

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
Department of History
Semester I, 2011-2012

History 441- Revolution and Conflict in Modern Latin America

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Course Description:

When desires for equality, prosperity, and social justice ran into postcolonial legacies in twentieth-century Latin America, the resulting confrontations often took the form of revolution. Yet the actual way each process worked its way through the society, the longer lasting outcomes of the conflict, and the ultimate shape taken by the new postrevolutionary sociopolitical order, all varied depending on each country's previous history and on the way in which emerging national states had dealt with what we might call "the indigenous question."

In Mexico, where an early social revolution driven by the peasantry and agrarian issues resulted in enduring political control by a postrevolutionary state under the banners of nationalism, agrarian reform and mestizaje, the bloom came off the revolutionary rose by the late 1960s. Economic and political crises, perhaps most dramatically exemplified by the armed 1994 rebellion in Chiapas, resulted in the loss of the presidency by the Institutionalized Revolutionary Party in 2000.

In Chile, the relegation of the indigenous problem to the southern frontier combined with early labor militancy to generate an electoral path to socialism. Yet the social and cultural crises put into motion by this path resulted in a violent and repressive military dictatorship, and during its decade and a half in power to the deepest transformation of the economy and of political society in the Southern Cone. And in the process of transition back to democratic rule, during which Chile has reckoned with the legacy of torture and elected its first female president, what seemed to be a marginal frontier problem – the struggle for restitution by the Mapuche indigenous people – has become an international embarrassment.

In Peru, where a reformist military government attempted broad-ranging reforms between 1968 and 1975, a bloody civil war between the Shining Path guerrillas and the Peruvian army ate away at Peruvian society during the 1980s, leading to an increasingly authoritarian civilian regime, the decline of political parties, and the breakdown of civil society. And yet, slowly but surely, resistance to Shining Path in Andean communities forced a crisis and pushed Shining Path into Lima, ultimately leading to the arrest of the

movement's maximum leader Abimael Guzmán. After the fall of President Alberto Fujimori and responding to pressure from civil society in the highlands and on the coast, a truth commission was formed that brought to light the ethnocidal violence carried out against the highland population by both the army and the guerrillas.

This course will explore the historical differences among these three cases in the context of today's postrevolutionary sensibilities and questions. How were narratives of social inclusion and human rights constructed in the 20th century, and how are they different today? What justifications for violence were used on the left and right in the context of revolution and social conflict? What can we learn from the revolutionary dreams and violent nightmares of the 20th century that might be of use to us today? How have the historical differences among the societies we're studying both facilitated and limited political options for their citizens?

Course Requirements:

1) Written assignments: **Instead of a midterm and a final**, students will write three 5-page papers, one due at the end of each of the three units of the class. Each paper will begin from the book assigned in the unit, picking a central theme in the book and developing it in greater length in conversation with the relevant materials in lectures, other readings, and discussion. **This paper is not a book review, but an essay that constructs an argument using the evidence available in that unit.** Two weeks before the paper is due we will distribute a worksheet to help you get started. You are free to not use the suggested themes in the worksheet, but instead to come up with your own theme. Each paper is worth 20% of the overall grade.

2) Reading and discussion: 40% of your grade will depend on your attendance and participation in discussion section.

Honors Credit is available in the course. Students interested in honors credit work individually with me, and need to meet with me early in the semester to work out a viable project. **Please see me by the third week in the semester if you are interested.**

Required Reading:

Please Note: The books listed below have been ordered exclusively at Rainbow Bookstore Cooperative, 426 W. Gilman, 257-6050. They are also on three-hour reserve at the College Library in Helen C. White.

1) Tanalis Padilla, *Rural resistance in the land of Zapata : the Jaramillista Movement and the myth of the Pax Priísta, 1940-1962* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

2) Robin Kirk, *The Monkey's Paw: New Chronicles From Peru* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997).

3) Steve J. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London, 1998* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

There is also a xerox packet available at the Humanities Copy Center, 1650 Humanities Bldg., 263-1803; Hours M-F, 7:45-11:45 A.M., 12:30-4:00 P.M. Every reading marked with an asterisk (*) is included in the xerox packet, a copy of which is also on 3-hour reserve in Helen C. White.

