

Struggles for Democracy in Modern Latin America, 1820 to the Present

Prof. Rick López
S2005: History 14
TTH 10:00-11:20am
Office Hours: Monday 1-4:15pm; and by appointment
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This course gives students the opportunity to critically engage major issues in the social, political, cultural and economic history of Latin America from independence (at the start of the 19th century) to the present. The approach is thematic and chronological. As a consequence, some countries and regions (Argentina, Brazil, Central America, Chile, Mexico, and Peru) will receive more attention than others (Bolivia, Ecuador, the Caribbean, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela). Major themes include the emergence and consolidation of nation-states; changing definitions of race and gender; development of capitalist economies; imperialism; authoritarianism; political repression; radicalization among workers, peasants, students and priests; and popular culture. We will also consider the politics of historical knowledge, and try to understand why particular ways of telling Latin American history have stirred such passion and been

the subject of tense contestation over the years. Discussions, lectures, and secondary readings will be supplemented by original documents, testimonials, on-line materials, movies, images, music, and art. There will be a map quiz, three short analytical papers, a newspaper journal, and an analytical review of the literature on a topic of your choice.

Readings:

Be an engaged reader. Don't absorb the text, argue with it. See "Getting to Know a History Book" on my website.

Attendance:

Regular attendance is required. I take attendance. Even if you are having a terrible week, if you did not do the reading, or did not sleep all night last night, or are experiencing some personal crisis, you should come to class.

Discussions:

Do not think of one another as fellow students. Instead, you should think of one another as intellectual colleagues who come together twice a week to share your ideas and to learn more about a common interest. The purpose of class discussion is for each of you to raise questions, to propose interpretations, and to hear and comment upon the ideas of your peers. Class discussion is meant to provide a safe forum for you to try out ideas, to propose interpretations. Not everything you say has

to be a stroke of genius. Feel free to use class as a time to think through ideas, to change your mind, to take intellectual risks, to play devil's advocate, and to come to your own understanding of the past and its implications.

Be provocative. Play devil's advocate. Raise doubts. Elevate the discussion to a new level. Draw your peers' attention to particular issues concerning use of sources, historical interpretations, larger implications, and confusing or compelling aspects of the readings. What did you find interesting about the readings? What do you think are the important issues, and why? What aspects of the reading or films did you find compelling? What did you have trouble understanding? What aspects of the readings interpretation did you find troubling? Whether class discussions are exciting, or a waste of time will depend entirely on what each of you brings to the table.

If you are having a bad day and are unable to do the reading for a particular class meeting you should at least skim the material and try to figure out what the articles are about, what the authors argue, how they make their argument, and why what they have to say might matter. Even if you come only half informed, feel free to jump into the discussion. Speaking up and admitting you did not do all the reading is always better than sitting in silence... after all, you come class not to show me that you are a diligent worker, but to talk about ideas and to improve your own understanding of Latin America.

Newspapers:

Peruse the New York Times several times per week, supplemented by other newspapers and magazines in English, Spanish, or Portuguese, as well as from the AP and Reuters news lines. Internet subscriptions to NYT are free online. Come to class prepared to discuss at least one article you have found that week, and to talk about what about it might be important.

Term Paper:

The course readings barely scratch the surface of the vast range of issues related to Latin America. The term paper is an opportunity for you to delve into a particular topic of your own choosing. Your topic can expand upon issues we discuss during the semester, or it can strike out to study a topic not touched upon by the assigned readings, but in which you may have an interest.

You will write your term paper in three stages:

First, choose a topic and identify one book, one compilation essay, and two peer reviewed journal articles that deal with that topic. In choosing a topic it is helpful to review the syllabus, looking back over topics already covered and those that are yet to be covered. The library contains a wealth of reference works that will help you choose a topic. I also encourage each one of you to talk to me about your topic ideas so that I can help you focus your ideas, and perhaps help you to think of topics that have not yet occurred to you. Your topic description should be between ¼ page and ½ page. I expect that in deciding on your topic and selecting your secondary literature you will make frequent use of the reference librarians. The more focused your topic, the better.

Second, refine your topic and write an annotated bibliography for the book, compilation essay, and two journal articles that you will be using. Your refined topic description should explain exactly what historical question you are trying to understand, why it is important, and how each of the secondary sources you have selected will help you to think through this historical question. To learn how to write an annotated bibliography, consult one of the annotated bibliographies that you will learn about from the reference librarians. Your topic should be analytical. Keep in mind that in reading your term papers I am looking to see how you formulate and respond to an analytical historical question. I do not want an overview of a subject.

