

**History 3711: The Past is a Predator: Southern Cone Military Juntas of the late twentieth century**  
**University of Connecticut Department of History**  
**Fall 2013**

**Kim Worthington** - [kim.worthington@uconn.edu](mailto:kim.worthington@uconn.edu)

*Office Number: Wood Hall 330*

*Office hours: Tuesdays, 2-4pm or by appointment*

*Lecture: **Tuesdays and Thursdays 12:30-1:45pm,**  
**Family Studies Building Room 202***

Please note that, for the purposes of obtaining feedback from colleagues, I include notes on my thinking in developing the syllabus in orange font. These do not form part of the syllabus that students are given. This is the lecturer's copy.

This course aims to equip students with a working knowledge of the rise, workings, and ramifications of the military junta governments of the southern cone states of Latin America (Argentina and Chile in particular) from the 1970s on. More importantly the course is designed to challenge students to approach these circumstances from multiple historical perspectives and engage the tools of critical thinking, both in broad terms and with the specificity that situations require. We will use a range of source materials, including documentaries, government reports and memoranda, newspaper articles, historical monographs, personal narratives, fictional representations of historical events (in film), and others. Our focus will be on approaching all sources as historians, with a critical awareness of the current purposes that records and narratives serve, as well as the pasts from which they have emerged. While some scholarly articles are included as readings, the course aims to stimulate students to investigate primary sources themselves, and to shape their own understandings through a range of sources through which the story of the past can be unearthed.

It is important to note from the outset that the very nature of the events that we are studying is upsetting, and that certain films may contain graphic images. Furthermore, material addressing social revolution and military dictatorship can also be politically contentious, especially when the role of other States is considered. Students with any concerns about content should please discuss their participation in the course with me within the first week, and all students should feel free to schedule an appointment to discuss any unease they have about course material at any stage.

**Course requirements:** Each student is expected to come to class having completed all work listed on the syllabus under 'Preparation' for that day. Students should be prepared to discuss their ideas on work done in preparation for class. Regular attendance is also a requirement and students should notify me by e-mail in advance of any absence. Students will be required to conduct some independent research and participate in group work for certain sections of the course. There will be both a mid-term and a final examination. Should you need an extension on the mid-term paper please request one, via e-mail, in advance. A printed copy must be

handed in by the due date. (Please note that no extensions can be granted on the final examination).

Grades will be determined as follows:

Group project	15%
Class participation	20%
Midterm	30%
Final exam	35%

**Group project:** The class will be divided into groups of 4 to 6 people and you will be given time to research and present on a topic relevant to the course. Each member of the group will be tasked with conducting and discussing part of the research but the group needs to work together to ensure cohesion in research content and the presentation. Presentations will be on April 2nd, in class.

**Class participation:** Preparation for each class is essential and lays the groundwork for your engagement with course material. The course is structured so that you can actively pursue knowledge on particular issues that interest you. Any ideas that you bring to class are welcome and will contribute to the understanding of the group as a whole. You are encouraged to raise questions and points of discussion based on assigned readings and course materials as well as any independent reading that you engage in.

**Midterm:** There will be a take-home midterm given out on 28 February. A printed copy is due by Thursday 14 March at 5pm. Answers should be in the form of essays, appropriately footnoted.

**Final:** The final examination will be on Tuesday, May 2nd, from 09:30-12:30pm in the Family Studies Building, Room 202. It will include three short essays, the first in response to a compulsory question and the other two from a choice of three.

The University of Connecticut takes the issue of plagiarism seriously. Handing in any work that is not your own and is not appropriately credited may result in your failing the course and being reported to the necessary authority at UConn.

While it is not a requirement, throughout the course, especially whilst preparing for the next lecture, students would benefit from noting points of interest, including historical assertions with which they might agree or disagree. Any ideas that you bring to class are welcome and will contribute to our discussion and learning.

**Additional material:** To complement students' learning in the course, recommended optional material is included in the syllabus. It is not a requirement of the course that students read or watch resources listed 'optional,' but these materials will certainly add value to your learning experience and enhance your understanding of the period that we are studying.

