

HSTR 435.01
Latin American Human Rights and the Politics of Memory
The University of Montana; Spring 2018
Th, 2-4:50, pm; LA 249

Professor Jody Pavilack	<i>office: LA 265; phone: 243-2234</i>
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Chilean artist Cristian Kirby explores the drama of disappearances and torture under the regime of Augusto Pinochet (<http://cartelurbano.com/arte/la-obra-del-artista-que-no-olvida-el-terror-de-la-dictadura-chilena>)

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Notions about the rights of individuals and groups in the Americas—“human rights” in the broadest sense of the term—pre-date contact with Europeans, but particularly came to the fore during the European conquest and colonization of the “New World.” Against such a deep backdrop of human rights history, this course focuses on the modern concept of human rights engendered in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent documents. In the second half of the twentieth century, many Latin American countries experienced decades of civil war, dictatorship, and systematic state violence perpetrated against large segments of their national populations. Tens of thousands of people were arrested, tortured, and killed, often without any judicial proceedings. Toward the end of the century, most of these countries found themselves struggling to achieve, or in some cases, return to, stable democracy. This required somehow dealing with the violence of the recent (and/or more remote) past—a process known as transitional justice. How would Cold War era battles between Marxists and capitalists, between leftists and rightists, between popular and elite sectors be narrated and remembered? And, how would human rights violations be confronted and atoned for?

For decades, countries such as Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, and Peru have been wracked by deep contestation over what actually happened in the 1960s-90s, why it happened, who is to be held responsible, and how the society might best move forward. “Truth,” “justice,” and “reconciliation” have been upheld as goals vital for the future stability of democracy in these countries, and yet achieving all three has proven no small task. In pursuit of these goals, individual and collective memories of militancy and repression have come to the fore in diverse forums, from group healing workshops and academic books to truth commission reports and court hearings. Through close readings of both primary and secondary sources, this course

studies state (and sometimes guerrilla) violence and human rights violations of the 1960s-90s, mechanisms of transitional justice, and the role of memory, testimony, and other forms of narration and commemoration in the return to democracy. Our primary case studies are Guatemala, Argentina, Chile, and Peru.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES & ASSESSMENT

Prior knowledge of Latin American history is not required for this course, but students without sufficient background may need to do supplementary preparation. Students who successfully complete this course will: (1) gain basic knowledge about select people, places, events, and dynamics in Latin American history and about relevant theoretical concepts, and (2) improve their critical thinking, reading, and writing skills. Progress toward these goals will be assessed through graded reading notes, group discussions, student research projects and presentations. Required writing is 20-30 pages; required reading averages 200 pages per week.

REQUIREMENTS & GRADING

Research Asgmt 1 (2/22)	50 pts	5 %	Reading Notes (8 x 45 pts)	360 pts	36%
Research Asgmt 2 (3/15)	50 pts	5 %	Attendance & Participation	340 pts	34%
Final Product (5/3)	100 pts	10 %			
Oral Presentation (5/3)	100 pts	10%	TOTAL	1000 pts	100%

GRADING SCALE: (converted from 1000 points possible)

		B+	91-89	C+	81-79	D+	71-69
A	100-95	B	88-85	C	78-75	D	68-65
A-	94-92	B-	84-82	C-	74-72	D-	64-62
						F	61 & lower

ATTENDANCE & PARTICIPATION: This is an advanced seminar, which requires regular attendance and active participation in class discussions. I keep track of both. You are expected to do all of the reading for all class meetings and to dedicate sufficient time to try to make sense of it. For some students on some weeks, this may involve consulting additional sources, such as a basic textbook of Latin American history or online resources. If you are confused about concepts used in the reading or the historical context in which it is set, it is your responsibility to look these up and then bring *specific questions* about what you still don't understand to class.

