

**LALS 145, Grassroots Social Change in Latin America: Social Change in Bolivia**  
**Summer Session I, 2016**  
**Tuesday and Thursday, 9:00am-12:30pm, Social Science Building 2, Room 167**

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Office hours: Tuesdays, 1:00-3:00pm or by appointment

**Course Description**

This course is designed to introduce students to the dynamic processes of social change in Bolivia, focusing mainly on the period from the revolution of 1952 to the present. With over 200 extra-institutional changes of power since its founding in 1825, Bolivia is known as one of the most volatile and unpredictable nations in Latin America. It was one of only 4 Latin American countries that experienced a truly radical social revolution in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it endured military dictatorships and underwent processes of democratization throughout the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, and it was the bellwether of neoliberalism for the rest of Latin America in the mid 1980s. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century Bolivia experienced massive uprisings that overthrew two presidents and eventually brought Evo Morales, the country's first indigenous president, to power in 2006, placing Bolivia squarely within Latin America's so-called "Pink Tide" of leftist governments. Since Morales' election the country has witnessed the longest period of political stability in its history. Nevertheless, due in large part to the strength and organization of the country's popular sectors and social movements, mass mobilization and political upheaval are always just below the surface. The overall objective of the course, then, is to understand how processes of social change have unfolded in Bolivia generally, and, more specifically, to understand how the current Bolivian social formation is a product of these previous processes and will, in turn, influence future trajectories of change.

The readings for this course are designed to provide a thorough and well-rounded introduction to periods of social change in Bolivia. For the relatively small size of the country Bolivia has a very strong intellectual tradition. Therefore, where English translations permit, I have tried to incorporate pieces from Bolivian scholars (or scholars based in Bolivia) into the course as much as possible so students may get an understanding of these processes of change from participants and observers "on the ground," so to speak. If you would like access to the readings in their original Spanish, please let me know.

No assumptions are made regarding students' familiarity with Bolivia. I do, however, assume a willingness on the part of students to spend considerable time engaging the intricacies and nuances of the country by reading carefully and preparing in advance to participate in class discussions. Proper preparation is a necessity for high quality discussions, as well as for high quality grades.

**Course Requirements**

Grades will be based on the following three requirements:

- 1) Participation (25%): Students' participation grades will be based on active engagement in our class meetings and/or attending office hours. Attendance in class is mandatory and class participation includes presentations, active involvement in class discussions, respectful and thoughtful debate, coming with questions related to the material, etc.
- 2) Midterm essay exam (25%): This midterm essay exam is due at the end of Week 3 (Meeting 6) and will be based on the material covered in the first half of the course. Students will be given a list of 3 questions related to the material and need to craft a 5-page essay answering 1 of the 3 questions. Essays are expected to be well thought-out, organized with a clear thesis, citations, and proofread.
- 3) Final paper (50%): The final paper is an 8-10 page (double-spaced) paper on one of the periods covered in the course (i.e. the State of '52, Neoliberal period, etc.). The papers should summarize the period in question, explain how the past influenced and shaped that particular period, and analyze its effects. For this paper students must use outside sources. Our course readings can serve as a foundation for your paper, but students are required to consult and use additional books and/or articles based on their own research. I am happy to meet during office hours or by appointment to discuss strategies for doing research and writing.

- Late Policy: All papers/exams will be marked down a third of a letter grade for each day following the due date.

- Citation and Bibliography: All courses in the Politics department use one of two standard forms of citation: (1) parenthetical, in-text citations, or (2) footnotes. For the in-text system, the department follows the *Modern Language Association* (MLA); for footnotes, the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Descriptions of both styles can be found on the Politics department website at <http://politics.ucsc.edu/undergraduate/citation.html> All papers must also include a bibliography or works cited page.

- DRC Accommodation: UCSC is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve access in this course, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center to me within the first two weeks of the quarter. Students who may benefit from learning more about DRC service should contact DRC at 831-459-2089 or [drc@ucsc.edu](mailto:drc@ucsc.edu).

### **Required Texts**

In addition to the textbook below, additional assigned readings will be posted on ecommons.

- Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl, *Evo's Bolivia: Continuity and Change*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).