### **Readings:**

These are the required textbooks, available at UConn Co-op and through online retailers. All other materials will be available either in the course reader, which you can purchase at the Co-op, or on HuskyCT where possible. Links to online sources are, in many instances, provided in

the syllabus. You will need to obtain the following books, listed in the order in which we will read them through the course of the semester:

Hauser, Thomas. *Missing*. New York: Avon Books, 1982.

Uribe, Armando. *The Black Book of American Intervention in Chile*. New York: Beacon Press, 1975.

Feitlowitz, Marguerite. *A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

J. Patrice McSherry. *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America*. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

Arditti, Rita. *Searching for Life. The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo and the Disappeared Children of Argentina*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

**Optional:**

Osiel, M. *Mass Atrocity, Ordinary Evil, and Hannah Arendt: Criminal Consciousness in Argentina's Dirty War*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001.

Films shown in class or recommended in the course of the semester will be available through the Reserve Desk at the Homer Babbidge Library.

## Schedule

### Week 1 Chile

**Tuesday Jan 22** - Course overview; contextualizing late twentieth century Chile and Argentina; making course aims and expectations clear; clarifying what students hope to gain from the course and any particular areas of interest.

**Notes to self:** The first class will serve to contextualize the geographic and political boundaries of Chile and Argentina in broad terms. We will also read through the syllabus and clarify any questions that arise, as well as making course expectations and requirements clear. The first lecture provides the opportunity to assess the pre-existing knowledge of students, and also to get an idea of which issues should be addressed and how the syllabus can be tailored to suit the particular class (for example, whether there are many Spanish-speaking students or not and whether students have taken courses in Latin American history previously).

**Thursday Jan 24** - In class - watch *The Judge and the General*, directed by Elizabeth Farnsworth and Patricio Lanfranco (2008; Produced as part of the P.O.V. series by American Documentary, Inc.), DVD

### Preparation

- Reading: Up to page 140 of Thomas Hauser, *Missing* (New York: Avon Books, 1982). (First published in 1978 under the title *The Execution of Charles Horman: An American Sacrifice*.) You may read either version.

### Optional

- Explore more of the film's themes - <http://www.pbs.org/pov/judgeandthegeneral/#.UXyc5OBdVFI>

### Week 2 The Stadiums

#### Tuesday Jan 29

Now that students have some understanding of the arc of Chile's history under Pinochet, we will reflect back on the cafe culture of debate and intellectual engagement on political issues that had characterized pre-1970 Chile. At this stage we will only briefly focus on Allende's election, re-election and the Unidad Popular government. We will touch on the intensification of confrontation between the left-wing and reactionaries, catalyzed by the trucker's strike, food shortages and such challenges. The lecture will open with a reading of the English translation of Victor Jara's *Estadio Chile* (copied below). Once we have discussed, in broad terms, developments until the day of the coup, we will consider the symbolic (and real) horror of the use of stadiums (intended to be places of sport, culture, and relaxation) as torture and detention centers for the country's own citizens (and a few foreigners).

There are five thousand of us here  
in this small part of the city.  
We are five thousand.

I wonder how many we are in all  
in the cities and in the whole country?

Here alone  
are ten thousand hands which plant seeds  
and make the factories run.  
How much humanity  
exposed to hunger, cold, panic, pain,  
moral pressure, terror and insanity?

Six of us were lost  
as if into starry space.  
One dead, another beaten as I could never have believed  
a human being could be beaten.  
The other four wanted to end their terror  
one jumping into nothingness,  
another beating his head against a wall,  
but all with the fixed stare of death.

What horror the face of fascism creates!  
They carry out their plans with knife-like precision.  
Nothing matters to them.  
To them, blood equals medals,  
slaughter is an act of heroism.  
Oh God, is this the world that you created,  
for this your seven days of wonder and work?  
Within these four walls only a number exists  
which does not progress,  
which slowly will wish more and more for death.

But suddenly my conscience awakes  
and I see that this tide has no heartbeat,  
only the pulse of machines  
and the military showing their midwives' faces  
full of sweetness.  
Let Mexico, Cuba and the world  
cry out against this atrocity!  
We are ten thousand hands  
which can produce nothing.

How many of us in the whole country?  
The blood of our President, our compañero,  
will strike with more strength than bombs and machine guns!  
So will our fist strike again!

How hard it is to sing  
when I must sing of horror.

