

HILA 114: DICTATORSHIPS IN LATIN AMERICA

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FALL 2018

REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING:

1. Attendance, Readings and Discussion (45%): Students are expected to attend all class meetings. Students must come to each class having read or watched the assigned material corresponding to that particular date and must be prepared to participate actively in discussion. Learning to read and respond to such material in a timely fashion is one of the objectives of this course; students who find it difficult to complete readings on time should feel free to consult with the professor outside of class for additional assistance. All hard-copy readings will be available in the bookstore and on reserve at the library; electronic readings will be available by library e-reserve (denoted by “Reserves”) or via access to online publications. Films are on reserve at the library.

Please note: The following books must be consulted via printed copy and are available for purchase or on reserve (in hard copy) at the library:

- Ernest R. May, ed., *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68* (New York: Bedford, 1993)
 - Ruth Leacock, *Requiem for a Revolution: The United States and Brazil, 1961-1969* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990)
 - Alicia Partnoy, *The Little School: Tales of Disappearance and Survival* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998)
 - Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: The New Press, 2003)
 - J. Patrice McSherry, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005)
 - Benjamin A. Cowan, *Securing Sex: Morality and Repression in the Making of Cold War Brazil* (Chapel Hill and London: UNC, 2016)
 - Martha Huggins, *Political Policing: The United States and Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998)
 - Martha K. Huggins, Mika Haritos-Fatouros, Philip G. Zimbardo, *Violence Workers: Police Torturers and Murderers Reconstruct Brazilian Atrocities* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002)
 - Horacio Verbitsky, *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior: A Firsthand Account of Atrocity* (New York: New Press, 2005)
2. Weekly Responses (5%): Every week, each student must submit a one-sentence response to each reading. That response (one sentence per reading) should answer the appropriate questions from the following:
 - a. If the reading is a secondary source, the sentence should answer the question: “What is the central or most important question this scholar seeks to answer in this text?”
 - b. If the reading is a primary source, the sentence should answer the question “What is an example of something this document can tell us about the past?”

These responses should be submitted via the “journal” function in TritonEd (under “tools,” clickable in the left-hand sidebar) by Saturday evening at 7pm. The sentences should be numbered and indicate which reading each sentence is addressing. Should you need to include documentation, use Chicago (footnote) style from the Chicago Manual of Style. These assignments will not be letter-graded.

3. Presentations (10%): Each student will be required, alone or with one or more partner(s), to present one of the primary documents included in our syllabus to the rest of the class. The presentation should be short (5-10 minutes); should relate the primary source to the secondary material for that week; and should include a central question that the presenters wish to illustrate using the document. Students will choose the documents they wish to present by the end of our second meeting; sign up for a presentation using the wiki on TritonEd entitled “SIGN-UP FOR PRESENTATIONS” (under course tools).
4. Final Exam (10%): A short-answer final exam will cover material from the second half of the course.
5. Papers (30%): Each student will submit a ten- to twelve-page historiographical essay on the relevant topic of the student’s choice. This means that students will do comprehensive research on a particular topic and write an essay describing the state of scholarship on the subject and potential avenues for future research. Any topic bearing on the course material is acceptable; consult with the professor in case of any doubts. Students must consult books; web-based sources alone are not acceptable. A proposal will be due week three; and an annotated bibliography for this project must be submitted in week six, so students should plan their research accordingly.

Students should keep in mind that their papers will not be accepted should they fail to conform to the following standards: word-processed; double-spaced; in 12-point, Times New Roman or Cambria font with standard (1-inch and 1.25-inch) margins; and proofread until free of spelling and grammar errors. Citations should be in Chicago (footnote) format. Except in the case of an extreme emergency or with an extension granted by me in advance, late papers will be penalized one full letter grade (A to B) for each day they are late. If you fear that your work will be late for any reason, please contact me within the first two weeks of the semester. Plagiarism will not be tolerated under any circumstances. Any material, idea (transcribed or paraphrased), or turn of phrase that has come from someone else’s work must be properly documented. Ignorance of the exact definitions of plagiarism will not be considered an excuse. Should you have questions about what constitutes plagiarism, do not fail to consult the university’s resources on academic ethics, available—among other places—at:

- <https://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu/>
- https://treebeard.ucsd.edu/_files/pdf/PlagiarismBrochure_May2014.pdf

SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS (Subject to Change)

WEEK 0: Introduction to the Course

- THURS, 27 SEPTEMBER

WEEK 1: Cold War National Security in Latin America and the United States

- TUES, 2 OCTOBER
 - Secondary Readings:

- Ernest R. May, ed., *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68*, pages 1-17.
 - David Pion-Berlin, “Latin American National Security Doctrines: Hard- and Softline Themes,” *Armed Forces and Society* 15.3 (Spring 1989): 411-429.
 - Primary Documents:
 - NSC-68, Sections I-IV (May, pages 23-33)
 - [OPTIONAL]: George F. Kennan, “The Long Telegram.” (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm>)
- THURS, 4 OCTOBER
 - Secondary Readings:
 - Lesley Gill, *The School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence in the Americas* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2004), pages 1-16 and 59-89
 - E-book available via UCSD library.
 - Primary Documents:
 - General Robert R. Porter, “Look South to Latin America,” *Military Review* (June, 1968), 83-90.
 - Lieutenant Colonel George B. Jordan, “Objectives and Methods of Communist Guerrilla Warfare,” *Military Review* (January, 1960), 50-59.

WEEK 2: Brazil’s “Revolution of 1964”

- TUES, 9 OCTOBER
 - Secondary Readings:
 - Ruth Leacock, *Requiem for a Revolution: The United States and Brazil, 1961-1969* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990), chapters 1, 3, 4, 10.
 - Primary Documents:
 - “The Country that Saved Itself,” *Readers Digest* (Special Feature, 1964) (Reserves)
 - [OPTIONAL]: Archdiocese of São Paulo, *Torture in Brazil* trans. Jaime Wright (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), ix-xix, 13-24, 102-138 (Reserves)
- THURS, 11 OCTOBER
 - Secondary Source:
 - Film: *Four Days in September*
 - [OPTIONAL]: Chapters 6-9 of Leacock
 - [OPTIONAL]: Film: *Batismo de Sangue*
 - Primary Document:
 - Carlos Marighella, “Manual of the Urban Guerrilla,” trans. Gene Z. Hanrahan (Chapel Hill, NC: Documentary Publications, 1985) (Introduction, 45-57)

WEEK 3: Argentina’s Dirty “War”

- TUES, 16 OCTOBER

*******PAPER PROPOSALS DUE IN CLASS*******

Please submit a one-page proposal outlining the topic that interests you and the scholarly sources (including at least three books—a number that should increase as you progress) you have begun consulting.

- Secondary Sources:
 - Mark J. Osiel, “Constructing Subversion in Argentina’s Dirty War,” *Representations* 75 (Summer, 2001): 119-158
 - David Pion-Berlin, *The Ideology of State Terror: Economic Doctrine and Political Repression in Argentina and Peru* (Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 1989), pages 1-12 and Chapter 5 (Reserves)
 - [OPTIONAL]: Film: *Funny, Dirty, Little War*
- Primary Documents:
 - Jacobo Timerman, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, trans. Toby Talbot (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), pages 3-21 and 42-60 (Reserves)
- THURS, 18 OCTOBER
 - Primary Documents:
 - Alicia Partnoy, *The Little School: Tales of Disappearance and Survival* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998), 7-67
 - [OPTIONAL]: Remainder of Partnoy
 - National Security Archive documents on Argentina:
<<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB73/index3.htm>>
 - <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB73/760525b.pdf>
 - <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB73/760920.pdf>
 - <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB73/760924.pdf>
 - [OPTIONAL] Film: *La Historia Oficial*

WEEK 4: Chile and the “other” September 11th

- TUES, 23 OCTOBER
 - Secondary Sources:
 - Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: The New Press, 2003), 1-34, 80-115
 - Primary Documents:
 - Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little Brown, 1982), 374-413 (Reserves)
 - Kornbluh, Chapter 1, documents 1, 2, 5, 6, 11, 12
- THURS, 25 OCTOBER
 - Secondary Sources:
 - Jonathan Haslam, *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende’s Chile: A Case of Assisted Suicide* (New York: Verso, 2005), Preface, Chapter 2 (Reserves)
 - Kornbluh, 209-240
 - [OPTIONAL]: Haslam, Chapter 4-6
 - Primary Source:

- Enrique Campos Menendez, “Chile Vence al Marxismo” (Reserves)

WEEK 5: Operation Condor

- TUES, 30 OCTOBER
 - *****TAKE-HOME MIDTERM DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS*****
 - Secondary Reading:
 - J. Patrice McSherry, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), Chapters 1 and 3.
 - Primary Documents:
 - National Security Archive documents on Operation Condor.
 - <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB73/760604.pdf>
 - <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB73/760719.pdf>
 - <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB73/760723.pdf>
- THURS, 1 NOVEMBER
 - Secondary Reading:
 - McSherry, Chapter 4.
 - Film: *Missing*

WEEK 6: Cultural History of Dictatorship I: Motherhood

- TUES, 6 NOVEMBER
- *******ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE IN CLASS*******
 - Secondary Sources:
 - Margaret Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the struggle Against Allende, 1964-1973* (University Park, PA: Penn State University, 2002), Introduction, Chapters 3 and 6 (Reserves)
 - [OPTIONAL]: Film: *Machuca*
- THURS, 8 NOVEMBER
 - Secondary Sources:
 - Diana Taylor, *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina's "Dirty War"* (Durham and London: Duke University press, 1997), Introduction and pages 186-206 (Reserves)
 - [OPTIONAL]: Film: *Zuzu Angel*
 - Primary Sources:
 - Munú Actis, Cristina Aldini, Liliana Gardella, Miriam Lewin, Elisa Tokar, *That Inferno* (Nashville: Vanderbilt, 2006) Foreword, Preface, Chapters 1 and 6

WEEK 7: Cultural History of Dictatorship II: II: Sex, Drugs, and Communism

- TUES, 13 NOVEMBER
 - Secondary Reading:
 - Valeria Manzano, “Sexualizing Youth: Morality Campaigns and Representations of Youth in Early 1960s Buenos Aires,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 4 (October, 2005): 433-461

- Benjamin A. Cowan, *Securing Sex*, Chapter 4
 - [OPTIONAL]: Cowan, *Securing Sex*, Chapters 3, 5-6
 - Primary Document:
 - Alfredo Buzaid “In Defense of Morality and Good Customs” (Speech, 1971) (Reserves)
- THURS, 15 NOVEMBER
 - Secondary Reading:
 - Mala Htun, *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 2003), Chapter 4 (Reserves)
 - Primary Source:
 - Gustavo Corção, “Perversos e Tolos” [“Perverted Fools”] *O Globo*, 27 March 1963 (Reserves)

WEEK 8: Counterinsurgency, Countersubversion, and the CIA

- TUES, 20 NOVEMBER
 - Secondary Reading:
 - Martha Huggins, *Political Policing: The United States and Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998) Chapters 6 and 7.
 - [OPTIONAL]: Huggins, *Political Policing*, Chapters 8 and 9.
 - Primary Document:
 - CIA Training Manual, “KUBARK Counterintelligence Interrogation,” July 1963 (excerpt), available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB27/01-01.htm>
- THURS, 22 NOVEMBER—**THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY**

WEEK 9: Confessions of the Torturers

- TUES, 27 NOVEMBER
 - Secondary Reading:
 - Martha K. Huggins, Mika Haritos-Fatouros, Philip G. Zimbardo, *Violence Workers: Police Torturers and Murderers Reconstruct Brazilian Atrocities* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), Chapters 5 and 9.
- THURS, 29 NOVEMBER
 - Primary Source:
 - Horácio Verbitsky, *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*, Parts I and II

WEEK 10: Central America

- TUES, 4 DECEMBER
 - Secondary Reading:
 - Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), Chapter 2 (Reserves)
 - Ariel C. Armony, “Transnationalizing the Dirty War: Argentina in Central America,” in *In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the*

Cold War, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 134-171 (Reserves)

- Primary Sources:
 - “Teaching Sabotage” in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*, edited by Eric Zolov and Robert Holden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 307 (Reserves)
 - CIA, “Psychological Operations in guerrilla warfare” (1984), available at <http://www.freewebs.com/moeial/CIA's%20Psychological%20Operations%20in%20Guerrilla%20Warefare.pdf>
- THURS, 6 DECEMBER
 - Final exam in class