

Index

- AD (Acción Democrática/Democratic Action), 44, 89, 92, 100, 113, 188
 Agreement for Cooperation, 200
 Ahmadinejad, Mahmood, 76, 78, 133, 136, 140
 Alessandri, Arturo, 4
 Alfaro Uceró, Luis, 92
 Alfonsín, Raúl, 198
 Alvarado, Velasco, 246
 Álvarez Paz, Oswaldo, 91
 Argentina, 102, 135, 144
 Arias Cárdenas, Francisco, 20, 93
 Armony, Ariel C., 70
 Armony, Victor, 70
- Bachelet, Michelle, 51, 197
 Barrio Adentro. *See* Missions
 behavioralism, 10, 238
 Belarus, 135
 Berger, Oscar, 28, 45
 Berlusconi, Silvio, 138, 235
 Betancourt, Rómulo, 89, 103
 Blair, Tony, 82, 133
 Bolaños, Enrique, 28, 45
 Bolívar, Simón, 57, 83
 Bolivarian Circles, 20, 167
 decline of, 180–1
 disruptive tactics, 184–90
 history of, 176–7
 institutionalization, 178–81
 insularity, 190–3
 movement structure, 181–4
 as populist movement, 178–93
 Bolivia, 25, 101, 102, 144
 Bossi, Umberto, 235
 Bryan, William Jennings, 42
- Bucaram, Abdalá, 248
 Bush, George W., 76, 78, 81–2, 133
- Caldera, Rafael, 17, 61, 87, 89, 90–1, 103, 162
Campaña de Santa Inéz, 2
 Canovan, Margaret, 35, 37
 Cárdenas, Lázaro, 75, 80
 Castro, Fidel, 25, 57, 84
 Causa R (Causa Radical/Radical Cause), 17, 91, 100, 113
 CD (Coordinadora Democrática/Democratic Coordination), 3
 charisma. *See* charismatic linkages
 charismatic linkages
 definition of, 41
 relation to populism, 41–3, 163–5
- Chávez, Hugo
 charismatic leader, 41–3, 162–4
 coup of 2002, 1, 20–1
 discourse: “anything goes” attitude, 65–9; Christian imagery in, 20, 56–7; conspiring elite in, 61–3; historical references in, 57–8; Manichaeic outlook in, 55–8; systemic change in, 63–5; will of people in, 58–61
 as leftist, 52–3, 83–5, 245–7
 personal history of, 16–25, 92–3
 as populist, 43–8, 50–3
- Chavismo
 future of, 243–9
 history of, 16–25, 92–3, 162
 international relations, 4, 25, 46–7
 and leftism, 50–3, 83–4, 246–7
 and news media, 67–8, 191–3
 and scholarship, 26–7, 47–8

- Che Guevara Socialist Mission. *See* Missions
- Chile, 102, 165, 235
- China, 19, 23
- Christ Mission (Misión Cristo). *See* Missions
- CNE (Consejo Nacional Electoral/National Electoral Commission), 1, 22
- Communal Councils (Consejos Comunales), 24
- Communist Party of Venezuela, 25
- competitive authoritarian regimes.
See democracy
- constructivism, 10–11, 238
- Convergencia, 90, 100, 113
- COPEI (Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente), 89, 90, 109, 113
- Coppedge, Michael, 109
- Correa, Rafael, 78, 197
- corruption
under Chavismo, 245
definition of, 95–6
measurement of, 96, 150–2
during Punto Fijo system, 46, 103–10
relation to populism, 96–8, 148–53
- Costa Rica, 99, 165
- coup of 1992, 17
- coup of 2002. *See* Chávez, Hugo
- CTV (Confederación de Trabajadores de Venezuela/Worker's Confederation of Venezuela), 101
- Cuba, 19
- Dahl, Robert, 36
- de la Torre, Carlos, 148
- de Miranda, Francisco, 57
- de San Martín, José, 79
- democracy
competitive authoritarian regimes, 27
hybrid democracy, 45
normative definition, 15
procedural definition, 15
semidemocracy, 27
- Diamond, Larry, 29
- Dieterich, Heinze, 59, 64, 83
- discourse, 237–42
definition of, 30
and ideas, 31–2, 237–9
measurement of, 70–2, 239
and worldview, 30–1
- discourse theorists. *See* constructivism
- disruptive tactics. *See* organizational theory of populism
- Drake, Paul, 164
- Duarte, Nicanor, 28
- Durkheim, Emile, 9
- economic voting theory, 134–7, 154
- Ecuador, 25
- El Salvador, 165
- elitist discourse, 33, 97
- Ellner, Steve, 109
- fascism, 37
- Fermín, Claudio, 91, 93
- Fernández de Kirchner, Cristina, 51
- Florentino y el Diablo*, 2
- Forza Italia, 235
- Fox, Vicente, 47
- FPÖ (Austrian Freedom Party), 235
- Fujimori, Alberto, 198, 199, 248
- Glistrup, Mogens, 235
- Gutiérrez, Lucio, 248
- Guzmán, Abimael, 42
- Haider, Jörg, 235
- Harnecker, Marta, 59, 67, 83
- Haya de la Torre, Victor Raúl, 246
- Hellinger, Daniel, 109
- Hofstadter, Richard, 35
- holistic grading, 71–2, 239
- Honduras, 108
- Huntington, Samuel, 169
- hybrid democracy. *See* democracy
- ideology, 30
- India, 23
- institutionalization. *See* organizational theory of populism
- insularity. *See* organizational theory of populism
- Insulza, Jose Miguel, 47
- interaction effect, 154–60
- Iran. *See* Ahmadinejad, Mahmood
- Iraq, 19
- Italy, 235
- Jagers, Jan, 70
- Juan Carlos, King, 47
- Kahnemann, Daniel, 103
- Kennedy, John F., 57
- Kirchner, Néstor, 51, 79
- Laclau, Ernesto, 35, 43
- Lagos, Ricardo, 51
- Ledezma, Antonio, 93
- legitimacy, 94–5
- Leoni, Raúl, 103
- Libya, 19

