

**History 350L**  
**Dictatorship, "Dirty War," and Democracy in Latin America**  
**Spring 2012**

Instructor: Seth Garfield  
sgarfield@mail.utexas.edu  
Mezes 1.120  
T/Th 12:30-2:00  
Unique# 39350

Office Hours: Tuesday, 2-4, SRH (LLILAS) 1.304A,  
or by appointment

**Course Description:**

This course explores the breakdown of democratic governments in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s and the emergence of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes committed to economic restructuring, political demobilization, and the abrogation of civil liberties. It examines the use of torture, disappearances, and other counterinsurgency methods by Latin American military officials, as well as various forms of resistance, including guerrilla warfare. Finally, it looks at the transition to democratic rule, efforts to reconstruct civil society and forge political reconciliation, and the struggle for justice among the victims and families of victims of human rights abuses.

The course focuses on the histories of the nations of the Southern Cone (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay) and seeks to address a number of questions. Why did some of the most "developed" nations in Latin America cede to such repressive governments? How did authoritarian regimes legitimize their rule? How can we make sense of the atrocities committed? In what ways did citizens resist or acquiesce in the policies of military governments? What role did the United States play in offering economic, political, and military assistance to military dictatorships? Which factors spurred the military to relinquish power and what has been the nature of the transition to democratic rule? How can social peace and justice be best achieved in societies that experienced such trauma? How is this period of Latin American history remembered?

**Flags:**

Global Cultures:

This course carries the Global Cultures flag. Global Cultures courses are designed to increase your familiarity with cultural groups outside the United States. You should therefore expect a substantial portion of your grade to come from assignments covering the practices, beliefs, and histories of at least one non-U.S. cultural group, past or present.

Writing:

This course carries the Writing flag. Writing flag courses are designed to give students experience with writing in an academic discipline. In this class, you will write regularly

during the semester, and a substantial portion of your grade will come from your written work.

### **Course Requirements:**

#### Class Participation (20%)

Students are expected to participate regularly in class discussions. Students are allowed no more than two unexcused absence over the course of the semester. Students with more than two unexcused absences will suffer a significant reduction in their grade for class participation . Aside from failure to attend class, the following will also count as an unexcused absence: arriving at class more than fifteen minutes late or leaving prior to the termination of class (without the permission of the instructor). **The use of laptops and other electronic gadgets is not permitted in this class.**

#### Written Assignments (5)

1. The first paper (3 pp.) will use at least three assigned sources to discuss three factors that contributed to the downfall of the Allende government. Due January 31 (15%)
2. The second paper, (3 pp.), will place the life of one of the victims or perpetrators of the Argentine Dirty War within larger historical context. Aside from the biographical information provided in the report *Nunca Más*, students will need to consult secondary literature to contextualize Argentine military ideology and objectives. The goal of this assignment is to explore the intersection between an individual life story and the larger social context in which s/he operates. Students will present their findings in class. Due February 28 (15%)
3. The third Paper (3 pp.) will use three assigned readings to discuss the relationship(s) between gender and politics under military rule. Due March 29 (15%)
4. Final Paper (5 pp.). Essay assignment distributed on May 3. Due on May 10. (20%)
5. Two short response papers (each 1 p.) Students will be divided into 5 groups (G1-G5). Students in each group must respond to two assigned questions in the syllabus. Students must rewrite at least one of these two short papers. (15%)

**Please note that late submissions of any of the assignments will be penalized with the deduction of half a grade per day.**

#### **Readings:**

Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet*  
Course Packet (Available at Speedway Copies, Dobie Mall)

Readings are also on Reserve at the Benson Library

**Films:** [In-Class]  
*The Battle for Chile*  
*The Disappeared*  
*Four Days in September*  
*Las Madres*  
*The Americas*  
*Chile: Obstinate Memory*

Schedule:

Jan. 17: Introduction.

