

HIS 408/508-01: Topics in Latin American History
Riots, Rebellions, Revolutions
Tuesdays & Thursdays | 2:00 pm – 3:15 pm | BRYN 212

Professor: Dr. Jashari (pronounced Yah-Shah-Ree)

E-mail: d_jashari@uncg.edu

Office: 2112 MHRA

Office hours: By appointment, in person or virtually



Course Description:

What do riots, rebellions, and revolutions have in common? Why, although revolutions are rarely successful, do they continue to fascinate, inspire, and capture varying political imaginations? Why are certain revolutions remembered while others forgotten? What role does violence, and its representations, play in moments of upheaval? In this course we will explore these and other questions as we take an intimate look at Latin American revolutionary actors, from the slave revolts that brought about the Haitian revolution, to the Mexican peasant revolution of 1910, to food riots in Chile, and all the way to the guerrilla struggles in Cuba's Sierra Maestra mountains. All along, we will ask how class, gender, race, and ethnicity shaped revolutionary actors and movements. We situate such moments within a regional and global context and consider how economic, political, and social factors may produce conditions suitable for revolution while we simultaneously consider why and how revolutionary attempts fail. Just as important as the revolutionary actors and movements themselves are the state, military, and local and transnational responses to such moments. Counter-revolutionary reactions produced disturbing levels of state violence and repression made more deadly using new technologies. We will examine music, posters, murals, personal testimonies, political speeches, declassified government documents, and more!

Assignments & Grading

This course is structured as a seminar. Lectures will be short and there will be no exams. Instead, students are responsible for generating thoughtful, critical, and passionate discussions about the assigned material. This means that you will have to read, write, think, and actively participate.

Undergraduate Grading Breakdown

• Attendance & Participation	20%
• Response Papers (3)	60%
○ First paper	15%
○ Second Paper	20%
○ Final paper	25%
• Newspaper Journal	20%
Total	100%

Graduate Student Grading Breakdown

• Attendance & Participation	20%
• Response Papers (2)	25%
• Leading Class Discussion (2)	10%
○ Hand in discussion questions day of presentation	
○ Required meetings with instructor ahead of class discussion	
• Book Review (La Serna)	15%
• Final Review Essay	30%
○ 3 monographs- can include La Serna, With Masses and Arms	
○ Required meeting with instructor to discuss book selections	
Total	100%

Grading Scale

A: 93- 100	C+: 77-79	
A-: 90-92	C: 73-76	F: 0-62
B+: 87-89	C-: 70-72	
B: 83- 86	D+: 67-69	
B-: 80-82	D: 63-66	

Assignment Explanation for BOTH Grad and undergrad

Attendance: You are expected to attend the entire class to be counted as present for that day. You are allotted (2) unexcused absences. You need not ask for permission or provide documentation for those two missed classes. However, you are still responsible for any missed notes and for turning in assignments on time. All absences beyond the allotted two (2) will need to be excused and will require official documentation that validates your reason for missing class. **Unless excused, absences beyond two (2) class period are considered excessive and will result in a drastic reduction of the grade.** After missing more than four (4) classes, excused or unexcused, I will ask you to drop the course. It is your responsibility to make up missed work within one week of the absence.

***Should COVID-19 related situations arise, please come to me and we will make a one-on-one plan ***

Participation: This class will be primarily discussion-based, and as such I expect all students to actively participate in our conversations. This means coming to class prepared, having read the

assignments carefully ahead of time, and bringing questions/issues/doubts that you would like to discuss. In class, I expect all students to contribute through attentively listening to your classmates' ideas and offering your own.

Response Papers: There will be two (2) response papers throughout the semester, each responding to the unit theme. Prompts will be provided on Canvas. These should be typed, Times New Roman 12 pt Font, 1-inch margins, and 5-6 pages double spaced.

For full points, papers should include the following 4 things, woven together gracefully and clearly

1. Articulate an argument relating to the unit's theme based on assigned primary and secondary sources.
2. Relate multiple readings to each other – Do they make similar or different arguments, and how so? You can integrate one or two quotes from the texts, but I'd prefer your own sophisticated and fine-tuned synthesis.
3. Contextualize and/or critique the readings. Consider the context (historical, personal, political) in which it was written. What do you think may have been going on politically or ideologically at the time that shaped the writer's project and assumptions? Where are strong and weak points in the argumentation?
4. Finally, open your thinking out to link these materials to other readings in our class, to the points we have engaged in conversation, and to your own life experience. What connections can you draw? Reflect broadly and freely.