WEEKLY READING ANALYSIS: After the first day, there are 12 regular class periods with required reading. For any 8 of these 12 weeks, you are invited to submit approximately 2 pages of typed notes for each of the assigned readings, including critical assessment and questions for discussion. Please remember that even on weeks when you choose not to hand in typed notes, you are expected to complete all the reading. Each set of reading notes is worth up to 45 points. Given the importance of this work for the success of our class discussions, credit will *not* be given for notes submitted after the class period for which that reading is assigned, except under documented dire circumstances. Your reading notes should:

- utilize the Reading Evaluation template designed for this course; you may alter the template as you see fit to best match your style and the nature of the reading.
- be typed, with page numbers on all pages after the first. (# on first page is optional).

- include a full citation to the reading properly formatted using Chicago Style for bibliographies.
- include notes either in full prose or phrases, but if the latter, be sure to include enough information to make the content clear for someone who may not have read the work. For example,
 - (GOOD): pp. 18-22: interesting argument about how recent boon in forensic anthropology has turned attention away from perpetrators and toward finding and mourning corpses. (I wonder if the latter won't soon turn attention back toward perpetrators, now with stronger base of evidence?)
 - (INSUFFICIENT): pp. 18-22: effects of forensic anthro
- include references to page numbers, specific chapters, and specific passages as much as possible
- include a minimum of 2-3 questions for group discussion. Good discussion questions should:
 - keep in mind the diversity of backgrounds and interests of everyone in the class
 - address the central meaning, significance, or methodology of the reading
 - include reference to specific pages or passages whenever appropriate
 - promote discussion of the reading itself or of subjects that can be addressed from the reading (not speculation or generalization about things outside our reading)
 - raise comparisons only with readings or cases about which everyone in the class is informed (ie. readings or cases covered previously in this class)

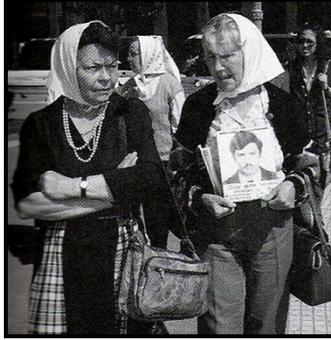
SEMESTER-LONG RESEARCH PROJECT:

- **DUE: Feb 8.** Within the first two week of class, select one country to focus on during the semester. It may be one that we are covering as a group (Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, Peru) or one that is not on this syllabus (eg. Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, Mexico, Uruguay). Alternately, you could select a particular topic to explore comparatively across several different countries. Examples of such themes include creation of human rights museums and/or other physical sites of remembrance; positions adopted by the Church hierarchy; movements for reparations; etc.
- **Research Assignment 1 (general overview). DUE: Feb 22.** Submit the following:
 - A two-paragraph summary of the historical developments in your country (or topic) related to human rights, human rights violations, politics of memory, and processes of transitional justice.
 - A time line of key events in this history
 - A bibliography of 5 to 10 primary and secondary sources that directly relate to the human rights history of this country or the topic you have chosen, properly formatted in Chicago Style
- **Research Assignment 2 (honing in). DUE: March 15.** Submit the following:
 - An annotated bibliography of 5 to 10 primary and/or secondary sources
 - A proposal for how you will further explore this history over the next month and what form your final project and presentation will take.

