

UNIVERSITY OF THE FRASER VALLEY

HISTORY 459D (AB Section 1)

Topics in the Political and Social History of Latin America

**STATE TERROR, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE
POLITICS OF MEMORY IN LATIN AMERICA**

WINTER, 2010

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Office Hours: Tuesdays, 12:10 – 12:50 p.m.; Wednesdays, 2:30 – 3:10 p.m.;
Thursdays, 4:40 – 5:20 p.m.; or by appointment.

Course Description: This course examines the state terror policies of the Argentine and Chilean military regimes in the 1970s and 1980s, the struggle for human rights in both countries, and the ensuing—and ongoing—debates over impunity, justice, and historical memory. In studying repression and its impact, we will draw on a wide range of distinct sources, including historical analyses of dictatorship, of the actions of national and international human rights organizations, and of personal—as well as collective—forms of remembering; accounts of both the perpetrators and the victims of state-directed violence; a play that dramatically explores questions of justice, impunity, reconciliation, and the legacies of torture; music that acts as a form of social and political critique; and feature-length and documentary films that consider issues such as censorship, silence, corruption, memory, and the long-term consequences of authoritarian rule.

Course Time and Location:
Thursdays, 5:30– 9:10 p.m., C1425.

Course Format:
Each week there will be an in-depth seminar discussion of the week's topic and assigned readings, with the occasional contextual lecture when necessary.

Course website:
There are two ways to access the course website; both require that you go through the Blackboard Learning System:
1) Go to myUFV and log in (use your student number as your user name and password when you first log in) / click on the "My Courses" tab / click on the "My Courses" link / click on the link to History 459D.
2) Go to the UFV homepage and click on "UFV Online" / click on "Log in Here" / click on "Continue to Login" / log in to the Blackboard Learning System / click on the link to History 459D.

On the course website you will find a copy of the syllabus, suggested areas for discussion for each week, a citation style guide, a select bibliography, contemporary news items on Argentina, Chile, and the rest of Latin America, and other supplementary materials or course announcements.

Course Assignments and Grading:

Final Exam (scheduled during the exam period)	25%
Short Paper—Analysis of <i>Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number</i> and/or <i>Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior</i> (due February 25)	25%
Research Paper (due April 15)	35%
Participation in Seminar Discussions	15%

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is a very serious academic offence. Please refer to the Calendar for a description of UFV's policy on plagiarism, cheating, and student conduct.

Required Texts:

Dorfman, Ariel. *Death and the Maiden*. New York: Penguin, 1994.
 Stern, Steve J. *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London, 1998*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
 Timerman, Jacobo. *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*. Translated by Toby Talbot. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
 Verbitsky, Horacio. *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior: A Firsthand Account of Atrocity*. New York: The New Press, 2005.
 Wright, Thomas C. *State Terrorism in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and International Human Rights*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.
 History 459D Coursepack.

The texts and coursepack are available for purchase in the UFV Bookstore; all assigned readings are on reserve in the library.

Seminar Schedule and ReadingsWeek 1 (January 14)**Introduction to the course**

No readings assigned.

Week 2 (January 21)**International Human Rights / Military Rule, National Security Doctrine, Counterinsurgency, and State Terrorism in Latin America / The Argentine Historical Context**

Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America*, xi-xvi, 3-43.

Films: "Capital Sins" (excerpt) and "The Garden of Forking Paths" (excerpt)

Week 3 (January 28)**The Proceso and the Dirty War / Ideology, Terror, Fear, and Collaboration**

Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America*, 95-118.

Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals*, 137-145. [Coursepack]

Graham-Yooll, *A State of Fear*, 155-165. [Coursepack]

Week 4 (February 4)**The Disappeared / The Struggle for Human Rights / The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo**

Partnoy, *The Little School*, 11-18, 25-28, 83-86, 93-95, 107, 109-112, 123-125.

[Coursepack]

Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror*, 63-88. [Coursepack]

Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America*, 118-137.