Third, write your term paper. Your paper should be focused and analytically driven. Do not write your paper like an encyclopedia entry. I want to see what you think of the readings, of the

questions, of the issues. What do you find important or interesting? What do you think are useful approaches to understanding a problem and why? Include only the historical details that you need to move forward in your analysis. Keep the paper as focused as possible so that you can dig in deeply into the analysis. Remember, you have a short word limit, so use it wisely. You are not allowed to change your topic significantly from what you described in your refined topic description.

Formatting:

All work must be typed on standard sized white paper, 12 point Times font, black ink, 1 inch margins on all sides, and double spaced. Your first page must include your name, the course, the name of the assignment, and the date. Points will be deducted for papers that are too long or too short, or that do not comply with the formatting instructions. Do not include a separate cover page. After the first page, each subsequent page must contain a header with your last name, and the page number. All sources must be **footnoted**. You must also footnote all ideas borrowed from others. Do not use in-text notations or endnotes. Use only footnotes. Note that books and articles are cited differently in footnotes than they are in bibliographies. At the beginning of part one of your coursepack, you will find a detailed description of how to footnote virtually every kind of secondary and primary source, and the difference in formatting for footnotes and bibliographies.

Proper formatting of your papers is an easy way to boost your grade. Improper formatting is an easy way to lower your grade.

Grading of Papers

Each of your papers will receive a grade in over a dozen different categories, which will be averaged out to arrive at the paper's grade.

Late Work:

I do not accept late work or allow you to make up a missed quiz except in cases of severe illness requiring extended hospitalization, a note from the dean, or a death in the family.

Plagiarism:

This is the ugly topic that we all hate to think about. Unfortunately, plagiarism does happen, and all faculty have been advised to take preventative, and, if necessary, punitive measures. When you take the words, work, or ideas of someone else and pass them off as your own you are committing plagiarism. Most students are honorable, and I do not expect that we will have any acts of plagiarism. However, if you decide to plagiarize you will receive an "F" and I will turn the matter over to the dean with a recommendation for expulsion from Amherst College. My job is to share the joys of learning about Latin American history, to read and hear your ideas and to give you feedback, not to play police officer. Therefore I pass off much of the responsibility for screening papers for plagiarism to a professional plagiarism investigation service. With each assignment, I randomly select several papers that the service then scans, comparing them to thousands of web pages, digitized books and articles, and fee services (services that sell or give away pre-written term papers for a fee). If you have any doubt about how to acknowledge the work of others in your footnotes, consult the Chicago Manual of Style or come talk to me.

Movies:

This class requires several movies. If, for any reason you will be unable to make it to a scheduled showing, make plans **in advance** to see the movie before that date.

Films (in Chapin 203 at 4pm and again at 7:30pm on the designated day:

- Evita, a cinematic historical opera starring Madonna and Antonio Banderas
- Death and the Maiden, starring Segourney Weaver
- House of the Spirits, starring Meryl Streep, Jeremy Irons, and Winona Ryder
- “The Empty ATM,” Wide-Angle
- Recommended: Zapatistas, by La Jornada.

Books available at Jeffrey Amherst Bookstore:

- John Charles Chasteen, Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America (New York: WW Norton, 2001).
- Brian Loveman and Thoman Davies, Jr., The Politics of Anti-Politics: The Military in Latin America (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1997).
- Rigoberta Menchú Tum, I, Rigoberta: An Indian Woman in Guatemala (Verso, 1984)
- Elena Poniatowska, Massacre in Mexico (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991)
- Domingo Sarmiento, Facundo (or, Civilization and Barbarism) (originally 1845)
- Peter Winn, Weavers of Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Coursepack available at the History office in Chapin HallHow your semester grade will be calculated:

<i>Class Participation</i>	20%
(Participation grade) times (the percent of meetings you attended)	
Ex: If you get a 98 for participation, and you attended 96% of the class meetings, your participation grade would be 94.	
<i>Exams and Quizzes</i>	20%
Map quiz	5%
Final Examination	15%
<i>Written Work</i>	60%
Three short papers @ 14% each	42%
Term paper	18%
Topic and bibliography	3%
Final paper (10-11pp)	15%

MEETINGS AND READINGS**I. INTRODUCTION**

Tues., Jan. 25

Discussion of course, syllabus, and expectations. Watch and discuss sections of Disney's Three Caballeros.

Assignment: First short paper. Due Monday, January 31, 4pm in the box by my office. Read and analyze José de Cevallos, letter from Venezuela, 1815 (available in coursepack). The assignment is posted online in the course's Blackboard site.

