

Latin American Revolutions and Counterrevolutions

Fall 2017
Tuesdays & Thursdays
1:20–2:50 pm in Neill 112
Macalester College

September 5th, 2017

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Course Summary

¡Bienvenidos! Welcome to **Latin American Revolutions and Counterrevolutions!** Cycles of revolutionary upheaval and counterrevolutionary violence punctuated Latin America's tumultuous 20th century. This course examines these twinned phenomena by comparing "successful" revolutions (Mexico [1910-1917], Cuba [1959], Nicaragua [1979]) with "unsuccessful" (Bolivia [1952], Chile [1970]) and abortive (El Salvador, Guatemala, and Peru in the 1970s and 1980s) attempts at revolutionary change. These cases provoke a series of interrelated questions: Under what conditions do revolutionary outbreaks occur? Why do revolutionaries take power in some countries and fail in others? How can we explain (counter-)revolutionary mobilization, violence, and terror? Do revolutions produce enduring social change, or reproduce enduring problems? What will the future of revolution look like in our unstable world? By delving together into Latin America's historical specificities and broader theoretical considerations, students in this course will gain a deeper knowledge not only of revolution but of political and social change more generally.

*"The dictatorship is a corpse without a grave and we have come to bury it."
-Sergio Ramírez*

1 Required Books

- Reinaldo Arenas (1993). *Before Night Falls*. New York: Penguin Books
- Omar Cabezas (1986). *Fire from the Mountain: The Making of a Sandinista*. New York: New American Library
- Jeff Goodwin (2001). *No Other Way out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*
- Elisabeth Jean Wood (2003). *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 330 pp.
- Rigoberta Menchú and Elisabeth Burgos-Debray (2010). *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*. London; New York: Verso

2 Other Readings

All of the other readings are available in one of two places: either posted on the class Moodle page as a PDF, or (for academic articles) on Google Scholar. Macalester provides internet access to most academic journals, and if you don't already know how, I'd like you to learn how to search for them. So try this:

Step 1: Connect to Wi-Fi while you are on the Macalester campus (or through [Mac's VPN service](#) if you are off-campus)

Step 2: Go to <http://scholar.google.com>.

Step 3: Search for the reading; e.g. "Timur Kuran Now out of never".

Step 4: Find our article and click on "MACLINKS FULL TEXT".

Step 5: Read the article, while taking careful notes filled with brilliant insights.

3 Expectations

The most important expectation is simple: be respectful of everyone in the class, and of each other's views. In an environment as diverse as Macalester's, everyone has a different perspective to offer, to teach, and to learn. Engage with the course fully and listen as carefully to your fellow students as you would to your professor.

This is not designed to be an easy class. There's plenty of reading and a lot of it is tough—but rewarding. I expect you to *leap* into the readings with enthusiasm from the very first class. If we all do that, we'll have a lively classroom discussion.

It's also essential to take notes as you read. Different methods work for different students: some try to create an outline of the main points, others may write a summary paragraph of the reading as soon as they finish it, while others might pull out five to seven quotes that capture key ideas. It would be a good idea to experiment with different styles throughout the course to learn what works best for you.

Arrive on time and ready to participate. I won't be taking attendance and I'll trust you to decide if (once or twice) you can't make it to class. **But if you will be late or absent, please email me at least 30 minutes before class.**

I will ask a lot from you in this course, but you can expect to receive a lot from me in return. I hope that by the end of the semester, you will conclude that this was one of your most challenging courses at Macalester, and one of your best.

4 Evaluation

Format and Required Citation Style: Submit written work online through our Moodle (you will get my feedback through the Moodle as well) and use the [APSA style guide](#) to format citations and bibliography.

Language Options for Written Assignments: English or Spanish

On-Time Work Policy: Setting and meeting deadlines is an important professional skill. The syllabus provides “default” deadlines for assignments. I expect you to either meet these deadlines or set alternate deadlines in advance. College is an important time to develop a reputation as someone who gets things done and gets things done on time. If you cannot meet a deadline, it is your responsibility to *communicate* about when you will complete your work.

Drafts and Writing Workgroups: For your two large assignments, the Analytical Paper and Research Paper, you’ll be meeting up with a small group of peers to “workshop” your papers together. This means you must have your first draft of each paper written a week before the final due date. I’ll divide you into groups and it will be up to you to arrange a meeting. I recommend that you begin the meetings by exchanging hard copies of your papers, and writing comments in the margins. Then you can talk over your comments and recommendations. Note that the due dates for these assignments below are presented as first draft/final draft.