Index

289

- Lukashenko, Aleksandr, 42, 76, 78, 133, 140
- Lula da Silva, Luiz Ignácio, 51, 75, 79–80
- Lusinchi, Jaime, 104
- macroeconomic policy. *See* populism
- Mainwaring, Scott, 169
- Maisanta Command, 2, 179
- MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo/Movement for Socialism), 91, 113
- mass society theory, 137–41, 158
- MBR 200 (Movimiento Bolivariano Revolucionario 200/Bolivarian Revolutionary Movement 200), 16, 176, 200
- McCoy, Jennifer L., 109
- MCGN (Movimiento de Concentración Gente Nueva/Movement of New People Gathering), 184
- McGuire, James, 36, 171, 174
- media, news. *See* Chavismo
- Menem, Carlos, 80–1
- Mercal Mission. *See* Missions
- Mexico, 25
- military in Venezuela, 16–17, 44
- Milošević, Slobodan, 138
- Miquilena, Luis, 20
- Missions, 22, 199–210
 - Barrio Adentro, 200, 207–209, 226
 - Christ Mission (Misión Cristo), 199
 - as result of clientelism, 211, 227–9
 - and leftism, 202–10
 - Mercal Mission, 201, 207–209, 220, 225
 - patronage machine: district level targeting, 217–20; open conditionality, 220–3; partisan profile of participants, 225–7
 - as result of populist worldview, 211–15, 227–9
 - Ribas Mission, 200–1, 202–5, 204, 218
 - Robinson Mission, 200–1, 202–5, 204
 - Sucre Mission, 200–1, 202–5, 204, 218, 225
 - Vuelvan Caras, 201, 205–6
- Montt, Efraín Ríos, 42
- Morales, Evo, 42, 76, 78, 133, 135, 197
- Moreno, Mariano, 79
- movement structure. *See* organizational theory of populism
- Mudde, Cas, 42
- MVR (Movimiento Quinta República/Fifth República Movement), 100, 113, 177, 181
- Nicaragua, 161
- normative theory of populism, 148–53, 154, 234
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, 98
- Organization of American States (OAS), 1
- Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 23
- organizational theory of populism
 - disruptive tactics, 172–4
 - institutionalization, 169–70
 - insularity, 174–5
 - movement structure, 171–2
- Ortega, Daniel, 78
- Páez, José Antonio, 57
- Panebianco, Angelo, 172
- Paraguay, 108, 161
- Paris Commune of 1871, 83
- party system breakdown
 - cognitive theory, 103
 - deepening of democracy theory, 93, 99–100, 113, 125–6
 - economic voting theory, 94, 102–3, 110–11, 114–29
 - normative theory, 94–5, 103–10, 111–12, 114–29
 - structuralist theory, 93–4, 100–2, 111, 125–6
 - in Venezuela, 88–92
- Pérez, Carlos Andrés, 17, 28, 61, 101, 104
- Pérez Delgado, Pedro “Maisanta,” 57
- Pérez Perdomo, Rogelio, 109
- Perón, Juan, 4, 42, 77, 78, 246
- Peronism, 38
- Peru, 25, 101, 144
- Petroleos de Venezuela, S.A. (PDVSA), 20
- PJ (Primero Justicia/First Justice), 188
- Plan Bolívar 2000, 19, 22, 199–200
- Plan for Economic and Social Development (*Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social*), 19
- pluralist discourse
 - and corruption, 98
 - definition of, 29
 - and democracy, 36–8
 - and majority rule, 34
 - pragmatic outlook, 34
 - and respect for democratic procedures, 36
 - and systematic change, 35
 - and tolerance for dissent, 35
- populism
 - and “anything goes” attitude, 34, 36
 - definition of, 5–6
 - and democracy, 36–8
 - discursive definition, 38, 39–41, 48–9, 233
 - economic definition, 38, 40
 - and “Evil,” 35