II. THE BUMPY ROAD FROM COLONIES TO REPUBLICS

1. Thurs., Jan. 27

Overview

(book) John Charles Chasteen, Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America (New York: WW Norton, 2001), 93-147.

FIRST SHORT PAPER DUE: Monday January 31, 4pm in the box by my office (Chapin 23)

2. Tues., Feb. 1

Caudillismo in Argentina in the First Part of the 19th Century

(book) Domingo Sarmiento, chapters 1-5, Facundo (or, Civilization and Barbarism) translated by Mary Mann (New York: Penguin Books, 1998 [originally published 1845]), 9-85.

III. THE TRIUMPH OF THE LIBERAL STATE (1840s-1910s)

1. Thurs., Feb. 3

Overview

(book) Chasteen, 149-61 & 165-206

Map Quiz

2. Tues., Feb. 8

Indigenous People and the New State

(coursepack) Charles Walker, "From Colony to Republic and from Indian to Indian: Cuzco Rural Society," Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840 (Durham: Duke UP, 2000), 186-221.

(coursepack) Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, "Forging a Nation," (pp 94-107) from México Profundo (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 94-107.

3. Thurs., Feb. 10

Women and Liberalism

(book) Chasteen, 161-165

(coursepack) Flora Tristán, "Women of Lima," (written in 1830s), from The Peru Reader (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 195-202.

(coursepack) Elizabeth Dore, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Gender and the State in the Long-Nineteenth Century," from Hidden Histories of Gender and the State, edited by E. Dore and M. Molyneux (Duke UP, 2000), 3-32.

4. Tues., Feb. 15

Slave Resistance, Abolition, and the End of Empire in Brazil

(coursepack) Emilia Viotti da Costa, "Masters and Slaves: From Slave Labor to Free Labor," from The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000), 125-171.

(coursepack) Documents, from Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Slavery in Brazil, edited by Robert Edgar Conrad (Princeton University Press, 1983), 406-11, 451-58, 480-81.

Presenters: _____

5. Thurs., Feb. 17
The Human Impact of “Comparative Advantage” and Mono-Crop Economies: The Cases of Yucatecan Twine and Nicaraguan Coffee

(Read one of the following two articles)

(coursepack) Gilbert Joseph, Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico, and the United States, 1880-1924 (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1988), 13-69.

(coursepack) Elizabeth Dore, “Debt Peonage in Granada, Nicaragua, 1870-1930: Labor in a Noncapitalist Transition,” Hispanic American Historical Review 2004 83(3): 521-559.

Presenters: _____

6. Tues., Feb. 22
State Centralization and Forced Modernization: Labor and Capital in the Industrialization of Northern Mexico

(coursepack) Juan Mora-Torres, chapters 2 and 3, “Taming the Periphery, 1867-1890,” and “City and Countryside,” in The Making of the Mexican Border: State, Capitalism, and Society in Nuevo León, 1848-1910 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 53-125.

Presenters: _____

7. Thurs., Feb. 24
How to be Modern: Parisian Ideals and Mestizo Realities in an Age of Comptean Positivism and Scientific Racism

(coursepack) Jeffrey D. Needell, “Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires: Public Space and Public Consciousness in Fin-De-Siecle Latin America,” Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 37, No. 3. (Jul., 1995), pp. 519-540.

(coursepack) Blanca Muratorio, “Images of Indians in the Construction of Ecuadorian Identity at the end of the Nineteenth Century,” from Latin American Popular Culture, edited by William Beezley and Linda Curcio-Nagy (Wilmington, DE: SR Books), 105-121.

Presenters: _____

SECOND SHORT PAPER DUE: Monday February 28, 4pm in the box by my office (Chapin 23)

IV. THE NEW NATIONALISM (1880S-1940S)

1. Tues., Mar. 1
The Mexican Revolution, 1910-1920
Lecture: No reading for today.

2. Thurs., Mar. 3
 Modernism, Reconstruction, and the Cultural Reevaluation of the National Self in Mexico
 (coursepack) Survey Graphic 5(2)(1924): Frank Tannenbaum, "Mexico—A Promise" (129-132); Felipe Carrillo, "The New Yucatán" (138-142); Manuel Gamio, "The New Conquest" (143-146, 192-194); Pedro Henríquez Ureña, "The Revolution in Intellectual Life"
 (coursepack) Karen Cordero Reiman, "Constructing a Modern Mexican Art, 1910-1940," from South of the Border (Washington: Smithsonian, 1993), 10-47.
 Presenters: _____

3. Tues., Mar. 8
 Indigenous Identity in Discourse and Practice during the early 20th Century in South America
 (Read Valcárcel, plus either de la Cadena, or Gotkowitz)
 (coursepack) Luis Valcárcel, "Tempest in the Andes," from Peru Reader
 (coursepack) Marisol de la Cadena, chapter 1, Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco Peru, 1919-1991, edited by Orin Starn, et al (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 44-85.
 (coursepack) Laura Gotkowitz, "Trading Insults: Honor, Violence, and the Gendered Culture of Commerce in Cochabamba, Bolivia, 1870s-1950s," Hispanic American Historical Review 83, no. 1 (2003): 83-118.