Summary of Assignments

1. **Class participation:** Do the readings before class! On many occasions I will lecture, but more often, we will engage in class and group discussions in which students are expected to share their thoughts, ideas, and questions with the class. We also will engage in a handful of classroom simulations, each of which is based on the theories covered in the readings. Students who fail to do the readings will be at a decisive disadvantage in these simulations. But don’t worry! There will be lots of opportunities—and different ways—to be engaged with the class, and I am happy to give feedback and discuss your participation during office hours. 20% of course grade.
2. **Two single point papers:** This short paper is your response to an individual reading or set of readings. Think about the key ideas that you see emerging from your reading or your reading notes. Advance a single argument or assertion, which may be substantive, analytic, methodological, theoretic, or any combination of these. The first will be due on September 19th; the second at any point during the quarter. 250 words. 10% of course grade each.
3. **Analytic paper:** This paper should demonstrate your ability to synthesize and—naturally—analyze the material that we’ve covered in this class. I will present a set of possible topics, and will also give you the opportunity to develop your own. This paper will be graded on its argumentation, evidence, and written communication. Due on October 17th/24th. 4–5 pages. 25% of course grade.
4. **Research paper:** Ask an empirical question about one of the outcomes we have studied in this course. How have political scientists, sociologists, and revolutionaries tried to answer this question? What do you think is the answer to this question? What evidence would you need to collect to answer it? We will talk much more about how to conduct such a research project throughout the course. Due on December 12th/20th. 8–10 pages. 35% of course grade.

5 Academic Integrity

The academy is an ancient tradition founded on the pursuit of truth at all costs. Honesty, personal responsibility, and integrity are therefore core values indispensable to any academic pursuit. You will be judged, justly, on the extent to which you uphold these values for the rest of your life, and your integrity is far more important than your final grade in this course.

One common form of academic dishonesty will result in an automatic failure of any assignment, or more likely, an F in the course along with a referral to the university honor board: plagiarism, presenting another person's words, ideas, or work as if it were your own. Plagiarism is more than simply copying and pasting language found on the internet into your paper (although this is certainly plagiarism). Plagiarism also consists of taking someone's ideas, or paraphrasing their language, without proper attribution. That is, you must always cite the original author, even when not using their original words. Citing your sources does not detract from the originality of your argument; rather, it situates your contribution within a long conversation with other scholars. This long conversation, including your contribution, is the academic pursuit.

As a final note, Macalester punishes academic dishonesty severely. Professors count on extremely sophisticated data analysis tools to detect most forms of plagiarism, and after thousands of exams and essays, most of us are able to spot plagiarism and other forms of cheating at a glance. The consequences may include expulsion from the college—a serious penalty in exchange for the possibility of a minor advantage on an assignment.

6 Laptop Policy

Students are permitted laptops in this course. However, I strongly discourage them. Electronic devices, with all their flashy lights and noises, distract your attention from where it belongs: your professor, your fellow students, and the incisive arguments flying around the classroom. It would be best to write notes in your notebook with pen and ink. If you would like your notes digitized, you can always photograph them after class. Great political thinkers from Aristotle to Hobbes to Skocpol made do with pen and ink (or in Aristotle's case, most likely a wax tablet and stylus), and you can too. Your most important role in the classroom is not passive notetaker, but active interlocutor. **The best way to incorporate laptops into the classroom—if you must—is to tilt the screen down when you are not using it.** If you require the use of any electronic device for accessibility reasons, I'm more than happy to accommodate your needs in this regard.

7 Other Resources for Students

Writing Help

The Macalester Academic Excellence (MAX) Center, located in Kagin Commons, has peer tutors available for assisting students in all stages of their writing. Hours are 9:00am– 4:30pm Mon-Fri and 7-10pm Sun-Thur. Becky Graham and Jake Mohan also provide writing assistance to students during the daytime hours, Mon-Fri. You may drop in for help or call x6121 (day) or x6193 (evening) to schedule an appointment.