- **Research Products (presenting the findings). DUE: May 3.**
 - A written essay (of approximately 5 pages), an artfully crafted pamphlet or handout, or a creative product conveying the findings of the academic study you have done over the preceding months.
 - An oral presentation of approximately 15 minutes, using handouts, powerpoint, video clips, etc.
- **Additional notes about this assignment:**
 - If you are taking this class for credit in SPNS, *at least* half of the sources in your annotated bibliography should be Spanish-language sources.
 - All assignments should be done as formal, professional pieces of work, which means they should:
 - be typed, with page numbers and careful proofreading
 - include a title that relates to the subject, not simply the assignment. Eg.
 - “The Long Road to the Colombian Truth and Reconciliation Commission: A Research Proposal”
 - “Economic Justice vs Political Freedom in Cuba: An Annotated Bibliography about an International Human Rights Debate”
 - “Natural Resource Access as a Fundamental Human Right: A Timeline of Key Developments in Bolivia”
 - “The Limits of Revolutionary Progress: Cuban Persecution of Homosexuals, 1959-89” (a pamphlet of information and reflection)
 - include full citations to all sources, correctly formatted using the Chicago Manual of Style (be sure to note the differences between bibliography and footnote/endnote formats).
 - be written for an anonymous audience outside this class, that is, using formal prose and explaining all events and terms as though your readers are unfamiliar with the class you are writing for

OTHER COURSE POLICIES

- All students must practice academic honesty. Academic misconduct is subject to an academic penalty by the course instructor and/or a disciplinary sanction by the University. All students need to be familiar with the [Student Conduct Code](#).
- Notify me as early as possible of any disabilities or athletic or other commitments that may affect your performance in this class. Be prepared to provide documentation. If appropriate, meet with [Disability Services for Students](#) in Lommasson 154 for assistance in developing a plan of reasonable modifications that will help you get the most out of the class.
- No late assignments or make-up work will be accepted without prior approval from me or appropriate university documentation.
- It is your responsibility to keep track of your own performance in the course. I am always willing to meet with you during the semester to suggest ways for you to get the most out of this course and to improve your participation in it. The end of the semester is not the appropriate time to meet with me about your work or grade.



**Madres de la Plaza de Mayo,
Buenos Aires, Argentina, circa 1995**

REQUIRED READING

Books

Cardenas, Sonia. *Human Rights in Latin America: A Politics of Terror and Hope* (U of Pennsylvania P, 2010).

Menchú, Rigoberta and Elisabeth Burgos-Debray. *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, 2nd ed. (Verso P, 2010).

Partnoy, Alicia. *The Little School: Tales of Disappearance and Survival* (Midnight Editions, 1998).

Roht-Arriaza, Naomi. *The Pinochet Effect: Transnational Justice in the Age of Human Rights* (U of Penn P, 2006).

Stern, Steve J. *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*, Book One of the trilogy *The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile* (Duke UP, 2004).

Articles, chapters, documents (on reserve or online)

Amnesty International. *"Caught between Two Fires": Peru Briefing* (New York, N.Y.: Amnesty International USA, 1989).

Barry, Anne J. "Argentina: The Dirty War, the Disappeared, the Mothers and the Grandmothers," Holyoke Community College, December 2008.

Basombrio Iglesias, Carlos. "Sendero Luminoso and Human Rights: A Perverse Logic That Captured the Country," in Steve J. Stern, ed. *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995* (Duke UP, 1998), pp. 425-46.

Bilbija, Ksenija and Leigh A. Payne, "Introduction. Time is Money: The Memory Market in Latin America," in Ksenija Bilbija and Leigh A. Payne, eds. *Accounting for Violence: Marketing Memory in Latin America* (Duke UP, 2011), pp. 1-40.

Bonner, Michelle D. “‘Never Again’: Transitional Justice and Persistent Police Violence in Argentina,” *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, vol. 8 (2014), pp. 235-55.

Brett, Roddy. “Peace without social reconciliation? Understanding the trial of Generals Ríos Montt and Rodríguez Sánchez in the wake of Guatemala’s genocide,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 18, nos. 2-3, pp. 285-303.

Collins, Cath, “The Moral Economy of Memory: Public and Private Commemorative Space in Post-Pinochet Chile,” in Ksenija Bilbija and Leigh A. Payne, eds. *Accounting for Violence: Marketing Memory in Latin America* (Duke UP, 2011), pp. 235-64.

Detweiler, Louise. “The Blindfolded (Eye) Witness in Alicia Partnoy’s ‘The Little School,’” *Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, vol. 33, no. 3 (Autumn 2000-Winter 2001): 60-72.

