

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Department of History

Semester II, 2015-2016

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; state violence, whether in the form of military dictatorship or at least formally electoral regimes; and redemocratization through free-market economic reforms--have indeed been diverse. In Mexico, the loss of the presidency by the Institutionalized Revolutionary Party and the coming to power of the National Action Party resulted in the intensification of state violence against communities thought to support drug traffickers and guerrilla movements. The dramatic generalization of this repressive violence most recently came to a head with the massacre of students in Ayotzinapa, Guerrero. 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 process of reckoning with torturers and elected Michele Bachelet, its first female president and 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, a truth commission was formed to bring to light the arguably 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 in the 21st century? How have the historical differences among the societies we're studying both facilitated and limited political options for their citizens?

Course Requirements:

There is no midterm or final exam in this course, but instead a unit paper that will be designed to help you review and summarize the main themes in each unit. A worksheet will be provided two weeks before each due date to help you think through your papers in consultation with the professor and the T.A.

Each unit paper, worth 25% of your grade, will center on the analysis of a document read in class and will ask you to compare it to other readings, whether primary or secondary, and other sources, including images and film. Each assignment is designed with two goals in mind: first, to help you review, summarize, and understand the materials in that unit; and second, to practice one of the main skills historians use. The last 25% of your grade will depend on your performance and attendance in discussion section. Your T.A. will share with you his criteria for performance in discussion.

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

Required Reading:

Please Note: The books listed below are available for purchase at the University Bookstore and are also on three-hour reserve at the College Library in Helen C. White.

Alexander Aviña, *Specters of Revolution: Peasant Guerrillas in the Cold War Mexican Countryside* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Tanalis Padilla, *Rural Resistance in the Land of Zapata* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

Steve J. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

There is also a xerox packet available at the L&S Copy Center, Sewell Hall, 1180 Observatory Drive, Room 6120 (hours: 7:45 am-11:45 am; 12:30 pm-4:00 pm). Its contents are listed, in order of assignment, at the end of the syllabus. There will also be copies on three-hour reserve at the College Library 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, reading, and other 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 does not 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 25% of the overall grade, which means that a student who does not attend discussion section cannot get an A in the class, no matter how well s/he does on the rest of the assignments. **Remember, however, that the purpose of discussion is to help students put the different parts of the course together, so those who do not attend discussion regularly will likely do poorly on the papers as well.** Discussion grades are based on both attendance and participation, and your TA will share with you the specifics of his criteria of evaluation.

UNIT I- Postcolonialism and Its Discontents, 1880-1940

Week 1—Jan 19-21- Explanation of the Syllabus and Introduction to the Course's Central Concepts

Week 2, 1/30-2/1- Struggling with Postcolonial Legacies (I): 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.

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: 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.

Week 6- Feb. 23-25- 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.

Tanalis Padilla, *Rural Resistance in the Land of Zapata* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 1-138.

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

Week 6, Feb. 27- Mar. 1- Peru: A Late Attempt at the National-Popular: 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 7- March 1-3- Mexico: The Golden Age Comes Undone: Tlatelolco and New Social Movements, 1968-1994

Reading:

Tanalís Padilla, *Rural Resistance in the Land of Zapata* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 139-210.

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

Alexander Aviña, Specters of Revolution, pp. 90-161.

Victims' Coordinating Council, "After the Earthquake," in Joseph and Henderson, Mexico Reader, pp. 579-590.

Week 8- 3/13-15- The End of the Mexican Revolution: From Chiapas to the Fall and New Rise of the PRI, 1994-2012

Reading: EZLN, "Demands at the Dialogue Table," Joseph and Henderson, Mexico Reader, pp. 638-45.

Subcomandante Marcos, "The Long Journey from Despair to Hope," Joseph and Henderson, Mexico Reader, pp. 646-54.

Marián Peres Tsu, "A Tzotzil Chronicle of the Zapatista Uprising"; in Joseph and Henderson, Mexico Reader, pp. 655-69.

Alexander Aviña, Specters of Revolution, pp. 162-180.

SPRING BREAK, MARCH 19-27

Week 10- 3/27-29- Chile: The Origins of the Compromise State, 1928-1970

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.

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Week 11- 4/10-12- Chile: The Crisis and Fall of the Compromise State, 1970-1973

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.

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

Week 12- 4/17-19- 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, 2004), pp. 209-260.

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.

Week 15- May 3-5- Is the Revolution Over? Post-Authoritarianism, Globalization, Neoliberalism

LAST WEEK OF CLASSES

*****A week of summing up and reflection on the course as a whole.*****

(Feel free to bring any remaining questions to class and discussion section)

NO EXAM IN THIS CLASS; Last paper due LATEST on Monday, May 9th. Earlier also accepted☺!

LIST OF READINGS IN THE XEROX PACKET

- 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.
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- 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.
- Elena Poniatowska, "The Student Movement of 1968," in Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy H. Henderson (eds.), The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 555-569.
- Victims' Coordinating Council, "After the Earthquake," in Joseph and Henderson, Mexico Reader, pp.579-590.
- 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,

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and Working-Class Culture in Mexico City, 1955-1968," in Joseph, Rubenstein, and Zolov, Fragments, pp. 273-326.

Elena Poniatowska, "The Student Movement of 1968," in The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 555-569.

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