Students with Special Needs

I am committed to providing assistance to help you be successful in this course. Students seeking accommodations based on disabilities should meet with Lisa Landreman, Associate Dean of Students. Call x6220 for an appointment. I encourage you to address any special needs or accommodations with me as soon as you become aware of your needs. More info [here](#).

8 Schedule of Classes and Assignments

Tuesday, September 5th

Introduction to the Course

- No reading

Thursday, September 7th

Revolution: the Core Themes

- Arno J Mayer (2013). *The Furies Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 23–59 and 71–84

Tuesday, September 12th

Causal Theories of Revolution

- Samuel P Huntington (2006). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, pp. 264–278
- Theda Skocpol (1976). “France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions”. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18.2, pp. 175–210

Thursday, September 14th

Campeño Mobilization

- James C Scott (1976). *The Moral Economy of the Peasant Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Chapters 1 and 6

Tuesday, September 19th

Revolutionary Cascades

- Roger Petersen (2001). *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press. 339 pp., Chapter 1
- Timur Kuran (1991). “Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989”. In: *World Politics* 44.01, pp. 7–48, (skim 26–42)
- **DUE September 19th: Single-Point Paper #1**

Thursday, September 21st

Community Mobilization

- Petersen 2001, Chapter 2

Tuesday, September 26th

The Mexican Revolution

- John Womack Jr. (1997). “The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1920.” In: *Mexico since Independence*. Ed. by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 125–178
- John Reed (1969). *Insurgent Mexico*. New York: International Publishers, Part II, Ch. I-VIII (“Pancho Villa”): [Project Gutenberg version](#)
- **In-class movie: *Vámonos con Pancho Villa* (1936)**

Thursday, September 28th

Explaining the Mexican Revolution

- Samuel P Huntington (2006). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, pp. 315–324
- Walter L. Goldfrank (1979). “Theories of Revolution and Revolution without Theory: The Case of Mexico”. In: *Theory and Society* 7.1/2, pp. 135–165

Tuesday, October 3rd

Evaluating the Mexican Revolution

- Alan Knight (1994). "Cardenismo: Juggernaut or Jalopy?" In: *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26.1, pp. 73–107

Thursday, October 5th

The Bolivian Revolution?

- Samuel P Huntington (2006). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, pp. 325–333
- Stephen Zunes (2001). "The United States and Bolivia: The Taming of a Revolution, 1952-1957". In: *Latin American Perspectives* 28.5, pp. 33–49

Tuesday, October 10th

The Cuban Revolution!

- Marifeli Pérez-Stable (2012). *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course and Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapters 1 and 2
- Jeff Goodwin (2001). *No Other Way out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*, 24–31, 44–50, and 59–64

Thursday, October 12th

Che Guevara and Foco Theory

- Jon Lee Anderson (2010). *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life*. New York: Grove Press, Chapter 14
- Ernesto Guevara. "Notes for the Study of the Ideology of the Cuban Revolution," "The Cadres: Backbone of the Revolution," and "Cuba: Historical Exception or Vanguard in the Anticolonial Struggle?" (www.marxists.org)
- ChildsHistoricalCritiqueEmergence1995

Tuesday, October 17th

Revolutionary Cuba

- Fidel Castro et al. (1992). "I Will Be a Marxist-Leninist to the End of My Life (December 2, 1961), Passages". In: *Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro*. New York: Pathfinder, p. 11
- Susan Eckstein (2003). *Back from the Future: Cuba under Castro*. New York, NY: Routledge, skim Chapter 1 and read Chapter 2 closely
- Johnnetta B Cole (1994). "Women in Cuba: The Revolution within the Revolution". In: *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*. Ed. by Jack A. Goldstone. Harcourt Brace College Publishers

DUE October 17th: First Draft of Analytical Paper

- Schedule and attend writing workgroup meeting.