Navarro, "The Personal Is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo." [Coursepack]

Bonafini and Sánchez, "The Madwomen at the Plaza de Mayo." [Coursepack]

Film: "The Garden of Forking Paths" (excerpt)

Week 5 (February 11)**Censorship, Corruption, Memory, and History**

Film: "La Historia Oficial (The Official Story)."

No readings assigned (focus your work outside of class time on completing the paper due in Week 7).

Week 6 (February 18)**Mid-Term Break—no classes scheduled**Week 7 (February 25)**Perpetrators and Victims**

Timerman, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*.

Verbitsky, *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*.

Short Paper due in class

Week 8 (March 4)**Impunity, Justice, Human Rights, Identity, and the Politics of Memory / The Children of the Disappeared**

Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America*, 141-178.

Arditti, *Searching for Life*, 159-172. [Coursepack]

Recent news articles on the children of the disappeared, on trials and the judicial process, and on memorializing the Dirty War.

Film: "Stolen Babies, Stolen Lives"

Research Paper Synopsis due in class

Week 9 (March 11)**The Chilean Historical Context / Chile Under Allende and the Unidad Popular / The Military Coup, September 11, 1973 / Historical Perspectives on Memory / "Memory as Salvation"**

Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America*, 47-56.

Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, xix-xxxi, 1-5, 7-38.

Film: "The Battle of Chile (Part 1)" (excerpts)

Week 10 (March 18)**The Pinochet Dictatorship and State Terror / National and International Human Rights Organizations / "Memory as Rupture," and "Memory as Persecution and Awakening"**

Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America*, 56-94.

Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, 39-87.

Film: "The Battle of Chile (Part II)" (excerpts)

Week 11 (March 25)**The Chilean New Song Movement / Confronting the Dictatorship and Exile with Music and Humour / "Memory as a Closed Box"**

Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, 88-103.

Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds*, 129-136. [Coursepack]

Morris, "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983." [Coursepack]

Film: "Victor Jara: El derecho de vivir en paz (The Right to Live in Peace)" (excerpts)

Week 12 (April 1)**Impunity, Justice, and the Legacies of the Past**

Dorfman, *Death and the Maiden*.

Film: "In Women's Hands"

Week 13 (April 8)**Justice, The Ending of Impunity, and International Human Rights / "Emblematic Memory," History, and Politics**

Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America*, 179-224.

Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, 104-113, 130-133, 134-142.

Recent news articles on the trials of perpetrators and on the historical memory of the dictatorship.

Film: "Chile, Obstinate Memory"

Week 14 (April 15)**Repression, Human Rights, and the Politics of Memory in Argentina and Chile / Discussion of Research Papers / Course Overview**

Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America*, 225-232.

Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, 143-153.

Research Paper due in class

Bibliography of Assigned Readings

- Arditti, Rita. *Searching for Life: The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo and the Disappeared Children of Argentina*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Bonafini, Hebe de, and Matilde Sánchez. "The Madwomen at the Plaza de Mayo." In *The Argentina Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, edited by Gabriela Nouzeilles and Graciela Montaldo, 429-39. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Dorfman, Ariel. *Death and the Maiden*. New York: Penguin, 1994.
- Feitlowitz, Marguerite. *A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Graham-Yooll, Andrew. *A State of Fear: Memories of Argentina's Nightmare*. London: Eland, 1986.
- Lewis, Paul H. *Guerrillas and Generals: The 'Dirty War' in Argentina*. Westport (Conn.): Praeger, 2002.
- Morris, Nancy. "Canto Porque Es Necesario Cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983." *Latin American Research Review* 21, no. 2 (1986): 117-36.
- Navarro, Marysa. "The Personal Is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo." In *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Susan Eckstein, 241-58. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Partnoy, Alicia. *The Little School: Tales of Disappearance and Survival in Argentina*. London: Little, Brown & Company, 1998.

