



Main Square, Managua, July 20, 1979

LAH 3741: Revolution in the Americas

Fall 2017 / MWF 10:40-11:30 (Period 4)

Dr. Heather Vrana
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What causes revolutions? Why do some revolutions fail? Can the middle class be revolutionary? This course examines armed and unarmed revolutions across Latin America's 20th century. We will examine the causes, goals, successes, and failures of several case studies, including the Mexican Revolution, Puerto Rico's movements for independence, Pinochet's coup, Sendero Luminoso, Nicaragua's Sandinistas, and the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN). Readings will include novels, music, manifestos, combat manuals, posters, declassified government documents, and more. You will also learn how to ask good questions about the past.

Course Goals

By the end of the course, you will:

- have a basic knowledge of important revolutions in Latin American history
- recognize and be able to analyze primary sources, including newspapers, speeches, diaries, music, photographs, films, and other visual sources
- improve your critical thinking skills
- improve your argumentative (thesis-driven) writing skills

The format of the class:

The reading for the week is due on Monday; then, we'll discuss it all week. On Monday, I will give a short contextual lecture. For Monday, you will write a short reading response paper. On Wednesday, bring 2-3 discussion questions with you; these will be related to your reading response. On Friday, we will closely discuss the primary sources, your questions, your response papers, and any other loose ends.

Readings

Required

Most of our readings will be primary sources that are available as PDFs on Canvas.

You will also purchase just four books for this class:

- Mariano Azuela, *The Underdogs*. New York: Penguin Classics, 2008.
- Roberto Bolaño, *Distant Star*. New York: New Directions, 2004.
- Ernesto Guevara, Brian Loveman, Thomas M. Davies, Jr. *Guerrilla Warfare*. Lanham, MD: SR Books and Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
- Sergio González Rodríguez and Joshua Neuhouser, trans., *The Iguala 43*. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e): 2017.

All of these books are available for purchase from a variety of sellers.
Please locate the above editions.

Suggested

John Charles Chasteen's *Born in Blood and Fire* and Skidmore and Smith's *Modern Latin America* can provide good background information that will help you if you are confused about context. We will also talk about context and background in class.

Grading

Attendance and Participation	Your participation in class is crucial to our and your success. You will have two unexcused absences this semester without penalty. Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found at: https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx	300 points (30% course grade)
Reading Responses	You will write ten reading responses across the course of the semester. These short, 2-pg. reading responses will be graded with comments and returned to you. These writings aren't busy work, but rather a form of dialogue that we can have outside of class and, too, a way for you to organize your thoughts before class.	200 points (20% course grade)
Midterm Paper	Your midterm assignment will be a traditional research paper. You will compare two or three revolutionary groups that we have addressed, discussing causes of revolution (as members of the group and	200 points (20%

	outsiders saw it), goals/aims, success/failure, role of external vs. internal factors, and more. We will discuss this at greater length later in the semester.	course grade)
Final Assignment	Write a plan for revolution. This revolution must be set in a real place and occur at a real time. You may work individually or in groups. You will present your revolutions during the last week of class. The plan for revolution will include several components: an initial press release announcing the existence of your group, a couple of manifestos outlining your group's position on key issues, letters to other competing or allied groups, and perhaps speeches by important leaders. You might even draft some intelligence reports on the group.	300 points (30% course grade)

There will be many opportunities during the semester to attend relevant events for extra credit.

[Note: Every assignment will have an assignment sheet and rubric with more information]

How to calculate your grade: You will earn points for each assignment, which will add up to a possible 1000 points across the semester. At any point, you can calculate your own grade by dividing the number of points you have earned by the number of points you *could have earned* and multiplying by 100.

Grade Scale

A+	980	C+	770
A	930	C	730
A-	900	C-	700
B+	870	D+	670
B	830	D	630
B-	800	D-	600

For information regarding current UF policies for assigning grade points, see: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/grades.aspx>

Honor Code

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge, which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student->

conduct-honorcode/) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor.

Cell phones, tardiness, class conduct

We may disagree at times, but together we will learn to discuss respectfully topics that are important to us. Please treat one another with respect.

