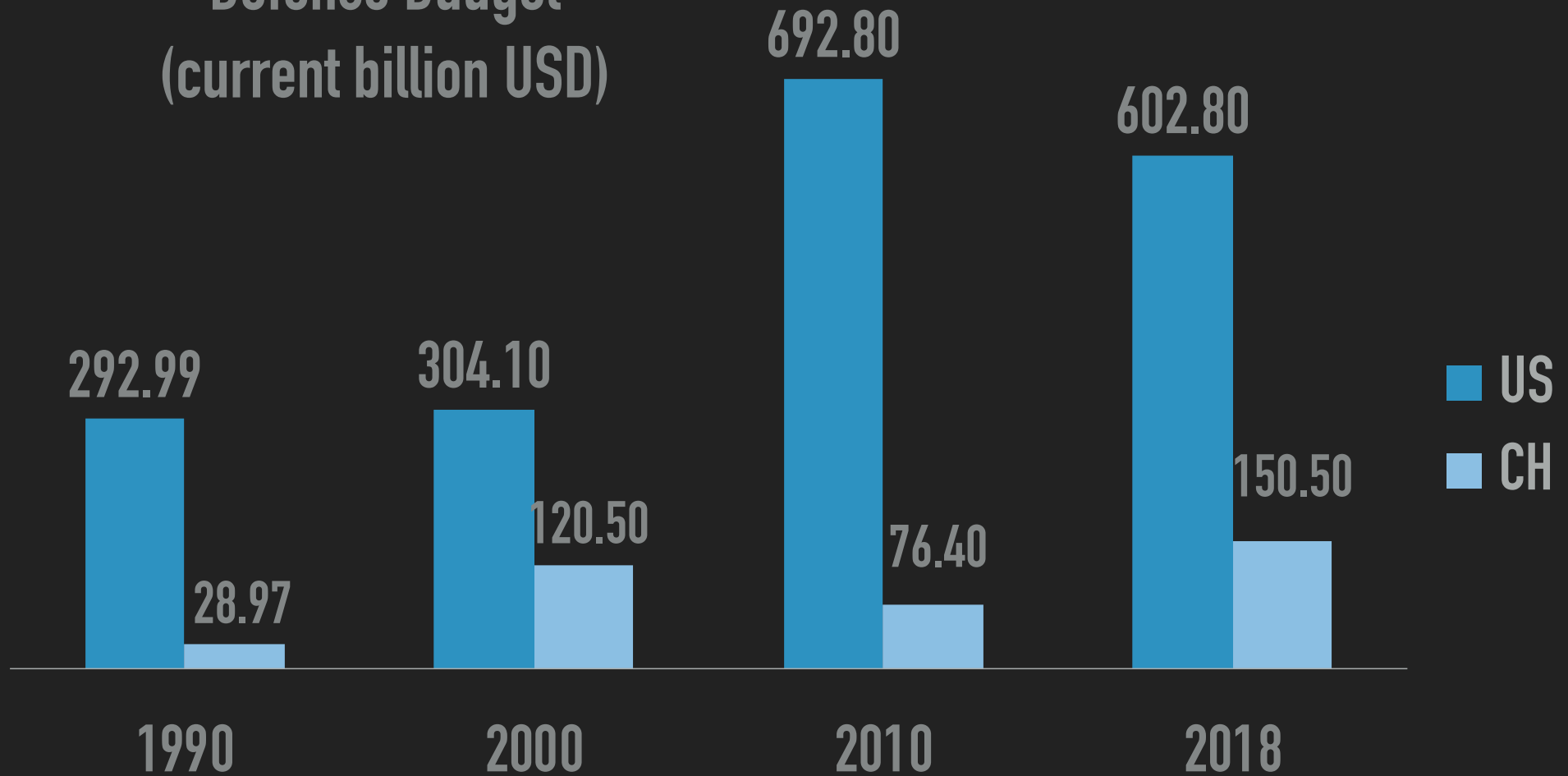
USA-PRC BALANCE

**THE STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND
CHINA AS A PREDICTOR VARIABLE EXPLAINING THE
OUTCOMES OF AN INCREASED ROLE OF PRC IN LATIN
AMERICA**

“THE PAX AMERICANA IS IMPERILED BY THE SHIFTING OF THE WORLD’S ECONOMIC – AND GEOPOLITICAL – CENTERS OF GRAVITY FROM THE EURO-ATLANTIC WORLD TO ASIA, WHICH PRESAGES THE END OF THE WEST’S FIVE CENTURIES OF GLOBAL DOMINANCE.”

Layne (2018)

Defense Budget (current billion USD)



Source: IISS (1991; 2002; 2010; 2018)

DEFENSE BUDGET

■ US ■ CH ■ BR ■ MX ■ AR ■ CO



ICBM

1200

1000

800

600

400

200

0

US

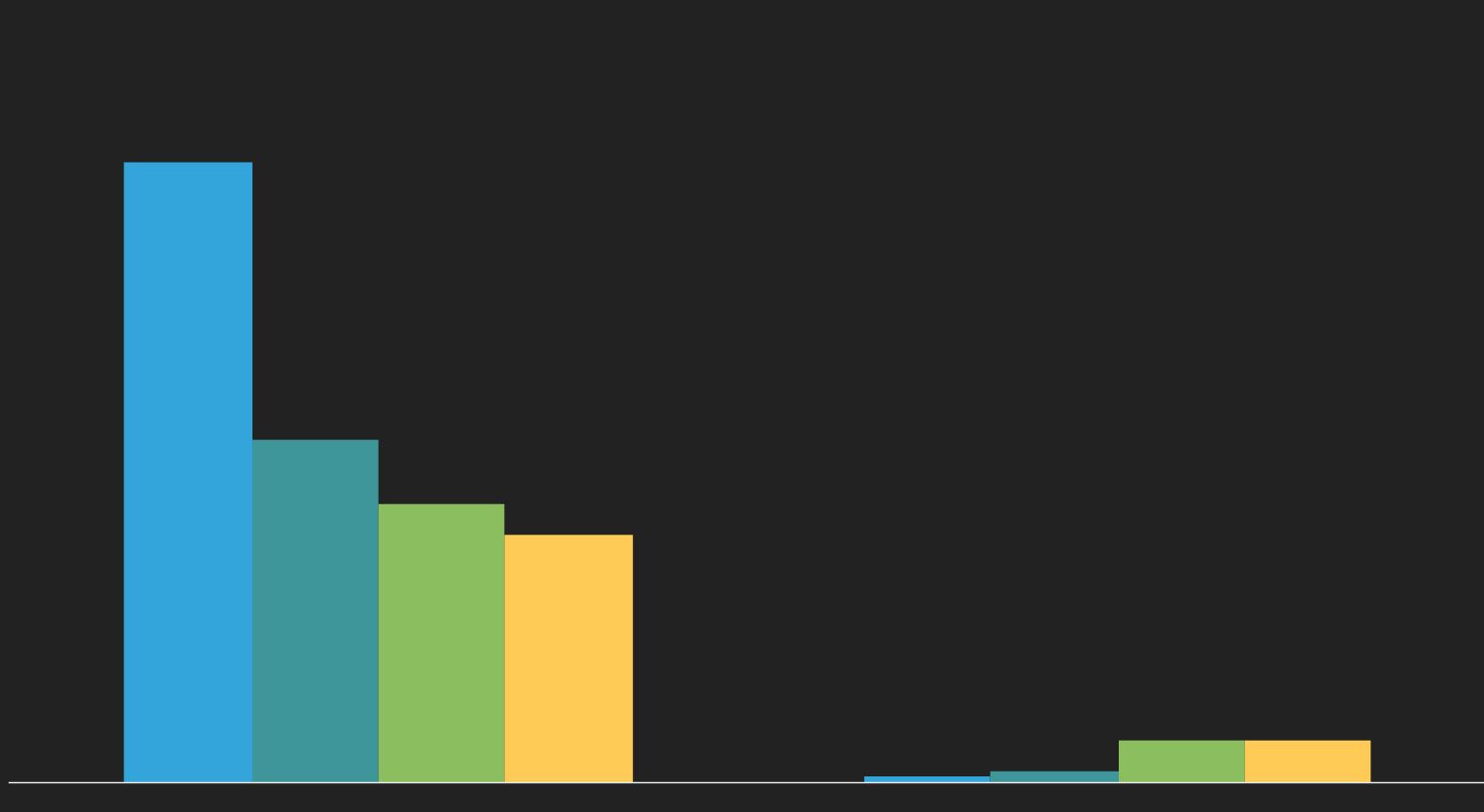
CH

■ 1990

■ 2000

■ 2010

■ 2018



WARHEADS

12000

10000

8000

6000

4000

2000

0

US

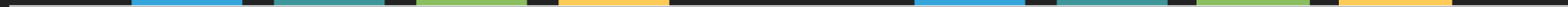
CH

2000

2005

2010

2018



SATELLITES

■ US ■ CH ■ BR ■ MX ■ AR ■ CO

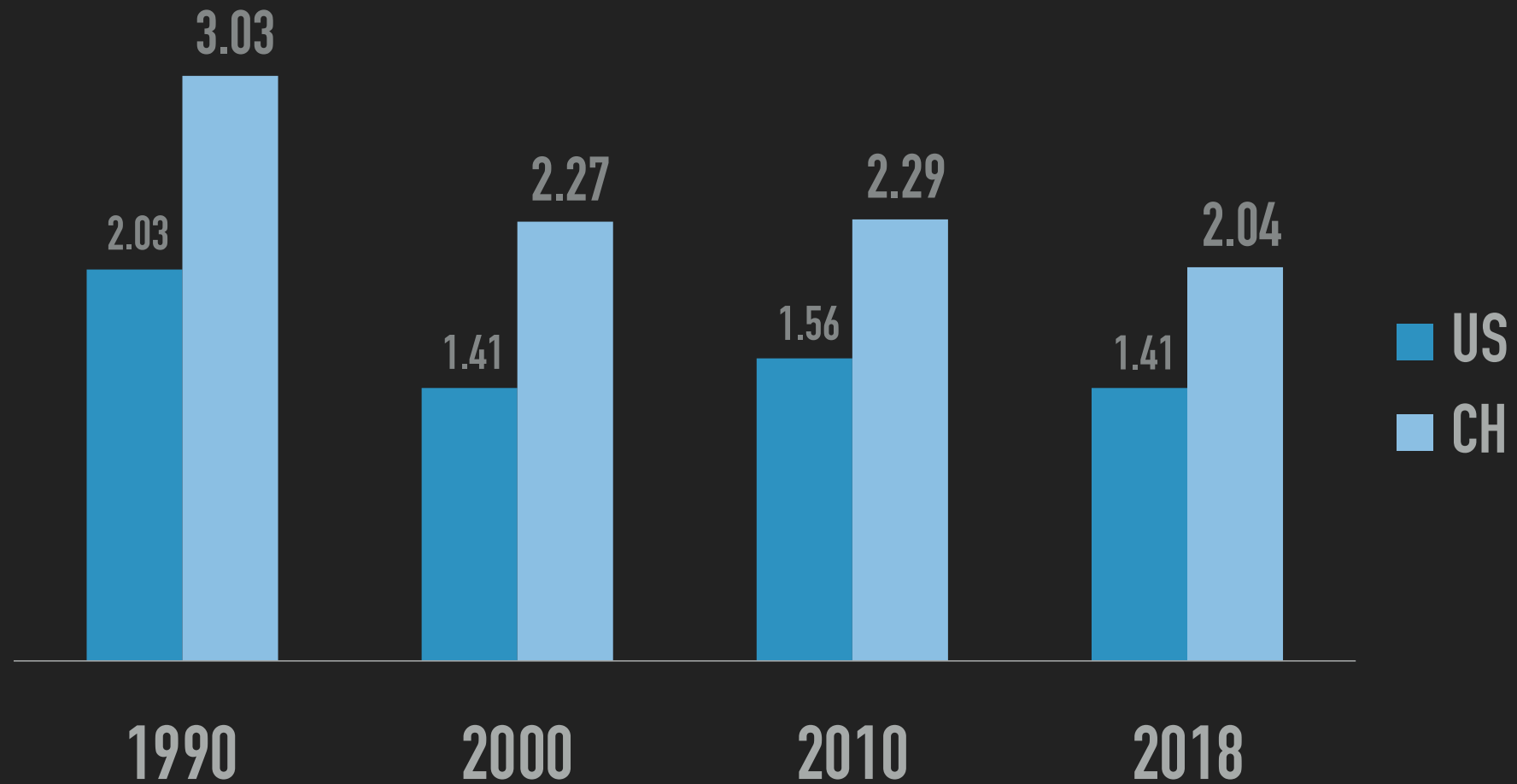


COMBAT CAPABLE AIRCRAFT

■ US ■ CH ■ BR ■ MX ■ AR ■ CO



ACTIVE MILITARY FORCES (MILLIONS)



Source: IISS (1991; 2002; 2010; 2018)

Beijing increasingly perceives United States as a revisionist great power trying to encircle the PRC by bullying a Cold War 2.0 attired as arms race, expanded military alliances, trade and tech securitization with extra-economic coercion.

“THIS LEADERSHIP MUST BE WILLING AND ABLE TO RISE UP TO THE TASK OF PROVIDING SYSTEM-LEVEL SOLUTIONS TO THE SYSTEM-LEVEL PROBLEMS LEFT BEHIND BY U.S. HEGEMONY. THE MOST SEVERE AMONG THESE PROBLEMS IS THE SEEMINGLY UNBRIDGEABLE GULF BETWEEN THE LIFE-CHANCES OF A SMALL MINORITY OF WORLD POPULATION (BETWEEN 10 AND 20 PERCENT) AND THE VAST MAJORITY.”

Arrighi and Silver (1999, p. 289)

PRC POLICY TOWARDS LAC



LAC POLICY IS CONSISTENT WITH GRAND STRATEGY

- PRC 13th Five Year Plan (2016–2020)
- Building the Belt and Road (2017)
- 19th CPC Congress Report (2017)
- UN 2030 Sustainable Development Goals
- UNFCCC Paris Agreement COP 21
- 2021 100th anniversary CCP
- 2049 100th anniversary PRC

“CHINESE ECONOMIC POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA WAS CONDITIONED BY THE DECLINE OF THE HEGEMONIC INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE REGION. [...] THERE WAS AN INVERSELY PROPORTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INVESTMENTS MADE BY CHINESE STATE-OWNED COMPANIES, THE GRANTING OF BANK LOANS, THE EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES WITH THE HEGEMONIC INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES EXERCISED IN THE REGION. IN OTHER WORDS, BEIJING FILLED THE GAP LEFT BY A DECREASE IN THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN ITS OWN ‘BACKYARD’.”