Garabian, Sévane. “Truth versus Impunity: Post-transitional justice in Argentina and the ‘human rights turn,’” *African Yearbook of Rhetoric*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2015), pp. 63-73.

Gates-Madsen, Nancy, “Marketing and Sacred Space: The Parque de la Memoria in Buenos Aires,” in Ksenija Bilbija and Leigh A. Payne, eds. *Accounting for Violence: Marketing Memory in Latin America* (Duke UP, 2011), pp. 151-78.

Grandin, Greg. “Preface” & “Introduction,” in *Who is Rigoberta Menchú?* (Verso, 2011), pp. v-xiii, 1-31.

------. “A Responsibility Toward the Future: The Work of the Past in Truth Commissions in Argentina, Chile, and Guatemala” (July 2004), pp. 1-44. [draft article; published as “The Instruction of Great Catastrophe: Truth Commissions, National History, and State Formation in Argentina, Chile, and Guatemala,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 110, no. 1 (February 2005), pp. 46-67].

Jones, Maggie. “The Secrets in Guatemala’s Bones: In the face of death threats, a forensic anthropologist has spent two decades exhuming the victims of a ‘dirty’ civil war. Now his work might help bring justice for their murderers,” *New York Times Magazine*, June 30, 2016. <https://nyti.ms/29hxOUE>

Kaiser, Susana. “Introduction,” Ch. 1, “Conversations about Knowledge” Why Did It Happen?,” and Ch. 10, “Conversations about Human Rights Activism,” in *Postmemories of Terror: A New Generation Copes with the Legacy of the ‘Dirty War’* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 1-22, 23-42, 183-96.

Hite, Katherine. *Politics and the Art of Commemoration: Memorials to Struggle in Latin America and Spain* (Routledge, 2012). [Ch. 4, 5, Epilogue]

Hite, Katherine and Cath Collins. “Memorial Fragments, Monumental Silences and Reawakenings in 21st-Century Chile,” *Millenium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 379-400.

Laplante, Lisa J., "From Theory to Practice: Implementing Reparations in Post-Truth Commission Peru," chapter 4 in Barbara Rose Johnston, and Susan Slyomovics, eds.. *Waging War, Making Peace : Reparations and Human Rights*, based on a report from the American Anthropological Association, Committee for Human Rights, Reparations Task Force (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2009), pp. 75-93.

Laplante, Lisa J. and Kimberly Theidon. "Truth with Consequences: Justice and Reparations in Post-Truth Commission Peru," *Human Rights Quarterly : a comparative and international journal of the social sciences, philosophy, and law*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2007), 228-50.

Lessa, Francesca and Cara Levey. "From Blanket Impunity to Judicial Opening (s): H.I.J.O.S. and Memory Making in Postdictatorship Argentina (2005-2012)," *Latin American Perspectives*, issue 202, vol. 42, no. 3 (May 2015), pp. 207-225.

Payne, Leigh A. *Unsettling Accounts: Neither Truth nor Reconciliation in Confessions of State Violence* (Duke UP, 2008). [Chapters 1-5 & Conclusion]

Portelli, Alessandro. Ch. 1, "The Death of Luigi Trastulli: Memory and the Event," in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State U of New York P, 1991), pp. 1-28.

Root, Rebecca K. *Transitional Justice in Peru* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Sanford, Victoria. "From I, Rigoberta to the Commissioning of Truth: Maya Women and the Reshaping of Guatemalan History," *Cultural Critique*, no. 47 (2001), 16-53.

Stoll, David. *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Westview P, 2008/1999): "Forward" by Elizabeth Burgos, ix-xvii; "Preface," xviii-xxv; Ch. 1, pp. 1-12.