- populism (*cont.*)
 and "Good," 34–5
 macroeconomic policy, 196–9
 Manichaeic outlook, 33–4
 measurement of, 8, 53–5, 69–75, 233
 and pluralism, 5
 political-institutional definition, 39, 40
 and rational choice, 11–12
 structural definition, 38, 39–40
 systemic change, 35–6
 populism, organizational theory of, 167–9,
 236–7
 Populist Party in the United States, 42, 197
 postmodernists. *See* constructivism
 PPT (Patria Para Todos/Fatherland for All),
 25, 113
 presidential recall referendum, 23, 201
 presidential recall referendum of 2004, 1–3
 Préval, René, 28
 Primera, Alí, 57
 Progress Party (Denmark), 235
 Project Venezuela (Proyecto Venezuela),
 92, 113
Proyecto Nacional Simón Bolívar, 25
 PSUV (Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela/
 United Socialist Party of Venezuela), 24
 Punto Fijo system, 3, 44, 89–92
 Putin, Vladimir, 42
 Putnam, Robert, 175
- radical-right populism, 234–5
 rationalists. *See* behavioralism
 Red Nacional de Círculos Bolivarianos, 182
 Rey, Juan Carlos, 109
 Ribas, José Félix, 57
 Ribas Mission. *See* Missions
 Robinson Mission. *See* Missions
 Rodríguez, Simón, 57, 83
 Rosales, Manuel, 24, 93
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 34, 60
 rule of law, 95
 Russia, 161
- Sáez, Irene, 92
 Salas Römer, Henrique, 92, 114, 118, 119,
 124, 125, 128
 Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, 199
 Sarney, José, 198
 Sartori, Giovanni, 175
- Scully, Timothy, 169
 semidemocracy. *See* democracy
 socialism
 and Chavismo, 83–5, 245–7
 and ideology, 30
 and Missions, 208–10
 and populism, 84
 South Korea, 165
 Spain, 165
 Stokes, Susan, 246
 strike of 2002, 21, 201
 structuralism theory
 dependency theory, 145–8, 159
 modernization theory, 141–5, 158–9
 Sucre Mission. *See* Missions
- Taggart, Paul, 35
 Templeton, Andrew, 109
 Trienio, 44
 Tversky, Amos, 103
 Twenty-First Century Socialism, 6, 24
- Ukraine, 135
 United States. *See* Bush, George W.
 UNT (Un Nuevo Tiempo/A New Time), 93
 UPC (Unidad Patriótica de Carabobo/
 Patriotic Unity of Carabobo), 184
 URD (Unión Republicana Democrática/
 Union for Republic and Democracy), 89
 Uribe, Álvaro, 42
 Uruguay, 99, 102, 165, 235
- Vargas, Getúlio, 4, 77
 Vázquez, Tabaré, 51, 197
 Velasco Ibarra, José María, 42, 77
 Velásquez, Andrés, 91
 Villalba, Jovito, 89
 Vuelvan Caras. *See* Missions
- Walgrave, Stefaan, 70
 Weber, Max, 9, 41, 240
 Wendt, Alexander, 239
 Weyland, Kurt, 103, 110
 work stoppage of 2002. *See* strike of 2002
 worldview, 29–32, 237–42
- Yushchenko, Viktor, 75, 76, 78, 133, 140
 Zamora, Ezequiel, 57, 83