Urdinez (2017)

THROUGH A ROBUST POLICYMAKING MATRIX

Decide						Monitor
			Sector			
			Military	Economy	Diplomacy	
	Level	Tier 1	CMC	CFEAC	CFAC	
		Tier 2	PLA	MOFCOM	MFA	
		Tier 3	PLA-Navy	MOFCOM-CIPA	MFA-DLACA	
Evaluate						Implement

-
- Central National Security Commission (中央国家安全委员会)
 - Central Foreign Affairs Commission (中央外事工作委员会)
 - Central Military Commission (个机构两块牌子)
 - Central Financial Economic Affairs Commission (中央财经委员会)
 - NPC and CPPCC Special Committees of Foreign Affairs
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs (外交部)
 - Ministry of Commerce (商务部)
 - National Development and Reform Commission (国家发展和改革委员会)
 - Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (工业和信息化部)
 - Ministry of State Security (国家安全部)
 - Ministry of Defense (国防部)

-
- People's Bank of China (中国人民银行)
 - China Development Bank (国家开发银行),
 - EXIM Bank of China (中国进出口银行)
 - China Export & Credit Insurance Corporation (中國出口信用保險公司)
 - MFA's Department of Latin America and Caribbean Affairs (拉丁美洲司),
 - MOFCOM's China Investment Promotion Agency (商务部投资促进事务局)
 - MOE's HANBAN (国家汉办是中国教育部直属事业单位)
 - Hengqin China-Latin America Economic and Trade Cooperation Park (Zhuhai)
 - China Council Promotion of International Trade (中国国际贸易促进委员会)
 - State Owned Enterprises ((State Grid, Three Gorges, China National Petroleum etc.)
 - Private enterprises (Alibaba, Didi Chuxing, Huawei etc.)

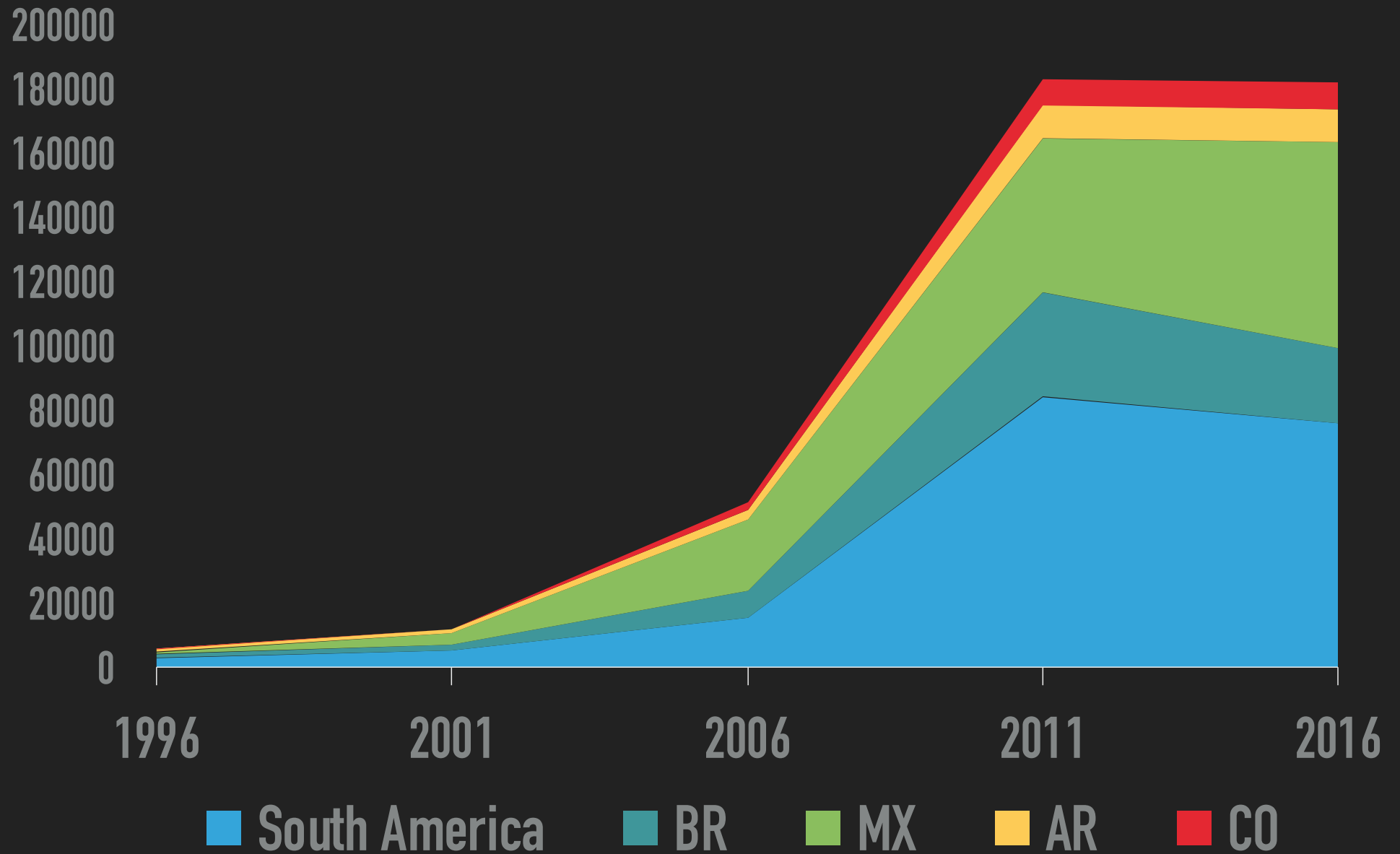
USING LEGITIMATE DIPLOMATIC INSTRUMENTS

- BRICS Forum (2010)
- BRICS New Development Bank (2014)
- China-CELAC Forum (2015)
- Second China's Policy Paper on LAC (2016)
- 2013-2018 Diplomatic Relations: Costa Rica, Panama, Dominican Republic and El Salvador
- 10 of 66 Strategic Partnerships in 2018: BR, VE, MX, AR, PE, CH, CR, EC, UY, BO
- In January 2018, a new China-CELAC Joint Action Plan (2019-2021) was adopted
- Xi Jinping visited TT, CR, MX, AR, BR, CU, VE, EC, PE, CL, and PA (2013-2018)
- June 2018: AR, BO, BR, CL, EC, PE, VE as members/prospective AIIB
- December 2018: 15 LAC Countries signed BRI related MOUs with China (103 countries total)

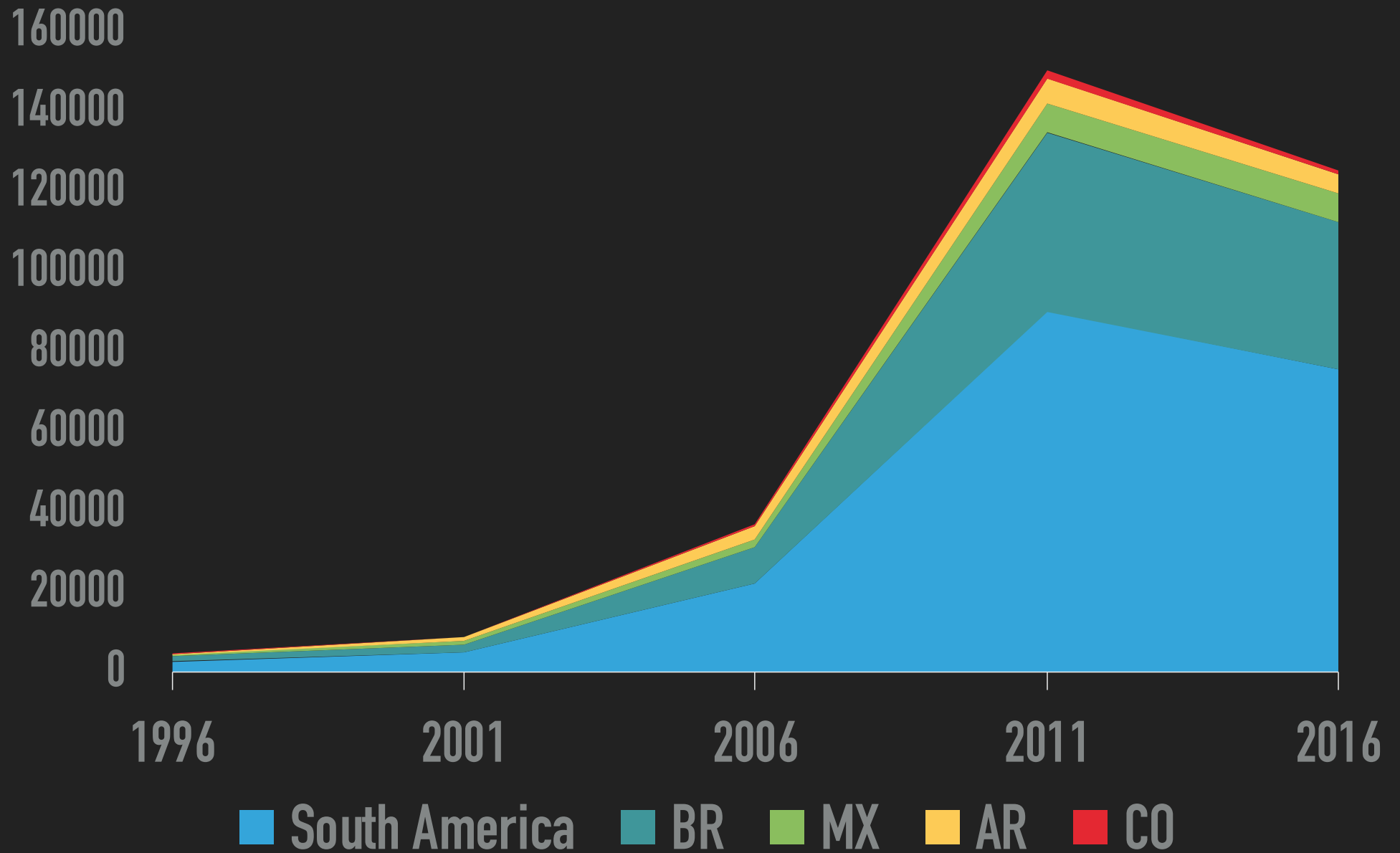
TO ACHIEVE SOUNDING ECONOMIC RESULTS

- CH-LAC trade increased 22-fold in 2007-2017, reaching USD 258 billion
- 1.8 million jobs were created in LAC (1995-2016) tied to China
- CH sovereign lending to LAC: USD 29 billion (2015) to 09 billion (2017)
- CH total stock OFDI to LAC in 2016: USD 207.1 billion (15.26% of total)
- CH was 9% of LAC's exports and 18% of its total imports in 2016
- CH was the second trade partner for LAC in 2018
- CH among top three trading partners of BR, AR, MX, and CO (imports)
- LAC-CH trade deficit in 2018 as the lowest since 2009 (-0.4%)

CHINA EXPORTS TO



CHINA IMPORTS FROM



USA RESPONSES



LAC POLICY COMBINES TRUMP AND DoD AGENDA

- **National Security Strategy (December 2017)**
- **National Defense Strategy (January 2018)**
- **Nuclear Posture Review (February 2018)**
- **Space Policy Directive-3 (June 2018)**
- **National Cyber Strategy (September 2018)**

-
- From ABM to INF, USA behaves as a revisionist great power
 - Since 2003, erosion of UN and Bretton Woods governance
 - After 2017, explicit confrontation with China and Russia
 - NMD, CPGS, USCYBERCOM, USINDOPACOM, Space Force USSF
 - Declining Russia reacted militarily in Ukraine and Syria
 - Ascending China prefers limited buildup and global diplomacy
 - “China and US remain in the same big boat” . . . Zhao Suisheng

WITH COLD WAR 2.0 OVERTONES

- NSS 2017: “China seeks to pull the region into its orbit with loans...”
- Tillerson praising Monroe Doctrine set the course (Feb 2018)
- Trump’s wall: immigration as crime, drugs and terrorism
- John Bolton’s Troika of Tyranny (Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua)
- Venezuela: from threat to sanctions to regime change (2018–2019)
- USSOUTHCOM Faller: “China supports malign actors” (Feb 2019)
- Regional allies enthusiasm spectrum: from Bolsonaro to Moreno...

AND AD HOC INSTRUMENTS

- Kimberly Briar's DoState Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs
- Trump Team: Elliot Abrams, John Bolton, Marco Rubio...
- SOUTHCOMM Theater Strategy 2017-2027
- TTP withdraw enfeebles the Pacific Alliance (MX CO PE CH)
- Rushed United States-Mexico-Canada trade deal (USMCA)
- Trump-Xi meeting during G20 in Buenos Aires (November)
- USD 60 billion USA International Development Finance Corporation

“NO EXTRA-REGIONAL POWER, INDIVIDUALLY OR JOINTLY, HAS THE MILITARY DEPLOYMENT THAT THE US HOLDS IN THE REGION: THE SOUTHERN COMMAND, LOCATED IN MIAMI; THE RE-ACTIVATION, IN 2008, OF THE FOURTH FLEET (DISSOLVED IN 1950); MILITARY BASES (IN CUBA AND HONDURAS); COOPERATIVE SECURITY LOCATIONS (IN EL SALVADOR AND ARUBA-CURAÇAO) AND THE SO-CALLED COOPERATIVE SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS (DEFENSE COOPERATION OFFICES, DEFENSE REPRESENTATION OFFICES, MILITARY DEFENSE ADVISORY GROUPS, DEFENSE COORDINATION OFFICES) IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA.”

Tokatlian (2008)



“(...) COMPARISON OF CHINESE AND US ARMS SALES SHOWS THAT IN 2015 THE USA ACCOUNTED FOR 41% OF ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS WITH DEVELOPING NATIONS AND CHINA JUST 9%. (...) FROM 2012 TO 2015, THE USA AND WESTERN EUROPE AVERAGED 66% OF ARMS SALES TO LAC, WHEREAS CHINA AVERAGED 16.3%.”

Wise and Chang (2017)

COMPARING USA AND CHINA IN LAC – 2016

	USA	CHINA
Trade Partner Rank	1st	2nd
Largest Export Market	20 countries	03 countries
Largest Import Source	25 countries	06 countries
Share LACs Exports	45 %	09 %
Share LACs Imports	32 %	18 %

Source: KOLESKI & BLIVAS (2018)

“US TRADE AND INVESTMENT FLOWS TO LAC STILL TOWER OVER THOSE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE LAC REGION. ON TRADE, IN 2016 TOTAL TRADE (EXPORTS AND IMPORTS) BETWEEN CHINA AND LATIN AMERICA AMOUNTED TO NEARLY US\$ 213 BILLION, WHEREAS TOTAL US–LAC TRADE WAS ABOUT US\$ 758 BILLION THAT SAME YEAR. ON FDI, THE USA ACCOUNTED FOR 20% OF LAC’S OFDI INFLOWS IN 2014 (US\$ 31.8 BILLION), COMPARED WITH CHINA’S 6% SHARE THAT SAME YEAR (US\$ 9.5 BILLION).”

Wise and Chang (2017)

CHALLENGES FOR PRC

“THIS LEADERSHIP MUST BE WILLING AND ABLE TO RISE UP TO THE TASK OF PROVIDING SYSTEM-LEVEL SOLUTIONS TO THE SYSTEM-LEVEL PROBLEMS LEFT BEHIND BY U.S. HEGEMONY. THE MOST SEVERE AMONG THESE PROBLEMS IS THE SEEMINGLY UNBRIDGEABLE GULF BETWEEN THE LIFE-CHANCES OF A SMALL MINORITY OF WORLD POPULATION (BETWEEN 10 AND 20 PERCENT) AND THE VAST MAJORITY.”