A Statement on Grading Policy:

- 1) Criteria for grading: in general, an assignment receives an A when it combines three things:
 - Originality or a willingness to take intellectual and/or analytical risks;
 - Command of the lecture and reading materials in the class and an effective use of these as evidence to back up your points;
 - A writing style that is clear and grammatically correct so that it doesn't get in the way of the content of the assignment.
- 2) Grading is not an exact science, and mistakes can be made. If you feel that you have been given a grade in error, you need to take the following steps, in the order listed:
 - Reread your assignment. Sometimes what you think you argued did not entirely make it onto the page, and it's important to reread and make sure that your impression of what you said is actually what you did say.
 - If after rereading you still feel that an error was made, see your TA and provide **specific examples** of what you feel you did not get credit for.
 - Your TA will then reread the assignment, and will have three options: raise the grade, lower the grade, or leave it the same.
 - If you still feel that you have not been given adequate credit for your work, you may ask the professor to read the assignment, once again providing specific examples of what you feel you did not get credit for. The professor will also have the options of raising, lowering, or leaving the grade the same.
- 3) Discussion counts for 40% of the overall grade. Since discussion materials are part of what can be used in the papers, the different parts of the class are interrelated and mutually interdependent, and a student who does not attend discussion section regularly cannot get a good grade in the class. Discussion grades are based on both attendance and participation, and your TA will share with you the specifics of her criteria of evaluation.
- 4) Policy for late assignments: A student who knows that a paper will be late must get in touch with his or her TA a minimum of **48 hours** before the due date and time in order to negotiate an extension. Emergencies will be handled on a case-by-case basis. Assignments that are late without explanation will be docked a half-grade for each 24 hours they are late.

Week 1- 6-8 Sept.- GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE THEMES
NO DISCUSSION SECTIONS FIRST WEEK

UNIT I- Mexico

Week 2- 13-15 Sept.- Struggling with Postcolonial Legacies: The Mexican Revolution, Origins and Process, 1880-1940

Reading: *David LaFrance and G.P.C. Thomson, "Juan Francisco Lucas: Patriarch

of the Sierra Norte de Puebla," in William H. Beezley and Judith Ewell, *The Human Tradition in Latin America: The Twentieth Century* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1987), pp. 1-13.

*Samuel Brunk, "Remembering Emiliano Zapata: Three Moments in the Posthumous Career of the Martyr of Chinameca," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 78: 3 (August 1998), pp. 457-90.

*Jan Rus, "The 'Comunidad Revolucionaria Institucional': The Subversion of Native Government in Highland Chiapas, 1936-1968," in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent (eds.), *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 265-300.

Week 3- 20-22 Sept.- The Golden Age of the Revolution: Promises of Modernity, Inclusion, and Autonomy, 1940-1968

Reading: Tanalis Padilla, *Rural resistance in the land of Zapata : the Jaramillista Movement and the myth of the Pax Priísta, 1940-1962* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. vii-138.

*Eric Zolov, "Discovering a Land 'Mysterious and Obvious': The Renarrativizing of Postrevolutionary Mexico," in Gilbert M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov (eds.), *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 234-72.

Week 4- 27-29 Sept. - The Golden Age Comes Undone: Tlatelolco, New Social Movements, Salinismo, and Indigenous Guerrillas, 1968-1994

Reading: Tanalis Padilla, *Rural resistance in the land of Zapata : the Jaramillista Movement and the myth of the Pax Priísta, 1940-1962*, pp. 139-224.

*Elena Poniatowska, "The Student Movement of 1968," in Joseph and Henderson, *The Mexico Reader*, pp. 555-569.

Also: Clip from Saul Landau, "The Sixth Sun" (1995), documentary about Chiapas.

Week 5- 4-6 Oct.- The End of the Mexican Revolution: From Chiapas to the Fall of the PRI, 1994-2004

Reading: Lynn Stephen and George A. Collier, "Reconfiguring Ethnicity, Identity and Citizenship in the Wake of the Zapatista Rebellion," in *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 3:1 (1997), pp. 2-13.