## **Class Schedule**

### **Meeting 1, June 21: Introduction and Brief History**

- Herbert Klein, *A Concise History of Bolivia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. xi-23.
- James Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia, 1952-1982*, (London: Verso, 1984), pp. 1- 37.

### **Meeting 2, June 23: 1952 Revolution and *el Estado de '52***

- James Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia, 1952-1982*, (London: Verso, 1984), pp. 38-82.
- Juan Antonio Morales, "The National Revolution and its Legacy," in Merilee Grindle and Pilar Domingo (eds.), *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 213-231.

### **Meeting 3, June 28: Democracies in Bolivia**

- John Crabtree and Ann Chaplin, "The Altiplano: sindicatos versus ayllus," *Bolivia: Processes of Change*, (New York: Zed Books, 2013), pp. 36-53.
- Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, "Liberal Democracy and *Ayllu* Democracy in Bolivia: The Case of Northern Potosi," *The Journal of Development Studies*, 26 (4), 1990, pp. 97-121.
- Alvaro García Linera, "Citizenship and Democracy in Bolivia," *Plebian Power: Collective Action and Indigenous, Working-Class, and Popular Identities in Bolivia*, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014), pp. 89-106.

### **Meeting 4, June 30: The (Re)Emergence of Indigenous Movements (Midterm handed out)**

- Xavier Albo, "From MNRistas to Kataristas to Katari," in Steve J. Stern (ed.), *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 379-419.
- Deborah J. Yashar, "Bolivia: Strong Regional Movements," *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 152-223.

### **Meeting 5, July 5: The "Shock" of Neoliberalism**

- Benjamin Kohl and Linda Farthing, *Impasse in Bolivia: Neoliberal Hegemony and Popular Resistance*, (London: Zed Books, 2006), pp. 11-34, 60-84.

- Jeffrey Sachs, “Bolivia’s High-Altitude Hyperinflation,” *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Times*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2015 [2005]), pp. 90-109.
- Alvaro García Linera, “The Death of the Twentieth Century Working Class Condition,” *Plebian Power: Collective Action and Indigenous, Working-Class, and Popular Identities in Bolivia*, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014), pp. 117-142.

### **Meeting 6, July 7: The Insurrectionary Period of 2000-2005 (Midterm exam due)**

- Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, “The Chequered Rainbow,” *New Left Review*, 35, 2005, pp. 40-64.
- Adolfo Gilly, “Bolivia: A 21<sup>st</sup> Century Revolution,” *Socialism and Democracy*, 19 (3), 2005, pp. 41-54.
- Alvaro García Linera, “The Crisis of the State and Indigenous-Plebeian Uprisings in Bolivia,” *Plebian Power: Collective Action and Indigenous, Working-Class, and Popular Identities in Bolivia*, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014), pp. 265-282.

### **Meeting 7, July 12: Evo Morales and the MAS in Power, Part I**

- Chapters 1-4 in Farthing and Kohl, pp. 1-77.

### **Meeting 8, July 14: Evo Morales and the MAS in Power, Part II**

- Chapters 5-8 in Farthing and Kohl, pp. 78-128.
- Nancy Postero, “Morales’s MAS Government: Building Indigenous Popular Hegemony in Bolivia,” *Latin American Perspectives*, 37 (3), 2010, pp. 18-34

### **Meeting 9, July 19: *Pachakuti* or Reconstituted Neoliberalism?**

- Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar, “The Rhythms of the *Pachakuti*: Brief Reflections Regarding How We Have Come to Know Emancipatory Struggles and the Significance of the Term *Social Emancipation*,” *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 111 (1), 2012, pp. 51-64.
- Jeffery R. Webber, “From Left-Indigenous Insurrection to Reconstituted Neoliberalism in Bolivia: Political Economy, Indigenous Liberation, and Class Struggle,” in Jeffery R. Webber and Barry Carr (eds.), *The New Latin American Left: Cracks in the Empire*, (New York: Roman & Littlefield, 2013), pp. 149-190.

### **Meeting 10, July 21: Looking Forward**

- Chapter 9 in Farthing and Kohl, pp. 144-163.

### **Final Papers Due July 25.**