Stuesse, Angela. "Sí Hubo Genocidio: Anthropologists and the Genocide Trial of Guatemala's Ríos Montt," Dialogic Interview in Public Anthropology, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 115, no. 4 (2013), pp. 658-666.

Sutton, Barbara. "Collective Memory and the Language of Human Rights: Attitudes toward Torture in Contemporary Argentina," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 42, no. 3 (2015), pp. 73-91.

Theidon, Kimberly. "Justice in Transition: The Micropolitics of Reconciliation in Postwar Peru," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, no. 3 (2006), 433-57.

Vrana, Heather A. "'Our ongoing fight for justice': the pasts and futures of *genocidio* and *justicia* in Guatemala," *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 18, nos. 2-3 (2016), pp. 245-63.



La Moneda (presidential palace), Santiago de Chile, September 11, 1973

SCHEDULE

(1) Jan 25: COURSE INTRODUCTION

RDG: 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights
1966/78 International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights
1966/78 International Covenant on Economic, Social, & Cultural Rights
1984 Convention Against Torture

(2) Feb 1: INTRO TO LATIN AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS HISTORY

RDG: Cardenas, *Human Rights in Latin America* (2010)

(3) Feb 8: TESTIMONIO OF STATE VIOLENCE IN GUATEMALA

RDG: *I, Rigoberta Menchu*
VIEW: *When the Mountains Tremble*, 1983, 90 mins; VT04993]

(4) Feb 15: QUESTIONS OF TRUTH-TELLING: FROM RIGOBERTA TO THE CEH

RDG: Portelli, "The Death of Luigi Trastulli" (1991) (26 pp.)
Stoll, Forward (by Burgos); Preface; Ch. 1, of *Rigoberta Menchú* (31 pp.)
Sanford, "From *I, Rigoberta* to the Commissioning of Truth" (2001) (33 pp.)
Grandin, "A Responsibility toward the Future" (30 pp., double-spaced)
Grandin, "Preface" & "Introduction," in *Who Is Rigoberta Menchú?* (40 pp.)
VIEW: *Granito: How to Nail a Dictator*, 2011, 90 mins

<https://vimeopro.com/skylightpictures/skylight/video/58136937>

(5) Feb 22: TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE IN GUATEMALA AFTER THE CEH

RDG: Stuesse, *Sí Hubo Genocidio: Anthropologists* (2013)
Jones, "The Secrets in Guate's Bones," NYT (2016)
Brett, "Peace Without Reconciliation" (2016)
Vrana, "Ongoing fight" (HIJOS) (2016)
Surf NISGUA: <https://nisgua.org/ixil-genocide-trial/>
Surf "Guatemala Trials," International Justice Monitor:

<https://www.ijmonitor.org/category/guatemala-trials/>

VIEW: *PBS NewsHour*, May 8, 2013: (14:30 mins)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dOIJ1-7LDQs>

Democracy Now! May 10, 2013: (19 mins)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=spoALtQDOg0>

Democracy Now! May 23, 2013: (16 mins)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ByeAJLlgAJA>

(6) March 1: AN ARGENTINE TESTIMONIO?

RDG: Barry, "Argentina: The Dirty War... Intro" (2008)

Partnoy, *The Little School* (1986, 1998)

Detweiler, "The Blindfolded (Eye) Witness" (2001)

VIEW: *Las Madres: the mothers of Plaza de Mayo*, 1985, 64 mins; DVD 05122

REC: Alicia Partnoy TEDxTalk, July 21, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O82G-Fb6HBM>

Alicia Partnoy interview, PoetryLA, Nov 29, 2015:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s3PnJ4dHNVA>

Alicia Partnoy, reading poetry, "Children of the Disappeared," (2009):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZusvfCcu3fM>

(7) March 8: MEMORY & JUSTICE IN ARGENTINA: THE NEXT GENERATION(S)

RDG: Garibian, "Truth versus Impunity" (2015)

