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HSTR 337.01: The History of Capitalism in Latin America, 1492 to the Present

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HSTR 337.01
The History of Capitalism in Latin America: 1492 to the Present
FALL 2021, 3 cr (CRN 75717): Tu, Th, 2-3:20, LA 307
[MASKS REQUIRED]



Professor Jody Pavilack (jody.pavilack@umontana.edu)
OFFICE HOURS (via Zoom): M, 9-10 am; W, 11-12 am
[Professor Pavilack's Zoom Link for office hours and meetings](#)



Course Introduction

Uruguayan intellectual Eduardo Galeano famously noted that under capitalism Latin America's wealth "always generated our poverty by nourishing the prosperity of others." Karl Marx roundly declared that capitalism comes into the world "dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt," while University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman proclaimed that "capitalism is the necessary prerequisite for human freedom."

This course asks what five centuries of Latin American history can tell us about the origins and consequences of global capitalism--about its effects on human lives, democracy, social justice, and the environment. We will listen to capitalism's champions and critics, including state actors, non-governmental organizations, and labor and social movements; we will ask how the interplay among these groups has influenced economies, politics, and culture.

We begin the course zooming in on Latin America's position in the global economy at capitalism's inception in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We will then study the development of liberal capitalism and the neo-colonial export model of the nineteenth century, during the heyday of the North Atlantic Industrial Revolution. Finally, we will turn to the history of the twentieth century, highlighting two major upheavals in capitalist relations: the shift from export-led development to state-protected industrial economies in the mid twentieth century, and the rise of the free market model and its mobilized critics in the late twentieth century.

Capitalist development has involved both violent coercion and cultural campaigns to win over hearts, minds, and bodies. We thus not only pay attention to global and local economic structures and practices of production and trade, but also to the individual and community lives of laborers and consumers; politicians and businessmen; propagandists and activists; Indians, mestizos, Europeans, and African-Americans; men, women, and children across Latin America who have shaped and been shaped by capitalism's ever-shifting, but omnipresent embrace. We will also consider the capitalist transformation of natural resources into commodities, and the effects of this for environmental sustainability.

To explore these questions, the class takes a long view. Readings highlight particular episodes and themes in Latin American history across five centuries; lectures and discussions provide context and connective tissue among the readings. The range of materials is intended

to put multiple questions, storylines, and modes of analysis on the table, but on any given day, some will receive more attention than others, and inevitably much is left out. I will lecture when and as appropriate, but on all days, come prepared to discuss the material in small groups and with the full class. I encourage you to push our collective questioning and synthesis in directions that interest you by asking questions and raising observations in class, based on careful engagement with course readings and content.



Course Objectives/Learning Outcomes:

- Students will learn about the role played by Latin America in the development of global capitalism.
- Students will learn how global, national, and local practices of capitalism have affected the lives of diverse peoples and environments in Latin America.
- Students will practice reading and analyzing different kinds of written sources, including theoretical works, narrative case studies, secondary sources by historians, and primary sources.
- Students will learn to craft discussion questions that capture the key issues raised by different readings and that prompt dynamic intellectual exchange.
- Students will practice articulating their ideas clearly and persuasively in small group and full class discussions, using specific references to course readings.
- Students will learn the conventions of writing in the discipline of history and practice writing and revising interpretive historical essays.
- Students will learn to synthesize information and ideas from different case studies across five centuries and two continents into larger picture understandings of the world relevant to their own lives.



Required Readings

Articles, chapters, and primary sources, available on Moodle as pdfs or as links to websites.



Course Requirements

1) Attendance (100 points)

Your presence at class meetings is expected and required. I keep attendance. I allow one unexcused absence with no penalty. After that, I take off 5 points out of 100 for each

unexcused absence. If you need to miss class for any reason, contact me in advance to see whether that absence can be excused.

2) Contributions to class discussions (100 points)

Classroom-based education depends on the deliberate cultivation of discussion. Good interventions in class discussions usually include direct reference to the texts under consideration—e.g., “Taken together, Alonso’s own examples of uprisings in chapter five suggest that land hunger not wounded honor drove the peasantry to revolt. Let’s look, for example, at the quote from a peasant rebel that she provides on page 114.” Please bring notes from your reading to class.

