

History 1504: Latin American History II

Summer 2024

Instructor: Santiago Bestilleiro Lettini (sb1920@georgetown.edu)

Class meetings: Mondays-Thursdays, 3:30pm - 5:25pm, Car Barn 172.

Office Hours: Thursdays 5:30pm-7pm, Graduate Student Lounge (Car Barn 100).

Course Description: History 1504 examines the trajectory of Latin America between the revolutionary era and the present (1804-2024). The main goal is to analyze the political, economic, and social processes that have shaped the region in the last two centuries. The classes will follow a double methodology: During the first two-thirds of each class, we will explore a classic itinerary, generally marked by a political periodization roughly transversal to the territories studied here. In the last third of each meeting, the “History in Focus” sections will introduce students to specific fields and topics of historical research, adding complexity to the general analysis. Although this is a class centered on the political history of Latin America, its aim is also to teach historiographical methods and provide introductory tools to understand and apply different approaches, including areas of specialization such as social, economic, and environmental history, among others, and themes like demographics, migration, age, and so on. Therefore, the questions that will structure this class will not only be *what* territory of Latin America or period of its history we are analyzing, but also *how* historians examine them from diverse fields and through different objects of study.

Computer policy: Computers and tablets are allowed, but their use must only be related to class activity (namely, taking notes). The instructor reserves the right to ask students to turn their computers off or leave the class if inappropriate use is identified (for example, texting, browsing social media, shopping). Cell phones are strictly prohibited.

Honor System: Students must know and respect Georgetown University's Honor System. For more details, please visit: <http://honorcouncil.georgetown.edu/system>.

Accommodations: Students with special needs must inform the instructor and provide the pertinent documentation related to their accommodations within the first week of classes. More information is available at the Academic Resource Center website:

<https://academicsupport.georgetown.edu/disability/documentation-guidelines/>

Sexual Misconduct: Georgetown University and its faculty and staff are committed to supporting survivors and those impacted by sexual misconduct, which includes sexual assault, sexual harassment, relationship violence, and stalking. Georgetown requires faculty members, unless otherwise designated as confidential, to report all disclosures of sexual misconduct to the University Title IX Coordinator or a Deputy Title IX Coordinator. If you disclose an incident of sexual misconduct to a professor or staff member in or outside of the classroom (with the exception of disclosures in papers), that faculty or staff member must report the incident to the Title IX Coordinator, or Deputy Title IX Coordinator. The coordinator will, in turn, reach out to the student to provide support, resources, and the option to meet. Please note that the student is not required to meet with the Title IX coordinator and no action will be taken without the student's awareness. More information about reporting options and resources can be found on the Sexual Misconduct Website: <https://sexualassault.georgetown.edu/resourcecenter>.

If you would prefer to speak to someone confidentially, Georgetown has a number of fully confidential professional resources that can provide support and assistance. These resources include:

- Health Education Services: Sexual Assault Response and Prevention:
sarp@georgetown.edu

- Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS): 202.687.6985

Additional resources are included below:

- Georgetown Self-Care Resource Guide: <https://studenthealth.georgetown.edu/health-promotion/self-care/>
- Georgetown Wellness Wheel: <https://studenthealth.georgetown.edu/hoya-wellness-wheel/>
- Georgetown Guide to Recognizing Students in Distress: <https://studentaffairs.georgetown.edu/studentoutreach/facultystaffresources/>

Pregnancy Modifications and Adjustments: Georgetown University is committed to creating an accessible and inclusive environment for pregnant students. At any point throughout their pregnancy students may request adjustments/modifications based on general pregnancy needs or accommodations based on a pregnancy-related complication or medical need. Students may also request accommodations following labor and delivery based on a complication or medical need.

To request pregnancy modifications, please complete the [SCS Pregnancy Modification Request Form](https://forms.gle/ZBfASxui7u13A8TU6): <https://forms.gle/ZBfASxui7u13A8TU6>

More information about pregnancy modifications can be found on the Title IX Georgetown University Website: <https://titleix.georgetown.edu/title-ix-pregnancy/student-pregnancy/>

Evaluations

- 1. Attendance and Participation (20%).** *1.a.* Students are expected to attend all the classes but are allowed up to one unexcused absence. *1.b.* Participation is crucial to passing this course. That is, attending all the classes without participating will not be translated into a 100% of the “Attendance and Participation” grade. *1.c.* Leading a “History in Focus” discussion (see “Readings” below) is a requirement and a crucial part of the Attendance and Participation grade.

- 2. Quizzes (40%).** There will be three quizzes. *2.a.* The first one is a “Map Quiz.” (10%) Students should be able to identify all countries of Latin America, name and locate their capitals, and point out some important regions, rivers, and landmarks either from the past or the present (e.g., “Amazon River,” “Yucatán Peninsula,” or “New Spain”). The map quiz consists of twenty questions at the beginning of class six. The instructor will provide a comprehensive list of forty locations in the first class. All the questions will come from that list. *2.b.* A short quiz (15%) (ten questions, multiple choice, or true/false) about the 19th century will take place at the beginning of class twelve. *3.c.* In class nineteen, students will take another short quiz (15%) about the 20th century, following the same format. Questions will emerge from readings and lectures.
- 3. Note on Movie (10%).** Write an analysis (max. 2 pages) about the movie *Argentina 1985* (Submit by class 20).
- 4. Final paper (30%).** The final paper will consist of seven to twelve pages of analytical research. No more than two-thirds of the sources cited in the paper should come from syllabus material. The topic of the final paper must be approved by the instructor. The instructor should receive all the proposals (one paragraph) by the beginning of class eighteen. Papers must be submitted no later than August 12th.

Readings: This is a reading-intensive course. Students are expected to read for every class.

Readings are divided into two categories: “General Readings” and “History in Focus.” The former refers to a series of texts that present a broad contextualization. The latter, “History in Focus,” includes pieces that deal with specific historiographical approaches, which will inform the debate of the last minutes of each class. At the first meeting, students will be assigned one

“History in Focus” discussion to lead, based on the text selected for that day. It is also important to note that this syllabus is subject to change during the term.

Week 1

Class 1 (July 8th): Introduction and class mechanics. A brief overview of the historical itinerary of this class (chronology, regions, topics, approaches). Circulation of questions for the map quiz. “History in Focus” discussion assignments. **The Napoleonic Atlantic.** The colonial rule in Latin America: economy, institutions, and societies. Slavery in the early 1800s. The crisis of the Spanish Monarchy. History in Focus (Atlantic History): Sugar, slavery, and revolution in Haiti:

General Reading: Jeremy Adelman, “An Age of Imperial Revolutions,” *American Historical Review* 113:2 (2008).

History in Focus: Carolyn Fick, “The Haitian Revolution and the Limits of Freedom: Defining Citizenship in the Revolutionary Era,” *Social History*, Vol. 32, No. 4, Nov. 2007, pp. 394-414.

Class 2 (July 9th): Revolution (I). Spanish America between 1810-1824. History in Focus (Political History): A historians’ debate. Revolution *of* independence or revolution *and* independence?

General Reading: Jaime Rodríguez O., “The Emancipation of America,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 1 (Feb., 2000), pp. 131-152.

History in Focus: Selection of letters from Río de la Plata diplomats (1814/1815), Declaration of Independence of Venezuela.

Class 3: Two Independent Empires (July 10th). Mexico and Brazil after independence. Gold, sugar, coffee, and slavery: the economy of the Brazilian Empire. History in Focus (History of Ideas): Liberalism in Brazil.

General Reading: Plan de Iguala (1821); Kirsten Schultz, “Atlantic Transformations and Brazil’s Imperial Independence,” in John Tutino (Ed.), *New Countries. Capitalism, Revolutions, and Nations in the Americas, 1750–1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

History in Focus: Roderick J. Barman (2012) “The Enigma of Liberalism in Imperial Brazil, 1822-1889” in *Liberalism, Monarchy and Empire: Ambiguous Relationship*.