- Stern, Steve J. *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London, 1998*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Stern, Steve J. *Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973-1988*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Timerman, Jacobo. *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*. Translated by Toby Talbot. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
- Verbitsky, Horacio. *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior: A Firsthand Account of Atrocity*. New York: The New Press, 2005.
- Wright, Thomas C. *State Terrorism in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and International Human Rights*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.

History 459 Assignments (Winter, 2010)

On Writing

Try to write directly, concisely, and clearly. You should open your paper with a well defined thesis statement, develop your discussion logically, substantiate the points you make to support your argument, and end with a good conclusion, one that reflects back on the major issues that you have examined. Carefully proof-read your final draft, checking the paper's overall organization, looking for grammatical errors, and asking yourself if you have conveyed your meaning clearly to the reader. Only include works in the bibliography that you have actually cited. All papers should be paginated and double-spaced, with normal (1 to 1 1/2 inch) margins and printed with a twelve point font (roughly 275 words per page); papers should not be submitted electronically (i.e., as email attachments). Please refer to Rampolla's *Pocket Guide to Writing in History* and the resources in UFV's Writing Centre for important information on research, writing, and citation styles.

On internet sources

Be critical in your use of the internet. Only cite secondary sources that have been published (for example, journal articles available through JSTOR), and be careful in your choice of websites for accessing primary source materials.

Short Paper—Analysis of *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number* and/or *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior* (due February 25)

Write a 5 page paper based on a close reading and analysis of Timerman's *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number* and/or Verbitsky's *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*. Timerman provides a gripping and insightful account of his incarceration, interrogation, and torture at the hands of the Argentine military. He interjects his narrative with comments on Argentine history and society and on the specific context to the coup and the Dirty War; he looks back at a chilling conversation he had with a member of the armed forces, and he reflects analytically on his own experiences as a detainee. Verbitsky's book focuses on the lengthy interview he conducted in the mid-1990s with Adolfo Scilingo, the first member of the Argentine military to provide details about the nature of the state's terror policies, including secret detentions and extra-judicial executions. In crafting your paper, focus on a specific theme, drawing from one—or both—of these texts. For example, you might write on the complex relationship between the torturer and the tortured, or on anti-Semitism, or on the ideology and thinking of military personnel and of the regime itself. To set the broader context, you should refer to a few secondary sources; for this purpose, you may draw on other course readings (Wright, Feitlowitz, Lewis, etc.).

Research Paper (due April 15)

Write an 8-10 page analytical research paper on a specific topic that fits within the broad thematic and temporal coverage of the course. While you may choose to focus on Chile and/or Argentina, you may also centre your analysis instead on another Latin American country that has experienced state terror and its aftermath (Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, Guatemala, etc.). There are any number of specific topics you could explore that would fit within the course's general interests (state-level repression, human rights, and struggles over memory). You could do a case study of a specific human rights organization, its origins, and its actions; alternately, you could examine the ideology of state terror, or you could address how countries have dealt with—or are dealing with and remembering—the legacies of torture and repression. You could look at Latin American experiences with Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, or at how Latin American cases have led to the internationalization of human rights law. Be creative; develop a topic and an approach that interests you. No later than March 4 you must hand in a brief synopsis of your paper topic (one paragraph should do it), with a list of some of the sources that you intend to use. If you have not spoken with me already, you should then come to my office hours to discuss your paper. I will provide you with some feedback on your synopsis and will make some suggestions regarding materials you might want to consult and the overall approach you plan to take. Start your research early to avoid the usual struggle for library resources at the end of the term. In your paper, you should cite, and use fairly thoroughly, at least 8–10 separate published sources. I will put on reserve several books that you may wish to consult. In addition, I will place on the course website a bibliography of related sources; you should look, too, at the detailed list of works cited at the end of Wright's *State Terrorism in Latin America*. There are a number of good websites that you might access as well.