Arrighi and Silver (1999, p. 289)

CHALLENGES ARE OUTSIDE-IN AND INSIDE-OUT

From OUTSIDE:

- Main variable is the outcome of trade talks with USA
- Pragmatic country-to-country refinement is due
- South-South Cooperation for Development MX, BO, CU, UY
- Trade, investment and financing BR, AR, CO, PA
- Market access, local job creation, technology development: CR, PE, CL
- Keeping the China-CELAC Forum alive is crucial
- Venezuela as the litmus test for everyone involved with LAC

From INSIDE:

- How to growth 6 to 6.5% and prevent debt buildup: reforms and safety net
- US (2.3%), EU (1.9%), Japan (0.5%) growth rates in 2019 are the real bad news
- Avoid MFA-DLACA 80 diplomats becoming a bottleneck to LAC policy
- 39 state organs in the Preparatory Committee and CCF Follow Up
- 22 embassies, 40 diplomats in Brazil, 13 in Mexico
- Strength SASAC-PBC-NDRC-MOFCOM coordination of funds and projects
- HKNDG (Cayman) and CNPC “Loan for Oil” program as negative examples
- Better coordinate province and local governments initiatives
- Use 60 academic LAC centers in China to assess “tractability” of challenges

IN SHORT

- China does not displace US Hegemony in LAC
- China relies on Economy and Diplomacy
- Trump government aggressive agenda has some LAC support
- China shall offer LAC respect, Kapital, South-South agenda
- China wants diplomatic support and logistic sustainability
- LAC lacks grand strategy and minimal coordination
- Americas 2018: US (Y 31%, N 53%, ? 17%), China (Y 30%, N 33%, ? 36%)
- Remember Huntington (1968): institutionalization matters

IS LATIN AMERICA PART OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EKGUJXzxNqc>



7. MEXICO



CALENDARIO AZTECA O PIEDRA DEL SOL.
EN EL MES DE DICIEMBRE DEL AÑO DE 1790
AL PRACTICARSE LA NIVELACION PARA EL BREVE
EMPICRAMO DE LA PLAZA MAYOR DE ESTA CAPITAL
FUE DESCUBIERTO ESTE MONOLITO Y COLOCADO
DESPUES AL PIE DE LA TORRE OCCIDENTAL DE LA
CATEDRAL POR EL LADO QUE VE AL PONIENTE
DE ESTO LUGAR SE TRASLADO A ESTE MUSEO
NACIONAL EN AGOSTO DE 1885.

COPIA AL PIE DEL CALENDARIO AZTECA.
FOT. CASASOLA.
MEX.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JCd8qo6sjlY>

A. Background

B. Who is Who?

C. What is going on?

A. BACKGROUND





A. BACKGROUND

1821 – Independence from Spain (September 16th)

1846 – Mexican–American War (Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo)

1867 – Second Empire Ends (Cinco Mayo 1862 V over the French)

1876 – Porfirio Diaz elected as the 29th president (ruled until 1910)

1910 – Mexican Revolution (1.3 to 2 million deaths until 1920)

1917 – Constitution of the United Mexican States (social rights)

1926 – Cristero Rebellion (rural uprising supporting Catholic Church)

1934 – Lázaro Cárdenas elected as 44th president (oil / land reforms)

1968 – Tlatelolco Massacre (student protest, 40–300 deaths)



1982 — Mexican External Debt Crisis (49% GDP, default, and IMF)

1985 — Mexico City earthquake (ten thousand deaths)

1994 — NAFTA and EZLN, Peso Crisis, and Zedillo's IMF bailout

2000 — Vicente Fox (PAN) elected 55th president

2006 — Felipe Calderón (PAN) elected 56th president

2008 — Mérida Initiative (US\$ 1.6 billion from USA until 2017)

2012 — Enrique Peña Nieto (PRI) elected 57th president

2014 — Iguala Massacre (43 male students of Ayotzinapa College)

2018 — Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador (MORENA) 58th president

-
- ▶ Area: 1,972,550 km² (world's 13th largest)
 - ▶ Population: 125.9 million (2018), 23% partially indigenous
 - ▶ Mexico City: 21.58 million (2018)
 - ▶ Life expectancy at birth (2017): 75.4
 - ▶ Languages: 68 (Spanish 92.7 %); 63 indigenous (Nahuatl / Mayan)
 - ▶ Religion 2010: 83% Catholic, 10% Protestant, 4.7% No religion

-
- ▶ GDP 2018: US\$ 1.21 trillion (nominal); US\$ 2.57 trillion (PPP)
 - ▶ Second largest economy in Latin America
 - ▶ Eleventh largest in the world
 - ▶ GDP per capita 2018: US\$ 9,723 (nominal); US\$ 20,617 (PPP)
 - ▶ GDP % by sector 2016: agriculture 3.9, industry 31.6, services 64
 - ▶ Tax revenues as % of the GDP 2017: 16.2 (lowest OECD)

-
- ▶ GDP growth from 2.9% (2016) to 2.3 % (2018)
 - ▶ Macroeconomic stability reduced inflation and interest rates
 - ▶ GDP per capita: 53,501 USD (PPP) in Campeche and 7,249 in Chiapas
 - ▶ Unemployment was 3.4 % in Dec 2018, underemployment was 25%
 - ▶ HDI 2017 was 0.774, disparities rural–urban, north–south
 - ▶ Tax revenues at 19.6 % of the GDP (lowest OECD)
 - ▶ Industry sector is 25.7% of the GDP
 - ▶ AMLO reforms on fighting corruption and crime, and rise wages
 - ▶ How to get it all done without upset “the market” ...

-
- ▶ Major oil producer and exporter (1/3 of government revenue)
 - ▶ Since 2013, economic growth averages 2% annually
 - ▶ 12th largest exporter (electronics, cars, oil, silver, agro etc)
 - ▶ 14th largest importer (machinery, auto parts, aircraft, gasoline etc)
 - ▶ USA (79.9% Mexican exports, 46.4% of Mexican imports)

-
- ▶ **Defense Budget (USD): 4.53 billions in 2017**
 - ▶ **Armed Forces Personnel (2018): 277,150**
 - ▶ **Navy (60,300), Army (208,350), Air Force (8,500)**
 - ▶ **Federal Police: 41,000 (including 5,000 gendarmerie after 2014)**
 - ▶ **Federal Ministerial Police: 4,500 (investigative judicial police)**
 - ▶ **Rural Defense Militia: 17,400**
 - ▶ **31 States have both preventive and judicial police forces**
 - ▶ **Out of 2,935 municipalities, only 335 have no police forces.**
 - ▶ **Mexico City Police: 90,000 (32,000 Transit Directorate)**

-
- ▶ United Mexican States: federal, presidential, democratic republic
 - ▶ President elected for only one term, six years long (*sexenio*)
 - ▶ President is head of state and government, supreme commander
 - ▶ President elected by direct, universal popular vote, simple plurality
 - ▶ There is no runoff election, and presidents can never run again
 - ▶ National Supreme Court of Justice (SCJN) as Constitutional Court
 - ▶ 11 ministers appointed by the president and confirmed by Senate
 - ▶ The ministers (judges) will serve for 15 years, only once term
 - ▶ Electoral Tribunal, circuit (appellate), district and jury courts

-
- ▶ Congress of the Union is bicameral (500 Deputies and 128 Senators)
 - ▶ Two senators per state, one deputy for every 250,000 people
 - ▶ Deputies are elected to 3 year terms, Senators to 6 year terms
 - ▶ Since 2014, members of Congress may serve up to 12 years
 - ▶ 300 Deputies are elected in single seat constituencies by plurality
 - ▶ 200 elected by proportional representation (PR), closed party lists
 - ▶ PR representation based on 5 multi-state districts, 40 seats each
 - ▶ 96 senators are elected in three-seat constituencies (32 districts)
 - ▶ 32 senators are elected by PR on a nationwide unified district
 - ▶ Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE) as autonomous body since 2014

Party	Year Created	President % 2006	President % 2012	President % 2018	N Deputies 2018	N Senators 2018	N Governors 2018
PRI	1929	22.2	38.2	16.4	45	13	13
PAN	1939	35.8	25.4	22.3	79	22	10
PRD	1989	35.3	32.4	PAN	21	08	02
PVEM	1993	PRI	PRI	PRI	17	07	-
MC	1998	PRD	PRD	PAN	27	07	01
PT	1990	PRD	PRD	MORENA	61	06	-
MORENA	2014	-	-	53.20	189	55	04

PARTY	YEAR CREATED	AFFILIATES 2018	MALE	FEMALE
PRI	1929	6,368,763	2,746,078	3,622,685
PAN	1939	378,838	186,548	192,290
PRD	1989	5,254,778	1,950,286	3,304,492
PVEM	1993	308,224	118,388	189,836
MC	1998	468,946	208,179	260,767
PT	1990	513,315	202,136	311,179
MORENA	2014	319,449	167,071	152,378

B. WHO IS WHO?

ANTONIO MANUEL LÓPEZ OBRADOR (AMLO)

- ▶ 58th President (2019–2024)
- ▶ Born in Tepetitán, Tabasco state, November 13, 1953
- ▶ UNAM graduate, started political career in 1976
- ▶ Former mayor of Ciudad México
- ▶ Presidential candidate in 2006 and 2012 (PRD)
- ▶ Founded MORENA party in 2014
- ▶ Won 2018 with 53.20%, highest tally since 1994
- ▶ Won in 31 of the 32 states and Ciudad México
- ▶ Received 98,47 % valid votes from abroad
- ▶ Majority in Senate (70/128) and Chamber (314/500)



ARTURO ZALDÍVAR LELO DE LARREA

- ▶ President of the Supreme Court of Justice (2019–2022)
- ▶ Born in Querétaro, August 09, 1959
- ▶ Member of the SCJN since 2009 (nominated by Calderón)
- ▶ Judges of the SCJN serve for 15 years
- ▶ Nominated by the President, confirmed by the Senate
- ▶ Zaldívar is an expert on Procedural Constitutional Law
- ▶ Contributions: freedom of expression, right to equality



MARTÍ BATRES GUADARRAMA

- ▶ President of the Senate (2018–2021)
- ▶ LXIV Legislature of the Mexican Congress
- ▶ Born in Mexico City, 26 January 1967
- ▶ Senator representing Mexico City
- ▶ Former president of MORENA
- ▶ Served as Deputy in the LXII Legislature (2012)
- ▶ Started political career in 1988, formerly with PRD



PORFIRIO ALEJANDRO MUÑOZ LEDO Y LAZO DE LA VEGA

- ▶ President of the Chamber of Deputies (2018–2021)
- ▶ LXIV Legislature of the Mexican Congress
- ▶ Born in Mexico City, July 23, 1933
- ▶ Former cabinet member (1972–1977)
- ▶ Former president of the PRI
- ▶ Former Mexican Ambassador to UN (1978–1985)
- ▶ Former president of the National Congress (PRD)
- ▶ Former member of the PT (2006–2018)



OLGA MARÍA DEL CARMEN SÁNCHEZ CORDERO DÁVILA

- ▶ Mexico's Interior Secretary (SEGOB)
- ▶ Born in Mexico City, 1947
- ▶ Former Senator (2018, MORENA)
- ▶ Member member of the SCJN (1995–2005)
- ▶ Federal Police (PF)
- ▶ National Institute of Migration (INM)
- ▶ General Directorate of Radio, Television and Film (RTC)



MARCELO LUIS EBRARD CASAUBON

- ▶ Mexico's Foreign Secretary (SRE)
- ▶ Born in Ciudad de Mexico, October 10, 1959
- ▶ Former PRD, joined MORENA in 2015
- ▶ 5th Head of Government in the Federal District
- ▶ Ex President of UN Global Network on Safer Cities
- ▶ Nominated as "World's Best Mayor" in 2010
- ▶ Former Chair World Mayors Council on Climate Change



JUAN JOSÉ GÓMEZ CAMACHO

- ▶ Mexico's Permanent Representative to UN
- ▶ Negotiator: human rights, disarmament , migration
- ▶ Important figure in Mexico's foreign policy



LUIS CRESENCIO SANDOVAL GONZÁLEZ

- ▶ Mexico's National Defense Secretary (SEDENA)
- ▶ Born in Ensenada, Baja California, February 07, 1960
- ▶ Army Division General (Cavalry), National Headquarters
- ▶ Former military adjunct-attaché, Mexico's Embassy USA
- ▶ Former Mexican representative to the JID (IADB)
- ▶ Declared support: internal security and human rights



CLAUDIA SHEINBAUM PARDO

- ▶ Head of the Government of Mexico City (2018–2024)
- ▶ Born in Mexico City, June 24, 1962
- ▶ PhD in Environmental Engineering, UNAM professor
- ▶ Secretary of the Environment of Mexico City under AMLO
- ▶ Jointly received Nobel Prize 2007, as member of IPCC
- ▶ Founder member of PRD and MORENA
- ▶ Governor of Tlalpan administrative borough (2015–2017)
- ▶ Second woman to govern CDMX, first elected



CLAUDIA RUIZ MASSIEU SALINAS

- ▶ President of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)
- ▶ Born in Mexico City, July 10, 1972
- ▶ Assumed office as PRI president in July 16, 2018
- ▶ Former Secretary of Foreign Affairs, under Peña Nieto
- ▶ Daughter of Massieu, PRI leader assassinated in 1994
- ▶ Former National Deputy (2003–2012)
- ▶ PRI lost hegemony in 2000, recovered in 2003, lost again
- ▶ 2018: Meade 16.4% votes, 45 Deputies, 13 Senators
- ▶ 13 state governors (against 10 of PAN and 04 of MORENA)
- ▶ 6,368, 763 affiliated members



MARKO ANTONIO CORTÉS MENDOZA

- ▶ President of the National Action Party (PAN)
- ▶ Born in Zamora, Michoacán, Octubre 17, 1977
- ▶ Assumed office in November 19, 2018
- ▶ Former Deputy in the National Congress (2003–2006)
- ▶ Former Senator in the National Congress (2006–2012)
- ▶ Deputy in the National Congress (2015–2018)
- ▶ 2018: Anaya 22.2% votes, 81 Deputies, 23 Senators
- ▶ 10 state governors (against 13 of PRI and 04 of MORENA)
- ▶ 378,838 affiliated members



C. WHAT IS GOING ON?

MACROECONOMIC POLICY

- ▶ “Neoliberal economic policy has been a disaster” . . . AMLO
- ▶ USD\$ 287 billion austerity package: infrastructure and social
- ▶ Budget cuts, but increases for environment, energy, and labor
- ▶ Minimum Wage: 4.38 to 5.07 USD per day (8.76 northern border)
- ▶ Maya train and Texcoco airport as examples of thorny infra issues
- ▶ Huachicoleo: fuel theft and PEMEX investments 14.9 / debts 107 bi
- ▶ Support the United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement (USMCA)
- ▶ Mexico GDP growth rate very dependent on USA performance . . .
- ▶ MX–CH commerce grew 23.1% in 2018 . . . Deficit, innovation, investments
- ▶ Future of Mexican automobile industry (839,571 jobs in 2017), as a symbol

INTERIOR AFFAIRS

- ▶ AMLO approval rating up from 71 (November) to 85% (February 27, Enkoll Poll)
- ▶ 160,000 attend his inauguration at Zócalo, 30,000 visited Los Pinos
- ▶ 100 commitments, three main issues: violence, corruption, poverty
- ▶ 33,341 homicides in 2018, 27/100,000, 15.5% increase from 2017
- ▶ National Guard, federal and civilian led, approved by the Senate (Feb 22)
- ▶ National Intelligence Center (CNI, replaced CISEN)
- ▶ Austerity measures: presidential jet, public wages caps, end of *fuero*, INA
- ▶ “Moral Constitution”: more freedom and civic emphasis, referenda
- ▶ Increase minimal wage and pensions, investments in education, Frontera Norte
- ▶ Seguridad Alimentaria Mexicana (SEGALMEX) and Banco del Bienestar