Undergraduate	Graduate
<p>Newspaper Journal: This assignment is designed to help you become acquainted with current events in Latin America, read critically, and write succinct but analytical reflections on different reports on the region. This assignment is intentionally open-ended to allow you to read on topics that interest you. You may choose to read news about one particular place or on one particular theme, or you may take more of a “buffet” approach and read on a wider variety of topics. Either is fine.</p> <p>To do this, you need to read or listen to eight different articles or podcasts over the course of the semester and write a one-paragraph reflection on each one. <u>At least 3 of your articles/podcasts need to be feature length pieces</u>. See list of acceptable news sources in both English and Spanish on Canvas.</p>	<p>Leading Class Discussions: On two (2) days of your own choosing, you will be responsible for leading class discussion together with the instructor. This means that for the days you choose, you are responsible for coming up with thoughtful questions about the assigned texts through which to engage your peers. You must turn in these questions to the instructor the day you lead discussion. I will model how to do this the first few weeks. Detailed guidelines will be posted to Canvas.</p>

<p>You will submit 4 of these paragraphs (on 4 different articles/podcasts) by mid-semester. The last four will be due at the end of the semester. See Canvas → Assignments</p>	
<p><u>Final Paper:</u> Building on the skills you have mastered in writing two response papers; you will now write an analytical essay of 8-10 pages analyzing Miguel La Serna's, <i>With Masses and Arms</i>, and connecting the text to sources and themes we have covered in the last unit.</p> <p><u>Consider the following:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the book's argument? - How does the author make that argument (what sources are used)? - How do the book's argument and themes intersect with what we have already covered in class? Connect this text and others to the broader context of the Cold War, think about questions of revolution, consciousness, ideology, violence, and the Latin American Left. <p>More detailed instructions will be posted to Canvas.</p>	<p><u>Analytical essay:</u> Write a 4-5-page analysis of Miguel La Serna's, <i>With Masses and Arms</i>. In this assessment, explore the book's argument and evidence and place the work in its historiographical context. Think about the structure of the chapters and how it helps make the author's case. Discuss how the work changes your thinking about interpreting history, writing history, and/or pursuing further research. Do not simply summarize the book. An example of an analytical essay/book review can be found on Canvas, under Files.</p> <hr/> <p><u>Review Essay:</u> Building on the skills you have mastered in the writing of a single book analysis; you will write an analytical essay of 8-10 pages assessing three scholarly monographs on a topic of your choice (but one that relates to the overall class theme). You have the option to make <i>With Masses and Arms</i> one of your required texts. Establish similarities and differences in argument and approach among the books you have chosen. What do these similarities/differences suggest? What are the accomplishments and limitations of each work and what might be fruitful avenues for future research? When read together, what do these texts say about Latin America's revolutionary and counter-revolutionary experiences? Make sure to receive approval from instructor on your book choices.</p>

Note: This syllabus is subject to change based on your feedback and on the instructor's judgement. Should changes be made (less not more), you will be notified at least one week in advance, both in class and through Canvas.

All readings will be uploaded to Canvas as PDFs. We will read one full manuscript, which can be found as an e-book at the UNCG library. If you prefer to purchase the book, below are the details:

Miguel La Serna, *With Masses and Arms: Peru's Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

COURSE CALENDAR

WEEK 1: Latin America: A Historical Category

Tuesday, August 17- Welcome!

- Introductions & Syllabus

Thursday, August 19- What is Latin America?

Readings:

- Thomas H. Holloway, "What's in a Name?" in *A Companion to Latin American History*
- Peter Winn, "A View from the South," from *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America & the Caribbean* (1995)

Grad students also read:

- José C. Moya, "Latin America: The Limitations and Meaning of a Historical Category" from the *Oxford Handbook of Latin America*.

WEEK 2: Frameworks of Revolution and Resistance

Tuesday, August 24: Theories of revolution and social change

Readings:

- James C. Scott, "Normal Exploitation, Normal Resistance," in *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, 28-47
- Marc Becker, *Twentieth-Century Latin American Revolutions*, Ch. 1, pp. 18-30
- Greg Grandin, "Living in Revolutionary Time: Coming to Terms with the Violence of Latin America's Long Cold War"

Grad students also read:

- Alan Knight, "Revolution and the Left in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review*, 2019

Thursday, August 26: Colonialism

Readings:

- Steve Stern, "Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography and Politics," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 1992, pp. 1-34.