Horror which I am living,  
horror which I am dying.  
To see myself among so much  
and so many moments of infinity  
in which silence and screams  
are the end of my song.  
What I see, I have never seen  
What I have felt and what I feel  
Will give birth to the moment.  
Will give birth to the moment.

How hard it is to sing  
when I must sing of horror.  
How hard it is to sing  
How hard it is to sing....

### **Preparation**

Read through these recent news articles:

- “Victor Jara murder: Chile arrests ex-army officers,” *BBC News*, Latin America and the Caribbean, January 13, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-20897545>
- Pascale Bonnefoy, “Chile Exhumes Nobel Poet’s Body to Investigate Claim of Poisoning,” *The New York Times*, America, April 8, 2013  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/09/world/americas/chile-exhumes-pablo-nerudas-body-in-inquiry.html>
- Who was Victor Jara? Why, in 2013, are questions being asked about the manner of Pablo Neruda’s death? Please do some independent research on each of these Chileans and come to class with some understanding of who each of these men was and why the life and death of each continues to be of significance in Chile and beyond.

### **Optional**

- Pablo Neruda, *Memoirs*, trans. Hardie St. Martin (New York: Farrar, Straus & Girroux, 1977).
- Listen to Victor Jara singing *Venceremos* on YouTube or Pandora.

### **Thursday Jan 31 Also on a Tuesday - the other September 11**

Today’s class will be a lecture dealing with the military coup d’état of 11 September, 1973 followed by a class discussion on course material thus far, including reactions to readings and to the circumstances of human rights violations in Chile.

Now that students have watched the documentary *The Judge and the General*, read *Missing* and have a general idea of the horrors of the September 11, 1973 coup and the months thereafter, we will have a class discussion on how such a turn to brutality came about. My assumption is that at least some students will be of the view that such events can be relegated to the past and to Chile and Chileans. While not losing the historical particularity of Chile in the early 1970’s, Week 3’s lectures will attempt to show how some social psychologists have convincingly shown that authoritarianism and potential violence operate even in the most

democratic societies and that our understanding of institutional and individual violence and the use of power should be a little more nuanced and transnational.

Our discussions on the book (and film) *Missing* will also consider gender aspects - how men with long hair were targeted, how women wearing pants were forced to strip and chastised for not being feminine. We will consider the rigidity of gender roles and stereotypes in authoritarian thinking at that time.

### **Preparation**

- Pages 140 - 272 of Thomas Hauser, *Missing* (New York: Avon Books, 1982).

### **Optional**

- The Costa-Gavras Film *Missing* will be available on reserve at the library.
- Spanish speakers may be interested in watching *La batalla de Chile: la lucha de un pueblo sin armas*, directed by Patricio Guzmán (Cuba, 1975) available here:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxRlhggVGoQ>

## **Week 3 Understanding authoritarianism**

### **Tuesday Feb 5**

Today's class will be a lecture on and discussion of Stanley Milgram's famous experiments and the theory that he (and other social psychologists) developed, as well as the 1971 Stanford prison experiment.

### **Preparation**

- Milgram, Stanley. "Behavioural Study of Obedience." *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 67/4 (1963): 371-378. PDF available here:  
<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/psychology/terrace/w1001/readings/milgram.pdf> and reproduced, and contextualized, here:  
[http://www.wadsworth.com/psychology\\_d/templates/student\\_resources/0155060678\\_rathus/ps/ps01.html](http://www.wadsworth.com/psychology_d/templates/student_resources/0155060678_rathus/ps/ps01.html)
- Footage from the Milgram experiments, *Stanley Milgram: Obedience to Authority*, (San Francisco: HeroicImagination, 1997) [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y9l\\_puxcrIM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y9l_puxcrIM)

### **Optional**

- Find and watch footage of the Stanford prison experiment. What was the public reaction?

### **Thursday Feb 7**

Today's discussion incorporates readings by students of some brief *testimonios* of events following the coup. Our source for the *testimonios* is the 1974 booklet *Evidence on the terror in Chile*, edited by Sun Axelsson, Birgitta Leander, Raúl Silva C. London (London: Merlin Press, 1974) which will be available in class.

Students will be asked to consider how the army of a long-standing constitutional democracy could have been made to turn on its own population (not a hostile foreign power) with the

viciousness and savagery that it did. We will also briefly consider the changing role of the *testimonio* as an historical source and discuss how and why it might serve to document events in a situation of fear and powerlessness. Students will read passages out loud to the class.

We will consider the different implications that the coup has for men and women, especially women who had been in positions of authority during Allende's rule (for example, the mayor of the small town, a mother of twelve children, who was shot and thrown from the bridge as recounted in *Pulitzer's Fear in Chile*).

### **Preparation**

- Read Pulitzer, Patricia. *Fear in Chile: Lives Under Pinochet*, trans. Diane Wachtel (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 3-19; 49-68; 140-153. (HuskyCT)
- Acuña Moenne, María Elena and Matthew Webb. "Embodying Memory: Women and the Legacy of the Military Government in Chile." *Feminist Review*, 79, Latin America: History, war and independence (2005): 150-161. Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3874434>

### **Optional**

- Read Jacobo Timerman *Chile: Death in the South*, (New York: Knopf, 1987), which is on reserve in the library.
- Look for an account of an individual, family or community's experiences in the wake of September 11, 1973 in Chile and bring it to class. Note where and how you found the account, and your sense of its value or questionability as an historical text. The library and the internet are both good starting points for this endeavor.

## **Week 4 - 'The past is a predator'**

### **Tuesday Feb 12**

In the context of what the previous week's lecture on Milgrim's experiment on authoritarianism says about the generalizability of the authoritarian personality, we move into Wineburg's eloquent argument about the past being a foreign country, so hard for us to grasp as the circumstances are so different from ours, especially in subtle yet significant ways. We will assess and discuss the limits of possibility that demarcate our engagement with the past, and the relativism of our interpretations and understanding. In light of Wineburg's example of the school child advising Primo Levi on how he could have dealt with the situation in Auschwitz, we will also consider the role of empathy in historical understanding and discourse.

### **Preparation:**

- Sam Wineburg, "Unnatural and Essential: The Nature of Historical Thinking," *Teaching History* 129 (December 2007): 6-11 and "Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts," *Phi Delta Kappan* 80 No. 7 (March 1999): 488-499.

### **Thursday Feb 14**

The need for truth and for exhuming the past before laying it to rest: the role of the truth commission.



Understanding the limitations of sources, interpretations and understanding for even the most competent and meticulous historian, we will examine why it is important to come to grips with the past and structure the narrative of the greatest verisimilitude. Students will be challenged to think of **to whom** this is important, and why. We will then delve into a lecture and discussion on the Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación and the "Rettig Report." We will also look at the conservative findings of the Argentine truth commission report, and how subsequent discoveries of primary source documents, for example this (which will be shown in class),

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB185/19780715%20%5BReport%20on%20Argentina%27s%20disappeared%5D%20A0000514c.pdf> and see this too

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB185/index.htm> have shown the reflected number of disappeared to be much lower than the reality.

### **Preparation**

- Please find an online copy of the National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation (Rettig Commission), Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation. Santiago: Secretariat of Communication and Culture, Government General Secretariat Ministry, 1991, (*Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación*), often known as the Rettig Report. While it is not necessary to read the report in its entirety, please glance through it and note some points of interest to mention in class.
- Read Eric Brahm's "The Chilean Truth and Reconciliation Commission," July 2005, in *Beyond Intractability*, The Beyond Intractability Project, The Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, available here <http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/brahm-chilean>

### **Optional**

- Find and peruse the September 20, 1984 report of the National Commission on the Disappeared (Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas, CONADEP). Alternatively, read through the commercially published version, *Nunca Más: Informe de la Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas*. Trans. and published in English (1986) by Faber and Faber: London and Boston and Farrar, Strauss & Giroux: New York.
- Consider the efficacy of each of these truth commissions? If you do an online search on responses to the truth commissions in Argentina and Chile, what is the impression you have of public response to their findings? What are the major constraints that you think each was operating under?

## **Week 5      Complicity or culpability? A search for answers and accountability**

### **Tuesday Feb 19**

The death of at least two Americans in the Chilean coup, Frank Terrugi and Charles Horman, as detailed in *Missing*, were a catalyst to the establishment of the 1975 United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, chaired by Senator Frank Church.

The National Security Archives at George Washington University have significantly contributed to the availability of primary source archival material in this regard.

## Preparation

- Please read excerpts from Volume 7 of the 14 published Church Committee Reports of 1975 and 1976. It is available through the Assassination Archives and Research Centre here [http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/contents/church/contents\\_church\\_reports\\_vol7.htm](http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/contents/church/contents_church_reports_vol7.htm). You will also be able to find a copy at the library.
- Peruse a selection from the George Washington University National Security archives, Chile Documentation Project, [http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/latin\\_america/chile.htm](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/latin_america/chile.htm). Come to class prepared to discuss at least two documents that you feel are significant and merit attention by historians of Chilean history in the twentieth century. Note why you feel that they are important, what they tell us about the past and how they continue to have political implications in the present.
- Armando Uribe, *The Black Book of American Intervention in Chile* (New York: Beacon Press, 1975). Please find out who Uribe is, and his role in Chile before September 1973.

## Optional

- Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: The New Press, 2004). (Available on reserve at the library).

## Thursday Feb 21

In answering some of the questions raised by the previous lecture we turn our attention to the ongoing response by the United States Government and its intelligence sector to questions about its role in aiding the military in the coup. Our discussion will include consideration of how public understanding of history is influenced by political discourse, as well as how secret and classified government documents shape or cause gaps in the history. The landmark Hinchey report as well as the role of historical apology will be discussed. How and why did President Clinton apologize for past actions of the United States government? Why has the government been reticent to apologize for other actions, even when documentary evidence is in the public domain? Does the act of apologizing or not affect the subsequent view of events?

## Preparation

- Please read the Congressional Report, “CIA Activities in Chile.” A report by the CIA to Representative Maurice D. Hinchey and to the House and Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, unclassified, September 18, 2000, <http://foia.state.gov/reports/hincheyreport.asp>.
- Read this transcript from the U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C, February 20, 2003, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, Interview On Black Entertainment Television's *Youth Town Hall*, February 20, 2003, [excerpt on 1973 U.S. covert action in Chile], <https://www.fas.org/irp/news/2003/02/doso22003.html>. (Why is it available through the website of the Federation of American Scientists? Can we trust its veracity from this source?)
- Read this transcript and watch the video from The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, June 23, 2009 Remarks by President Obama and President Bachelet of Chile after meeting, Oval Office [http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Remarks-by-President-Obama-and-President-Bachelet-of-Chile-after-meeting/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-President-Obama-and-President-Bachelet-of-Chile-after-meeting/)
- Do an internet search on Michelle Bachelet and her family. Who was President Bachelet's father in the Allende government?

## **Week 6      Networks for State terror**

### **Tuesday Feb 26**

Today we consider less direct interventions than those discussed last week and look at aspects of foreign policy towards Latin America by the United States in the Cold War period.

#### **Preparation**

- Find out more on the School of the Americas.
- Read Lisa Haugaard's *Declassified Army and CIA Manuals Used in Latin America: An Analysis of Their Content*, Latin America Working Group. February 18, 1997, available through Archivo Chile and CEME Centro de Estudios Miguel Enriquez, [http://www.archivochile.com/Imperialismo/escu\\_ameri/USescamerica0010.pdf](http://www.archivochile.com/Imperialismo/escu_ameri/USescamerica0010.pdf)

**Thursday Feb 28** - Mid-term questions given to students. DUE on 14 March.

#### **Preparation**

- J. Patrice McSherry, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America* (Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).
- Ariel C. Armory, "Transnationalizing the Dirty War: Argentina in Central America," in *In From the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War* eds. Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008): 134-168.

#### **Optional**

- Dinges, John, *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents* (New York: New Press, 2003).

## **Week 7      The Long Reach of the French war in Algeria**

With the optional Jacobo Timerman book of Week 3 providing a segue into the history of the last Argentine junta, the Week 7 lecture will shift from Chile to look at the social dislocation in Argentina, predating the 1970's (some might say by a few centuries!) but, for the purposes of the course, starting with the formation of the Montoneros in about 1970. In Week 7 we will particularly be looking Marie-Monique Robin research into the impact that the French military mission (comprised of personnel schooled in the Algerian War) in the office of the Chief of Staff of the Argentine Military Forces had on the course of the Dirty War: increasing reliance on the intelligence sector, conceptualizing an 'internal' enemy and systematizing the use of torture, inter alia. We will focus on the fact that disappearances preceded the coup that swept Videla's junta to power in 1976.