Kaiser, Introduction and Ch. 1 & Ch. 10, in *Postmemories of Terror* (2005)

Sutton, "Collective Memory" (2015)

Lessa & Levey, "From Blanket Impunity... HIJOS" (2015)

Bonner, 'Never Again': Transitional Justice (2014)

VIEW: BBC, Our World, "Argentina: Who Am I?" (2013) (26 mins):

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=143_dvp6mwQ

Escrache a Videla (2006) (8 mins):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XGFOZWRxK1g>

"Dramatic Stories of Argentina's Stolen Children," RT Documentary (2015) (52

mins): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BgLge0ikz84&t=173s>

(8) March 15: EMBLEMATIC CHILEAN MEMORIES

RDG: Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile* (2004)

Rettig Report (Chilean Truth Commission Report) (1991):

<http://www.usip.org/publications/truth-commission-chile-90>

VIEW: *Chile: Obstinate Memory* (1997), 58 mins

(9) March 22: THE PINOCHET CASE

RDG: Roht-Arriaza, *The Pinochet Effect* (2006)

VIEW: *The Judge and the General* (2008), 90 mins

[March 29: Spring Break; no class]

(10) April 5: PERPETRATOR CONFESSIONS (IN THE SOUTHERN CONE)

RDG: Payne, *Unsettling Accounts*, (2007), chapters 1-5, conclusion

VIEW: Rewind: Interrogating a Torturer (2009)

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/rewind/2017/02/rewind-interrogating-torturer-170213105818970.html>

(11) April 12: BEYOND COURTROOMS & COMMISSIONS: MEMORIALS, MEMORY PRODUCTS, AND PUBLIC ACTS

RDG: Hite and Collins, "Memorial Fragments," pp. 379-400.

Hite, Ch. 4, "Searching," Ch. 5, "Globality," "Epilogue," pp. 63-118

Bilbija & Payne, "Introduction... The Memory Market," pp. 1-40.

Gates-Madsen, "Marketing and Sacred Space," pp. 151-78.

Collins, "The Moral Economy of Memory," pp. 235-63.

VIEW: ESMA—Argentina's Human Rights Museum (2012) (5 mins):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iQVUJs1A3qY>

"Shadows of Memory: Our Disappeared" (2009) (5 mins):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SNYI5clteyg>

La Cueca Sola:

2018 cueca champions: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJsIJW7YVdI>

2016 cueca campesina (Paine):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYvOb6i0Fw>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oA0zUk24p4U>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2fQ4WNafDg&t=45s>

2016: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmJZmNI0i_8

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9g2v5CYtvak>

(12) April 19: CIVIL WAR IN PERU: SENDERO LUMINOSO & HUMAN RIGHTS

RDG: Amnesty International, "Caught between two fires" (1989)

Basombrio Iglesias, "Sendero Luminoso & Human Rights" (1998)

Root, Ch. 1-4, in *Transitional Justice in Peru*, pp. 1-99.

Peruvian Truth Commission Report (2003) (2014 abbreviated English version):

<http://ictj.org/sites/default/files/subsites/peru-hatun-willakuy-en/>

VIEW: *State of Fear: The Truth About Terrorism*, 2005, 94 mins

(13) April 26: POSTWAR PERU: TRUTH, JUSTICE, & REPARATIONS

RDG: Root, Ch. 5-7, in *Transitional Justice in Peru*, pp. 101-73.

Peruvian Truth Commission Report (2003) (2014 abbreviated English version):

<http://ictj.org/sites/default/files/subsites/peru-hatun-willakuy-en/>

Theidon, "Justice in Transition" (2006)

Laplante & Theidon, "Truth with Consequences" (2007)

LaPlante, "From Theory to Practice" (2009)

(14) May 3: RESEARCH PROJECT PRESENTATIONS

(15) May 7 (Mon): RESEARCH PROJECT PRESENTATIONS (Exam slot, 1:10-3:10 pm)