V. POPULISM AND ISI (1930s-1940s)

1. Thurs., Mar. 10
 Rural Populism and the Drive Toward Industrialization: Cardenismo in Mexico
 (book) Chasteen, 207-226
 (coursepack) Alan Knight, "The Rise and Fall of Cardenismo," from Mexico Since Independence, edited by Leslie Bethell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 241-320.

Movie: Evita, a cinematic opera about Eva Perón. Thursday evening.

SPRING BREAK (MARCH 12-20)

2. Tues., Mar. 22
 ISI and Urban Populism in South America
 (book) Chasteen, 226-53
 (coursepack) Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, speech from 23 August 1931, from Peru Reader, edited by Orin Starn, et al (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 240-244.
 (coursepack) Gertulio Vargas, New Years Address, 1938, from Brazil Reader, edited by Robert Levine (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 186-189.
 (movie) Evita, a cinematic opera about Eva Perón.

VI. IDEALISTS AND AUTHORITARIANS: POPULAR MOVEMENTS, REACTION, COLD WAR, AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER (1950S-1980S)

1. Thurs., Mar. 24

Idealism and Disillusionment: Reform versus the State Repression

(book) Elena Poniatowska, Massacre in Mexico (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975), read introduction, all photo captions, timeline, and any 25 pages from part one, and any 25 pages from part two.

2. Tues., Mar. 29

Grass Roots Democracy in Chile

(book) Peter Winn, Weavers of Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), preface through-181.

Movie: House of the Spirits, starring Meryl Streep, Jeremy Irons, and Winona Ryder. Tuesday evening.

2. Thurs., Mar. 31

The Violent End in Chile

(book) Peter Winn, Weavers of Revolution, 182-256.

(movie) Discuss House of the Spirits

Presenters: _____

Movie: Death and the Maiden, based on the play by Ariel Dorfman, starring Sigourney Weaver and Ben Kingsley. Thursday evening.

4. Tues., Apr. 5

The Politics of Anti-Politics in South America: In Their Own Words

(book) Chasteen, 275-292

(book) Speeches by military dictators in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru from The Politics of Anti-Politics: The Military in Latin America, edited by Brian Loveman, et al (Wilmington, DE: SR Book, 1997), 158-199.

(movie) Death and the Maiden, based on the play by Ariel Dorfman, starring Sigourney Weaver and Ben Kingsley

Presenters: _____

5. Thurs., Apr. 7

Faith-Based Activism

(book) Chasteen, 270-273

(coursepack) Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde, "The Progressive Church in Latin America," in The Progressive Church in Latin America (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 1-37

6. Tues., Apr. 12

The Clash Between Reform and the Cold War in Guatemala and Cuba

(book) Rigoberta Menchú Tum, chapters 1, 4, 6, 7, 13-15, 17-19, 21-26, 32, and 34, Rigoberta Menchú (New York: Verso, 1984).

Presenters: _____

7. Thurs., Apr. 14
 Focus Six: The Cold War in Central America
 (book) Chasteen, (253-269 and 292-301
 (book) Loveman, 200-218.
 (coursepack) Interviews with an FMLN commander; a Sandinista leader, a US diplomat, a CIA operative, Fidel Castro, a Contra Rebel.
<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/18/>
 Presenters: _____

THIRD SHORT PAPER DUE.

8. Tues., Apr. 19
 Meet in Library. No reading. Come to class with a topic in mind. Assignment due by noon tomorrow.

VII. LATIN AMERICA IN A NEO-LIBERAL, POST-MODERN AGE (1970S – PRESENT)

1. Thurs., Apr. 21
 The Promises and Pitfalls of Neo-Liberalism, Corruption, and Globalization: Overview and the Cases of Mexico and Argentina during the 1980s and 1990s
 (book) Chasteen, 302-321
 (to be distributed) World Bank and IMF defined

Due: Hand in a short description (70 to 100 words) of your term paper topic. Be explicit not just about the topic, but also about what issue or question you will explore within that topic. Include analytical annotations of 1 book, 1 essay from a compilation, and 3 scholarly peer-reviewed journal articles. Each annotation must explain in 70-150 words what the book, essay, or article is about, what the author argues, what sources they use, the importance of their argument, and how their work will be useful to your term paper.