Grad students also read:

- Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Caliban: Notes Toward a Discussion of Culture in our America"

WEEK 3: Capitalistic Formations and Its Intendant Escapes

Tuesday, August 31: Caribbean Slavery & the Plantation Economy

Readings:

- Laurent Dubois and Richard Lee Turits, "The Worlds of the Plantation" in *Freedom Roots. Histories of the Caribbean*

- Sidney W. Mintz, “Plantations and the Rise of a World Food Economy: Some Preliminary Ideas”

Thursday, September 2: Slave Resistance

- Manuel Barcia, “‘An Islamic Atlantic Revolution:’ Dan Fodio’s *Jihād* and Slave Rebellion in Bahia and Cuba, 1804- 1844,” 2013, *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*, pp. 6-17.

Grad students also read:

- Aisha K. Finch, “Rural Slave Networks and Insurgent Geographies” From *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841-1844*

WEEK 4: The Haitian Revolution

Tuesday, September 7: From Slave revolts to revolution

- Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, chapter two.
- Matt D. Childs, “‘A Black French General Arrived to Conquer the Island’: Images of the Haitian Revolution in Cuba’s 1812 Aponte Rebellion” in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, pp. 135-156.

Thursday, September 9: An Unthinkable Event

- Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “An Unthinkable History: The Haitian Revolution as a Non-Event,” in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, pp. 70-107

Grad students also read:

- Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, chapters 1 and 2.

DUE: Essay # 1

WEEK 5: The First Successful Social Revolution of the Twentieth Century

Tuesday, September 14- Mexican Revolution of 1910

Primary sources from “500 años de Mexico en documentos” and more [READ IN ORDER LISTED]

- Ricardo Flores Magón, “Land and Liberty,” November 19, 1910 in *Regeneración*
- Francisco Madero, “Plan de San Luis de Potosi,” 1910
- Emiliano Zapata, “Plan of Ayala,” 1911
- Manifiesto issued by Emiliano Zapata, December 31, 1911
- Ricardo Flores Magón letter to Emma Goldman, July 21, 1911
- Letter from Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón to the Comrades in San Francisco, California, “‘No God, no Master’ Such is our motto,” March 7, 1916
- “The Constitution of 1917: Articles 27 and 123”

Thursday, September 16 – Mexican Revolution and Its Aftermath

- John Mraz, "The Zapatista Movement and Southern Cameras" chapter in his *Photographing the Mexican Revolution: Commitments, Testimonies, Icons*, pp. 93- 121
- Jocelyn Olcott, "Mueras y matanza: Spectacles of Terror and Violence in Postrevolutionary Mexico," pp. 62-87 in Greg Grandin, ed., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence during Latin America's Long Cold War*

WEEK 6: Inter-War Riots in Chile

Tuesday, September 21

- Joshua Savala, "‘Let Us Bring it with Love’: Violence, Solidarity, and the Making of a Social Disaster in the Wake of the 1906 Earthquake in Valparaíso, Chile," *Journal of Social History* 51, no. 4 (Summer 2018): 928-52.
- Author will join us via Zoom!

Thursday, September 23

- Raymond B. Craib, "Students, Anarchists and Categories of Persecution in Chile, 1920," *A Contracorriente* 8, no. 1 (Fall 2010): 22–60.

WEEK 7: The Guatemalan Spring

Tuesday, September 28

Primary Sources:

- Herbert L. Matthews, "United Fruit Becomes Victim of Guatemala's Awakening," *New York Times*, March 28, 1952.
- Herbert L. Matthews, "Guatemalan Reds are Strong but They Don't Run Country," *New York Times*, March 29, 1952.
- From *The Guatemala Reader*: "Ten Years of Spring and Beyond," pp. 197-200; "A New Guatemala," pp. 206-210; "Most Precious Fruit of the Revolution," pp. 217-220. [all in one PDF on Canvas]

Secondary Sources

- Stephen Schlesinger & Stephen Kinzer, "Advertisements for Myself," in *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala*
- Piero Gleijeses, "The Agrarian Reform of Jacobo Arbenz," *Journal of Latin American Studies* vol 21, no. 3 (Oct. 1989): 453-480 [SKIM]

Thursday, September 30

Primary Sources

- Declassified NSA Documents, see <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB4/>:
Read ALL 5 documents

Secondary Source:

- Carlota McAllister, "A Headlong Rush into the Future: Violence and Revolution in a Guatemalan Indigenous Village," pp. 276-309 in *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence during Latin America's Long Cold War*

WEEK 8: Cuba

Tuesday, October 5

Primary Sources:

- Herbert Mathews, "Cuban Rebel Visited in Hideout," *New York Times*, 1957
- Lázaro Cárdenas, "Mexico and the Cuban Revolution," pp. 207-210 in Robert Holdon and Eric Zolov, *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*
- John F. Kennedy, "The Alliance for Progress," pp. 221-223 in Holdon and Zolov, *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*