Seminar Participation

As this course is designed to run as a seminar, it is critically important that each week you come well prepared to analyze and discuss the required readings. Do the readings well in advance; take notes, thinking about the major points that an author might make and/or what a particular article or account might reveal. Bring copies of the readings to class in case you need to refer to specific passages. To fulfill part of your seminar participation mark, you will be expected to give a short (five to seven minute) oral presentation on an assigned reading. In your presentation you should first summarize quickly the reading's content and context (there's no need to go into too much detail here as you can assume that the other class members will have read the material). You should then identify and discuss some of the key points, providing your own commentary and analysis while perhaps linking the issues raised to the other assigned readings. You should end with a question that will serve to trigger further class discussion.

Late penalty

Please note that a penalty of up to 2% per day may be assessed on late papers and on the paper synopsis (the synopsis itself will not be marked, but failing to hand it in on time could result in a deduction from your Research Paper grade).

I will discuss the nature of the assignments at length in class. If you have any questions at all regarding your papers, or any other matters concerning the course, please do not hesitate to come to my office hours to speak with me about them.

Department of History University of the Fraser Valley

Students registered in history courses should be aware of the following Department and institutional policies:

Plagiarism Policy

As stated in the UFV online Calendar, under "Regulations and Policies," "Plagiarism is considered a serious breach of student conduct. Students should be aware that UFV has policies regarding academic dishonesty, including plagiarism and cheating. The policy defines plagiarism as follows:

- Plagiarism occurs when a student presents work or data as original when part, or whole, was written or composed by someone other than the student.
- Plagiarism occurs when paragraphs, phrases, sentences, or ideas within the work are taken from another source without referencing or citing the author.

When an instructor has evidence of plagiarism or cheating by a student, the instructor is entitled to assign a score of zero with the first incident, and to issue a written notice that any further incident will result in the student being required to withdraw from the course. With any further incidents of plagiarism or cheating, the student may be required to withdraw formally from the course."

It is the student's responsibility to provide adequate references in all written work. Information about when and how to cite may be found in Mary Lynn Rampolla, *Pocket Guide to Writing in History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2010).

Student Attendance Policy

UFV Policy 210.01 states: "Instructors are entitled to require that students attend classes on a regular basis and to deal with irregular attendance, including tardiness, by assigning reduced grades, requesting a student to withdraw officially from a course, or by imposing other appropriate penalties (such as make-up assignments, etc.). Instructors are expected to advise students of penalties for lack of attendance in the course outline handed out the first day of class."

Grade Scale

A+	95 – 100	B+	80 – 84	C+	65 – 69	P	50 – 54
A	90 – 94	B	75 – 79	C	60 – 64	NC	0 – 49
A-	85 – 89	B-	70 – 74	C-	55 – 59		

Student Electronic Devices in the Classroom

The use of student electronic devices in the classroom (laptops, cell phones, hand-held communicators, etc.) will be determined by individual instructors on the first day of classes. If the use of electronic devices is permitted, they may only be used for course-related purposes, as directed by the instructor.

History 459D:

You may use laptops for taking notes in the contextual lectures, but laptops must be closed during seminar discussions and presentations, as well as while viewing films. All other electronic devices (cell phones, MP3 players, etc.) must be turned off during class time.

Recommended guide to historical writing

- Rampolla, Mary Lynn. *Pocket Guide to Writing in History*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2010.
- The Writing Centre also offers a variety of different writing guide handouts (i.e. MLA, APA, Chicago Style).

Message for students interested in continuing their studies in SFU's PDP program

If your intention is to apply to SFU's PDP program, Secondary School option, please be advised that you will be expected to have completed specific history courses.

The advisors at UFV can help you ensure that you are not caught at the end of your BA without the appropriate courses. Make an appointment to meet with an Educational Advisor in Student Services at the Abbotsford campus, B214, 604-854-4528, or the Chilliwack campus, 604-795-2808.

*Students should keep copies of all submitted assignments until after the semester is completed.

*If you have any questions about any of these policies, please ask your instructor.