Cell phone usage during class is distracting, as are online shopping and developing your online presence. In our class, please enjoy 50 minutes of distraction-free thinking.

Accessibility and accommodations

Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565 OR www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter, which must be presented to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Students with disabilities should follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

Course Evaluations

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results/>.

NB: I may update the syllabus if necessary through the course of the semester. If changes are made, the updated syllabus will be made available in hard copy and on the course Canvas site.

//\\//\\ COURSE SCHEDULE //\\//

You can expect around 70 pgs. of reading per week in this class. I *know* that sounds like a lot. But this reading is different from most of your classes. Not academic articles or book chapters, all of these readings are written by participants in revolutions (and counterrevolutions) themselves. They're often more interesting and, honestly, simpler to read.

Week 1: August 21, 23, 25 / Introduction: What is Revolution? (23 pgs.)

- For Wednesday,
 - Kyla Wazana Tompkins, "Some Notes on How to Ask A Good Question... That Will Provoke Conversation and Further Discussion from Your Colleagues" Handout
- For Friday,
 - Excerpts, Régis Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution* (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

Week 2: August 28, 30, September 1 / Mexican Revolution, Part I

- For Monday, (26 pgs.)
 - "Hat Laws and Pants Laws" and "Family: Etiquette Manuals," in *Problems in Modern Mexican History*
 - Ricardo Flores Magón, "Land and Liberty," in *The Mexico Reader*
 - Emiliano Zapata and Others, "Plan of Ayala," in *The Mexico Reader*
 - William O. Jenkins, "Mexico Has Been Turned into a Hell," in *The Mexico Reader*
- For Friday,
 - Azuela, *The Underdogs* pp. 5-50 and skim the introductory information (50 pgs.)

Week 3: September 4 (NO CLASS), 6, 8 / Mexican Revolution, Part II

- For Wednesday, (61 pgs.)
 - Azuela, *The Underdogs*, pp. 50-116
- For Friday, (21 pgs.)
 - Finish Azuela, *The Underdogs*, pp. 118-134
 - Constitution of the Republic of Mexico of 1917, Articles 27 and 123, in *The Mexico Reader*

Week 4: September 11, 13, 15 / Guatemala's Revolutions and Counterrevolution

- For Monday, Various documents from *Anti-Colonial Texts from Central American Student Movements*: (24 pgs.)
 - "In Complete Tyranny," *El Estudiante*
 - Manuel Galich, "The Manifesto of 1942," in *Del pánico al ataque*
 - Asociación de Estudiantes Universitarias, "Manifesto"
 - CEUA, *The Plan of Tegucigalpa* (from *Anti-Colonial Texts from Central American Student Movements*) (1954)
- For Wednesday, (7 pgs.)
 - Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres (EGP), "The Guatemalan Revolution," *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 3 (Summer 1981): 36-42.

Week 5: September 18, 20, 22 / Cuba, 1958 (about 50 pgs., depending on version)

- Ernesto Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (take the week to read this)

Week 6: September 25, 27, 29 / Puerto Rican Independence

- For Monday, (23 pgs.)
 - Speech, Pedro Albizu Campos, September 23, 1950
 - Songs and Liner Notes from Andrés Jiménez, "Puerto Rico: Como el Filo del Machete" (Paredon Records, No. 1040, 1978)
- For Wednesday, (the dossier is 123 pgs., but you will focus on pgs. specified in class)
 - Skim: FBI Memoranda on the Universidad de Puerto Rico and PR Nationalist Groups, June 1962, from Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), "COINTELPRO Puerto Rican Groups Part 1 of 11," Online at: <<https://vault.fbi.gov/cointel-pro/puerto-rican-groups/cointel-pro-puerto-rican-groups-part-1-of-11/view>>

Week 7: October 30, Nov 1, 3 / Chile, Part I

- For Monday, (21 pgs.)
 - Salvador Allende, "First speech to the Chilean Parliament after his election"
- For Friday, start reading Roberto Bolaño, *Distant Star* (pgs. 1-76) (76 pgs.)

