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ARGENTINA

Facultad
Latinoamericana de
Ciencias Sociales.
Sede Argentina.

Área Estudios
Latinoamericanos.



Program offering course	Sociocultural Studies of Latin America
Course name	FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY: HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISM AND STRUGGLES FOR MEMORY AND JUSTICE IN ARGENTINA
Course code	HURI304/SEM
Areas of interest	Sociology, Political Science, Communication, Philosophy, Anthropology, Literature, History, Gender Studies, Intercultural Studies, Leadership, , Social Service, International Relations.

Programs offering course	Sociocultural Studies of Latin America
Language of instruction	Spanish
U.S. Semester Credits	3
Contact Hours	45
Term	Fall 2020
Course meeting times	TBD
Course meeting place	FLACSO Argentina
Professor	Dr. Santiago Garaño
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Office hours	TBD



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Course Description

The objective of this course is to address the social debates on the State crimes committed during the last Argentine military dictatorship (1976-1983) and the place that human rights activism had in the construction of the democratic regime afterwards. Within this framework, students will be introduced to a series of discussions on human rights in Argentina and the struggles undertaken to denounce the violent practices of State institutions. The course will focus on what has become known as the Process of Memory, Truth and Justice. We will also explain how human rights activism has, since the return of democracy, expanded its agenda to include issues such as police and institutional violence.

Students Learning Outcomes

By completing this course, students will be able to:

- Explain the historical process of Memory, Truth and Justice in Argentina, since the return of democracy in 1983 to the present.
- Assess similarities and differences in reference to human right movements between the U.S. and Argentina, particularly in order to discuss the universality of Human Rights.
- Analyze struggles undertaken by various social groups both to challenge and resist violent practices of State institutions, both during the dictatorship and already under democratic rule.
- Identify and critically compare the different phases of public policies in reference to the commemoration of the crimes committed by State terrorism during the dictatorship.

Course Prerequisites

NONE





Course Structure

Class Dynamics

This course will be taught using lectures, seminars, presentations, and viewings of video clips of the last Argentinian dictatorship and testimonies of some of its victims. It will also include field trips to sites such as ESMA Memory Site Museum (former *Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada*, the most important concentration camp during the dictatorship), *Parque de la Memoria* (Memorial for the victims of Argentina's last dictatorship), the *Memoria Abierta* archives, and sessions of trials for crimes against humanity that are being held presently. Students will be expected to carry out ethnographic field observation and note taking. Invited guest speakers will also add to the learning objectives of this course.

Assessment and Final Grade

Midterm Exam	20%
Written Assignment	20%
Group Presentation	15%
Final Paper	25%
Participation	20%
TOTAL	100%

Course Requirements

Midterm Exam

The midterm exam will be take-home. Student answer four questions in essay form; the expected length of the exam is 1500 words total. Students will be graded based on the quality of the analysis and the capacity to summarize the main conceptual frameworks of the bibliographic material. The essays should be in APA citation style.

Written Assignments

In the first Written Assignment, students will prepare a written 750-word report on the visit to the *Parque de la Memoria*, focusing on ways of public





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representation of the political repression during the last Argentinean military dictatorship. Students are expected to make a critical reflection on the museum exhibits and on the history of representation of the site.

In the second Written Assignment, students will prepare a written 750-word ethnographic record based on notes taken during a trial sessions for crimes against humanity during Week 11. The evaluation of this assignment will assess the student's ability to link empirical data with the theoretical concepts seen in class. Students are required to use APA citation style when referencing their sources.

Group Presentation

In groups of 3-4, students will conduct a 10-12 slide PowerPoint or Prezi based on the visit to the ESMA Memory Site Museum . Each group will analyze the museum narrative basing the presentation on the notes and pictures taken at the Museum, the interaction with the guide and group discussion.

Final Paper

Students will write a 2500-word essay based on guidelines provided by the professor. Students will be graded on the capacity to integrate and link different theoretical concepts with observations made in the previous assignments. APA citation style will be required.





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Weekly Schedule

WEEK 1: ORIENTATION WEEK

Introduction to class

The professor, an expert in memory issues, will explain why the last Argentine military dictatorship (1976-1983) became a paradigmatic case of human rights violations, reconstructing the history of the emergence of the human rights movement during the last Argentine dictatorship. This first class will show how our country has become a model of transitional justice, with a remarkable advance in the prosecution of crimes against humanity and the implementation of memory policies.

Readings: Catela (2015) & Sikkink (2017)

WEEK 2: THE LAST ARGENTINE DICTATORSHIP AND STATE TERRORISM

From the reading of excerpts from the classic book *Power and Disappearance* by Pilar Calveiro (1998), the microphysics technologies and modalities adopted by State terrorism during the last military regime (the forced disappearance of person) will be discussed. In particular, the relationship between clandestine detention centers and the Argentine social network.

Fragments of the documentary "*Historias debidas*" ("Due Stories") will be screened, where Pilar Calveiro, who is not only a relevant academic researcher but also a victim of the repression, is interviewed.

Readings: Calveiro (1998)

WEEK 3: THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN ARGENTINA

We will analyze the history of the formation of the human rights movement in Argentina during the last dictatorship, emphasizing the reports of human rights violations during the dictatorship, the centrality of the category of "disappeared" and the place of relatives (*Madres and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*).

We will work with oral testimonies of relatives of forced disappeared persons, human rights activists and lawyers directly involved with the process of memory and justice, taken from the oral history archive of the civil association *Memoria Abierta* (Open Memory).

Readings: Barros (2013)





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WEEK 4: REPRESENTATIONS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN ARGENTINA

Fieldtrip #1: Visit to the Park in memory of the victims of Argentina's last dictatorship (*Parque de la Memoria*). Guided tour.

WEEK 5: PROCESS OF MEMORY, TRUTH AND JUSTICE IN ARGENTINA I (1983-1986)

The first policies towards the construction of social memory, in relation to the crimes committed during the last dictatorship, will be reconstructed in the light of the struggles undertaken by the human rights movement. On the one hand, we will explain the role of the Argentine National Commission of the Disappeared (CONADEP) and the *Nunca Más* report (*Never Again*, 1985), as the first milestone in the construction of a historical truth on the recent past. On the other hand, we will analyze the Trial to the Military Commanders (1985), where the first three Military *Juntas*, that ruled between 1976 and 1983, were judged.

Fragments of documentaries from *Encuentro* channel and *Prisma* archive of Argentinean Public Television will be screened.

Readings: Rabotnikoff (2006)

Written Assignment # 1 due

WEEK 6: STRATEGIES AGAINST IMPUNITY I (1986-2003)

We will illustrate the phase of impunity that closed the possibility of judging the crimes of the last Argentine dictatorship. In particular the laws of *Punto Final* (Final Point, 1986), *Obediencia Debida* (Due Obedience, 1987) and the presidential pardons of 1989 and 1990. In opposition to this attempt to "give closure to the past", the legal-political strategies against impunity deployed by human rights activism will be shown. Focus will be placed on reparative laws (indemnifications to victims and their relatives), the *Juicios por la Verdad* (Trials for Truth) and the trials that took place outside the country (Spain, France and Italy).

The *Memoria Abierta* (Open Memory) archive will be visited, which works in the former ESMA and contains a large archive of oral history on the human rights movement. We will work with fragments of the laws of impunity and their foundations. Also with testimonies of relatives of





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missing persons, human rights activists and lawyers linked to the process of memory and justice.

Readings: Cohen (1995)

WEEK 7: STRATEGIES AGAINST IMPUNITY II

A guest professor will discuss the importance of the emergence of the group consisting of children of victims of State terrorism, called Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice and against Oblivion and Silence (*H.I.J.O.S.*) established in 1995. This movement represents a generational replacement in the human rights movement, and the entry of a new generation of relatives of victims. Their strategy of "*escraches*" were an alternative to impunity, a form of protest that sought to denounce people who had been responsible for massive human rights violations, publicly identifying their homes, and putting them in evidence in front of their neighbors.

We will work with audiovisual material on *H.I.J.O.S.*.

Readings: Cueto Rúa (2008)

WEEK 8: THE PROCESS OF MEMORY, TRUTH AND JUSTICE IN ARGENTINA II

(2005-PRESENT)

We will show how the process of reopening the trials in 2005 was carried out. In particular, we will focus on the characteristics adopted by the second cycle of criminal prosecution against those accused and the innovations in the face of the trials of the 1980s. Also, we will discuss the institutionalization of human rights as State policies.

Readings: Filippini (2011)

Midterm Exam due

WEEK 9: OPERATION INDEPENDENCE: A TEST OF STATE TERRORISM

The case of Independence Operation (*Operativo Independencia*), a military campaign lasting from February 1975 to December 1977, where the forced disappearance of people in the province of Tucumán was applied for the first time before the coup d'état in Argentina, will be analyzed. Particularly showing how the military authorities sought to impose a military domain by establishing a culture of terror that circulated and crossed the entire social fabric. We will see how they tried to discipline a province marked by strong political mobilization and





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radicalization that had started almost ten years before with the closing of eleven sugar-mills.

Fragments of the documentary "*El caído del cielo*" ("The fallen from the sky") will be watched. This documentary talks about the identification of a disappeared person who was one of the victims of this operation.

Readings: Garaño (2011).

WEEK 10: SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CLANDESTINE DETENTION CENTERS

With a guest professor, we will see how the reopening of the trials against humanity in 2005, gave visibility to the sexual and gender-based violence suffered by the victims of the last dictatorship. This class will focus on the delicate task of human right activists to encourage sexual victims to publicly denounce their experience in clandestine detention centers together with the forms of lobbying so that the courts can judge these crimes in the necessary conditions so that victims can feel as comfortable as possible throughout the trials.

Fragments of court testimonies where these crimes are discussed will be analyzed.

Readings: Balardini & Sobredo (2011)

WEEK 11: THE PROSECUTION OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Fieldtrip #2: visit to trial sessions for crimes against humanity.

WEEK 12: THE FIELD OF MEMORY STUDIES

This course will discuss the emergence and consolidation of the social memory field of studies at an international level as well as the regional contributions towards this field. We will emphasize the relevance of the struggles for memory, the tensions between history and memory and the place of testimony in the reconstruction of the recent past.

Readings: Taylor (1997), Jelin (2005) & Catela & Foley (2015)





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Written Assignment # 2 due

WEEK 13: REPRESENTATIONS OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN ARGENTINA

Fieldtrip #3: Visit to the ESMA Memory Site Museum (ex Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada). Guided tour.

Catela (2015) & Catela y Foley (2019)

WEEK 14: ACTIVISM AGAINST STATE VIOLENCE IN DEMOCRACY

In this class the realm of the last dictatorship we will discuss how the human rights agenda has expanded during democracy. The problem of continuities and ruptures in State violence will be addressed focusing on security policies and the expansion of police power. We will also stop to think of the crucial role of "relatives" in the fight against institutional violence as a legacy of the *Madres* and *Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*.

Readings: Pita (2005).

WEEK 15: REVIEW OF THE MAIN TOPICS AND CONCEPTS SEEN IN CLASS

Final Paper





Course Materials

Readings

Águila, Gabriela, Santiago Garaño and Pablo Scatizza (Eds.) (2016). *Represión estatal y violencia paraestatal en la historia reciente argentina: nuevos abordajes a 40 años del golpe de Estado*. La Plata, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación (UNLP).

Argentine National Commission of the Disappeared (1986). *Nunca Mas (Never Again). The Report of the Argentine National Commission of the Disappeared*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Balardini, Lorena (2016). "Notes from the Field: Monitoring Human Rights Trials: Information Strategies Developed in Argentina's Transitional Justice Process". *Transitional Justice Review*. Vol. 1: Iss. 4.

Balardini, L., A. Oberlin and L. Sobredo (2011). "Gender Violence and Sexual Abuse in Clandestine Detention Centers. A contribution to understanding the experience of Argentina". In: Center of Legal and Social Studies & International Center for Transitional Justice (ed.); *Making Justice. Further Discussions on the Prosecution of Crimes against Humanity in Argentina*. Buenos Aires, CELS.

Barros, M. (2013). "Political discourse theory in the study of resistance movements: an alternative account of the human rights movement in Argentina". *Revista Sul-Americana de Ciência Política*, vol. 1: 80-90.

Calveiro, P. (1998). *Poder y desaparición*. Buenos Aires, Colihue.

Catela, L. (2015). "Staged memories: Conflicts and tensions in Argentine public memory sites".

Memory Studies, vol. 8: 9-9.

Catela, L. & Michael Stewart Foley (2019). "Memory Politics". In: *Rethinking the Americas*. Routledge Handbook Series.

Cohen, S. (1995). "State Crimes of Previous Regimes: Knowledge, Accountability, and the Policing of the Past". *Law & Social Inquiry*, Vol. 20, No. 1: 7-50.





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Cueto Rúa, S. (2008). "HIJOS La Plata. Memorias tensionadas. Análisis de los relatos sobre el pasado reciente que elaboran los militantes de HIJOS". *Cuadernos del sur* 37: 85-106.

Duhalde, E. L. (1999). *El Estado terrorista argentino. Quince años después*. Buenos Aires, EUDEBA.

Filippini, L. (2011). "Criminal Prosecution in the Search for Justice". In: Center of Legal and Social Studies & International Center for Transitional Justice (ed.); *Making Justice. Further Discussions on the Prosecution of Crimes against Humanity in Argentina*. Buenos Aires, CELS.

Franco, M. (2012). *Un enemigo para la Nación. Orden interno, violencia y "subversión", 1973-1976*. Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Garaño, S. (2011). "El monte tucumano como 'teatro de operaciones': las puestas en escena del poder durante el Operativo Independencia". *Nuevo Mundo, Mundos Nuevos*: 1-19.

Garaño, Santiago and Werner Pertot (2002). *La otra juvenilia. Militancia y represión en el Colegio Nacional de Buenos Aires (1971-1986)*. Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos.

Garaño, Santiago and Werner Pertot (2007). *Detenidos-aparecidos. Presas y presos políticos de Trelew a la dictadura*. Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos.

Jelin, E. (2002). *Los trabajos de la memoria*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.

Jelin, E. (2005). "Human Rights and the memory of political violence and repression: constructing a new field in social science". In: Roberts, Bryan & Wood, Charles (eds.); *Contemporary Latin America: Reflections on New Conceptual and Social Agendas*. University Park: Penn State University Press.

Novaro, M. and V. Palermo (2003). *La Dictadura Militar 1976/1983. Del Golpe de Estado a la restauración democrática*. Buenos Aires, Paidós.

Pita, María (2005). "Mundos morales divergentes. Los sentidos de la categoría familiar en las demandas de justicia ante casos de violencia policial". In: Tiscornia, S. y Pita, M.V.(ed.); *Derechos Humanos, tribunales y policía en Argentina y Brasil*. Estudios de antropología jurídica. Antropofagia, Buenos Aires.

Rabotnikof, Nora (2006). "Memoria y política a treinta años del golpe". In: Lida, Clara E.; Crespo, H. & Yankelevich, P. (comp.). *Argentina 1976. Estudios en torno al golpe de estado*. México DF, El Colegio de México.





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Robben, Antonius (2005). *Political Violence and Trauma in Argentina*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sikkink, Kathryn (2017). *Evidence for Hope. Making Human Rights Work in the 21st Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa (2009). "Toward a multicultural conception of human rights". In: Isa, Felipe Gómez & Feyter, Koen (Orgs.); *International Human Rights Law in a Global Context*. Bilbao: University of Deusto.

Taylor, Diana (1997). *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina's 'Dirty War'*. Durham and London: Duke U. P.

Online Resources

Ministerio de Educación de la Nación Argentina. Portal educ.ar. Web. 30 de marzo de 2015.

<<http://www.educ.ar>>

Asociación Civil "Memoria Abierta". Web. <http://memoriaabierta.org.ar/wp/>

Comisión Provincial de la Memoria. Web. <http://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/jovenesymemoria/>

Media Resources

Films

- Documentary "El caído del cielo" ("The fallen from the sky", 2016), about the case of the identification of a disappeared person victim of the Independence Operation.

Others

- The episode of "Historias debidas" ("Stories due"), where Pilar Calveiro was interviewed (2014).





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Lecturer's Bio

Santiago Garaño holds a Ph.D in Anthropology from the Universidad de Buenos Aires. He is a researcher at CONICET (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas) and is a Professor of Human Rights, at the Departamento de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero. He is a Joint Coordinator of the Network of Studies on Repression and Political Violence. He also teaches at the Universidad Nacional de Lanús' Masters' Program on Human Rights and is an academic advisor at the Group for Memory Studies, at IDES (Institute for Economic and Social Development), Argentina. He published *La otra juvenilia. Militancia y represión en el Colegio Nacional de Buenos Aires (1971-1986)* (with Werner Pertot) Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos (2002), *Detenidos-aparecidos. Presas y presos políticos de Trelew a la dictadura*. Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos (with Werner Pertot) (2007) and *Represión estatal y violencia paraestatal en la historia reciente argentina: nuevos abordajes a 40 años del golpe de Estado*. La Plata, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación (UNLP) (with Pablo Scatizza, (2016).

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