Secondary Source

- Lillian Guerra, "Turning the World Upside Down: *Fidelismo* as a Cultural Religion and National Crisis," pp. 135-169

Thursday, October 7

- Louis A. Pérez, Jr., "To Disquiet a Giant: Cuba, the United States, and the World," *Latin American Research Review* 54, no 4 (2019)
- Ernesto "Che" Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare*, selections
- *Soy Cuba* film in class

DUE: The first four newspaper journals

WEEK 9: Cuba

Tuesday, October 12 – FALL BREAK. NO CLASS

Thursday, October 14 –

Primary Source:

- Fidel Castro, "History Will Absolve Me" in *The Cuba Reader*

Secondary Source:

- Devyn Spence Benson, "Conflicting Legacies of Antiracism in Cuba," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49:1, 48-55

Grad students read:

- Michelle Chase, "Women's Organisations and the Politics of Gender in Cuba's Urban Insurrection (1952-1958)," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 29:4 (2010), 440-458.

WEEK 10: Revolution in Liberty

Tuesday, October 19

Primary Sources:

- Eduardo Frei, "Between Capitalism and Communism: Social Christianity as a Third Way"
- Jacques Chonchol and Julio Silva Solar, "The Christian Left and Communitarian Socialism"
- A pamphlet promoting Christian Democracy's Agrarian Reform

Secondary Readings:

- Andrew J. Kirkendall, "Reformist Chile, Peasant Consciousness and the Meaning of Christian Democracy, 1964-1969" in his *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), pp. 61-89

Thursday, October 21: Campaign of Terror

Secondary Readings:

- Marcelo Casals, "'Chilean! Is This How You Want to See Your Daughter?' The Cuban Revolution and Representations of Gender and Family during Chile's 1964 Anticommunist 'Campaign of Terror,'" *Radical History Review* 136 (January 2020), pp. 111-127

Grad Students Also Read:

- Margaret Power, "The Engendering of Anticommunism and Fear in Chile's 1964 Presidential Election," *Diplomatic History* 32, no. 5 (November 2008), pp. 931-953

WEEK 11: Revolution Via the Ballot Box

Tuesday, October 26: The Popular Unity Government of Salvador Allende

Primary Sources:

- Henry Kissinger to Nixon, "Memorandum for the President," November 5, 1970
- Kissinger -Nixon Telcon, September 16, 1973
- Salvador Allende, "The Chilean Revolution One Year In"

Secondary Sources:

- Peter Winn, Chapter 3: The Chilean Road to Socialism in *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road To Socialism*

Grad students also read:

- Peter Winn, "Ex-Yarur, Socialism from Below" in *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road To Socialism*

Thursday, October 28

- Camilo Trumper, "Of Spoons and Other Politics Things: The Design of Socialist Citizenship" in *Ephemeral Histories: Public Art, Politics, and the Struggle for the Streets in Chile*, Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016.

Grad students also read:

- Camilo Trumper, “Streets, Citizenship, and the Politics of Gender in Allende’s Chile” in *Ephemeral Histories*

DUE: Essay # 2

WEEK 12: A Neoliberal Revolution?

Tuesday, November 2:

Primary Sources

- Allende, “These are my final words”
- Church Committee, “United States Policy and Covert Actions against Allende”
- National Commission on Political Detention and Torture, “Women and Torture”
- Patricio Verdugo, Pinochet’s Caravan of Death”

Secondary source:

- Peter Winn, “The Death of a Dream”
- In class, *La Batalla de Chile*, documentary film selections

Thursday, November 4

- Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, selections
- Peter Winn, *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973-2002*, selections
- In Class: *The Chicago Boys*

WEEK 13: Peru’s Sendero Luminoso

Tuesday, November 9

- Miguel La Serna, *With Masses and Arms: Peru’s Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020 [E-book through UNCG Library] → Part I

Thursday, November 11

- La Serna, *With Masses and Arms*, Part II

WEEK 14: Masses and Arms

Tuesday, November 16

- La Serna, *With Masses and Arms*, Part III

Due for Grads: La Serna Book Review

Due for Undergrads: Last 4 of the newspaper journals

Thursday, November 18

Primary Sources:

- Select sources from, *The Peru Reader*
- Peru Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report

Grad students also read:

- Fernando Coronil, "The Future in Question: History and Utopia in Latin America (1989-2010)," in *Business as Usual: The Roots of the Global Financial Meltdown* (New York: NYU Press, 2011), pp. 231-264.