*EZLN, "Demands at the Dialogue Table"; Subcomandante Marcos, "The Long Journey from Despair to Hope"; and Marián Peres Tsu, "A Tzotzil Chronicle of the Zapatista Uprising"; in Joseph and Henderson, *Mexico Reader*, pp. 638-45, 646-54, and 655-69, respectively.

Also: Clip from Landau, "The Sixth Sun."

UNIT II- Peru

Week 6- 11-13 Oct.- Peru's Persistent Postcolonialism (I): The Origins of the Aristocratic Republic and the Limited Nation, 1880-1895

Reading: Florencia E. Mallon, "Comas and the War of the Pacific," in Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk (eds.), *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 168-186.

Manuel Gonzáles Prada, "Priests, Indians, Soldiers, and Heroes," in *The Peru Reader*, pp. 187-94.

Week 7- 18-20 Oct.- Peru's Persistent Postcolonialism (II): Mobilization, Crisis, and the Rise of Populism, 1915-1960

Reading: Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1880-1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 247-348.

*****PAPER ON UNIT I DUE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21 AT 5 P.M.*****

Week 8- 25-27 Oct.- Peru's Late Attempt at National-Popular Reform: Peasant Movements, Military Revolution, and Guerrilla Options, 1965-1985

Reading: Robin Kirk, *The Monkey's Paw: New Chronicles from Peru* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), pp. 1-110.

Florencia E. Mallon, "Chronicle of a Path Foretold? Velasco's Revolution, Vanguardia Revolucionaria, and 'Shining Omens' in the Indigenous Communities of Andahuaylas," in Steve J. Stern (ed.), *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 84-117.

Week 9- 1-3 Nov.- Why is Peru always so difficult to understand? Authoritarianism, Repression, and Sendero Luminoso, 1985-2005

Reading: Robin Kirk, *The Monkey's Paw*, pp. 111-211.

Ponciano del Pino H., "Family, Culture, and 'Revolution:' Everyday Life With Sendero Luminoso," in Stern, *Shining and Other Paths*, pp. 158-192.

UNIT III- Chile

Week 10- 8-10 Nov.- Postcolonialism Through the Back Door: Frontier War and the Limits of Democracy in the "Compromise State," 1880-1940

Reading: *Thomas Miller Klubock, "The Politics of Forests and Forestry on Chile's Southern Frontier, 1880s-1940s," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 86:3 (2006), pp. 535-70.

*Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, "Charity, Rights, and Entitlement: Gender, Labor, and Welfare in Early Twentieth-Century Chile," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 81: 3-4 (August-November 2001), pp. 555-85.

*****PAPER ON UNIT II DUE FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11 AT 5 P.M.*****

Week 11-15-17 Nov.- From Popular Front to Popular Unity, 1940-1973

Reading: *Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919-1973* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), pp. 67-188, 346-371.

Week 12- 22 Nov.- The Unraveling of the Compromise State: Memory, Mobilization and Dictatorship (An Introduction to the issues)

We will view and discuss "Chile: Obstinate Memory" (1997), documentary by Patricio Guzmán about his return to Chile after the end of the dictatorship.

Reading: Steve J. Stern, NACLA review.

*****NO CLASS ON THURSDAY, THANKGIVING BREAK*****

Week 13- 29 Nov.-1 Dec.- From Military Dictatorship to Democratic Transition, 1973-1990

Reading: Steve J. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London, 1998* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. xix-103.

Week 14- 6-8 Dec.- Memory Struggles, Indigenous Revitalization, and Market Growth, 1990-2006

Reading: Steve J. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, pp. 104-153.

*Diane Haughney, *Neoliberal Economics, Democratic Transition, and Mapuche Demands for Rights in Chile* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), pp. 99-155, 245-257.

Week 15- 13-15 Dec.- GENERAL OVERVIEW, REVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS

- Postcolonialism and its Discontents: Race, Class and Revolution
- Memory Struggles, Free Markets, and New Social Movements

*****NO NEW READING*****

*****PAPER ON UNIT III DUE LATEST MONDAY, DECEMBER 19 AT 5 P.M.*****