3) Written Work (700 points)

From Thurs, 9/9 to Tues, 12/7, excluding the four days on which essays are due (9/28, 10/19, 11/9, 12/7) there are 20 class meetings. On any 8 of these 20 days, submit either a set of discussion questions or a set of reading responses. Further instructions below and on the “Discussion Questions” and “Reading Responses” handouts. Over the course of the semester, you will be submitting some form of written work on 12 of our 24 content meetings (4 sets of discussions questions; 4 reading responses; and 4 short essays). Only the essays have set deadlines; you may not submit two forms of written work on the same day.

3a. Discussion Questions (4 x 25 = 100)

A set of 2-3 (or more 😊) questions for class discussion about the readings, videos, and other course materials. These should be thoughtful, well-elaborated questions, including reference to specific passages or page numbers, as appropriate. See “Discussion Questions” handout. **Questions must be uploaded to Moodle no later than 9 am on the Tu or Th we will be discussing that material.**

3b. Reading Responses (4 x 50 = 200)

A set of notes of 1-2 pages synthesizing your understanding of each article, chapter, document, etc. assigned for that day. See “Reading Notes” handout and template. **Notes must be uploaded to Moodle no later than 9 am on the Tu or Th we will be discussing that material.**

3c. Short Essays (4 x 100 = 400)

An analytical historical essay (question or thesis-driven) of 3-4 pages, plus footnotes and bibliography. See “Essays” handout. **Essays must be uploaded to Moodle no later than 9 am on the following dates: (1) Tu, 9/28 (2) Tu, 10/19 (3) 11/9 (4) 12/7**

4) Final Exam (100 points)



OTHER COURSE POLICIES

Academic Honesty

All students must follow the University of Montana student conduct code, which is available in [PDF form](#) and on the Community Standards [website](#). Please familiarize yourself with it. If you have any questions about when and how to cite sources to avoid plagiarism, see me.

Student Accessibility and Accommodations

The University of Montana assures equal access to instruction through collaboration between students with disabilities, instructors, and the [Office for Disability Equity \(ODE\)](#). **If you anticipate or experience barriers based on disability**, please contact the ODE [(406) 243-2243, ode@umontana.edu]. Retroactive accommodation requests will not be honored, so please, do not delay. I will work with you and the ODE to implement effective accommodations.

Covid-19 Policies

- Mask use is required within the classroom or laboratory.
- If you feel sick and/or are exhibiting COVID-19 symptoms, please don't come to class and contact the Curry Health Center at (406) 243-4330.
- If you are required to isolate or quarantine, please contact me and we will work out accommodations.
- (UM recommends students get the COVID-19 vaccine. Please direct your questions or concerns about vaccines to Curry Health Center.
- Where social distancing (maintaining consistent 6 feet between individuals) is not possible, specific seating arrangements will be used to support contact tracing efforts.
- Class attendance and seating will be recorded to support contact tracing efforts.
- Drinking liquids and eating food is discouraged within the classroom.



Weekly Schedule

Week One. What Do We Know About Capitalism?

Tu, 8/31

Th, 9/2

- Jahan & Saber Mahmud, [“What Is Capitalism? Free markets may not be perfect but they are probably the best way to organize and economy,”](#)
- [“Capitalism Defined and Defended,”](#) Clemson Institute for the Study of Capitalism
- Bottomore, ed. [A Dictionary of Marxist Thought](#) (entries: accumulation, capital, capitalism)

Week Two. Classic European Thinkers on Capitalism: Marx, Smith, Weber

Tu, 9/7

- Karl Marx, [*Capital, Volume 1: A Critique of Political Economy*](#) (Orig. pub.1867), chs 26-33. Bottomore, "Primitive Accumulation" pp. 445-46.

Th, 9/9

VIDEOS

- Professor Edward F. Stuart (Northeastern Illinois U), [Capitalism vs Socialism, Lecture 2, "Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Keynes, and Friedman,"](#) Great Courses (32 min video)
- ["Adam Smith & Karl Marx- more similar than you'd think,"](#) Chapter by Chapter, Jan 5, 2021, unidentified Austrian narrator (11 min video)
- ["Adam Smith in 10 minutes,"](#) documentary by Professor Chris Berry University of Glasgow, n.d. (10 min video)
- ["The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,"](#) documentary by the University of Amsterdam (6 min video).
- [Karl Marx](#), The School of Life
- [Noam Chomsky on Adam Smith](#)

TEXTS

- Professor Paul Gingrich, [Sociology 250, Spring 2003, Notes on Max Weber](#), University of Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada. (8 pp.)
- Great Thinkers, [Introduction to the Thought of Adam Smith](#) (6 pp.)