Week 8: October 2, 4, 6 (NO CLASS on the 6th) / Chile, Part II

- For Monday, (about 20 pgs.)
 - Speech, Salvador Allende, "Last Words to the Nation," Sept. 11, 1973. Text: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/allende/1973/september/11.htm>
 - Browse various documents, "The Pinochet File," National Security Archive. Access online at: <<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB110/>>
- For Friday,
 - Finish reading Bolaño, *Distant Star* (72 pgs.)

Week 9: October 9, 11, 13 / Nicaragua (28 pgs.)

- Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, *The 72-Hour Document: The Sandinista Blueprint for Constructing Communism in Nicaragua* (a translation)
- Sergio Ramírez, "Sandinismo, Hegemony, and Revolution," *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 3 (Summer 1981): 23-26.

Week 10: October 16, 18, 20 / El Salvador

- For Monday, (14 pgs. plus dozens of posters)

- Cayetano Carpio and Adolfo Gilly, "An Interview with Salvador Cayetano Carpio ('Marcial')," *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 3 (Summer 1981): 9-14.
- AGEUS, "Comunicado" and "Statement of Solidarity," *Opinión Estudiantil* (1980)
- "Declaration of the University of El Salvador's High Council, on the National Situation," *El Universitario* (1979), in *Anti-Colonial Texts from Central American Student Movements*
- Posters by the Armed Forces of El Salvador, Online exhibit at the website of the Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen:
<<http://museo.com.sv/fototeca/wppaspec/oc1/cv0/ab24>>
- For Friday, (about 21 pgs. plus dozens of posters)
 - "Salvador Archbishop Assassinated By Sniper While Officiating At Mass," *New York Times*, March 25, 1980.
 - Speech, Ronald Reagan, "Address on Central America to Joint Session of Congress," April 27, 1983. Transcript published in the *New York Times* on April 28, 1983. Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3nvqoqQWLt0>
 - Various CISPES documents, *El Salvador: North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) Archive of Latin Americana*, 1997. OR CISPES papers from Loyola University – New Orleans, online at
<<http://library.loyno.edu/blog/?p=2946>>
 - Pablo González Casanova, "Notes for a Manifesto," *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 3 (Summer 1981): 67-68.
 - Posters in solidarity, Online exhibit at the website of the Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen:
<<http://museo.com.sv/fototeca/wppaspec/oc1/cv0/ab28>>

Week 11: October 23, 25, 27 / Peru – Sendero Luminoso

- For Monday, (29 pgs.)
 - Osmán Morote, "A Frightening Thirst for Vengeance" (1971)
 - Abimael Guzmán, "We are the Initiators" (1980)
 - Gustavo Gorriti, "The Quota" (1990)
 - "Nicario," "Memoirs of a Cadre"
 - Anonymous, "Oath of Loyalty" (ca. 1989)
- For Wednesday, (16 pgs.)
 - "Pancho," "Vietnam in the Andes" (1990)
 - Anonymous, Death Threat (1991)
 - Salomón Lerner, "Time of Reckoning" (2003)

[Note: all of these readings for Week 11 come from *The Peru Reader*, which you can read online through the library. Search for the title "*The Peru Reader*" and then click on

"eBook: Full Text Online." You will find the readings for Monday in Part VI: The Shining Path and the readings for Wednesday in Part VII: Manchay Tiempo.]

Week 12: November 6, 8, 10 (NO CLASS on the 10th) / Colombia's Wars

- For Monday, (30 pgs.)
 - Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN), "Starting Points for the FARC and ELN" (1965 and 1964/1993)
 - Reread "Armed Self-Defense," Régis Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution* (1967)
- For Friday, (25 pgs.)
 - Joseph Fabry, James Mollison, Robert Romero Ospina, Daniel Jiménez, *El Espectador*, and Ricardo Malazán, "Turning Points in the Colombian Conflict, 1960s-1990s"
 - Los Extraditables, "We Prefer a Grave in Colombia to a Cell in the United States" (1989)
 - Diego Viáfara Salinas, "A Medic's Life within a Cocaine-Fueled Paramilitary Organization" (1989)
 - María Mercedes Carranza, "The Song of the Flies" (1997)

[Note: all of these readings for Week 12 come from *The Colombia Reader*, which you can read online through the library. Search for the title "*The Colombia Reader*" and then click on "eBook: Full Text Online." You will find all of the readings for the week (except Debray, which you already have) in the section entitled "Violence."]