WEEK 15: No Class – Thanksgiving Break

WEEK 16: Class Wrap Up

Tuesday, November 30 – Course Recap

Thursday, December 2 – **Reading Day. No Class.**

FINAL: Submit **final essay (undergrads)** and **review essay (grads)** via Canvas by December 4, 6:30 pm.

COURSE POLICIES

UNCG's COVID-19 Guidelines

As we return for fall 2021, the campus community must recognize and address continuing concerns about physical and emotional safety, especially as we will have many more students, faculty, and staff on campus than in the last academic year. As such, all students, faculty, and staff are required to uphold UNCG's culture of care by actively engaging in behaviors that limit the spread of COVID-19. Such actions include, but are not limited to, the following:

- [Following face-covering guidelines](#)
- Engaging in proper hand-washing hygiene when possible
- Self-monitoring for symptoms of COVID-19
- Staying home if you are ill
- Complying with directions from health care providers or public health officials to quarantine or isolate if ill or exposed to someone who is ill.

Instructors will have seating charts for their classes. These are important for facilitating contact tracing should there be a confirmed case of COVID-19. Students must sit in their assigned seats at every class meeting and must not move furniture. Students should not eat or drink during class time.

To make it easier for students to hear their instructor and/or read lips and if conditions permit, instructors who are fully vaccinated and who can maintain at least six feet of distance from students

may remove their masks while actively teaching if they choose, but will wear a mask at all other times while in the classroom, including during the periods before and after class

A limited number of disposable masks will be available in classrooms for students who have forgotten theirs. Face coverings will also be available for purchase in the UNCG Campus Bookstore. Students who do not follow masking requirements will be asked to put on a face covering or leave the classroom to retrieve one and only return when they follow the basic requirements to uphold standards of safety and care for the UNCG community. Once students have a face covering, they are permitted to re-enter a class already in progress. Repeated issues may result in conduct action. The course policies regarding attendance and academics remain in effect for partial or full absence from class due to lack of adherence with face covering and other requirements.

For instances where the Office of Accessibility Resources and Services (OARS) has granted accommodations regarding wearing face coverings, students should contact their instructors to develop appropriate alternatives to class participation and/or activities as needed. Instructors or the student may also contact [OARS](#) (336.334.5440) who, in consultation with Student Health Services, will review requests for accommodations.

Late assignment policy, make-ups: Late assignments are accepted and will be penalized 10%, or one letter grade per day late. The one exception to this policy is the final exam, for which I will not accept late work. Reading quizzes and the map quiz cannot be made up unless pre-arranged with the professor.

Disruptive Behavior: Arriving late, packing up or leaving early, and talking during class are a few common examples of disruptive classroom behavior. These will not be tolerated.

Respectful engagement with peers: The classroom is an academically productive and safe environment for students to express their opinions and ask questions. History is controversial, and sensitive themes will be discussed in this class. Students are expected to treat their classmates with respect and maturity, and any behavior that inhibits productive academic engagement will not be permitted.

Contacting your Professor: Please call me Dr. or Professor Jashari (YA-SHAH-REE) and contact me via email (d_jashari@uncg.edu). During weekdays, you can expect a reply within 24 hours; on weekends, I will not reply. Please plan accordingly. Structure your emails in a professional way and be mindful of your tone.

Academic Integrity: I take violations of academic integrity very seriously. Please ask me if you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism and know that it will not be tolerated in this classroom. Enrollment in this course and submission of each written assignment constitute students' acceptance of UNCG's Academic Integrity Policy. You can find a copy of the full policy at: <http://academicintegrity.uncg.edu/complete/>.

The following is the University's definition of plagiarism:

Representing the words, thoughts, or ideas of another, as one's own in any academic exercise. Plagiarism may occur on any paper, report, or other work submitted to fulfill course requirements. Faculty should take into account whether the student has had the opportunity to learn appropriate

citation procedures based on previous course work successfully completed before formalizing Academic Integrity charges. Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to, the following:

- submitting work done by another, whether a commercial or non-commercial enterprise, including the Internet, as one's own work
- failure to properly cite references and/or sources
- submitting, as one's own, work done by or copied from another including work done by a fellow student, work done by a previous student, or work done by anyone other than the student responsible for the assignment

Office of Accessibility Resources and Services (ods.uncg.edu/): Students who have documented disabilities that require accommodation should register with OARS and bring in the required paperwork during the first week of class. No accommodations can be made without the appropriate paperwork from OARS.

Information Technology Services (its.uncg.edu/): Your source for all tech problems, including computer malfunctions, issues with Canvas, etc. The professor cannot help you with these!

University Writing Center (writingcenter.uncg.edu/): Provides help with paper structure, argument, grammar, style, etc.