Week Three. From Pre-Colombian Societies to Spanish Colonialism



Guayman Poma de Ayala

Tu, 9/14

- Silverblatt, "Producing Andean Existence," pp. 3-19.
- Mangan, Ch. 1, "The Largest Population," pp. 21-47 [REC: Ch. 3, "Light on the Chicha," pp. 76-105].
- Maxwell, Kenneth, ["The Beginnings of Globalization: The Spanish Silver Trade Routes,"](#) Defense Info, 12/30/2020.

Th, 9/16

- Stern, "Viceroy Toledo's Reforms," pp. 76-79, & Ch. 4, "The Political Economy of

Colonialism," pp. 80-113.



Week Four. The Atlantic World of Colonial Trade

Tu, 9/21

- [Spanish Treasure Fleet](#), Wikipedia [+ follow any links that look of interest to you]
- ["Spain, Portugal, and the Creation of a Global Economy,"](#) Khan Academy video (10 mins)
- Stirton Weaver, Frederick. "The Changing World Economy: Introduction and Early History," Ch. 1 in *Latin America in the World Economy: Mercantile Colonialism to Global Capitalism* (Westview P, 2000), pp. 1-23.

Th, 9/23

- Prado, Fabricio. "Addicted to Smuggling: Contraband Trade in Eighteenth-Century Brazil and Rio de la Plata," Chapter 9 in Christoph Rosenmuller, ed. *Corruption in the Iberian Empires: Greed, Custom, and Colonial Networks* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2017), pp. 197-214.
- Fabricio Prado, Chacra Video Lecture, ["Spanish & Portuguese Trade in the Americas \(Legal Trade & Smuggling\),"](#) July 7, 2020. (10 min video)

Week Five. The Slave Trade & Plantation Slavery

Tu, 9/28

- Borucki, Alex, David Eltis, and David Wheat. "Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America." *The American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (2015), pp. 433–61.
- [Slave Voyages 2.0](#), a "digital memorial" with comprehensive slave trade databases and additional features. Spend an hour or two working through as much of the site as you can, focusing especially on the slave trade to Spanish and Portuguese regions of the Americas . Be sure to read: [About the Project](#) and [David Eltis, Introduction](#) (2018); Also, for a good introduction to the website, see this [short video by Henry Louis Gates](#). This [slave ship video](#) is really cool. And, definitely get into the databases, Trans-Atlantic and/or Intra-American, and muck around.

Th, 9/30

- Kris Majapra, ["Apprentice, Coolie, Pauper, Convict: Laboring Subjects and the Global Plantation Complex in the 19th Century,"](#) talk delivered at the Watson Institute of International & Public Affairs, Brown University, Providence, RI, February 28, 2017. [90 min video]
- Schwartz, Stuart. "Sugar Plantation Labor and Slave Life," Ch. 2 in *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1992), pp. 39-63.

Weeks Six. Slavery and Capitalism: The Williams Thesis and Beyond



Tu, 10/5

- Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (U of North Carolina P, 1044, 1994), selections including Introduction by Colin A. Palmer.
- [“History Provides the Blueprint, Full Documentary,”](#) by Eric Williams Memorial Collection (EWMC), 2008. (30 min video on the life of Dr. Williams and the legacy of the EWMC).

Th, 10/7

- [“Slavery, Capitalism, and the Making of the Modern World,”](#) Sawyer Seminar at the Watson Institute of International & Public Affairs, Brown University, Providence, RI, December 20, 2018. [moderator: Zach Sell; panelists: Jennifer L. Morgan, Seth Rockman, Walter Johnson, and Anthony Bogues]. [2 hr video – you might watch at 1.25 speed]

Week Seven. 19th C Transformations: From Colonialism to Post-Colonial Sovereignty

Tu, 10/12

- Stirton Weaver, Frederick. “Competitive Capitalist Industrialization, Free Trade Imperialism, and Latin American Independence, 1700-1850,” Ch. 2 in *Latin America in the World Economy: Mercantile Colonialism to Global Capitalism* (Westview P, 2000), pp. 25-54.