Class 4 (July 11th): The Early Republics. Liberals and conservatives; federalism and centralism. The rise of caudillismo. A new empire and a young republic at war: the birth of Uruguay. History in Focus (Political Culture): Republicanism and notions of citizenship.

General Reading: Alan Knight, *Bandits and Liberals, Rebels and Saints: Latin America since Independence*, (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2022), Chapter 2, “Toward an Explanation of Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.”

History in Focus: Hilda Sabato, *Republics of the New World. The Revolutionary Political Experiment in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), pp. 1-22.

Week 2

Class 5 (July 15th): State Formation and “the War for North America.” MAP QUIZ. Civil wars. Colombia, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico. Provinces, States, and National Governments. New constitutions (and new conflicts). The U.S. and Mexico at War. History in Focus (Frontier Societies): the role of indigenous peoples in “the war for North America.”

General Reading: Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), Chapter 2, “Representing the Nation.”

History in Focus: Brian Delay, “Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 1 (Feb., 2007), pp. 35-68.

Class 6 (July 16th): International Wars. The War of the Pacific, the War of the Triple Alliance, and the Second Mexican Empire. History in Focus (Demographics): Post-war Paraguay.

General reading: Edward Shawcross, “The Second Mexican Empire,” *History Today*, 2022, Vol.72 (2), pp. 28-41.

History in Focus: Thomas L. Whigham and Barbara Potthast, “The Paraguayan Rosetta Stone: New Insights into the Demographics of the Paraguayan War, 1864-1870,” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (1999), pp. 174-186 and Jan M. G. Kleinpenning, “Strong Reservations about “New Insights into the Demographics of the Paraguayan War,” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2002), pp. 137-142.

Class 7 (July 17th): “Order and Progress.” Economies and societies in transformation. The Porfiriato and its differences with the Argentine PAN and the Colombian *Regeneración*. A technological and demographic transition. The commodity boom and its consequences. Institutionalized nationalism and national histories. The abolition of slavery and the end of the Brazilian Empire. History in Focus (History of Education): hygiene and national narratives in Mexico City schools.

General Reading: Lilia M. Schwarcz and Heloisa M. Starling, *Brazil: A Biography*, “The end of the Monarchy in Brazil”, pp. 324-354; Plan de Tuxtepec.

Specific Reading: Patience A. Schell, “Nationalizing Children through Schools and Hygiene: Porfirian and Revolutionary Mexico City,” *The Americas*, Apr., 2004, Vol. 60, No. 4 (Apr., 2004), pp. 559-587.

Class 8 (July 18th): The U.S. and Latin America. William Walker in Nicaragua. The Spanish-American War. The U.S. in Cuba and Puerto Rico. The dollar diplomacy. The Roosevelt corollary. The UFCo in Central America. Augusto César Sandino. History in Focus (Environmental History): the ecological impacts of the Panamá Canal.

General Reading: Ada Ferrer, “Cuba, 1898: Rethinking Race, Nation, and Empire,” *Radical history review*, 1999, Vol.1999 (73), pp. 22-46.

History in Focus: Panama Canal Forum, *Environmental History* 21 (2016) (selection): Pamela M. Henson, “A Baseline Environmental Survey: The 1910-12 Smithsonian Biological Survey of the Panama Canal Zone,” pp. 222-228 ; Marixa Lasso, “‘From Citizens to ‘Natives:’ Tropical Politics of Depopulation at the Panama Canal Zone,” pp. 240-247 **and** Paul S. Sutter, “‘The First Mountain to Be Removed’: Yellow Fever Control and the Construction of the Panama Canal,” pp. 250-258.

Week 3

Class 9 (July 22nd): Revolution (II). Mexico. The Crisis of the Porfiriato. The rise of Madero, Carranza, and Obregón. Zapatismo and Villismo. The land reform. The Constitution of 1917. History in Focus (Religion): The Cristero War.

General Reading: John Womack, “The Mexican Revolution, 1910-20” in Leslie Bethel (Ed.), *Mexico since Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Plan de Ayala.

History in Focus: Jean Meyer, “The Conflict Between State and Church in Mexico (1925–1938) and La Cristiada (1926–1929),” in Vyacheslav Karpov and Manfred Svensson (Eds.), *Secularization, Desecularization, and Toleration: Cross-Disciplinary Challenges to a Modern Myth* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020).

Class 10 (July 23rd): Mass Politics and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy. FIRST QUIZ. The great depression in Latin America. The role of the military. Getulio Vargas’s Brazil. Uprisings and repressions in Central America. The interwar era. The ISI model. The Chaco Wwr. The war of the thousand days in Colombia and the independence of Panama. Mexico: from Callismo to Cardenismo. “La Matanza” in El Salvador. History in Focus (Cultural Politics): Indigenismo in Central America.

General Reading: Eduardo Posada-Carbó, “Limits of Power: Elections Under the Conservative Hegemony in Colombia, 1886-1930,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 77, No. 2 (May, 1997), pp. 245-279.

History in Focus: Jeffrey L. Gould, “Indigenista dictators and the problematic origins of democracy in Central America” in Paulo Drinot and Alan Knight, *The Great Depression in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), pp.188-212.

Class 11 (July 24th): Latin America in the post-WWII Era. Economic and political transformations. The origins of “La Violencia” in Colombia. Peronismo and Vargasismo. The figure of Eva Perón. The Puntofijo Pact in Venezuela. History in Focus (Social History): Class tensions in Peronist Argentina.

General Reading: Eduardo Elena, “What the People Want: State Planning and Political Participation in Peronist Argentina, 1946-1955,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Feb., 2005, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Feb., 2005), pp. 81-108.

History in Focus: Natalia Milanesio, *Workers Go Shopping in Argentina. The Rise of Popular Consumer Culture*, Chapter 4, “How can a garbage collector be on the same level as we are? Upper- and middle-class anxieties over working-class consumers.”

Class 12: Revolution (III) (July 25th): The end of the “classic populisms” in Argentina and Brazil. History in Focus (Rural History): Land Reform in the Revolutions of Bolivia and Guatemala.

General Reading: Piero Gleijeses, “The Agrarian Reform of Jacobo Arbenz,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Oct., 1989), pp. 453-480.

History in Focus: Carmen Soliz, *Fields of Revolution: Agrarian Reform and Rural State Formation in Bolivia, 1935-1964*, chapter 3, “Revolution Comes to the Countryside,” pp. 70-93.

Week 4

Class 13 (July 29th): Revolution (IV): Cuba. Batista's Regime. The guerrilla model. Fidel and El Che. History in Focus (Connected History): The Perspective of a Cuban-American Historian writing about Cuba from the U.S.

General Reading: Ada Ferrer, *Cuba. An American History*, pp. 289-311.

History in Focus: Ada Ferrer, *Cuba. An American History*, pp. 315-350.

Class 14 (July 30th): The Cold War in Latin America. The Alliance for Progress.

Developmentalism. The 60s: apogee and crisis. The Trujillo Era in the Dominican Republic.

Nicaragua under Somoza. The "War on Drugs." The FARC. The Soccer War. Tlatelolco and the Cordobazo. Revolution in Peru. Velasco and the peasant cooperatives. History in Focus (Age): The Latin American Youth.

General Reading: Cynthia McClintock, "Velasco, Officers, and Citizens. The Politics of Stealth" in

Cynthia McClintock and Abraham F. Lowenthal (Eds.), *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered*, pp. 275-308.

History in Focus: Valeria Manzano, "The Blue Jean Generation: Youth, Gender, and Sexuality in Buenos Aires, 1958-1975," *Journal of Social History*, 2009, Vol.42 (3), pp. 657-676.

Class 15 (July 31st): Violence. Shining Path and Montoneros, Peron's return and the Military Dictatorship. The Malvinas/Falklands War. Allende's presidency and the 1973 coup. Theology of

liberation. Archbishop Óscar Romero's assassination. History in Focus (Gender): Women in the dictatorships of Argentina and Chile.