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- ▶ “The best foreign policy is internal politics” . . . AMLO
- ▶ Confront USA on migration and commerce issues?
- ▶ USA–MX and the Northern Triangle (GT–SV–HN)
- ▶ Washington: USD 5.8 billion to GT–SV–HN and 4.8 to MX
- ▶ MX to invest 25 billion USD over five years in the country’s southern region
- ▶ MX Latin America agenda will save CELAC?
- ▶ Pacific Alliance with or without China?
- ▶ Back to Estrada Doctrine of noninterventionism
- ▶ Venezuela as the toughest test so far: MX and UR dialogue mechanism

<https://www.as-coa.org/articles/counting-down-first-100-days-amlos-presidency>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x3g2ykAsZBA>



“Entrada triunfal de Juárez a la Ciudad de México en 1867”

Antonio González OROZCO, 1967

Castillo de Chapultepec, Ciudad de México



**“Del Porfirismo a la Revolución”,
David Alfaro SIQUEIROS. 1964
Castillo de Chapultepec, Ciudad de Mexico**



“Gloriosa Victoria”

Diego RIVERA, 1954

Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow

8. VENEZUELA

A. Background

B. Who is Who?

C. What is going on?

A. BACKGROUND





1811 – Independence from Spain (July 5th)

1830 – Separates from Gran Colombia

1854 – Abolition of Slavery

1899 – Most of disputed territory given to British Guiana

1935 – Oil Production Venezuela's highest GDP per capita in LAC

1958 – End of Pérez Jimenez Dictatorship and Punto Fijo (AD-COPEI)

1989 – Caracazo riots

1992 – Coup attempt by Chavez

-
- 1998 – First Chávez election (56.2%)**
 - 1999 – Constitutional Referendum in April (72%)**
 - 1999 – Constituent Assembly election in July (124 out of 131 seats)**
 - 1999 – Constitutional Referendum in December (71.8%)**
 - 2000 – Presidential Election Chávez (59.8%)**
 - 2001 – 49 Presidential Decrees, Bolivarian Revolution**
 - 2002 – Coup attempt against Chávez, PDVSA overhaul, and protests**
 - 2004 – Recall referendum won by Chávez (59% against 41%)**
 - 2005 – 21st century Socialism and Bolivarian Revolution**
 - 2006 – Presidential Election Chávez (62.8%)**
 - 2007 – Constitution Referendum to amend 69 articles (49%, defeated)**

-
- 2007 – Constitution Referendum to amend 69 articles (49%, defeated)
 - 2009 – Referendum to abolish term limits (54%)
 - 2012 – Presidential Election Chávez (54%)
 - 2013 – Chávez death and Maduro as interim president
 - 2013 – Special Presidential Election Maduro (50.6%)
 - 2015 – National Assembly elections (MUD 65.27% seats, PSVU 32.93)
 - 2016 – Recall attempt, Economic Emergency Decree, Refugee Crisis
 - 2017 – Supreme Tribunal of Justice (TSJ) takes control of Legislative
 - 2017 – Constituent Assembly elections (turnout between 11 and 42%)
 - 2018 – Presidential Election Maduro (67.8%), but 42% voter turnout
 - 2019 – Juan Guaidó (MUD) self-proclaims he is the interim president

-
- ▶ **Area: 916,445 km² (about twice the size of California)**
 - ▶ **Population (2016, estimate): 31.6 million**
 - ▶ **Capital District: Caracas (city 1.9 million, metro area 2.9 million)**
 - ▶ **Whites 43.6 % Mestizos 51.6 Black 3.6 Amerindians and others 1.2**
 - ▶ **Religion 2010: 71% Catholic, 17% Protestant, 8% Irreligious**
 - ▶ **GDP 2018 (estimated): USD 96.3 billion (nominal) 320.1 billion (PPP)**
 - ▶ **GDP by sector 2017: agriculture 4.4%; industry 38.2%; services 57.4%**

-
- ▶ GDP per capita 2019: USD 3,100 (nominal); USD 11,066 (PPP)
 - ▶ GDP Growth: – 15.1% (annual average 2016–2018)
 - ▶ Inflation (August 2018 estimated): 65,320%
 - ▶ Life expectancy at birth (2016): 74.54 years
 - ▶ HDI (2017): 0.76
 - ▶ Population below poverty line: 19.7% (2015) to 87% (2017 estimated)
 - ▶ Gini coefficient: 0.52 (2018)
 - ▶ Unemployment: 34.3% (2018)
 - ▶ Median Age (2018): 28.7 years old

-
- ▶ **Defense Budget (USD): 1.12 billion in 2017**
 - ▶ **Armed Forces Personnel (2018): 123,000**
 - ▶ **Navy (25,500), Army (63,000), Air Force (11,500)**
 - ▶ **Bolivarian National Guard (GNB): 38,000 (Interior Ministry)**
 - ▶ **Bolivarian National Militia: 200,000**
 - ▶ **Bolivarian National Police (PNB): around 20,000 in 2016**
 - ▶ **Bolivarian National Intelligence Service (SEBIN)**

-
- ▶ **Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is a Federal State**
 - ▶ **23 states, Capital District, Ultramar Dependencies, 335 municipalities**
 - ▶ **Political Regime is Presidentialism**
 - ▶ **Five branches: Executive, Judiciary, Citizens, Electoral, Legislative**
 - ▶ **President is the head of state, government, supreme commander**
 - ▶ **President is elected to a six-year term**
 - ▶ **President may serve indefinite terms, but only consecutively**
 - ▶ **President elected by direct, plurality, single round voting**
 - ▶ **Presidents can be recalled by referendum,**
 - ▶ **29 ministries in the current cabinet**

-
- ▶ **Supreme Tribunal of Justice (TSJ) as head of Judiciary branch**
 - ▶ **Six Chambers: constitutional / administrative / criminal / electoral / civil / social**
 - ▶ **32 justices appointed by the 2/3 majority of the National Assembly**
 - ▶ **Each justice serves a 12-year term, non-renewable**
 - ▶ **Judges can be removed by 2/3 majority of the National Assembly**
 - ▶ **If Attorney General, Comptroller, and Human Rights Ombudsperson**
 - ▶ **Have previously agreed a “serious failure” and suspended the judge**
 - ▶ **Lower courts include district, municipal and first instance**

-
- ▶ **The Citizens Branch consist of three components:**
 - ▶ **The Prosecutor (“Fiscal General”)**
 - ▶ **The Ombudsperson (“Defensor del Pueblo”)**
 - ▶ **The Comptroller (“Contralor General”)**
 - ▶ **They form the Moral Council (“Consejo Moral Republicano”)**
 - ▶ **Each can submit actions to the STJ**
 - ▶ **Each is appointed by the National Assembly**

-
- ▶ **National Electoral Council (CNE) as an independent power since 1999**
 - ▶ **Responsible for organize and guarantee transparency**
 - ▶ **Elections and referendums at local, regional, and national levels**
 - ▶ **Members shall be appointed by 2/3 majority of the National Assembly**
 - ▶ **Composed of five members, three nominated by civil society**
 - ▶ **Each member serves a seven-year term**
 - ▶ **Voting age is 18, not mandatory.**
 - ▶ **Polling stations equipped with touch-screen DRE Machines**
 - ▶ **VVPAT, or printed paper ballot, inspected by voters**

-
- ▶ Legislative branch formed by unicameral National Assembly
 - ▶ Deputies are elected to five year terms, no reelection limit (2009)
 - ▶ Ley Orgánica de Procesos Electorales (LOPE) changed electoral systems
 - ▶ States and Capital elect three representatives each, plus the result:
 - ▶ Dividing the state population by 1.1% of the total country population
 - ▶ Three seats are reserved for indigenous people, elected by all citizens
 - ▶ December 2015 elected 167 representatives
 - ▶ 113 elected in 87 districts, both uninominal and plurinominal (two to three)
 - ▶ 51 elected by proportional representation based on party-organized lists
 - ▶ MUD obtained 109 seats, GPP (PSUV) 55.
 - ▶ Constitutional and presidential crises initiated after this election

B. WHO IS WHO?

HUGO RAFAEL CHÁVEZ FRÍAS

- ▶ 45th President (1999–2013)
- ▶ Born in Sabaneta, Barinas State, July 28, 1954
- ▶ Died in Caracas, March 05, 2013 (aged 58)
- ▶ United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV) – 2007
- ▶ Fifth Republic Movement (MVR) – 1997
- ▶ Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement (MBR–200) – 1983
- ▶ Venezuelan People's Liberation Army (ELPV) – 1977
- ▶ From 1998 to 2012, won 09 elections and referendums
- ▶ Social reforms following Bolivarian Revolution
- ▶ ALBA–TCP, TELESUR, PetroCaribe, PETROSUR, CELAC
- ▶ Socialism of the 21st Century and Anti–Imperialism



NICOLÁS MADURO MOROS

- ▶ 46th President (2013–2019)
- ▶ Born in Caracas, November 23, 1962
- ▶ Secretary General Non-Aligned Movement (since 2016)
- ▶ Former Pro Tempore President of UNASUR (2016–2017)
- ▶ Former Vice-President of Venezuela (2012–2013)
- ▶ Former Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006–2013)
- ▶ Former President of National Assembly (2005–2006)
- ▶ First elected as Deputy in the National Assembly in 1998



DELICY ELOÍNA RODRÍGUEZ GÓMEZ

- ▶ 29th Vice President (since June 2018)
- ▶ Born in Caracas, May 18, 1969
- ▶ Bolivarian National Intelligence Service (SEBIN)
- ▶ President of the Constituent Assembly (2017–2018)
- ▶ Minister of Foreign Affairs (2014–2017)
- ▶ Minister of Communication and Information (2013–2014)



DIOSDADO CABELLO RONDÓN

- ▶ President of the Constituent Assembly (since June 2018)
- ▶ Born in El Furrial, Monagas State, April 15, 1963
- ▶ Vice President of the PSUV (since 2011)
- ▶ 6th President of National Assembly (2012–2016)
- ▶ Minister of Public Works and Housing (2009)
- ▶ Governor of Miranda State (2004–2008)
- ▶ Minister of Interior and Justice (2002–2003)
- ▶ Vice President and Acting President (2002)
- ▶ Established the Bolivarian Circles in 1998–2002
- ▶ Sanctioned by USA, EU, Canada, Switzerland, and Panama



MAIKEL JOSÉ MORENO PÉREZ

- ▶ President of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice (since 2017)
- ▶ Born in El Tigre, Anzoátegui State, December 12, 1965
- ▶ Vice President of the STJ (2015–2017)
- ▶ Magistrate of the Criminal Cassation Chamber STJ (2014)
- ▶ First instance Judge (since 2002)
- ▶ Destitute as judge by the Reorganization Commission (2007)
- ▶ Councilor at the Venezuelan Embassy in Italia and Trinidad
- ▶ Started career as lawyer and intelligence operative (1980s)
- ▶ Indicted for murder in 1987, served two years in prison



JORGE ALBERTO ARREAZA MONTSERRAT

- ▶ Minister of Foreign Affairs (since 2017)
- ▶ Born in Caracas, June 06, 1973
- ▶ Minister of Higher education, S&T (2016–2017)\
- ▶ Vice President of Venezuela (2013–2016)
- ▶ Minister of Science and Technology (2011–2013)



NÉSTOR LUIS REVEROL TORRES

- ▶ Minister of Interior, Justice and Peace (since 2016)
- ▶ Born in Cabimas, Zulia State, October 28, 1964
- ▶ Bolivarian National Guard (GNB)
- ▶ Federal Dependencies Administrator
- ▶ General Commander of the GNB (2014–2016)
- ▶ Sanctioned by USA, EU and Canada



VLADIMIR PADRINO LÓPEZ

- ▶ Minister of Defense (since 2014)
- ▶ Born in Caracas, May 30, 1963
- ▶ General-in –Chief Venezuelan Army (Infantry)
- ▶ Strategic Operational Commander National Armed Forces
- ▶ Since 2016, in charge of food and medicine distribution
- ▶ Sanctioned by USA, EU and Canada



JUAN GERARDO GUAIDÓ MÁRQUEZ

- ▶ President of the National Assembly (since January 2019)
- ▶ Born in La Guaira, Vargas State, July 28, 1983
- ▶ Founding member of Popular Will (VP) party (2014)
- ▶ Mentored by Leopoldo López, VP and MUD leader
- ▶ Elected deputy for the first time in 2015, with 97,492 votes
- ▶ Self-proclaimed interim president of Venezuela
- ▶ Recognized by USA, 16 OAS states, 12 Lima Group, and EU
- ▶ In February, Guaido toured CO, BR, AR and EC
- ▶ Along with Pence and Duque, asked for foreign intervention
- ▶ Given control of the CITGO by the USA government
- ▶ USA sanctions frozen 10 billion USD in Venezuelan accounts
- ▶ Bank of England sequestered 1.2 billion USD in Venezuelan gold



HENRIQUE CAPRILES RADONSKI

- ▶ 36th Governor of Miranda State (2008–2017)
- ▶ Born in Caracas, July 11, 1972
- ▶ Co-founder and prominent in the Justice First (PJ) party
- ▶ Supported the coup attempt in 2002, siege of Cuban embassy
- ▶ Presidential candidate defeated by Chávez in 2012 (44.3%)
- ▶ Presidential candidate defeated by Maduro in 2013 (49.1%)
- ▶ PJ is the biggest MUD party in the National Assembly (30/167)



C. WHAT IS GOING ON?

INTERIOR AFFAIRS

- ▶ Worsening of economic conditions coupled with political stalemate
- ▶ Constituent National Assembly election boycotted by the MUD (2017)
- ▶ Three candidates in 2018 snap presidential election:
 - ▶ Maduro (67.8%), Falcón (20.9%) and Bertucci (10.8%)
- ▶ Democratic Union Roundtable (MUD) boycotted the 2018 election
- ▶ Election contested by NGO's, MUD, EU, OAS, Lima Group, USA
- ▶ February 2019: two presidents, two legislatives, two judiciaries...
- ▶ State governors 2019: 21 PSUV, 04 AD (Acción Democrática)
- ▶ Municipal alcaldes 2019: 326 PSUV, 09 Concertación.

MACROECONOMIC POLICY

- ▶ Caused by politics, policies, oil prices, corruption, and sanctions . . .
- ▶ GDP growth from 18.3 (2004) to -18.6 (2016) and -14.5 % (2018)
- ▶ Oil Prices: USD 111.6 (Jun 2014), 35.6 (Jan 2016) and 52.6 (Jan 2019)
- ▶ Oil production down from 2.6 MMbb/D (2010) to 1.3 (2018) and . . .
- ▶ Hyperinflation: 471.8 % (2016) to 233,818 % (CAF) or 1.35 million % (?)
- ▶ External Debt was 82.5% of GDP in 2016, with 9.5 billion USD
- ▶ Shortage of food, medicines, repair parts, steel etc.
- ▶ 18.1 % unemployed in Jan 2016, 3 million emigrated, 64% lack food

Source: CAF Proyecciones America Latina (2018)

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- ▶ Trump team Venezuela: Elliott Abrams, John Bolton, Marco Rubio . . .
- ▶ Bipartisan consensus against Maduro wrecked by invasion threats
- ▶ International support for Guaido stabilized around 50 countries
- ▶ USA food and medical supplies refused by Maduro's government
- ▶ Limited defections in the armed forces, national guard, or police
- ▶ Most important was Hugo Carvajal, former head of SEBIN
- ▶ Borders with Colombia and Brazil closed, MID supported by CH-PY
- ▶ UN Security Council resolutions blocked by USA and Russia
- ▶ Guaido tour to CO, BR, PY, AR, and EC (March 03)
- ▶ Montevideo Declaration and Russia's proposed resolution

Who should lead Venezuela?



