

History 480: Social Revolution in Latin America

Spring 2010; California State University, Chico

Professor Stephen E. Lewis

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Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 9-10:30 AM; Fridays 9-noon.

Course description

This is an upper-division course that will expose you to some of the historical debates concerning Latin America's major social revolutions. We will grapple with the following issues:

On Mexico:

- was the Mexican revolution "revolutionary"?
- what has been the legacy of the Mexican revolution since 1920?

On Cuba:

- given the relative prosperity of pre-revolutionary Cuba, and its proximity to the US, how did Castro overthrow Batista and establish a Marxist/Leninist state?
- who was Che Guevara? What was the nature of his relationship with Castro?
- is the Cuban revolution communist? Socialist? Capitalist? Or some mix thereof?

On Chile:

- was Salvador Allende a reformer or a revolutionary?
- why was Allende's Popular Unity government overthrown in 1973?

On Nicaragua:

- what sort of society did the Sandinistas want to build in the 1980s?
- were they successful? Did they implement a feminist agenda? What has happened since?

On contemporary Latin America:

- is Hugo Chávez carrying out a successful social revolution in Venezuela? How about Morales of Bolivia and Correa of Ecuador?
- how are indigenous people and women faring in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador?
- are these men revolutionaries? Or simply populist demagogues?

Course requirements

This course is a seminar that meets once a week. Please do the readings ahead of time and come to class prepared to discuss. Each class will normally consist of a lecture that will not exceed one hour in length; the rest of the time will be devoted to student-led discussions, presentations, and video clips.

Your final grade will be determined as follows:

First paper (five pages — grads should write seven pages)	20%
Second paper (five pages — grads should write seven pages)	20%
In-class exam	20%
Final paper (8-10 pages--grads should write 12 pages)	25%
Discussion/question/participation grade	15%

Nuts and bolts

--Since this class meets just once a week, your attendance and participation are required. If you skip more than one class, your final grade will be lowered by 1/3 of a grade for each additional class missed.

--Written work will be docked 1/3 of a letter grade each weekday that it is late.

--Those who plagiarize will receive an F for the course and their case will be turned over to Student Judicial Affairs. Please ask me if you have questions about plagiarism.

--I am happy to write letters of recommendation for students who have completed two classes with me and have earned a "B" or better in both classes.

Guidelines for written work

An "A" paper is clearly written and well organized. Most importantly, it contains a central argument supported by a well-chosen variety of specific examples drawn from the assigned readings. Such a paper demonstrates that the student has grappled with the issues raised in the course, synthesized the readings, discussions, and lectures, and formulated a compelling, independent argument. A "B" paper is solid work containing insights that demonstrate that the student has wrestled with some of the issues in the course. Yet a typical "B" paper mainly provides a summary of ideas and information already covered. A typical "C" paper provides a recap of the historical narrative but offers little in terms of analysis and relies on an inadequate number of sources. A paper that receives a grade lower than "C" typically does not respond adequately to the assignment, is marred by frequent errors, unclear writing, poor organization, lack of sources, or some combination of these problems. All grades are final.

Discussions and in-class presentations

Students will lead class discussions and make Powerpoint presentations on assigned readings. The Powerpoint presentations must not exceed six minutes nor consist of more than six slides! After the presentations, the presenter will field questions for a couple of minutes. Material covered by student presenters will appear on our in-class exam.

Required readings

Please purchase the following:

Tariq Ali, *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (New York: Verso, 2008 [2006]).

Gioconda Belli, *The Country Under my Skin: A Memoir of Love and War* (New York: Anchor Books, 2003 [2002]).

Jorge G. Castañeda, *Compañero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997).

The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico ed. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution. The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Additional reading for graduates

Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973-2002 ed. Peter Winn (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

All supplementary readings are either on the Vista site, can be accessed online, or are on reserve at the library.

Course schedule

Week 1: Jan. 27

Introduction

Video: The Mexican Revolution

The Mexican Revolution

Week 2: Feb. 3

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in Dirk J. Struik, ed., *Birth of the Communist Manifesto* (New York: International Publishers, 1971) 85-125 (on e-reserve).