Week 13: November 13, 15, 17 / Hugo Chávez and the Bolivarian Revolution (29 pgs.)

- "Venezuelans Secretly Support Army Coup Plotters," *New York Times*, February 9, 1992
- "Fiery Nationalism Drove Venezuelan Plotters," *New York Times*, February 11, 1992
- "On the Legacy of Hugo Chávez," *The Nation*, March 6, 2013. Text: <https://www.thenation.com/article/legacy-hugo-chavez/>
- "What's Left of the Bolivarian Revolution?" *NACLA*, July 26, 2017. Text: <http://nacla.org/news/2017/07/27/what%E2%80%99s-left-bolivarian-revolution>

Week 14: Nov 20 / Revolutionary Mexico Today: EZLN & the Iguala 43 (80 pgs.)

- EZLN, "First Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle," (1993) Text: <http://www.struggle.ws/mexico/ezln/ezlnwa.html>
- Sergio González Rodríguez and Joshua Neuhouser, trans., *The Iguala 43*, pp.1-78

Week 15: Nov 27, 29, Dec 1 – Revolutionary Mexico Today: EZLN and the Iguala 43 (73 pgs.)

- Sergio González Rodríguez and Joshua Neuhouser, trans., *The Iguala 43*, pp. 79-152

Week 16: Dec 4, 6 / Final Project Presentations

- NO READING

5 P S O F R E A D I N G P R I M A R Y S O U R C E S

(Adapted by Drs. Heather Vrana and Kalani Craig from Dr. Wendy Gamber)

P l a c e

What is the context for this source? What kinds of social, cultural and environmental factors impact the document?

A document does not materialize out of thin air. Each belongs in a specific time, place, and social setting. This means that we have to place the document in its historical context. If you're still not sure why context matters, think about how the Declaration of Independence would sound if it were written today, or if it were written in 18th century China rather than the American colonies.

P e r s o n

Who is the author, and what do you know about him/her?

Every piece of writing we read has an author, even if we do not know who that was. It is important to determine how reliable and accurate that author is and how close the person was to the action that they describe. Sometimes the author was trying to influence the outcome of a certain event or process. Making sense of the author's writing thus depends on figuring out who they were.

P u r p o s e

What is the intention of the writer? Why is he/she writing?

In the same way a highway billboard is selling you something, a document is usually trying to convince its reader(s) of a certain opinion. It may even have more than one message. For instance, an article about the need to establish a Spanish colony in South America may argue that such a colony is needed to strengthen Spain's military power. It might also be a way for an official to prove himself to the Spanish ruler. The same official might also have financial interests in such a colony. Think about the overt or surface message, but also of as many other possible meanings. Remember—what someone writes is not necessarily the same as why he or she writes it. Also remember the difference between intent and result: none of these documents tells us what sort of influence it had.

P u b l i c

Who is the intended audience? What kinds of assumptions does the author make about his/her audience?

Just as a television commercial is aimed at a certain audience, a historical document is always aimed at an audience. You have probably heard about how certain "great" documents have shaped history, but consider also how certain audiences influence the way a document is written. Who was the audience? Who would have been able to or wanted, to read, such a document? What language was it written in? Consider also how different audiences might react differently to a document, just as different audiences might react differently to an episode of "Pretty Little Liars."

P l a n

What kinds of tone, form, genre or imagery did the author employ? Are these choices important and if so, how?

Most documents are written according to particular forms and rules. A poet, for example, might follow a metrical or rhyme scheme. A petition to a ruler must be written in a way that will not offend the ruler so much that the petitioners will lose their heads. Also, what type of language is used—formal, informal, technical, inflammatory, prescribed? Any imagery (e.g. embodying liberty as Lady Liberty in human female form)?