Thursday, October 19th

Growing Up Gay in Castro's Cuba

- Arenas 1993, read only: Eroticism, Violence, A Student, Havana, Fidel Castro, Good-bye to the Chicken Farm, My Generation, A Trip, Eroticism, Super Stalinism, Sugar Mill

DUE October 24th: Analytic Paper Final Draft

Tuesday, October 24th

Mobilization and Demobilization in Chile

- Henry A. Landsberger and Tim McDaniel (1976). "Hypermobilization in Chile, 1970-1973". In: *World Politics* 28.4, pp. 502-541
- Karen L. Remmer (1980). "Political Demobilization in Chile, 1973-1978". In: *Comparative Politics* 12.3, pp. 275-301

Fall Break

Tuesday, October 31st

The Guerrilla Continent

- Timothy Wickham-Crowley (1989). "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements". In: *Power and popular protest: Latin American social movements*, pp. 132-81
- **Begin reading Cabezas 1986 (finish entire book by November 14th)**

Thursday, November 2nd

Central American Revolutions

- Goodwin 2001, Chapters 5 and 6

Tuesday, November 7th

Mobilization in El Salvador

- Elisabeth Jean Wood (2003). *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 330 pp., Chapters 1 and 4

Thursday, November 9th

Mobilization, continued

- Wood 2003, Chapter 8
- Jocelyn S. Viterna (2006). "Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army". In: *American Journal of Sociology* 112.1, pp. 1-45

Tuesday, November 14th

The Nicaraguan Revolution

- John A Booth (1985). *The End of the Beginning: The Nicaragua Revolution*. Boulder: Westview Press, 41-52 and 108-113
- **Finish Cabezas 1986 (entire book)**

Thursday, November 16th

Internal Dynamics of the FSLN

- Eric Mosinger (2017). "Can't Tear Us Apart: Leadership Disputes in the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional". Working Paper

Tuesday, November 21st

Women in the Revolution

- Patricia M. Chuchryk (1991). "Women in the Revolution". In: *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Nicaragua*. Ed. by Thomas Walker. Westview Press, pp. 143–166
- Margaret Randall (1994). *Sandino's Daughters Revisited: Feminism in Nicaragua*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, Chapter 8, 11, and 12

Thanksgiving Break

Tuesday, November 28th

La Contra

- Lynn Horton (1998). *Peasants in Arms War and Peace in the Mountains of Nicaragua, 1979-1994*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Chapters 4 and 5
- Frances Robles (2016). "Ortega vs. the Contras: Nicaragua Endures an '80s Revival". In: *The New York Times*, [Link to Article](#)

Thursday, November 30th

The Long-Term Impact of Revolution

- John A Booth, Christine J Wade, and Thomas W Walker (2015). *Understanding Central America: Global Forces, Rebellion, and Change*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 88–101
- Susan Eckstein (1982). "The Impact of Revolution on Social Welfare in Latin America". In: *Theory and Society* 11.1, pp. 43–94
- Kai M. Thaler (2017). "Nicaragua: A Return to Caudillismo". In: *Journal of Democracy* 28.2, pp. 157–169

Tuesday, December 5th

Venezuela: Oil and the Bolivarian Revolution

- Terry Lynn Karl (1997). *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 71–73, 89–91, 94–101, and 138–185

Thursday, December 7th

Heirs to Revolution?

- Jennifer McCoy (1999). "Chavez and the End of "Partyarchy" in Venezuela". In: *Journal of Democracy* 10.3, pp. 64–77
- Steve Ellner (2012). "The Distinguishing Features of Latin America's New Left in Power: The Chávez, Morales, and Correa Governments". In: *Latin American Perspectives* 39.1, pp. 96–114
- José A. Muñoz (2008). "Protest and Human Rights Networks: The Case of the Zapatista Movement". In: *Sociology Compass* 2.3, pp. 1045–1058

Tuesday, December 12th

The Narrow Path Forward

- William Finnegan. "Venezuela, A Failing State". In: *The New Yorker*, [Link to Article](#)
- Timothy M. Gill (2016). "Whither Venezuelan Bolivarianism?" In: *NACLA Report on the Americas* 48.4, pp. 367–371

- Sujatha Fernandes (2017). “What’s Left of the Bolivarian Revolution?” In: *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49.3, pp. 287–289
- Kirk Semple and Ana Vanessa Herrero (2017). “Nicolás Maduro’s Party Defies Polls in Venezuela Election”. In: *The New York Times. Americas*, [Link to Article](#)
- Noam Lupu and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister (2017). “Did Maduro’s Party Really Dominate Sunday’s Election in Venezuela? These Polls Should Make You Skeptical.” In: *Washington Post. Monkey Cage*, [Link to Article](#)

DUE on December 12th: Research Paper Rough Draft

- Schedule and attend writing workgroup meeting.