### **Military Coups and their Historical Backgrounds**

Jan. 19:

Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet*, 15-63  
Paul H. Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals: the "Dirty War" in Argentina*, 132-45

Think about similarities and/or differences in the historical background to military intervention in Chile and Argentina according to these authors.

Jan. 24: The U.S. Role in Destabilizing the Allende Government

Stephen G. Rabe, *The Killing Zone: the United States Wages Cold War in Latin America*, pp. 122-37

In-class document analysis from Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*

Jan. 26 Film: *La Batalla de Chile* (Part II)

Jan. 31: Allende's Experiment: A Historical Assessment

Peter Winn, *The Furies of the Andes: "Violence and Terror in the Chilean Revolution and Counterrevolution"* in Greg Grandin and Gilbert Joseph, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America's Cold War*, pp.239-73

Assignment Due in Class: Using at least 3 assigned sources, discuss 3 factors which contributed to the downfall of the Allende government. [Three double-spaced pages.]

In-Class Debate: Did Allende err in clinging to his belief in a democratic path to socialism?

February 2: The Armed Left

Thomas C. Wright, *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*, pp. 93-109  
María José Moyano, *Argentina's Lost Patrol: Armed Struggle, 1969-1979*, pp. 1-8; 45-62

In-class Document Analysis: "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" by Carlos Marighella

**G1** Who joined guerrilla groups? What were their objectives, tactics, and miscalculations? (1 p.)

Feb. 7 Film: *Four Days in September*

Feb. 9 Film: *Four Days in September* (cont.)  
Moyano, *Argentina's Lost Patrol: Armed Struggle*, pp. 101-30

In what ways does the film's depiction of armed struggle resemble Moyano's account?

### **"National Reorganization": Military Rule in the Southern Cone**

Feb. 14 State-Sponsored Terror, Torture, and Disappearance

Corradi, Fagen, Garretón, *Fear at the Edge*, 39-71  
Jacobó Timerman, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, 42-59  
Constable and Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, pp. 90-139

**G2** What roles did the security forces assume under military rule?

Feb. 16 Argentina and the Voices of the Victims

Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, pp. 147-62  
*That Inferno: Conversations of Five Women Survivors of an Argentine Torture Camp*, pp. 59-101  
Jacobó Timerman, *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number*, pp. 3-11

**G3** How did the victims of military rule experience state-sponsored repression?

Feb. 21 Religion and Repression

Mark Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Ordinary Evil and Hannah Arendt*, 104-23  
Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror*, pp. 103-26

**G4** What were some of the connections between religion and repression in Argentina during the Dirty War?

Begin screening of *The Disappeared*

February 23 Film: *The Disappeared*

February 28 Profiles from Argentina's Dirty War

#### Paper Two Due

In-Class Presentations (Reports from *Nunca Más*) :

Rodolfo J. Walsh (367); Nora Stejilevich (69); Adolfo O. Sanchez (373); Adolfo Pérez Esquivel (382); Norberto Liwsky (20); M. de M.(48); Rubén Galucci (139); Omar Torres (150); Alice Domon (342, 353); Guillermo Oscar Segalli (405) Daniel Antokoletz (413); Norberto Centeno (417); Christian Von Wernich (248); Carlos Casabona Sr. and Jr.(324) Adriana Calvo de Laborde (290) A.N.(47)

The second paper (3 double-spaced pp.) will place the life of one of the victims or perpetrators of the Argentine Dirty War within larger historical context. Aside from the biographical information provided in the report *Nunca Más*, students will need to consult at least 3 of the course readings to contextualize Argentine military ideology and objectives. The goal of this assignment is to explore the intersection between an individual life story and the larger social context in which s/he operates. Students will present their findings in class. (15%)

### **Scrutinizing the Agents of State Repression**

March 1: Horacio Verbitsky, *The Flight: Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*, 18-47  
Martha K. Huggins, Mika Haritos-Fatouros, and Philip G. Zimbardo, *Violence Workers : Police Torturers and Murderers Reconstruct Brazilian Atrocities*, pp. 136-60

