

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
Department of History
Semester II, 2006-2007

History 441- Revolution and Conflict in Modern Latin America

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Course Description:

In Latin America, responses to the events of the past generation-- including socialist revolution, guerrilla movements, violent military dictatorship, redemocratization, and free-market economic reforms--have indeed been diverse. In Mexico, where enduring political control by the postrevolutionary state had prevented strong guerrilla challenges and military dictatorship--though not human rights abuses-- economic and political crises, perhaps most dramatically exemplified by the armed rebellion in Chiapas, resulted in the loss of the presidency by the Institutionalized Revolutionary Party. Most recently, the rightist Nationalist Action Party seems to be consolidating its control of the presidency. In Chile, the electoral path to socialism led to a deeply 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. In the process of transition back to democratic rule, Chile has carried out a deepening process of reckoning with torturers and elected its first female president, a socialist doctor like Salvador Allende. And 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, in the last few years, a truth commission was formed to bring to light the arguably ethnocidal violence carried out against the highland population by both army and 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:

- a) Weekly response papers, to be worked out with the T.A. at the first section meeting. These will count as part of the discussion grade.
- b) One 5-page paper that places **one** of the additional books on the Book Review List (copies available for purchase at Rainbow Bookstore) in the context of other relevant course materials, including readings, lectures, and discussion.
- c) a midterm exam written in class, but on a question received ahead of time and with outlines permitted.
- d) a final exam, which will consist of one comprehensive essay, prepared from a list of questions handed out ahead of time, that compares two of the three countries analyzed during the semester; and five short essays (ca. 1 paragraph each) that identify important terms from a list of ten presented on the exam.

2) Participation in discussion: This is important enough to be calculated as 20% of the overall grade in the course. Although the response papers will be a part of this grade, attendance and oral participation will also be components of the overall section evaluation.

3) Overall grading: Discussion: 20%; Book Review: 25%; Midterm: 25%; Final Exam: 30%.

4) **Evaluation and Feedback:** Across the semester we will engage in several short in-class evaluations of the learning process: what is working and what is not working in the course? The last 5-10 minutes of lecture time will occasionally be used for this purpose, and the feedback provided will help us improve as the course is in progress. Your candid assessments of the class will be extremely helpful.

5) **Extra Credit/ Honors Option:**

Students interested in working directly with the professor on an extra credit or honors project should talk to me early in the semester. Essentially, this project will involve expanding the already assigned book review with between two and four additional sources from outside the course. In a 10-15 page paper due at the end of the semester, the student will place the featured book in broader context, drawing on course materials and the additional sources.

PLEASE NOTE: Due to limits on my schedule, I can only work with a total of 5 people, so if you are interested please make an appointment to talk to me by the end of the third week of the semester. I will need an email confirmation from you after our conversation that lists the additional sources you have chosen and suggests a theme to be pursued, latest by the end of the fifth week, if you expect to follow through on the project. I will accept people on a first come, first served basis and will announce in class when my limit is reached.

READINGS: The bulk of the course readings are in a Xerox Packet, available from Humanities Copy Center, 1650 Humanities, and on three-hour reserve at Helen C. White.

The following books will be available for purchase at Rainbow Bookstore Cooperative, 426 W. Gilman, 257-6050, and on three-hour reserve at the College Library in Helen C. White:

Everyone in the class must read: Steve J. Stern, Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

Book Review: Everyone in the class must choose **ONE** of the following three (listed in alphabetical order):

- Peter Winn, Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- Orin Starn, Nightwatch: The Politics of Protest in the Andes (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).
- Anne Rubenstein, Bad Language, Naked Ladies, and Other Threats to the Nation : A Political History of Comic Books in Mexico (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998).

SCHEDULE OF READINGS, LECTURES, AND MOVIES

(Please Note: Readings are listed in the week they are discussed)

1/23-25- Introduction and Overview- The Meaning of Revolution: Mexico, Peru and Chile in Contemporary Context

Introductory Discussion Sections-No Reading

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UNIT I- Postcolonialism and Its Discontents, 1880-1940

Week 2, 1/30-2/1- 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, 2/6-2/8- 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.
Mark Thurner, "Atusparia and Caceres: Rereading Representations of Peru's Late Nineteenth-Century 'National Problem'," The Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 77, No. 3. (Aug., 1997), pp. 409-441.

Week 4, 2/13-15- 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.

Week 5, 2/20-22- Postcolonialism Through the Back Door: Chile, Frontier War and the Limits of Democracy in the "Compromise State," 1880-1940

Reading: Patrick Barr-Melej, Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 19-76.
Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, "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.