Movie: “The Empty ATM,” by Wide Angle. Tuesday evening. Watch the documentary & and the interview that follows. Thursday evening.

2. Tues., Apr. 26
 The Fruits of Neo-Liberalism in Latin America: NAFTA, Inequality, and “Difficult Transitions”
 (download from <http://www.amherst.edu/~ralopez/links.html>) John Auldey, et al.
 “Nafta’s Promise and Reality: Lessons from Mexico for the Hemisphere”
 report published by the Carnegie Foundation, 2003.
 (electronic reserve) Juan Forero, “Still Poor, Latin Americans Protest Push for Open Markets,” New York Times, 19 July 2002
 (electronic reserve) Tony Smith, “Power Shift Between Argentina and the I.M.F.,”
New York Times, 29 July 2003
 (electronic reserve) C. Dugger, “Report Finds Few Benefits for Mexico in NAFTA”
New York Times, 19 Nov. 2003
 (electronic reserve) C. Dugger, “Supermarket Giants Crush Central American Farmers,” New York Times, 28 Dec. 2004
 Discuss: The Empty ATM
 Presenters: _____

3. Thurs., Apr. 28
 Environmentalism and Political Reform
 (coursepack) Manuel Lizarralde, "Green Imperialism: Indigenous People and Conservation of Natural Resources," from Our Backyard: A Quest for Environmental Justice, edited by Gerald Visgilio and Diana M. Whitelaw (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 39-57.
 (electronic reserve) Juan Forrero, "Texaco Goes on Trial in Ecuador Pollution Case," New York Times, 23 October 2003
 (electronic reserve) Alexander Stille, "In the Greened World, it isn't Easy to be Human," New York Times, 15 July 2000
 (electronic reserve) Edmund Andrews, "Ecotourism is All Very Well, but \$3 a Day Isn't," New York Times, 15 Nov. 2002
 (electronic reserve) Larry Rohter, "South America Seeks to Fill the World's Table," New York Times, 12 Dec. 2004

Presenters: _____

Movie: A Place Called Chiapas, Thursday evening.

4. Tues., May 3
 Indigenous Movements and their Significance
 Discuss: A Place Called Chiapas.
 Discuss upcoming exam, which will cover section IV – VII.
5. Thurs., May 5
 Final examination: In class, closed book.

Due: Term paper must be in the box by my office by 4pm, Friday, May 13.

January 24, Monday.	Classes begin.
February 4, Friday.	End of shopping period.
March 12-20, Saturday-Sunday.	Spring Recess.
March 25, Friday.	Last day for 1 st year drop.
May 6, Friday.	Last day of classes.
	Senior Assembly (5 p.m.) and Senior Dinner.
May 7-8, Saturday-Sunday.	Reading/study period.
May 9-13, Monday-Friday.	Examination period.
May 16, Monday.	Senior grades due.
May 18, Wednesday.	Underclass grades due.
May 22, Sunday.	Commencement

Places to know for map quiz

Countries:	Cities:	Features, Status, and Regions:
Mexico	Guadalajara	Oaxaca
Guatemala	Monterey	Yucatán
El Salvador	Mexico City	Central America
Honduras	Mérida	Quintana Roo
Nicaragua	Ciudad Juárez	Chihuahua Desert
Costa Rica	Bogota	Bahío (Mexico)
Panama	Caracas	Sierra Madre Oriental (Mexico)
Cuba	Cancun	Andes Mountains
Puerto Rico	Quito	Pampas (the region in Argentina, not the town)
Dominican Republic	Lima	Southern Cone
Colombia	Cuzco	Rio Grande (Brazil)
Venezuela	Trujillo	Rio Grande/Rio Bravo (Mexico)
Ecuador	Antofagasta	Amazonia
Peru	Santiago	Altiplano
Chile	Buenos Aires	Caribbean
Argentina	Tucumán	Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas
Uruguay	Montevideo	Tierra del Fuego
Paraguay	Asunción	Patagonia
Bolivia	La Paz	Galapagos Islands
Brazil	Rio de Janeiro	Rio de la Plata
	São Paulo	
	Brasilia	
	Salvador (Brazil)	

All of these places and features can be found in good atlases and on the internet. You will find LANIC particularly useful. See “External Links” on Blackboard. Feel free to work within your groups to develop master maps and to study for the quiz.

The map for the quiz will be identical to this one:

