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History and Human Rights in Argentina

LACB 3005 (3 credits / 45 hours)

SIT Study Abroad Program:

Argentina: Social Movements and Human Rights

This syllabus represents a recent term. Because courses develop and change over time to take advantage of unique learning opportunities, actual course content varies from term to term.

Course Description

The History and Human Rights seminar has been designed to offer academic and experiential knowledge of fundamental historical events in recent Argentine history. This background will facilitate the contextualization of the struggle for human rights that have taken place in the country during the past few years. The class starts with a presentation of Argentina's history to frame the current issues of human rights. Additionally, this seminar intends to introduce the world historical context that gave birth to the present International System of Human Rights Protection. In doing so, it intends to present basic discussions regarding civil and political rights, on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights, on the other. With that being said, the students are expected to be acquainted with the contents of special protection rights such as the rights of women and immigrants, the right to communication and the right to the city. All of this international legal knowledge will be important in relation to the Argentine reality. The law, while a tool for social transformation in Argentina, is in permanent dispute and redefinition. Students will have the opportunity to analyze and become acquainted with how law is used to create or stifle change in Argentina. This class will be taught in Buenos Aires and also in Patagonia.

Learning Outcomes

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Identify, describe and analyze the key features of the history and the social-economic condition of Argentina.
- Describe, compare and evaluate the key social movements and human rights organizations of Argentina.
- Analyze the social and political actors and assess their role in the promotion and protection of human rights.
- Apply human rights concepts in the organizations visited and cases analyzed.

- Identify, describe and analyze the multidimensional factors that have contributed to the implementation of Argentina's current economic model.
- Compare and contrast the different development models used in Argentina's history.
- Assemble and summarize country-specific knowledge, and many other aspects related to the country's political and social development.
- Recognize and formulate social and human rights problems that are amenable to public policy solutions.

Language of Instruction

This course is taught entirely in Spanish. Readings, lectures, discussions and visits are conducted in Spanish. Some translation will be available in some cases as needed. Pre-departure assignments will be written in English. Other assignments are expected to be written in Spanish.

Course Schedule

*Please be aware that topics and excursions may vary to take advantage of any emerging events, to accommodate changes in our lecturers' availability, and to respect any changes that would affect student safety. Students will be notified if this occurs.

Module 1: Introduction to the history of Argentina

Pre departure Reading

• Rock, D. (1987). *Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish colonization to Alfonsin.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Required readings and films

- Féliz, M. (2016), "Till death do as apart? Kirchnerism, neodevelopmentalism and the struggle for hegemony in Argentina, 2003-2015". In Schmitt, I. *The Three Worlds of Social Democracy: A Global View from the Heartlands to the Periphery*. Verlag: Pluto Books.
- Fernández, G. (2010). "Historia Social y Política de la Argentina Contemporánea". In Pereyra, B. y Vommaro, P. (comp.). *Movimientos sociales y derechos humanos en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: CICCUS. [Pages 17-51].
- Harvey, D. (2005). A brief history of neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Chapter 1].
- Historia de un país. Argentina siglo XX. [Chapters 24 & 25]. Available in: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xwwSozeSuEU
- Ministerio de Educación. Programa Educación y Memoria. (2010). Pensar la dictadura: terrorismo de Estado en Argentina preguntas, respuestas y propuestas para su

enseñanza. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación de la Nación Argentina. [selected pages].

- Svampa, M. y Viale, E. (2014). "Hacia una conceptualización general", en *Maldesarrollo. La Argentina del extractivismo y el despojo*. Buenos Aires: Katz Editores. [Pages 15-43].
- América Latina Piensa. [Chapter 3]. Available in: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jyr6rOUl41A

SEM 1: Consolidation of the Nation State, the oligarchic regime

Construction of the Nation. Oligarchic governments and the social structure of the primary export model. The European immigration. The radical presidencies and the expansion of citizenship. The crisis of the economic system. The political instability.

Methodology: Historical city tour

Pre departure reading: Rock (chapters 1-6).

Required readings: Fernández (pages 17-27).

SEM 2: Peronism and urban space massification

Peronism's emergence and mass democracy: labor movement's incorporation to the national scenario. Women's participation in political activity. Peronism in government: 1946-1955. The figure of Eva Perón. September 1955 coup d'état. The Peronist Resistance.

Methodology: Lecture and visit to the Evita Museum.

Pre departure reading: Rock (chapters 7-8).

Required reading: Fernández (pages 28-40).

SEM 3: Political instability, State terrorism: civic and military coup d'etat (Part I)

Repression as an instrument of socioeconomic reorganization. The dictatorship, dirty war or State terrorism? Discipline and reorganization of society, the construction of the "other", "subversion", the "disappeared" device. Dictatorship and society: military or civic and military dictatorship? Introduction to human rights movement in Argentina.

Pre departure reading: Rock (chapter 9).

Required readings: Fernández (pages 40-42); Ministerio de Educación (selected pages).

Optional readings:

- Chomsky, N. et. al. (2011). How the world Works. US: Soft Skull Press. [Pages 10-28].

- Eggers-Brass, T. (2006). Historia Argentina: una mirada crítica (1806-2006). Buenos Aires: Maipue. [Chapter 14].

SEM 4: Political instability, State terrorism: civic and military coup d'etat (Part II)

Methodology: Visit to the Ex Clandestine Detention Center ESMA.

SEM 5: Democracy, crisis and after

Alfonsín and the recuperation of democracy. The Menem era and neoliberalism. Deindustrialisation, unemployment and poverty. The 'Alliance' government: Fernando de la Rúa's presidency. The 2001-2002 economic and institutional crisis.

Required readings and films: Fernández (pages 42-47); Harvey (chapter 1); Historia de un país (chapters 24 & 25).

Optional reading:

- Bellini, C., & Korol, J. C. (2012). *Historia económica de la Argentina en el siglo XX*. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno. [Chapter 6].

<u>SEM 6: Argentina's contemporary problems. Neoextractivism and neodevelopmentalism in the kirchnerist era: territories in dispute and social resistances</u>

In the last decades, Argentina has lived a process of massive extraction of its natural resources (oil, minerals, agricultural and forest resources) by national and multinational companies that advanced toward resources and territories traditionally inhabited by indigenous and/or rural communities. Additionally, agribusiness, open-pit mining / mega-mining and conventional and unconventional hydrocarbon exploitation (fracking) exclude other economic alternatives that are developed in these regions. This produces a series of territorial disputes between political, economic and social actors who inhabit and use these territories and resources. This process of so-called (new)extractivism has been consolidated during the period that begun in 2002, which has been dubbed as neo-developmentalist. After a transitional government, the presidencies of Nestor Kirchner (2003-2007), and later on his wife Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-2011, 2011-2015) led a nouvelle sociopolitical process. In an attempt to create a new hegemony, they built pushed forward new debates and 'created' new conflicts. In the latest stage, social, political and economic contradictions converged to set the stage for the dialectical trascendance of the neodevelopmentalist project into its right-wing radicalization: a new, business-minded government, presided by Mauricio Macri, was elected to perform the task.

Required readings: América Latina Piensa (chapter 3); Féliz (2016); Fernández (page 48); Svampa y Viale (pages 15-43).

Optional readings:

- Féliz, M. (2015). "¿Neodesarrollismo a la deriva en Argentina? Hegemonía, proyecto de desarrollo y crisis transicional". In *Márgenes. Revista de economía política*. 1(1), pp. 95-118, Agosto. Available in: http://www.ungs.edu.ar/areas/publicaciones/671/margenes-revista-de-economia-politica-ano-1-n-1-agosto-de-2015.html.
- Féliz, M. (2014). "Neo-developmentalism, accumulation by dispossession and international rent Argentina, 2003–2013". In *International Critical Thought*, 4:4, pp. 499-509.
- Féliz, M. (2014). "Neo-developmentalism: beyond neoliberalism? Capitalist crisis, popular alternatives and development in Argentina since the 90s". In Spronk, S. and Webber, J. (eds.). *Crisis and Contradiction: Marxist Perspectives on Latin American in the Global Economy*. Historical Materialism Book Series, 79, pp. 52-72. Brill Press.
- Giarracca, N. y Teubal, M. (2013). "Las actividades extractivas en la Argentina", en *Actividades extractivas en expansión. ¿Reprimarización de la economía argentina?* Buenos Aires: Antropofagia.

SEM 7: History reading test

It will be an open book test. Students will be allowed to bring all of their texts, notes, and will have two hours to answer some questions about the lectures, readings and visits developed during the History Seminar.

Module 2: Human Rights and the fight for justice in Argentina

Pre departure Readings

- Cyment, P. (2012). Synthesis of: The advocates for human rights, Discover human rights, A human rights approach to social justice training manual, July 2011.
 Unpublished program material. Buenos Aires: SIT. (available in e-reserve)
- Sikkink, K. (2008). "From pariah state to global protagonist: Argentina and the struggle for international human rights." *Latin American Politics and Society*, 50 (1), 1-29.
- United Nations. (2011). Frequently asked questions on economic, social and cultural rights. Geneva: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Required Readings

- Abramovich, V. (2009). "La situación de los derechos humanos en América Latina".
 Ponencia presentada en el III Taller Regional "Derechos Humanos, Autoritarismo y
 Democracia. Los aprendizajes de la lucha por los derechos humanos para intervenir en
 los problemas del presente" (Memoria Abierta Coalición Internacional de Sitios de
 Conciencia). Buenos Aires, 18 de mayo.
- Aranda, D. (2017). "Qué hay detrás de la campaña antimapuche: extractivismo, medios y un genocidio que no termina". La Vaca. Disponible en: http://www.lavaca.org/notas/que-hay-detras-de-la-campana-antimapuche-extractivismo-medios-y-un-genocidio-que-no-termina/

- Melfi, L. (2015). *Historia del pueblo Mapuche.* Made by Lucas Melfi for SIT Argentina: Social Movements and Human Rights.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2009). "Who Speaks for the "Human" in Human Rights?". Hispanic Issues On Line (Special Issue: Human Rights in Latin America and Iberian Cultures). 5 (1), 7-25.
- Nikken, Pedro (1994). "El concepto de Derechos Humanos". Estudios Básicos de Derechos Humanos. T.I. San José de Costa Rica: IIDH.
- Pérez Esquivel, A. (2012). Los pueblos constructores de derechos. Buenos Aires: Eudeba.
- Svampa, M. (2017). "¿Hecho inaugural o continuidad en los parques? La desaparición forzada de Santiago Maldonado y la situación de los pueblos indígenas." En La Izquierda Diario. Available in: http://www.laizquierdadiario.com/Hecho-inaugural-o-continuidad-en-los-parques

SEM 8: Basic concepts of Human Rights

In this class we will conduct a comprehensive analysis of Human Rights (Human Rights and the rights of peoples, interdependency and interrelatedness of Human Rights, etc.). We will also study the concepts of Peace and non-violence, and how these concepts are linked to democracy building in Latin America and the world today. Our study will include first, second and third-generation Human Rights.

Pre departure readings: Cyment; Sikkink; United Nations.

Required readings: Abramovich; Mignolo; Nikken.

SEM 9: The new agenda of Human Rights in Argentina (Part I)

In this class we will study the processes of democratization and citizenship building. We will analyze public policies that emphasize the Human Rights perspective in Argentina (i.e. non-discrimination, extension of rights). We will study these concepts through the cases of:

- OPTION A: The fight against discrimination and racism.
- OPTION B: Gender.
- OPTION C: Migration.

Students will have to choose one of these classes according to their interests.

SEM 10: The new agenda of Human Rights in Argentina (Part II)

Students will have the opportunity to visit one of three organizations that are fighting for human rights in Argentina today. Each organization represents a different perspective in the struggle for Human Rights in Argentina.

- OPTION A: Xango.

- OPTION B: Pan y Rosas.
- OPTION C: Simbiosis Cultural.

SEM 11: Past and present of the Mapuche people. Where does the extractive model leave them?

Mapuche history: confronting common sense and official history. People and nation. Resistance to the Spaniards. Mapuche culture. Actuality of the Mapuche people: the struggles they face today and their place in the extractive model.

Required readings: Aranda; Melfi; Svampa.

<u>Human Rights in Patagonia: Environmental and Indigenous movements</u>

During the trip to the south we will study the following topics (required readings will be provided in the Manual for the trip to the South):

• Environmental movement and development. Thinking from a human rights perspective: Students will study environmental rights wile applying Argentinean law. Environmental issues in Patagonia. Social movements and environmental rights. "No a la mina" Assembly. The environmental organization Piuke.

Required readings

- Asociación Ecologista Piuké. Extracto de la web: www.asociacion-piuke.com.ar.
- Svampa, M. (2013). "«Consenso de las *Commodities*» y lenguajes de valoración en América Latina". En *Nueva Sociedad*. 244, 30.
- Constitución Nacional. Artículos 41 y 43.
- Ley Nº 25.675 Ley General del Ambiente.
- Telam (2016). "Desde San Juan, Macri anunció la eliminación de las retenciones a la minería". Disponible en: http://www.telam.com.ar/notas/201602/135945-mauricio-macri-anuncio-exportaciones-mineras-san-juan.html.
- Boletín Oficial (2016). Decreto 349/2016. Disponible en: www.boletinoficial.gob.ar/pdf/linkQR/azJRRjUra1RVNTQrdTVReEh2ZkU0dz09.
- Morresi, M. (2000). "El paraíso de los sobrevivientes". En *La Nación*. Disponible en: http://www.lanacion.com.ar/210974-el-paraiso-de-los-sobrevivientes.
- De Maestri, V. (s/f). "Lucas Chiappe: fotógrafo, escritor, periodista, brigadista voluntario, hippuche". Disponible en: www.lapulseada.com.ar/60/60-bosques_del_sur.rtf.
- Kalewche FM, la radio comunitaria de Esquel. Extracto de la web: http://www.kalewchefm.org/.
- No a la mina. Extracto de la web: https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/No_a la mina.
- Aranda, D. (2013). "Cuando Esquel dijo no". En *Página/12*. Disponible en: https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/sociedad/3-216410-2013-03-23.html.

• Recuperation of Identity and Territory: The students will be introduced to the case of Mapuches in south Argentina. The current struggles of the Mapuche people. Conceptions about the territory and resistances.

Required readings

- Espacio de Articulación Mapuche. "Para descolonizar la historia de Bariloche", "Furilofche Mapu. Municipio intercultural", "La vigencia del Lliellipun", "Las razones de la porfía".
- Comunidad Mapuche Pillán Mahuiza (2003). "Comunidad Mapuche Pillán Mahuiza a cuatro años de la recuperación de su territorio". En Argentina Indymedia. Disponible en: http://argentina.indymedia.org/news/2003/12/161445.php.
- La Vaca (2011). Indígenas: sobre derechos y torcidos. Disponible en: lavaca.org.
- OIT. Convenio 169.
- Bonasso, M. (2003). "Tierra y cultura". En *Página/12*. Disponible en: https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-21192-2003-06-09.html.

SEM 12: Addressing inequalities: different struggles faced by the lower classes (Part I)

One of the main features of the rights system as it operates today is the manifesting selectivity of political institutions in ensuring the rights of individuals. In fact, these rights are often affected by the formulation of racialized and patriarchal policies that enhance the discriminatory operation of the repressive state apparatus. In this class we will study different ways in which this matrix of domination works, and the resistance offered by the lower classes who are most affected by its effects.

- OPTION A: Communication as a right.
- OPTION B: Institutional violence.
- OPTION C: The right to urbanization.

Students will have to choose one of these classes according to their interests.

SEM 13: Addressing inequalities: different struggles faced by the lower classes (Part II)

The students will have the opportunity to visit one of the organizations that are fighting for defending the human rights of the most oppressed today.

- OPTION A: La Garganta Poderosa.
- OPTION B: Familiares y Amigos de Luciano Arruga.
- OPTION C: Frente Popular Darío Santillán.

SEM 14: Final considerations about Human Rights

Adolfo Pérez Esquivel is an Argentine Human Rights activist, community organizer, pacifist, art painter, writer and sculptor. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1980, for his efforts in the defense of Human Rights. Accepting the prize "in the name of the poorest and smallest of my brothers and sisters," he donated the prize money to charity.

Nora Morales de Cortiñas is a remarkable defender of Human Rights, co-founder of Madres de Plaza de Mayo, and later Madres de Plaza de Mayo Línea Fundadora. Her son Carlos Gustavo Cortiñas, a member of the Peronist Party in Villa 31, was arrested and disappeared in Buenos Aires on April 15, 1977.

In this class students will have the opportunity to discuss with them some of the main challenges in the fight for Human Rights today.

Required reading: Pérez Esquivel.

Optional reading:

Calloni, S. (1999). Los años del lobo. Operación Cóndor. Buenos Aires: Continente. [Chapters 1, 2 & 3].

SEM 15: Final exposition

In the final class of Human Rights, as a group, students will organize an exposition based on their acquired shared knowledge of some of the topics studied in this Module and previously assigned by the professors.

Student Evaluation and Grading Criteria

Pre departure assignments	20%
History test	25%
Final exposition	40%
Participation	15%

Assignments

Exercises are expected to be submitted on time. Any delay will be penalized 2 points per day. All the exercises and examinations will be evaluated according to the fulfillment of instructions, organization, analytic quality, depth, argumentation, and evidence presentation.

Grading Scales and Criteria

All grades will take into account the special circumstances of students and the challenges they may face as foreign students.

Grades are awarded in accordance with the system below. Expect to be graded rigorously yet fairly. Grades will reflect a combination of quality of performance, progress made, the ability to take into account and assimilate the Academic Director and the teachers' advice in assessing the work done. An "A" letter grade reflects exceptional work, perfect combination of academic competencies and personal research and analysis. "A" work reflects great ability to integrate field-based investigation and personal reflection into a structured and well-argued paper. A "B" letter grade reflects serious and methodical work as well as a substantial effort at analyzing and understanding cross-cultural issues. A "C" letter grade shows that the work meets the requirements but needs more in-depth reflection and personal involvement. A "D" letter grade is insufficient and clearly reflects lack of work or serious deficiencies.

Pre-departure

The students were asked to analyze some movies and also to complete an assignment about Argentina's history and Human Rights theory.

History Exam

It will be an open book quiz. Students will be allowed to bring all of their texts, notes, and will have an hour and a half to answer some briefs questions about the lectures, readings and visits developed during the Seminar.

Final Exposition

Students will be divided into groups. Each group will be assigned with a case related to human rights violations, and they will have to design a legal strategy to face it. Students should make their case applying theoretical and practical resources learnt in class and during the visits.

Class participation

An 'A' refers to a perfect attendance record, punctuality, attentive listening and active participation in all classes, discussions, excursions and other activities. It also means appropriate and respectful behavior. The level, frequency and quality of students' participation will be monitored and taken into account.

Grading Scale

94-100%	Α	Excellent
90-93%	A-	
87-89%	B+	
84-86%	В	Above Average
80-83%	B-	
77-79%	C+	
74-76%	С	Average
70-73%	C-	
67-69%	D+	
64-66%	D	Below Average
below 64	F	Fail

Expectations and Policies

- <u>Show up prepared</u>. Be on time, have your readings completed and points in mind for discussion or clarification. Complying with these elements raises the level of class discussion for everyone.
- <u>Have assignments completed on time, printed, and done according to the specified requirements.</u> This will help ensure that your assignments are returned in a timely manner.
- <u>Ask questions in class. Engage the lecturer</u>. These are often very busy professionals who are doing us an honor by coming to speak...
- Comply with academic integrity policies (no plagiarism or cheating, nothing unethical).
- Respect differences of opinion (classmates', lecturers, local constituents engaged with on the visits). You are not expected to agree with everything you hear, but you are expected to listen despite differences and consider other perspectives with respect.

Please refer to the SIT Study Abroad Handbook for policies on academic integrity, ethics, warning and probation, diversity and disability, sexual harassment and the academic appeals process. Also, refer to the specific information available in the Student Handbook and the Program Dossier given to you at Orientation.

Disability Services: Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact Disability Services at disabilityservices@sit.edu for information and support in facilitating an accessible educational experience. Additional information regarding SIT Disability Services, including a link to the online request form, can be found on the Disability Services website at http://studyabroad.sit.edu/disabilityservices.