**G5** Based upon these readings, what do we understand about the formation and mentality of the agents of repression?

### **Military Projects for Restructuring Society**

Mar. 6 Neoliberal Reform

Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet*, 166-246

In-class Debate: Pinochet's Economic Policies and their Consequences

Mar. 8 The Brazilian Economic Miracle

In-Class Video, *The Americas*

### **Gender, Sexuality, and Politics under Military Rule**

Mar. 20

Margaret Power, "Right Wing Women, Sexuality, and Politics in Chile under the Pinochet Dictatorship, 1973-1990," in Paola Bachetta and Margaret Power, eds., *Right Wing Women*, pp. 126-68

Heidi Tinsman, "More than Victims: Agricultural Workers and Social Change in Rural Chile," in Peter Winn, ed., *Victims of the Chilean Miracle*, pp. 261-87

**G 1** How did gender serve as a medium for political and economic empowerment or disempowerment during Chilean military rule?

Mar. 22 Women's Rights under Military Rule

Mala Htun, *Sex and the State*, 58-112

**G2** How and why did military governments in the Southern Cone seek to reformulate sexual politics?

Mar. 27 The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo

Marguerite Bouvard, *Revolutionizing Motherhood*, 65-112

How were mothers of the disappeared in Argentina able to forge an opposition movement?

Mar. 29 Film: *Las Madres*

Third Paper Due (3 pp.): Based on at least 3 assigned readings, discuss three different types of gendered spheres or experiences under military rule. (15%)

April 3: Review of Student Writing: In-class Exercise

### **Human Rights in Latin America and U.S. Foreign Policy**

April 5. Diplomacy and Human Rights

Kathryn Sikkink, *U.S. Human Rights Policy and Latin America*, 106-46

Debate: Was Carter's human rights policy a success or a failure?

April 10 Visit to Benson Library Special Collections: The Joyce Horman and Edmund Horman Papers [meet at Benson Library}

## **Democratization and Transitional Justice**

April 12 Transitions to Democracy in the Southern Cone

Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 179-95

Constable and Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, 296-320

**G3** Reflect on the different factors shaping the process of democratic transition in the Southern Cone. Which similarities and differences mark the historical experiences of Argentina and Chile?

April 17: Argentina's Bumpy Road to Transitional Justice

Thomas C. Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and International Human Rights*, pp. 141-71

April 19 Truth Commissions and the Politics of Memory

Priscilla Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths*, 32-38; 86-106; 170- 82

Elizabeth Jelin, "The Minefields of Memory," *NACLA*

*Report on the Americas* (Sept./Oct. 1998), 23-32

Inés Izaguirre, "Recapturing the Memory of Politics," *NACLA Report on the Americas* (May/June 1998), 28-34.

Tomás Moulian, "A Time of Forgetting: The Myths of the Chilean Transition," *NACLA Report on the Americas* (Sept./Oct. 1998), 16-22

**G4** What are some of the questions these authors raised regarding the nature of truth commissions and/or historical memory in the aftermath of dictatorship?

April 24. Guest visit: Daniel Brinks, Associate Director, UT Department of Government and Co-Director, Rapoport Center for Human Rights and Justice, UT Law School

April 26. Film: *Chile: Obstinate Memory*

May 1 Chile: Chipping Away at Impunity

Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America*, 179-215

Madeleine Davis, ed., *The Pinochet Case: Origins: Progress and Implications*, 1-6; 191-230

**G5** Discuss the historical background and implications of Pinochet's arrest in London.

May 3 The Persistence of Human Rights Abuses

James Holston and Teresa P.R. Caldeira, "Democracy, Law, and Violence: Disjunctions of Brazilian Citizenship," in Felipe Aguero and Jeffrey Stark, eds., *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*, pp. 263-99

Compare and contrast the nature of human rights abuses in post-authoritarian states with those committed under military rule.

Final essay assignment (5 pp.) handed out.

May 10 Final essay due by 5PM at History Office, Garrison 101.