**Tuesday March 5** - Collusion, coercion and complicity

The case of France.

#### **Preparation**

- Watch Gillo Pontecorvo's 1966 film, *The Battle of Algiers*.

## Thursday March 7

We will watch the documentary, *Escadrons de la mort... L'école française*, Directed by Marie-Monique Robin 2003 (Production Companies Idéale Audience, Canal+, Arte and TV3, 2003).

### Preparation

Read about Marie-Monique Robin. What is the role of journalists in contributing to historical understanding? What distinguishes the work of an historian from that of a journalist? Which are the greatest constraints to the work of either?

## Week 8 The Church and the junta: Questions of ethics, questions of control

### Tuesday 12 - The Church in Chile

#### Preparation

- Read Roberto Suro, "Pope, on Latin Trip, Attacks Pinochet Regime," Special to the New York Times, World, April 01, 1987, <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/04/01/world/pope-on-latin-trip-attacks-pinochet-regime.html>
- Then read through this more recent article from Peter Finocchiaro, "WikiLeaks: Vatican Dismissed Pinochet Massacre Reports As 'Communist Propaganda'", The Huffington Post, Religion, 04/08/2013, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/08/wikileaks-vatican-pinochet\\_n\\_3038072.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/08/wikileaks-vatican-pinochet_n_3038072.html)

#### Optional

- Read Hugh O'Shaughnessy, *The Tablet - The international Catholic News Weekly*, "The cardinal who stood up to Pinochet," 27/02/1999, <http://www.thetablet.co.uk/article/6703>
- John Dinges, "Wikileaks cables won't rewrite Vatican's relationship with Pinochet," *Santiago Times*, 17 APRIL 2013, <http://www.santiagotimes.cl/opinion/op-ed/26021-wikileaks-cables-wont-rewrite-vaticans-relationship-with-pinochet>

### Thursday 14 - Midterm due - The Church in Argentina

For this lecture I have assigned an optional reading by the same writer of an optional reading last week. However, the newspapers for which he is writing are very different (one, an international Catholic weekly, the other The Guardian). I would like to use this as an opportunity to examine newspapers as sources a little more, especially the aspect of political bent of a publication in general and how this relates to both the content and the conclusions that are likely to be reached. I think a critical awareness of meta-issues in media coverage, which is often a primary source or the first point of engagement with a particular subject matter, is vital for nuanced engagement and the ability to present evidence for an argument with an awareness of how it has been used.

#### Preparation

- Tom Hennigan, *The Irish Times*, News, "Former Argentinian dictator says he told Catholic Church of disappeared," 07/24/2012, <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/former-argentinian-dictator-says-he-told-catholic-church-of-disappeared-1.542154>

## Optional

- Hugh O’Shaughnessy, The Guardian, Comment if Free, Cif Belief, “The sins of the Argentinian church: The Catholic church was complicit in dreadful crimes in Argentina. Now it has a chance to repent”, 01/04/2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/belief/2011/jan/04/argentina-videla-bergoglio-repentance>

*Spring break, March 16-24, no class*

## Week 9

Now that students are more familiar with the context in which the military junta governed Chile, and have touched on regional and international co-operation, we will tackle some group work in order for students to educate their peers on specifics of how the regimes in the southern cone States functioned, and some people of interest from that period.

In a class of 40 people, I shall divide the class into 8 groups of 5 people each, assigning numbers 1-5 to class members in order to ensure a random distribution of students in the groups. I did consider using smaller groups but as groups will be discussing their work during the period of the following lecture, 8 groups will allow for slightly longer times for each presentation.

### Tuesday March 26

Today’s class will involve group-work.

The class will be divided into groups and then rearranged so that students are sitting with other group members. I will assign a game in which they all introduce themselves to one another through a fun activity. The whole class will then participate in a discussion of what makes for good group work and we will itemize ideas on the whiteboard.