DUE on December 20th: Research Paper Final Draft

9 Recommended Books and Films

Books: historiography, journalistic accounts, memoirs, and novels

Mexican Revolution

- *Los de abajo / The Underdogs*, Mariano Azuela
- *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*, John Womack Jr.
- *Insurgent Mexico*, John Reed
- *Memoirs of Pancho Villa*, Martín Luis Guzmán

Cuban Revolution

- *The Motorcycle Diaries*, Che Guevara
- *Guerrilla Warfare*, Che Guevara
- *The Bolivian Diary*, Che Guevara
- *Diary of the Cuban Revolution*, Carlos Franqui
- *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*, Thomas Wright
- *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution*, Lars Schoultz

Chile

- *The Chilean Revolution: Conversations with Allende*, Régis Debray
- *By Night in Chile*, Roberto Bolaño
- *The Dictator’s Shadow: Life Under Augusto Pinochet*, Heraldo Muñoz
- *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*, Peter Kornbluh

Nicaraguan Revolution

Memoirs:

- *Fire From the Mountain*, Omar Cabezas (probably written by Sergio Ramirez as told by Omar Cabezas)
- *The Patient Impatience*, Tomás Borge
- *The Country Under My Skin*, Gioconda Belli
- *Adios Muchachos*, Sergio Ramírez (the best of the bunch)

- *My Car in Managua*, Forrest Colburn
- *Nicaragua Betrayed*, Jack Cox and Anastasio Somoza
- *At the Fall of Somoza*, Ralph and Lawrence Pezzullo
- *Foreign Relations of the United States (1977-1980) Volume XV: Central America* (250 pages of revealing correspondence among US diplomatic staff)

Memoirs available in Spanish only:

- *La marca del Zorro*, Francisco Rivera
- *Guerrillera, mujer, y comandante de la revolución sandinista*, Leticia Herrera
- *La epopeya de la revolución*, Humberto Ortega
- *Rumbo norte*, Hugo Torres
- *Memorias de la lucha sandinista*, Mónica Baltodano (a wonderful collection of interviews with former commanders and combatants)

Journalism and historiography:

- *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family*, Shirley Christian
- *Blood of Brothers*, Stephen Kinzer
- *Sandinista*, Mathilde Zimmermann

Guatemala

- *Bitter Fruit*, Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer
- *Guatemala: Never Again!*, Human Rights Office of the Archdiocese of Guatemala (ODHAG)
- *Memory of Silence: The Guatemalan Truth Commission Report*, edited by Daniel Rothenberg
- *Silence on the Mountain: Stories of Terror, Betrayal and Forgetting in Guatemala*, Daniel Wilkinson
- *The Long Night of the White Chickens*, Francisco Goldman

El Salvador

- *Broadcasting the Civil War in El Salvador: A Memoir of Guerrilla Radio*, Carlos Henriquez Consalvi ("Santiago")
- *The Massacre at El Mozote*, Mark Danner
- *El Salvador Could Be Like That*, Joseph Frazier
- *Stories of Civil War in El Salvador: A Battle over Memory*, Erik Ching

Films (in roughly chronological order by subject)

- Mexico: *The Life of General Vida* (1914, now-lost film starring Pancho Villa as himself, see [surviving fragment here](#))
- Mexico: *Vámonos con Pancho Villa* (1936)
- Mexico: *And Starring Pancho Villa as Himself* (2003)
- Mexico: *Viva Zapata!* (1952, with Marlon Brando as Zapata—seriously!)
- Mexico: *For Greater Glory* (2012, Mexico's Cristero rebellion)
- Bolivia: *Revolución* (1963)
- Argentina et al.: *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2004)
- Cuba: *Che: Part One* (2008)

- Bolivia redux: *Che: Part Two* (2008)
- Cuba: *The Cuba Libre Story* (2016, on Netflix)
- Cuba: *Thirteen Days* (2000)
- Cuba: *Before Night Falls* (2004)
- Chile: *The Battle of Chile* (1975)
- Chile: *Salvador Allende* (2004)
- Chile: *Machuca* (2004)
- Nicaragua: *Under Fire* (1983)
- Nicaragua: *Ballad of the Little Soldier* (1984)
- Guatemala: *When the Mountains Tremble* (1983)
- El Salvador: *Salvador* (1986)
- Venezuela: *The Revolution will Not Be Televised* (2003)