John Mason Hart, "The Mexican Revolution, 1910-1920," in *The Oxford History of Mexico* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 435-465.

Rick A. López, "The Noche Mexicana and the Exhibition of Popular Arts: Two Ways of Exalting Indianness," in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico*, pp. 23-42.

Desmond Rochfort, "The Sickle, the Serpent, and the Soil: History, Revolution, Nationhood, and Modernity in the Murals of Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros," in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, pp. 43-57

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

In-class presentation: Friedrich Katz, "From Alliance to Dependency: The Formation and Deformation of an Alliance between Francisco Villa and the United States" in Daniel Nugent, ed., *Rural Revolt in Mexico: U.S. Intervention and the Domain of Subaltern Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 239-257.

Week 3: Feb. 10

Paul J. Vanderwood, "Resurveying the Mexican Revolution: Three Provocative New Syntheses and Their Shortfalls" in *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 5(1) (Winter 1989) 145-163.

Sarah M. Lowe, Adriana Zavala, and James Oles, "Painting in the Shadow of the Big Three," in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, pp. 58-94.

Adrian A. Bantjes, "Saints, Sinners, and State Formation: Local Religion and Cultural Revolution in Mexico," in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, pp. 137-156.

Mary Kay Vaughan, "Nationalizing the Countryside: Schools and Rural Communities in the 1930s," in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, pp. 157-175

Grad students:

Alan Knight, "Paul Vanderwood, 'Resurveying the Mexican Revolution': A Clarification," in *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Winter, 1990), pp. 161-167.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

Video: "The Frescos of Diego Rivera"

Week 4: Feb. 17

Katherine E. Bliss, "For the Health of the Nation: Gender and the Cultural Politics of Social Hygiene in Revolutionary Mexico," in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, pp. 196-218.

Wendy Waters, "Remapping Identities: Road Construction and Nation Building in Postrevolutionary Mexico," in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, 221-242.

Joanne Hershfield, "Screening the Nation," in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, pp. 259-278.

Joy Elizabeth Hayes, "National Imaginings on the Air: Radio in Mexico, 1920-1950," in *The Eagle and the Virgin*, pp. 243-258.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

In-class presentation: Samuel Brunk, "Remembering Emiliano Zapata: Three Moments in the Posthumous Career of the Martyr of Chinameca" in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 78:3 (1998) 457-490.

First paper due in my box in the History Department by Friday, Feb. 19 at 4:00 PM.

The Cuban Revolution

Week 5: Feb. 24

Jorge G. Castañeda, *Compañero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997). xiii-159.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

In-class presentation: Thomas G. Paterson, *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Oxford, 1994), 46-80 (on reserve).

In-class presentation: selections from *The Cuba Reader*:

Fidel Castro, "History Will Absolve Me," 306-314.

Herbert L. Matthews, "The Cuban Story in the *New York Times*," 326-332.

Fidel Castro, "Castro Announces the Revolution," 341-343.

Richard R. Fagen, "1961: The Year of Education," 386-388.

Oscar Lewis et. al., "A Prostitute Remembers," "The Literacy Campaign," and "The 'Rehabilitation' of Prostitutes," 260-263 and 389-398.

In-class grad presentation: Cindy Forster, "'The Macondo of Guatemala': Banana Workers and National Revolution in Tiquisate, 1944-1954," in *Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas* eds. Steve Striffler and Mark Moberg (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 191-228.

Week 6: March 3

Castañeda, 160-275.

Matilde Zimmermann, "Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution," *Latin American Research Review* 34:3 (1999) 197- 208.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

In-class presentation: more selections from *The Cuba Reader*:

Medea Benjamin et. al., "How the Poor Got More," 344-353.

Margaret Randall, "The Family Code," 399-405.

Reinaldo Arenas, "Homosexuality, Creativity, Dissidence," 406-411.

Carlos Moore, "Silence on Black Cuba," 419-423.

Christian Parenti, "Post-modern Maroon in the Ultimate *Palenque*," 427-432.

Week 7: March 10 No class – mandatory unpaid furlough day. If you feel you're being cheated, contact your state legislator or the governor's office.

Castañeda, 276-410.