Source: Photos AFP

© AFP

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pnU20v_4fSk

<https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/the-big-picture/2018/02/battle-venezuela-180207041856271.html>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=STcepwXxwWA>

<https://www.as-coa.org/articles/timeline-venezuelas-political-standoff>



Alejandro Cegarra's photo series "State of Decay"

9. BRAZIL

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6TtjniGQqAc>

A. Background

B. Who is Who?

C. What is going on?

A. BACKGROUND





1822 – Independence from Portugal (September 07th)

1888 – Abolition of Slavery

1889 – Military Coup establishes the Old Republic

1930 – Vargas' Revolution and Estado Novo

1945 – Military Coup establishes the Second Republic

1960 – New capital city Brasilia inaugurated

1964 – Military Coup and Authoritarian Regime

1985 – Indirect election establishes the New Republic

1988 – Current Federal Constitution (7th, 99 EC, 3/5 votes, twice, two houses)

1994 – Fernando Henrique Cardoso (PSDB) elected

1998 – Fernando Henrique Cardoso (PSDB) reelected

-
- 2002 — Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) elected, his 4th time running
 - 2006 — Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) reelected (60.8% in the runoff)
 - 2010 — Dilma Rousseff (PT) elected (56.05% in the runoff)
 - 2014 — Dilma Rousseff (PT) reelected (51.64% in the runoff)
 - 2015 — Second Wave of Protests (160 cities, 26 states, 3.6 m people)
 - 2016 — 36th President Rousseff ousted in controversial Impeachment
 - 2017 — Michel Temer (PMDB) as president: 76% in favor of resignation
 - 2018 — Lula da Silva (PT) jailed / barred from running (April–August)
 - 2018 — Jair Bolsonaro (PSL) elected in November (55.13% runoff)

<https://www.bbc.com/reel/playlist/what-happened-to-brazil>

-
- ▶ Area: 8,515,767 km² (5th largest in the world, 47.3% of South America)
 - ▶ Population: 210.68 million (2019)
 - ▶ Brasilia: 04.29 million (2017), São Paulo is 21.09 million (metro area)
 - ▶ Whites 47.7 % Pardos 43.13 Blacks 7,6 Asians 1.09 Indigenous 0.4
 - ▶ Religion 2010: 64.6% Catholic, 24% Protestant, 8% No religion
 - ▶ GDP 2017: USD 2.05 trillion (nominal) 3.39 trillion (PPP)
 - ▶ Largest in Latin America
 - ▶ 9th (nominal) or 8th (PPP) in the world

-
- ▶ GDP per capita 2018: USD 9,821 (nominal); USD 16,199 (PPP)
 - ▶ GDP % sector 2016: agriculture 5.5; industry 18.5; services 76%
 - ▶ Life expectancy at birth (2018): 75.93 years
 - ▶ HDI 0.76 (2018)
 - ▶ Population below poverty line % 2018: 11.18
 - ▶ Gini coefficient: 0.52 (2018)
 - ▶ Unemployment: 11.7% (November 2018)

-
- ▶ **Defense Budget (USD): 29.4 billions in 2017**
 - ▶ **Armed Forces Personnel (2018): 334.500**
 - ▶ **Navy (69,000), Army (198,000), Air Force (67,500)**
 - ▶ **Federal Police Department: 41,000**
 - ▶ **Federal Highway Police: 4,500**
 - ▶ **Military Police (ostensive patrol, state level): 450,000**
 - ▶ **Civil Police (investigation / judicial force, state level): 27 states**

-
- ▶ **Federative Republic of Brazil (Executive, Judiciary, Legislative)**
 - ▶ **26 states, Federal District, 5,570 municipalities**
 - ▶ **President: may serve two consecutive terms. Wait one, run again**
 - ▶ **President is head of state and government, commander in chief**
 - ▶ **President elected by direct, absolute majority vote, two-round**
 - ▶ **Lawmaking powers: propose, sanction, veto, decree and regulate**
 - ▶ **Appoint cabinet, Central Bank, state owned enterprises etc**
 - ▶ **Conduct foreign policy in peace and war as established by law**

-
- ▶ **Supreme Federal Court (STF) as Constitutional Court**
 - ▶ **11 ministers appointed by the president and confirmed by Senate**
 - ▶ **The ministers (judges) have no term length, but retire when 75 years**
 - ▶ **Supreme Court of Justice (STJ) for non-constitutional issues**
 - ▶ **Superior Courts: Electoral (TSE), Military (STM), and Labor (TST)**
 - ▶ **Federal / State level courts: trial (first instance) and appeal (second)**

-
- ▶ National Congress is bicameral (513 Deputies and 81 Senators)
 - ▶ Three senators per state, plurality (FPTP), 8 year terms, no limit
 - ▶ Federal Deputies are elected to 4 year terms, no reelection limit
 - ▶ All 513 elected by proportional representation (PR), open-list
 - ▶ 27 multi-member constituencies, corresponding to state level
 - ▶ District magnitude: from 8 (RO) to 70 (SP), based on population
 - ▶ Campaign Financing laws: public funds + % of income
 - ▶ Problem: Open List + Great Magnitude District + Concentrate \$

-
- ▶ **STATE and NATIONAL elections:**
 - ▶ **President, National Congress, Governors, State Assemblies**
 - ▶ **27 Unicameral State Legislative Assemblies (1,219 state deputies)**
 - ▶ **MUNICIPAL elections:**
 - ▶ **Mayors (5,570) and city councilors (51,748)**
 - ▶ **Municipal officials are elected to 4 year terms**

B. WHO IS WHO?

LUIZ INÁCIO LULA DA SILVA

- ▶ 35th President of Brazil (2003–2010)
- ▶ Born in Caetés, Pernambuco, October 27, 1945
- ▶ Founder of Worker's Party (PT)
- ▶ Run for president in 1989, 1994, 1998, 2002, and 2006
- ▶ Rated the best Brazilian president of all time, 80.5% approval
- ▶ 55 international medals and prizes, 24 honoris causa
- ▶ Jailed since 2018, after sentenced in one of nine law suits
- ▶ 2019 International Campaign to Nominate him for Nobel Prize



JAIR MESSIAS BOLSONARO

- ▶ 38th President of Brazil (2019–2022)
- ▶ Born in Glicério, São Paulo state, March 21, 1955
- ▶ Former Army captain, started political career in 1988
- ▶ Federal Deputy in 1990, re-elected six times
- ▶ Parties: PDC, PP, PPR, PPB, PTB, PFL, PP, PSC, PSL
- ▶ Against: human rights, secularism, affirmative actions
- ▶ Pro: far-right values, Trump, Netanyahu, privatizations
- ▶ Won 2018 with 55.1%, lower tally than Rousseff in 2010
- ▶ Three sons share his political views: Carlos (RJ city Counselor), Eduardo (SP Federal Deputy), and Flavio Bolsonaro ((RJ Senator)



RODRIGO FELINTO IBARRA EPITÁCIO MAIA

- ▶ President of the Chamber of Deputies (2019–2021)
- ▶ Born in Santiago, Chile, June 12, 1970
- ▶ Member of right-wing Democratas (DEM)
- ▶ Sixth term as Federal Deputy in the National Congress



DAVI SAMUEL ALCOLUMBRE TOBELEM

- ▶ President of the Senate (2019–2021)
- ▶ President of the National Congress
- ▶ Third in line of succession, after vice-president and the President of the Chamber of Deputies
- ▶ Born in Macapá, Amapá State, June 19, 1977
- ▶ Member of right-wing Democratas (DEM)
- ▶ Senator representing the north state of Amapá since 2015



JOSÉ ANTONIO DIAS TOFFOLI

- ▶ 59th President of the Supreme Federal Court (STF)
- ▶ Born in Marília, São Paulo State, November 15, 1967
- ▶ STF minister since 2009, appointed by President Lula
- ▶ Former Attorney General of the Union (AGU) 2007–2009



JOSÉ ERNESTO HENRIQUE FRAGA ARAÚJO

- ▶ Minister of Foreign Affairs
- ▶ Born in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, May 15, 1967
- ▶ Career diplomat, promoted to Ambassador in June 2018
- ▶ Former director of Interamerican Affairs at MRE
- ▶ Indicated by Olavo de Carvalho, far-right “guru”
- ▶ Father was an Attorney General during the Military Dictatorship



PAULO ROBERTO NUNES GUEDES

- ▶ Minister of the Economy
- ▶ Born in Rio de Janeiro, August 24, 1949
- ▶ Ph.D. University of Chicago (1978)
- ▶ Co-founder of Pactual Bank (now BTG Pactual)
- ▶ Professor at University of Chile during Pinochet regime
- ▶ Co-founder of right-wing think tank Millennium Institute
- ▶ Portfolio includes: treasury, planning, budgeting, federal public civil service management, state owned federal enterprises, industry and commerce policies, among others.



SÉRGIO FERNANDO MORO

- ▶ Minister of Justice and Public Security
- ▶ Born in Maringá, Paraná, August 01, 1972
- ▶ Federal judge (13th Federal Circuit, Curitiba)
- ▶ Car Wash operation judge since 2014
- ▶ 140 convicted, 347 accused, Lula sentenced to jail
- ▶ 11 billion USD reimbursement requested
- ▶ Less than one billion USD reimbursed as for 2018
- ▶ Annual direct cost of Car Wash around 200 million USD
- ▶ USD 250 billion erased from Petrobras market value



AUGUSTO HELENO RIBEIRO PEREIRA

- ▶ Secretary of Institutional Security (GSI)
- ▶ Born in Curitiba, Paraná, October 29, 1947
- ▶ Retired Army General (Cavalry)
- ▶ First military commander of MINUSTAH (2004–2005)
- ▶ Authority over the Brazilian Intelligence Agency (ABIN)
- ▶ One of eight military ministers
- ▶ More than 100 military officers in 21 areas of government



GLEISI HELENA HOFFMANN

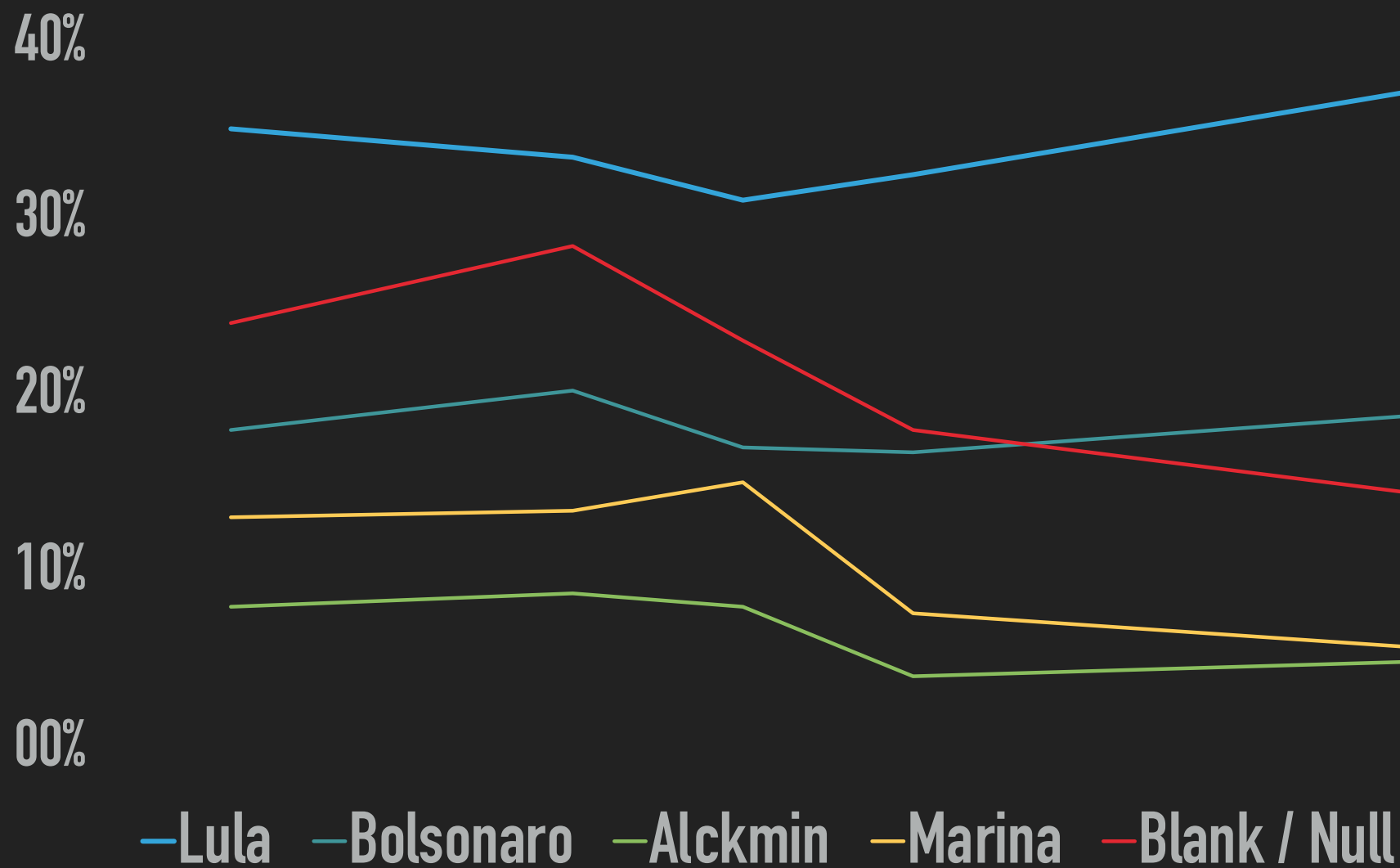
- ▶ President of Worker's Party (PT)
- ▶ Born in Curitiba, Paraná, September 06, 1965
- ▶ Federal Deputy from Paraná State (2019–2022)
- ▶ Former Senator from Paraná (2011–2019)
- ▶ Chief of Staff during Rousseff first term
- ▶ Accused by Car Wash, acquitted by the STF in 2018



C. WHAT IS GOING ON?

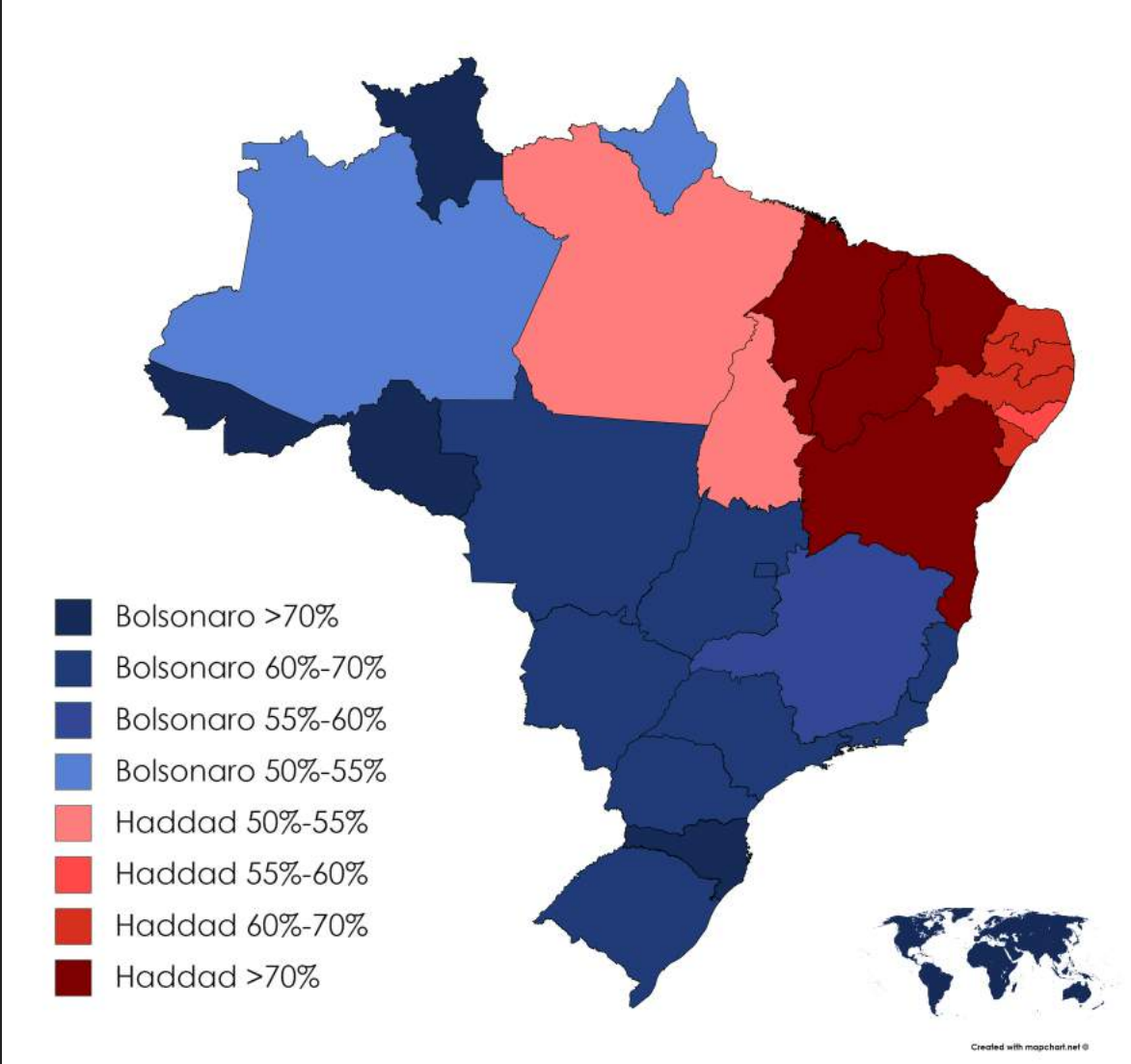
140





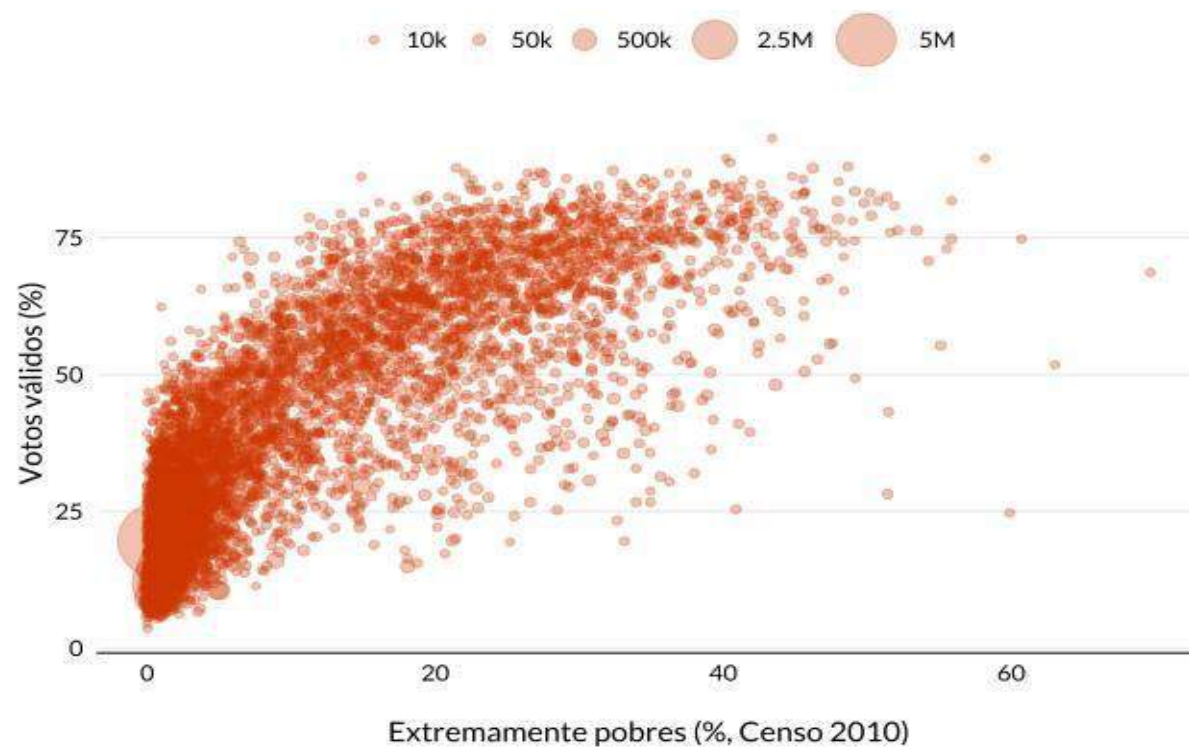
Fonte: Datafolha (04/13 and 01/13) and CNT-MDA (03/03; 05/28; 08/20)





Votação em Fernando Haddad (PT)

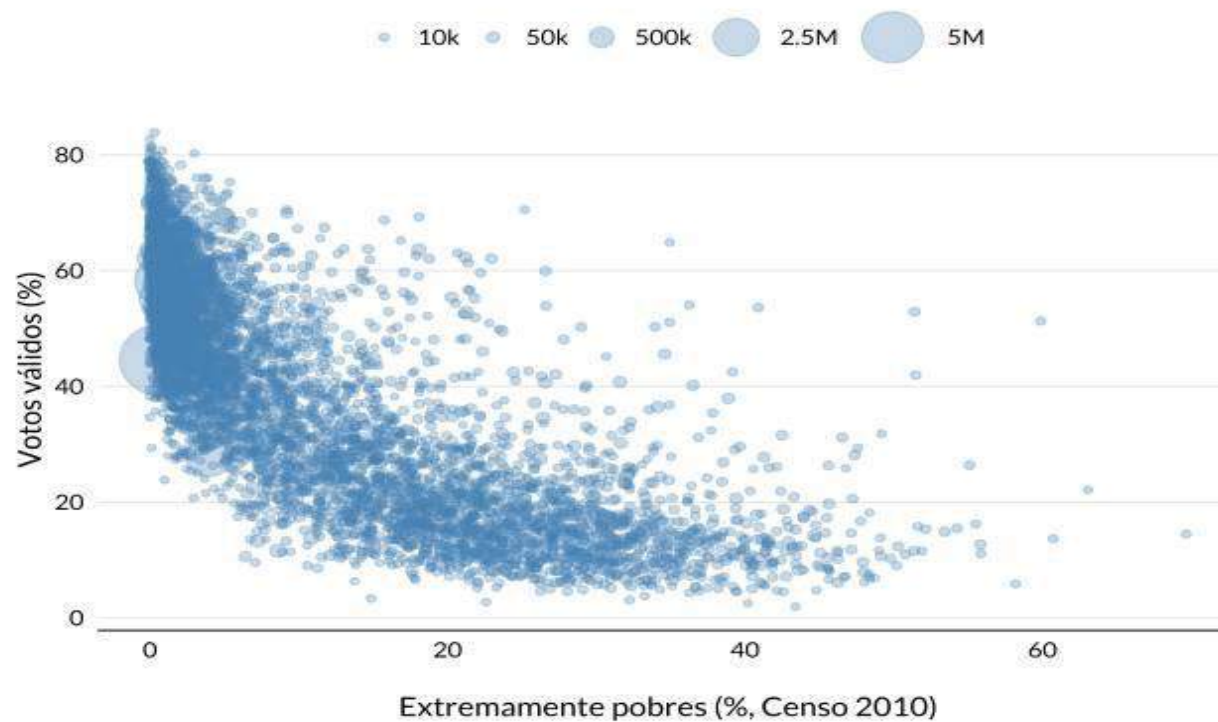
Cada ponto é um município, o tamanho indica a população



Fonte: Emerson CERVI (2018)

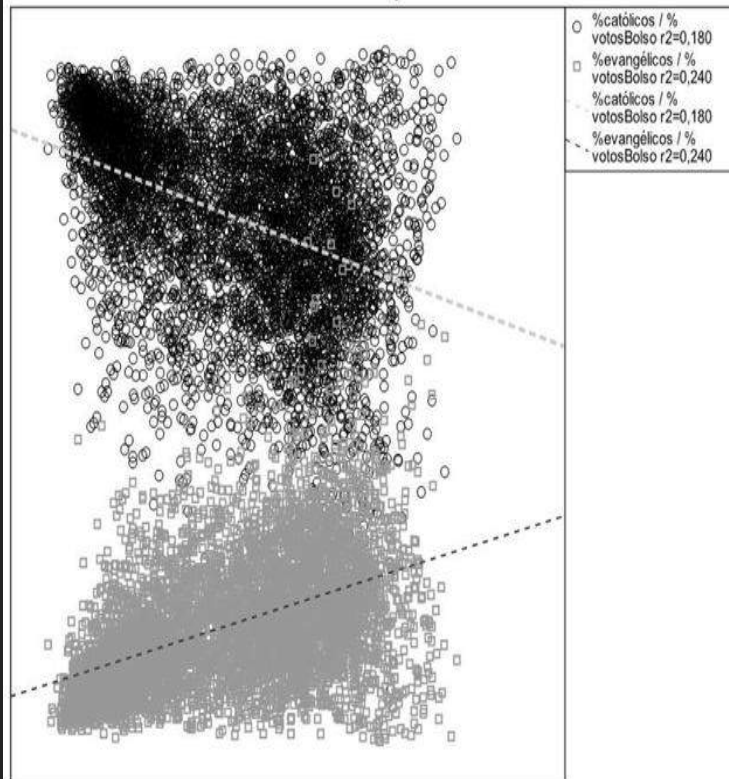
Votação em Jair Bolsonaro (PSL)

Cada ponto é um município, o tamanho indica a população

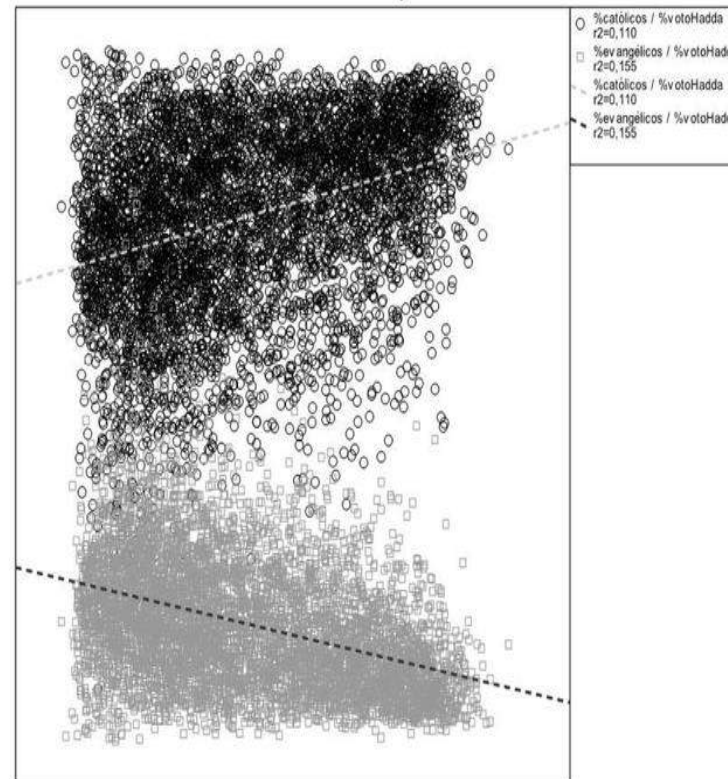


Fonte: Emerson CERVI (2018)

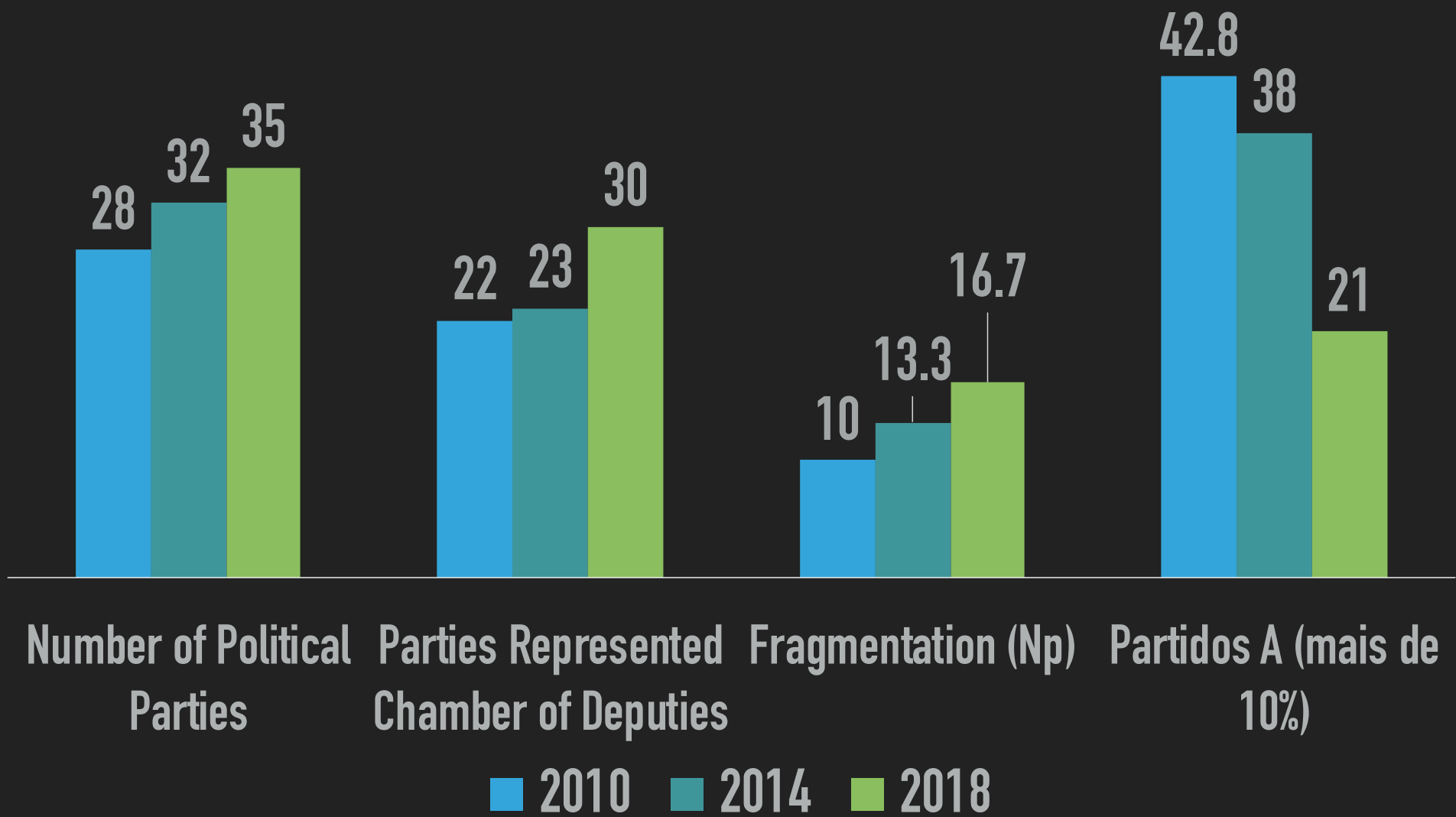
Relação entre % de população católica e evangélica e votos em Bolsonaro por município



Relação entre % de população católica e evangélica e % votos em Haddad por município



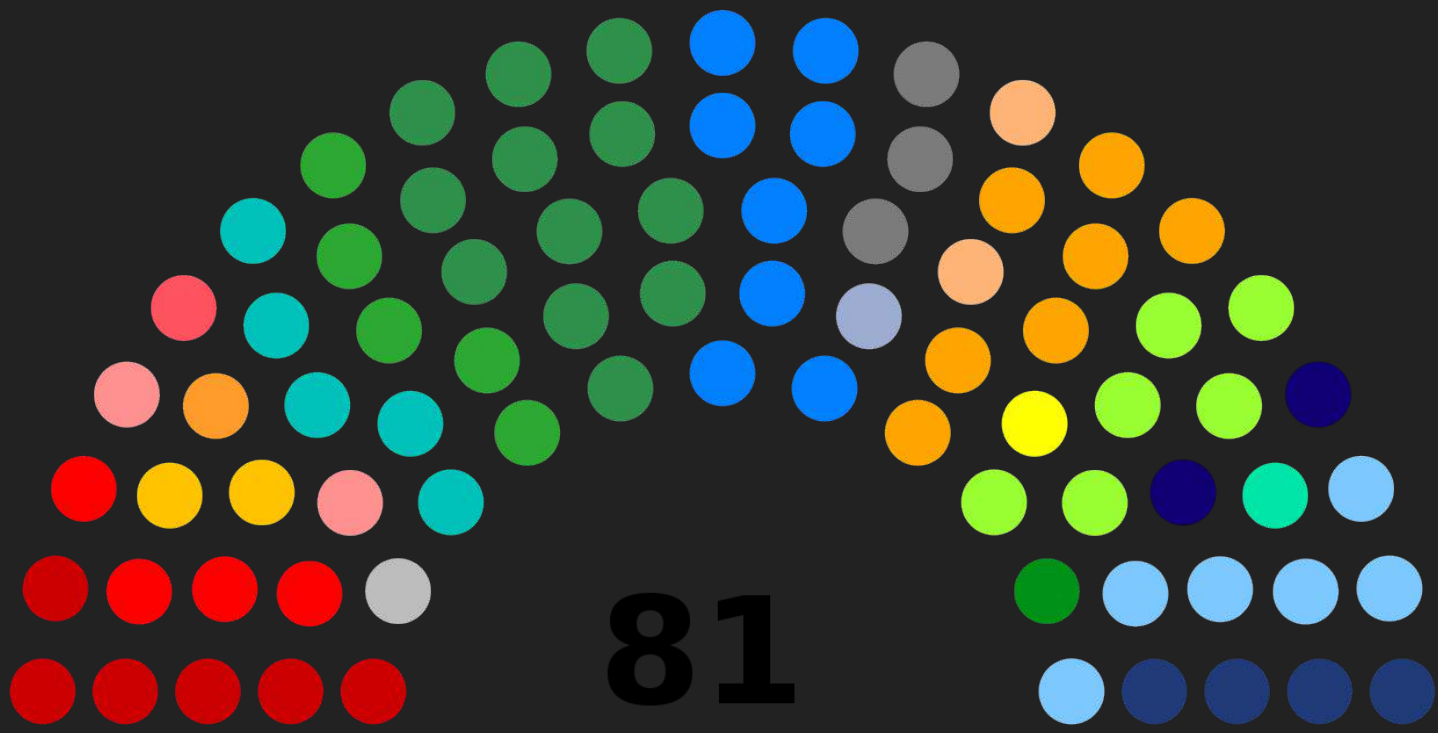
Party	Year Created	President % 2010	President % 2014	President % 2018	N Deputies 2019	N Senators 2019	N Governors 2018
PT	1980	56.1	51.6	44.8	55	06	04
PSL	1994			55.13	55	04	03
MDB	1965				34	13	03
PSDB	1988	44.0	48.4		29	08	03
PP	2003				37	06	01
DEM	2007				29	06	02
PDT	1979				28	04	01
PSOL	2004				10	-	-
PC do B	1962				10	-	01



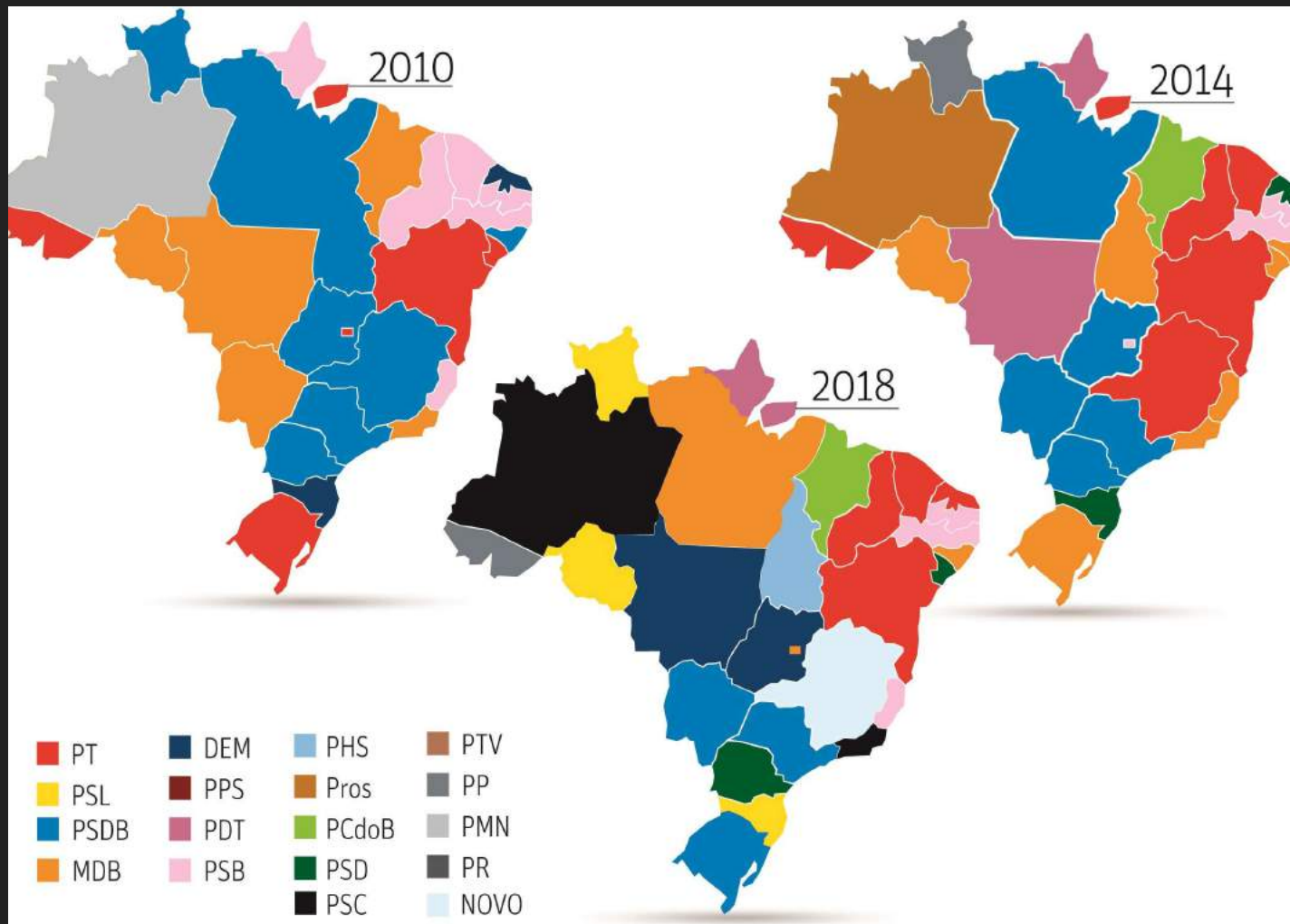
Fonte: TSE, Rogério Arantes and Emerson Cervi



35 political parties, 30 in the Chamber of Deputies, 22 in the Senate



81



INTERIOR AFFAIRS

- ▶ Cabinet: 02 women, 08 military, 11 with party affiliations (Coalescence Rate 0.53)
- ▶ Military (Mourão), Neoliberals (Guedes), Fundamentalists (Araújo), Lavajatistas (Moro)
- ▶ Military (more than 100 positions): tutelage, don't trust politics, posit as stabilizers
- ▶ Neoliberals can be further divided in financial operators and agro-business lobbyists
- ▶ Fundamentalists: Araújo (Foreign Affairs), Damares (Family), Weintraub (Education)
- ▶ Anti-LGBT, anti-feminism, abort criminalization, pro-gun, "non-partisan school" ...
- ▶ Moro (Justice): lawfare against the "leftists", police deadly force, harder sentences
- ▶ After 100 days: governability crisis, militia connections, destructive behavior
- ▶ Bolsonaro (APR 03): 32% (good/great), 30% (bad/terrible), 33% (regular), 4% (no answer)
- ▶ Social mobilization, repressive escalation, further democratic erosion

MACROECONOMIC POLICY

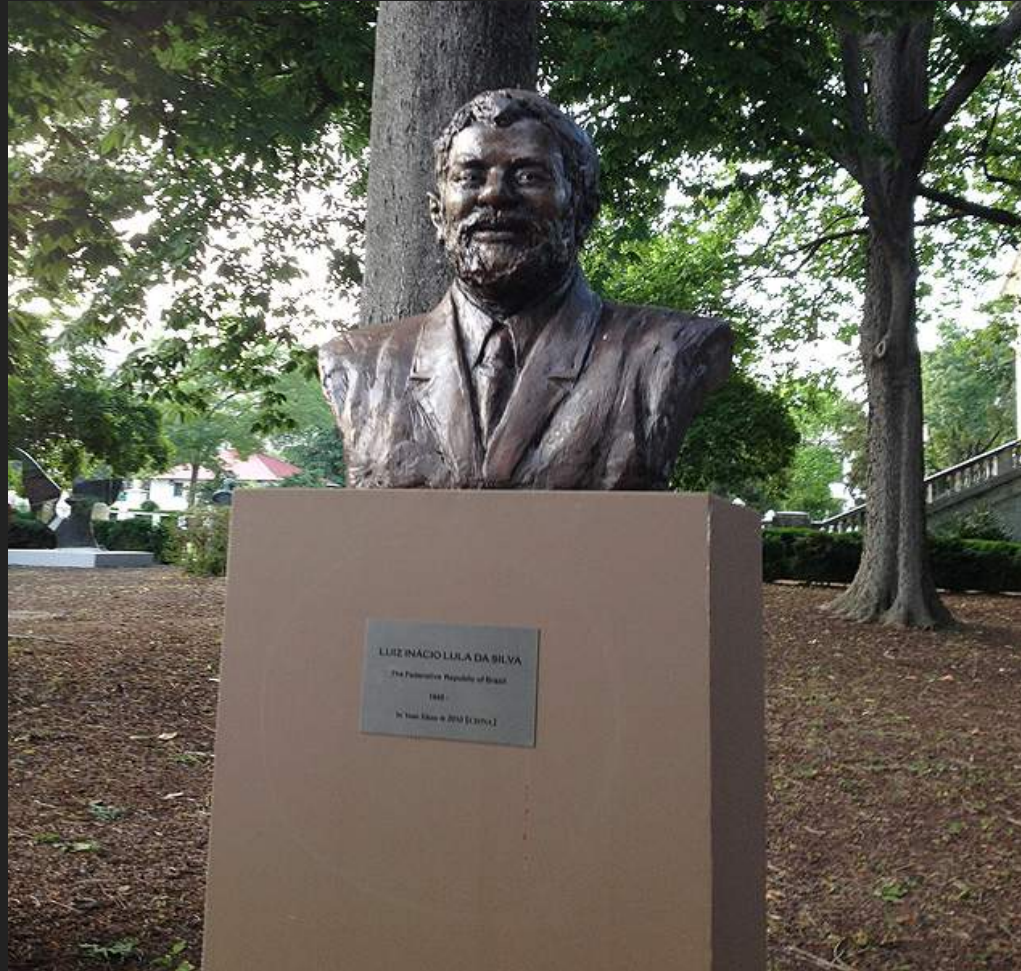
- ▶ GDP growth: -3.6% (2016), 1% (2017), 1.1% (2018), 2.1% (2019 est.)
- ▶ Nominal GDP has contracted from 2.4 (2013) to 1.9 trillion (2018)
- ▶ Industry represents now only 11.8% of the GDP, as in 1950
- ▶ April 2019: 13.1 million unemployed (12.4%), 27.9 million WAP under utilized (25%)
- ▶ Annual 7 % fiscal debit solved by privatization of 147 state-owned enterprises ?
- ▶ Pensions: minimal ages 65-62, 40 y integral, capitalization, women, rural
- ▶ The military is responsible for nearly half of Brazil's pension deficit
- ▶ Corruption annual losses estimated in 2% of the GDP (FIESP, 2017)
- ▶ Tax evasion and avoidance estimated in 13%.4 of the GNP (TJN, 2013)
- ▶ More than simplification, Brazil needs progressive redistributive fiscal reform

FOREING AFFAIRS

- ▶ “Globalism is driven by cultural Marxism and is anti-human and anti-Christian.”
- ▶ Ernesto Araújo is a Brazilian diplomat, promoted to Ambassador in June 2018
- ▶ Wrote that man-made Climate Change is untrue and a China communist plot
- ▶ Praised Trump for restoring Western civilization values challenged by nihilism
- ▶ Lamented “criminalization” of red meat, oil and heterosexual sex
- ▶ Bolsonaro inauguration was attended by Pompeo, Netanyahu and Orban
- ▶ Brazil pulled out of UN Migration accord signed in December 2018
- ▶ Against MERCOSUR, UNASUR and CELAC, but USA doesn't care about OAS
- ▶ Changed positions regarding China due to business pressures
- ▶ Support Trump's regime change in Venezuela, uncertain about military invasion

<https://www.as-coa.org/articles/tracking-first-100-days-brazilian-president-jair-bolsonaro>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JMSBisBYh0E>



10. ARGENTINA

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oSoBU_ZD3s

A. Background

B. Who is Who?

C. What is going on?

A. BACKGROUND





-
- 1816 – Congress of Tucumán and Independence (July 9)**
 - 1831 – Argentinean Confederation led by Juan Manuel de Rosas**
 - 1853 – Liberal Constitution led by Justo José de Urquiza**
 - 1861 – Mitre, Sarmiento y Avellaneda and the Modern Argentinean State**
 - 1880 – Roca initiates a new liberal cycle and massive immigration**
 - 1884 – Military conquest of Desert and Chaco defeat indigenous peoples**
 - 1908 – 7th highest income per capita in the world, 400% higher than Brazil**
 - 1916 – Radical Civic Union (UCR) President Yrigoyen enact social reforms**
 - 1930 – Military Coup led by José Félix Uriburu**
 - 1946 – Juan Domingo Perón elected president**

1947 – Congress approves women’s suffrage

1951 – Perón reelected

1955 – Liberation Revolution military coup oust Perón

1958 – UCR Arturo Frondizi elected president

1963 – UCR Arturo Illia elected president

1966 – Military coup led by Juan Carlos Onganía

1969 – Cordobazo

1973 – Justicialist Party (PJ) Héctor Cámpora elected president (March)

1973 – Justicialist Party (PJ) Juan Perón elected president (September)

1974 – Perón died, succeeded by Isabel Perón

1976 – Military coup and the “National Reorganization Process”

-
- 1982 — Argentina defeated in the Malvinas/Falklands War**
 - 1983 — Collapse of the Military Regime (30,000 victims in the dirty War)**
 - 1983 — UCR Raúl Alfonsín elected President**
 - 1984 — Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Argentina y Chile (Beagle)**
 - 1988 — Integration and Cooperation Program (PICE) with Brasil**
 - 1989 — PJ Carlos Menem elected (neoliberal agenda)**
 - 1991 — Treaty of Asunción establishes MERCOSUR (AR, BR, UY, PY)**
 - 2001 — Deep economic crisis and UCR Fernando De La Rúa resigns**
 - 2003 — PJ Néstor Kirchner elected president (neo-developmentalism)**
 - 2005 — Members of the 1976–1983 Dictatorship prosecuted and jailed**
 - 2007 — PJ Cristina Fernández de Kirchner elected president**
 - 2015 — CAMBIEMOS Mauricio Macri elected president.**

-
- ▶ Area: 2,780,400 km² (8th largest in the world)
 - ▶ Population: 44.50 million (2018)
 - ▶ Buenos Aires: 13.84 million (2017)
 - ▶ White/Mestizo 96.7 % (62.5% Italians), Indigenous 2.4%, Black 0.4%
 - ▶ Religion 2018: 92% Catholic, 21% No religion, 2% Jewish, 2% Protestant
 - ▶ GDP 2018: USD 475 billion (nominal), 918.5 billion (PPP)
 - ▶ GDP per capita 2018: USD 10,667 (nominal), 20,609 (PPP)
 - ▶ 53rd (GDP per capita nominal) or 56th (PPP) in the world

-
- ▶ Sectors 2015: agriculture 6%; industry 20.8%; services 73.2%
 - ▶ Life expectancy at birth (2018): 75.93 years
 - ▶ HDI 0.76 (2018)
 - ▶ Population below poverty line 2018: 25.7%
 - ▶ Gini coefficient: 0.44 (2018)
 - ▶ Unemployment: 9.6% (2018)
 - ▶ Trade %: BR (16.1 exp, 26.9 imp), US (7.9 / 11.3) , CH (7.5 / 18.5)
 - ▶ GDP growth: -2.6 % (2018)
 - ▶ Inflation: 47.6 % (2018)
 - ▶ Unemployment: 9.3% (2018)
 - ▶ Public Debt: 97.7 % of the GDP (USD 214.9 billion)

-
- ▶ **Defense Budget (US\$): 6.13 billions in 2017**
 - ▶ **Armed Forces Personnel (2018): 74,200**
 - ▶ **Navy (18,500), Army (42,000), Air Force (12,900)**
 - ▶ **Federal Intelligence Agency (AFI)**
 - ▶ **Federal Police: 65,000**
 - ▶ **National Gendarmerie: 75,000**
 - ▶ **Naval Prefecture: 28,900 or 45,900**
 - ▶ **Airport Security Police (PSA): 4,500**
 - ▶ **Federal Penitentiary Service**
 - ▶ **Provincial Police Forces: only in Buenos Aires Province + 100,000**
 - ▶ **Buenos Aires City Police (CABA): 21,000**

-
- ▶ Argentine Republic is a federal, Presidentialist, democracy
 - ▶ 23 provinces, and Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (CABA)
 - ▶ Provinces are divided in departments (376 total)
 - ▶ Departments are divided in municipalities (+385)
 - ▶ President is elected by direct popular vote, with runoff if not 45% votes
 - ▶ President: serve four years, one immediate reelection, wait one term . . .
 - ▶ President is head of state and government, commander in chief
 - ▶ President elected by direct, absolute majority vote, two-round
 - ▶ Lawmaking powers: propose, sanction, veto, decree and regulate
 - ▶ Opens session of Congress, appoint cabinet and other positions
 - ▶ Conduct foreign policy in peace and war as established by law

-
- ▶ **Supreme Court (Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación)**
 - ▶ **Constitutional court and last resort tribunal**
 - ▶ **05 justices appointed by the president ,confirmed by 2/3 of Senate**
 - ▶ **The ministers (judges) have no term length, but retire when 75 years**
 - ▶ **Federal / Provincial courts: trial (first instance) and appeal (second)**

-
- ▶ National Congress is bicameral (257 Deputies and 72 Senators)
 - ▶ Three senators per province, plus three from CABA
 - ▶ Six-year term, no term limits, FPTP
 - ▶ Two seats for the party most voted, one for the second-place party
 - ▶ One-third of the provinces hold senatorial elections each two years
 - ▶ The Vice President of the Republic is the ex officio president of the Senate
 - ▶ In practice, the Provisional President runs the chamber most of the time
 - ▶ 257 deputies elected in multi-member constituencies (23 provinces CABA)
 - ▶ Proportional representation, closed party lists, 3% threshold
 - ▶ Half of the Deputies are elected every two years (127 in 2017)
 - ▶ Magnitude depends on population, from 5 to 70 (Buenos Aires Province)

B. WHO IS WHO?

MAURICIO MACRI

- ▶ President of Argentina (2019–2022)
- ▶ Born in Tandil, Buenos Aires province, February 08, 1959
- ▶ Civil engineer, son of the tycoon Francesco Macri
- ▶ Chairman of Boca Juniors (1995–2008)
- ▶ Founder of *Compromiso para el Cambio* party (right)
- ▶ National Deputy for Buenos Aires (2005–2007)
- ▶ Chief of Government of CABA (2007–2015)
- ▶ Elected president in 2015 by Republican Proposal party
- ▶ Cambiemos coalition (PRO, UCR, + 5 parties), 51,34 %
- ▶ Defeated Daniel Scioly (PJ + 12 parties) 48,66%



MARTA GABRIELA MICHETTI ILLIA

- ▶ Vice President of Argentina (2015–2019)
- ▶ President of the Senate (*ex officio*)
- ▶ Born in Laprida, BA Province, May 28, 1965
- ▶ Member of Republican Proposal Party (PRO)
- ▶ National Senator from Buenos Aires (2013–2016)
- ▶ National Deputy from Buenos Aires (2009–2013)
- ▶ Deputy Chief of Government CABA (2007–2009)



FEDERICO PINEDO

- ▶ 60° Provisional President of the Senate (since 2015)
- ▶ Born in CABA, December 29, 1955
- ▶ Senator from CABA (since 2015)
- ▶ National Deputy from CABA (2003–2015)
- ▶ Former Vice President of PRO (2012–2016)
- ▶ Founder of PRO (2005)



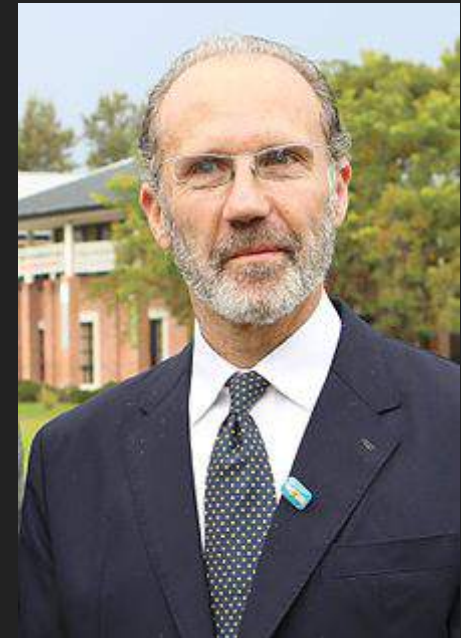
EMILIO MONZÓ

- ▶ President of the Chamber of Deputies (2019–2021)
- ▶ Born in Carlos Tejedor, BAs Province, September 26, 1965
- ▶ Member of PJ between the 1980s and 2010
- ▶ Member of the PRO since then
- ▶ Minister of Agrarian Affairs, Buenos Aires Province (2008)
- ▶ Minister of Government, CABA (2011–2015)
- ▶ One of Macri's campaign chiefs in 2015
- ▶ Elected National Deputy from Buenos Aires Province (2015)



CARLOS FERNANDO ROSENCRANTZ

- ▶ Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (since 2018)
- ▶ Born in CABA, October 29, 1958.
- ▶ Nominated to the Supreme Court by President Macri in 2016
- ▶ Former Rector of the Universidad San Andrés
- ▶ 2016 Konex Prize (Law Theory and Philosophy)



JORGE MARCELO FAURIE

- ▶ Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship (since 2017)
- ▶ Born in Santa Fe, December 24, 1951.
- ▶ Career Diplomat, former ambassador in Portugal and France
- ▶ 4th career diplomat to be appointed minister
- ▶ Controversial agreement with UK regarding Malvinas



OSCAR RAÚL AGUAD

- ▶ Minister of Defense (since 2017)
- ▶ Born in Córdoba, May 07, 1950.
- ▶ Former Minister of Communications (2015–2017)
- ▶ President of the UCR caucus (2007)
- ▶ National Deputy from Córdoba Province (2005–2015)
- ▶ Federal Interventor in Corrientes Province (2001)
- ▶ Minister of Institutional Affairs, Córdoba (1995–1999)



PATRICIA BULLRICH

- ▶ Minister of Security (since 2015)
- ▶ Born in CABA, June 11, 1956.
- ▶ Former Minister of Social Security (2001)
- ▶ Former Minister of Labor (2000–2001)
- ▶ Before 1997 was a member of the PJ
- ▶ Member of the Montoneros armed group (1973)
- ▶ Since 2003, leader of Unión por la Libertad (dissolved 2018)
- ▶ Since then Bullrich became a member of the PRO
- ▶ Federal Police, National Gendarmerie
- ▶ Naval Prefecture, and Airport Security Police



CRISTINA ELISABET FERNÁNDEZ DE KIRCHNER

- ▶ Former President of Argentina (2007–2015)
- ▶ Born in Tolosa, La Plata, February 19, 1953.
- ▶ National Deputy for Santa Cruz (1997–2001)
- ▶ Senator from Santa Cruz (1995–1997; 2001–2005)
- ▶ Senator from Buenos Aires (2005–2007; 2017–?)
- ▶ Widow of Former President Nestor Kirchner (2003–2007)
- ▶ 19th most powerful women in the world (Forbes, 2014)
- ▶ Middle class doubled during her term (World Bank)
- ▶ Trials against Dirty War (500 sentenced, 1,000 convicted)
- ▶ Indicted for obstructing 1994 AMIA bombing investigation
- ▶ In March 10 Polls, CFK had 28,4% voting intention, Macri had 26,9%



C. WHAT IS GOING ON?

INTERIOR AFFAIRS

- ▶ National elections, president + 130 Deputy + 24 Senatorial seats (eight provinces).
- ▶ Provincial elections (executive and legislative) for CABA and 22 provinces.
- ▶ June (alliances), August (primaries), October (first round), November (run-off)
- ▶ Macri (PRO), Kirchner (PJ), Lavagna or Massa (AF), Caño (FI), Espert (PL)
- ▶ Feb 28: % Would you vote for Macri (N 52 M 48 Y 25) or CFK (N 54 M 46 Y 33) ?
- ▶ Due to district magnitudes, party fragmentation worse in CABA and BAs (35% seats)
- ▶ Macri is neither UCR nor PJ, but his coalition represents 1/3 anti-Peronist vote
- ▶ CFK holds 1/3 of preferences, but PJ and allies historically divided (right and left)
- ▶ 1/3 of the electorate is up for grabs, but “fear trumps hope” due to crisis fatigue
- ▶ Why there is no “National Rosario”? Socialist Party governs since 1989 (26 years)
- ▶ Wild card: the so called Argentinean Bolsonaro Alfredo Olmedo or Lavagna?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dcK7WvdNSBc>

MACROECONOMIC POLICY

- ▶ GDP annual growth averaged 2.54% between 1994–2018
- ▶ Economy doubled in size between 2002 and 2013, but...
- ▶ Record low was -16.30 in 1Q 2002 and record high 16.20 in 2Q 2010
- ▶ GDP growth in 2018 was -2.6% (INDEC)
- ▶ Macri: floated currency, increased interest rates, fiscal shock
- ▶ Public debt reached 321 bi USD, 33% higher than 2015 (57% of the GDP)
- ▶ The Argentine peso lost -52.4% of its value against USD in 2018
- ▶ IMF had to lend USD 57 billion to Argentina in 2018
- ▶ Interest rates reached 60% in Sep 2018
- ▶ Inflation rate was 48.5 % in December 2018
- ▶ What is the future of industry (15% of the GDP)?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m3NdYX7ysmA>

FOREING AFFAIRS

- ▶ Macri positioned Argentina as Obama most trusted regional ally (2016)
- ▶ The old pendulum moved from autonomy to acquiescence (Russell and Tokatlian)
- ▶ Moved away from Bolivarian Alliance and Brazilian led UNASUR
- ▶ Kept formal relations with Latin American countries, but not with Venezuela
- ▶ Merkel, Rajoy, and the European Union supported Macri as a “new start”
- ▶ Macri didn't change the “Comprehensive Strategic Partnership” with China
- ▶ G20 Summit in Buenos Aires (Dec 2018) was the first in South America
- ▶ Bilateral agreements with United States and China
- ▶ Pressures against Maduro and support to Guaido, but no to military intervention
- ▶ MERCOSUR: Macri has pledged to work with Bolsonaro to “review” the bloc

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZQ-hLT0wbCU>

11. CODA



-
- ▶ LAC is culturally diverse, but predominantly conservative
 - ▶ More developed than Africa (for now), but way behind Asia
 - ▶ Highly unequal, with very low social mobility
 - ▶ Politically, the LAC elites fear revolution more than anything
 - ▶ Few political forces trust democracy or have much love for it
 - ▶ Peripheral and subordinated, elites refuse regional cooperation
 - ▶ National economies lack complementarity
 - ▶ State capacity suffers from fragile fiscal basis and low accountability
 - ▶ Digital era: challenges for development and democracy
 - ▶ Social movements are active and strong, but organized labor is declining
 - ▶ Triangular relations with USA and China are crucial
 - ▶ Two tales (MX and BR) and an eternal cycle (VE and AR)?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uWLFJIBcqqQ>

Obrigado

Gracias

Thank you

谢谢