Th, 10/14

- Amaral, Samuel and Richard Doringo. “Latin America Was Behind: The Economic Background of Independence,” Ch. 1, in Victor M. Uribe-Uran, ed., *State and Society in Spanish America during the Age of Revolution* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), pp. 3-29.

Week Eight. 19th Century Neo-Colonial Commodity Production

Tu, 10/19

- Rosenberg, Mark B., et. al., eds., “The Garden of Forking Paths: Dilemmas of National Development (first half)” & “The Soto Keith Contract on Foreign Investment,” in *Americas: An Anthology* (Oxford UP, 1992), pp. 48-50, 57-59.

- Tucker, Richard P., *Insatiable Appetites: The United States and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World*, concise revised edition (Rowman & Littlefield, 2007; orig. 2000), selections.
- Frederick Upham Adams, "The United Fruit Company and the Banana Industry, 1914," Ch. 5.5. in Nicola Foote, ed., pp. 107-112.
- Galeano, Eduardo. *The Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (Monthly Review P, 1997). [orig. 1971], selections.
-

Th, 10/21

- Arnold J. Bauer, "Modernizing Goods: Material Culture at the Crest of the First Liberalism," Ch. 5 in *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture* (Cambridge UP, 2001), pp. 129-164.

Week Nine. Dependency and World Systems Theory

Tu, 10/26

- Ferraro, Vincent. "Dependency Theory: An Introduction," in Giorgio Secondi, ed., *The Development Economics Reader*, (Routledge, 2008), pp. 58-64.
- REC NOT REQ: Stern, Steve. "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean," *American Historical Review*, vol. 93, no. 4 (Oct 1988), pp. 829-72. See also the debate between Stern and Immanuel Wallerstein, pp. 873-97.

Th, 10/28:

- Chase-Dunn, Christopher. "dependency and world-systems theories," pp. 1060-62.
- REC NOT REQ: Ernesto Laclau, "Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America"

Week Ten. National Development: Import Substitution Industrialization & Agrarian Reform

Tu, 11/2

- Stirton Weaver, Frederick. "Import Substitution and Semi-Industrialization in Latin America," Ch. 5 in *Latin America in the World Economy* (Westview P, 2000), pp. 117-146.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto, "Preface to the English Edition" & "Introduction," *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, Trans. Marjory Mattingly Urquidí (U of California P, 1979; Spanish orig. 1971), pp. vii-xxv, 1-7.

Th, 11/4:

- TBA

Week Eleven. Imperialist Capital in the Jungle: Fordlandia

Tu, 11/9

- Grandin, Greg. *Fordlandia: The Rise and Fall of Henry Ford's Forgotten Jungle City* (Picador, 2010), selections

Th, 11/11: Veteran's Day. No class.

Week Twelve. Neo-liberal Economics: The Case of Chile

Tu, 11/16

- NPR Planet Money, podcasts: The Chicago Boys I and II

Th, 11/18

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

Week Thirteen. Neo-liberal Economics in Latin America & Local Resistance

Tu, 11/23

- Carrigan, etc. on Zapatistas

Th, 11/25: Thanksgiving. No class.

Week Fourteen. For Sustainable & Just Access to Resources: Water Wars in Bolivia



Tu, 11/30

- Oscar Olivera, *!Cochabamba! Water War in Bolivia*, forward by Vandana Shiva, (Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 2004), pp. 2-49.

- Robert Albro, “‘The Water Is Ours, Carajo!’ Deep Citizenship in Bolivia’s Water Wars,” in *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*, ed. June Nash (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 249-271.
- Nancy Grey Postero, *Now we are Citizens. Indigenous Politics in Postmulticultural Bolivia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 1-20 and 164-188.

Th, 12/2

- File of documents from the major actors in the Cochabamba Water War: the World Bank; local and national Bolivian government officials; representatives of the Catholic Church; Bechtel executives; and the women, men, and major organizations that led the resistance to water privatization.
 - <https://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/bolivia/links.html>
 - Lecture on the Water Wars: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rt8yigkwxLM>

Week Fifteen. Rethinking Latin American History & Theories of Capitalism

Tu, 12/7:

TBA

Th, 12/9: Catch Up and Review

FINAL EXAM: Tu, 12/14, 3:20-5:20 pm