General Reading: Ernesto Valiente, "The Option for Nonviolence in Latin American Liberation Theology: The Case of Archbishop Oscar A. Romero," *International Journal of Latin American Religions* volume 6, 2022, pp. 98–112.

History in Focus: Jadwiga E Pieper Mooney, "Militant Motherhood Re-Visited: Women's Participation and Political Power in Argentina and Chile," *History Compass*, 2007, Vol.5 (3), p.975-994.

Class 16 (August 1st): Democracy and its divergent paths (Part I). Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Watch in Class: "Argentina, 1985," Part I.

Class 17 (August 5th): Democracy and its divergent paths (Part II). **SECOND QUIZ.**

Continue Watching "Argentina, 1985," Part II. History in Focus (Public History): History, Memory, and Movies. How to analyze a film – and how to narrate a complex history for broad (and foreign) audiences?

General Reading: "Oscar-Nominated Film Depicts Road to Justice That Is 'Permanently Alive'," *The New York Times*, March 11, 2023: <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/11/world/americas/argentina-1985-dictatorship.html>

History in Focus: Rasmus Falbe-Hansen, "The Filmmaker as Historian," *P.O.V.* No.16 – Film & Politics.

Week 5

Class 18 (August 6th): The 1980s. Between Democracy and Economic Crisis. Violence in Guatemala and El Salvador. The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua. Hyperinflation in Argentina and Brazil. The Mexico City earthquake (1985) and the presidential elections of 1988. Latin Americans in the United States. History in focus (Immigration): Salvadorians in Washington, DC.

General Reading: María José Vargas-Machuca Salido, “The external debt crisis and the ‘lost decade’ in Latin America (1980–1990),” in Juan Manuel Matés-Barco and María Vázquez-Fariñas (Eds.), *The Age of Global Economic Crises (1929-2022)*.

History in Focus: Ana Patricia Rodríguez, “Becoming ‘Wachintonians’: Salvadorans in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area,” *Washington History*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 2016), pp. 3-12.

Class 19 (August 7th): The Post-Cold War Era. The economy of the 1990s. The Washington Consensus. NAFTA. The “special period” in Cuba. The Maleconazo and Cuban Miami. Violeta Chamorro’s election in Nicaragua. Venezuela between the Caracazo and Hugo Chávez’s victory. Peronism returns to power in Argentina. Dollarization in Ecuador. Mexico, 1994. History in Focus (International relations): Migration, Law, and Politics. Debating the Case of Elián González.

General Reading: George A. Collier and Elizabeth Lowery Quaratiello, *Basta! Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas*. Oakland, CA: Food First Books, Third Edition, pp. 1-14.

History in Focus: Lilian Guerra, “Elián González and the “Real Cuba” of Miami: Visions of Identity, Exceptionality, and Divinity,” *Cuban Studies*, 2007, Vol.38 (1), pp. 1-25.

Class 20 (August 8th): The First Two Decades of the 21st century. Argentina, 2001. The “Pink Tide(s).” The Plan Colombia and the war against drugs in Mexico. Democratic elections in Mexico. Venezuela under Chávez. The 2008 crisis. Earthquake in Haiti (2010). A Latin American Pope and the rise of evangelism. Post-Fidel Cuba. The Colombian peace agreements. Covid-19. Polarization. Recent migratory trends. History in Focus (History and Sociology): Poverty and Politics in Urban Latin America.

General Reading: Carolina Salgado and Paula Sandrin. “A ‘Pink Tide’ Then a ‘Turn to the Right’: Populisms and Extremism in Latin America in the Twenty-First Century” in Bettina De Souza Guilherme, Christian Ghymers, Stephany Griffith-Jones, Andrea Ribeiro Hoffmann (Eds.), *Financial Crisis Management and Democracy Lessons from Europe and Latin America* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020).

History in Focus: Maricarmen Hernández, Samuel Law, and Javier Auyero, “How Do the Urban Poor Survive? A Comparative Ethnography of Subsistence Strategies in Argentina, Ecuador, and Mexico,” *Qual Sociol*, 45(1), 2022, pp. 1-29.