UNIT II- The National-Popular Romance, 1940-1975

Week 6, 2/27-3/1- Peru: A Late Attempt at the National-Popular (I)

2/27- MIDTERM EXAM

3/1- Lecture on Peru's Late Attempt at the National-Popular

NO NEW READING, NO DISCUSSION SECTIONS

Week 7- 3/6-8- Mexico: The Golden Age of the Revolution: Promises of Modernity, Inclusion, and Autonomy, 1940-1968

Reading: 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.
Steven J. Bachelor, "Toiling for the 'New Invaders': Autoworkers, Transnational Corporations, and Working-Class Culture in Mexico City, 1955-1968," in Joseph, Rubenstein, and Zolov, Fragments, pp. 273-326.
Daniel Cosío Villegas, "Mexico's Crisis," in Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy H. Henderson (eds.), The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 470-481.

*****PAPER ON RUBENSTEIN DUE BY MONDAY, MARCH 12 *****

Week 8- 3/13-15- Mexico: The Golden Age Comes Undone: Tlatelolco, New Social Movements, Salinismo, and Indigenous Guerrillas, 1968-1994

Reading: Elena Poniatowska, "The Student Movement of 1968," in Joseph and Henderson, Mexico Reader, pp. 555-569.
Howard Campbell, Zapotec Renaissance: Ethnic Politics and Cultural Revivalism in Southern Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), pp. 139-211.
Victims' Coordinating Council, "After the Earthquake," in Joseph and Henderson, Mexico Reader, pp.579-590.

Week 9- 3/20-22- Peru's Late Attempt at the National-Popular (II): Peasant Movements, Military Revolution, and Guerrilla Options, 1965-1985

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

Week 10- 3/27-29- Chile: The Unraveling of the Compromise State, 1940-1973

Reading: Florencia E. Mallon, "Land, Morality and Exploitation in Southern Chile: Rural Conflict and the Discourses of Agrarian Reform in Cautín, 1928-1974," in Political Power and Social Theory, Vol. 14 (2000), pp. 143-95.
Heidi Tinsman, "Good Wives and Unfaithful Men: Gender Negotiations and Sexual Conflicts in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1964-1973," Hispanic American Historical Review, 81: 3-4 (August-November 2001), pp. 587-619.
Steve J. Stern, Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. xxi-38.

*****SPRING BREAK, MARCH 31 THROUGH APRIL 8*****

*****PAPER ON WINN DUE BY MONDAY, APRIL 9*****

UNIT III- Authoritarianism, Repression and Transition, 1975-2004

Week 11- 4/10-12- Chile: from Military Dictatorship to Democratic Transition, 1973-1990

Reading: Stern, Remembering Pinochet's Chile, pp. 39-103.
Thomas Miller Klubock, "Class, Community, and Neoliberalism in Chile: Copper Workers and the Labor Movement During the Military Dictatorship and Restoration of Democracy," in Peter Winn (ed), Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973-2002 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press,

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2004), pp. 209-260.

Week 12- 4/17-19- 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.

Week 13- 4/24-26- Why is Peru always so difficult to understand? Authoritarianism, Repression, and *Sendero Luminoso*, 1985-2004

Reading: Orin Starn, "Villagers at Arms: War and Counterrevolution in the Central-South Andes," in Stern, Shining and Other Paths, pp. 224-57.
Jo-Marie Burt, "Shining Path and the 'Decisive Battle' in Lima's *Barriadas*: The Case of Villa El Salvador," in Stern, Shining and Other Paths, pp. 267-306.

Week 14- 5/1-3- Memory Struggles and Market Growth: Mexico, Peru, and Chile Compared, 1992-2004

Reading: Stern, Remembering Pinochet's Chile, pp. 104-154.
Carlos Basombrío Iglesias, "Sendero Luminoso and Human Rights: A Perverse Logic That Captured the Country," in Stern, Shining and Other Paths, pp. 425-446.
Juan Forero, "Peru Photo Exhibit Captures Pathos of 20 Years of War," The New York Times, June 27, 2004.
Kate Doyle, "Human Rights and the Dirty War in Mexico," The National Security Archive, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB89>, Posted 11 May 2003, pp. 1-6.
Kate Doyle, "The Tlatelolco Massacre: U.S. Documents on Mexico and the Events of 1968," <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB99/index2.html>, Posted October 10, 2003, pp. 1-8.
Ginger Thompson, "A Mexican Village Mourns Its Abducted Sons," The New York Times, July 28, 2003.

*****PAPER ON STARN DUE BY FRIDAY, MAY 4*****

Week 15- 5/8-10- Is the Revolution Over? Post-Authoritarianism, Globalization, Neoliberalism

Discussion Sections: Review for Final Exam