Spring break

Chile, 1970-1973

Week 8: March 24

Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution. The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) 3-136.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

Grads should also read all four of the selections below from Winn's edited volume, *Victims of the Chilean Miracle*.

In-class grad presentation: Peter Winn, "The Pinochet Era," in *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973-2002* Peter Winn, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 14-70.

In-class grad presentation: Peter Winn, "'No Miracle for Us': The Textile Industry in the Pinochet Era, 1973-1998," in *Victims of the Chilean Miracle*, 125-63.

In-class grad presentation: Thomas Miller Klubock, "Class, Community, and Neoliberalism in Chile: Copper Workers and the Labor Movement During the Military Dictatorship and the Restoration of Democracy," in *Victims of the Chilean Miracle*, 209-260.

In-class grad presentation: Heidi Tinsman, "More Than Victims: Women Agricultural Workers and Social Change in Rural Chile," in *Victims of the Chilean Miracle*, 261-297.

In-class presentation: Salvador Allende, *Chile's Road to Socialism* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973) 78-83,135-166.

Video: "In Women's Hands"

Week 9: March 31 No class. Chávez holiday.
Winn, 139-256.

Second paper due in my box in the History Department by Friday, April 2 at 4:00 PM.

Nicaragua's Sandinista revolution, 1979-1992

Week 10: April 7

Gioconda Belli, *The Country Under my Skin: A Memoir of Love and War* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002 [2001]) ix-117.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

Video: "Fire in the Mind"

Week 11: April 14

Belli, 121-241.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

In-class presentation: Gary Prevost and Harry E. Vanden, eds., *The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 9-44, and "Nicaragua: Crisis and Rebirth of Sandinismo" (see Lewis for article).

In-class presentation: Richard Feinberg and Daniel Kurtz-Phelan, "Nicaragua between Caudillismo and Modernity: The Sandinistas Redux?" in *World Policy Institute* (Summer 2006), 76-84.

Week 12: April 21

Belli, 245-369.

In-class presentation: Karen Kampwirth, "Abortion, Antifeminism, and the Return of Daniel Ortega," in *Latin American Perspectives*, 35:6 (November 2008), 122-136.

In-class exam.

The leftist turn in contemporary Latin America

Week 13: April 28

Neo-zapatismo

Selections on Zapatismo from *The Mexico Reader*, pp. 638-669.

Introduction to *Maya Lives, Maya Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the Zapatista rebellion* eds. Jan Rus, Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, and Shannan Mattiace (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

Pedro Pitarch, "The Zapatistas and the Art of Ventriloquism," in *Journal of Human Rights* 3:3 (September 2004), 291-312.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

In-class presentation: Lynn Stephen, *¡Zapata Lives! Histories and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2002), 176-215.

In-class grad presentation: R. Aída Hernández, "Between Feminist Ethnocentricity and Ethnic Essentialism: The Zapatistas' Demands and the National Indigenous Women's Movement" in *Dissident Women: Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas* eds. Shannon Seed, R. Aída Hernández Castillo, and Lynn M. Stephen (Austin: UT Press, 2006), 57-74. In the same volume, also look at pp. 3-27.

In-class grad presentation: Shannon Speed, "Rights at the Intersection: Gender and Ethnicity in Neoliberal Mexico," in *Dissident Women: Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas* eds. Shannon Seed, R. Aída Hernández Castillo, and Lynn M. Stephen (Austin: UT Press, 2006), 203-221. In the same volume, also look at pp. 3-27.

Week 14: May 5

Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador

Tariq Ali, *Pirates of the Caribbean. Axis of Hope* (New York: Verso, 2008 [2006]), 1-90.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.

In-class presentation: Francisco Rodríguez, "An Empty Revolution," in *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2008, 82:2, pp. 49-62.

In-class presentation: Francisco Rodríguez, "Venezuela's Revolution in Decline: Beware the Wounded Tiger," in *World Policy Journal* Sp. 2008. Available at <http://frodriiguez.web.wesleyan.edu/>.

Week 15: May 12

Ali, 91-185, 281-293.

Please e-mail three discussion questions to our discussants by 11:00 AM.