Group work - each group will find out more on one of the following:

Dan Mitrione

Michael Vernon Townley

Colonia Dignidad

Orlando Letelier

Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional

Baltasar Garzón Real and the arrest of Augusto Pinochet in 1998

The Chicago Boys

Proceso de Reorganización Nacional

The term, ‘The Dirty War’

Mario Roberto Santucho

### Preparation

- Read Jelin, Elizabeth & Susana Kaufman. “Layers of Memories. Twenty Years after in Argentina.” in Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, Michael Roper (Eds.)

*Commemorating War: the Politics of Memory.* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009 :89-110).

### **Thursday March 28**

Please use this time to meet and work with members of your group on the presentation that you will be giving to the class on Tuesday. You may meet at the venue of your choice, not necessarily in the classroom. You should meet at least once more in this regard before April 2nd.

### **Week 10 The devil is in the details**

**Tuesday April 2** - Group presentations

#### **Preparation**

Meet with your group at least twice before class to discuss what you are doing, to assign tasks and to share your research. Feel free to integrate power-points, images and relevant archival materials into your presentations, which should be about ten minutes long. Ensure that you clarify what you have researched as a starting point: you are educating your peers on what you have discovered.

**Thursday April 4** - Conclusion of Group presentations - discussion of content from presentations and separate discussion of experiences of working as a group. Each group to meet separately with lecturer for a five-minute assessment of how successfully the group worked together and for feedback on the presentation.

### **Week 11 'Por algo será' - Language, images, memory and power**

**Tuesday April 9**

#### **Preparation**

Read: Feitlowitz, Marguerite. *A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

**Thursday April 11 Las Madres y los H.I.J.O.S**

This lecture will focus, in particular, on the role of women in challenging the dictatorship. We will look at how the mothers of people who were 'disappeared' have united to challenge the dictatorship juntas, and subsequent governments, and how many of these struggles have now been taken up by the children of the disappeared. We will once more consider the gender roles that the military government sought to entrench and perpetuate.

#### **Preparation**

- Read: Mabel Bellucci, "Childless Motherhood: Interview with Nora Cortiñas, a Mother of the Plaza de Mayo, Argentina," *Reproductive Health Matters*, Vol. 7, No. 13, Living without Children (May, 1999): 83-88, Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3775707>

- Find an internet archive on the Desaparecidos in Argentina. Determine who is running the page and why they are doing so. What is the story that they are telling? Who is their intended audience? Whose pictures appear on the site?
- Read up to page 78 (end of Chapter Three) of Arditti, Rita. *Searching for Life. The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo and the Disappeared Children of Argentina*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

## **Week 12            ‘Todos Sumos Lopez’**

### **Tuesday April 16**

#### **Preparation**

- Read from page 79 to the end of Arditti, Rita. *Searching for Life. The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo and the Disappeared Children of Argentina*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999)
- Find out who Jorge Julio Lopez is.

### **Thursday April 18**

We will be watching the 2004 film, *Trelew*, directed by Matiana Arruti.

## **Week 13    Workers**

I am tentatively scheduling a week for addressing the effects of the two juntas on life for the working class in each country. However, I am leaving this week open so that student learning over the course of the semester can determine what we address in the final weeks. We may, instead, look more deeply into gender and how each of the Juntas dictated gender roles and the importance of the family and used sexual violence and torture as weapons against the civilian population.

### **Tuesday April 23**

#### **Optional**

Winn, Peter, Ed. *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era 1973-2002*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

### **Thursday April 25**

## **Week 14    Accountability and Justice**

### **Tuesday April 30**

Today in class we will be watching the 1985 film, "*La Historia Oficial*", directed by Luis Puenzo.

### **Thursday May 2**

Final reflections on course, evaluations and wrap-up.

**Final exam - Tuesday, May 2nd, from 09:30-12:30pm in the Family Studies Building, Room 202**

**Include?**

Discipline and Punish - Foucault

A brief history of the state of exception - Giorgio Agamben

Costa-Gavras' *State of Siege*

Regis deBray and Salvador Allende?

Recording history

Testimonios, archives and government offices

Discuss the methodological challenges of each primary source, from oral histories to the limits on accessibility of archival documents, and contingency of knowledge (consider the chance discovery of the Condor files in Paraguay)