HISTORY 353:
Revolutions and Civil Wars in 20th Century Latin America

2018 Principal’s Teaching Award for Promoting Student Inquiry
David S. Parker
Course topic is mere pretext

Learning Outcomes. Successful students will…
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• Develop their own scalable historical research method based on disciplinary best practices.
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- **Locate and analyze original documentary and archival evidence.**
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- **Employ documentary/archival evidence to answer larger historical questions.**
Learning Outcomes. Successful students will…

- Develop their own scalable historical research method based on disciplinary best practices.
- Locate and analyze original documentary and archival evidence.
- Employ documentary/archival evidence to answer larger historical questions.
- **Think about what sources of evidence exist in a findable/usable form, what other potential sources do not, why this is the case, and how the availability of evidence shapes the questions historians can ask and the answers they can find.** (i.e. epistemology)
Unstated learning outcome is to inspire the love of the hunt…
...to create a learning situation in which students start out with an object they don’t understand, or at least don’t understand fully, and challenge them to figure it out for themselves.
How?

- at first glance a very traditional-looking syllabus
- dual-purpose readings
- deliberately staged assignments
- carefully timed support
traditional-looking syllabus

• seminar with weekly discussions. 20-22 students.
• topics roughly follow chronological order
• 1 short paper, 1 class presentation, 1 long paper
dual-purpose readings

- Mexican Revolution: focus on using one case study to address larger historical questions.
- Cuban Revolution: first introduction to primary sources.
- El Salvador Civil War: Mark Danner, *The Truth of El Mozote* looks at the sausage-making process of how government documents are created and how they can be made to lie.
- Guatemala Civil War and Peace Process: Kirsten Weld, *Paper Cadavers* shows that documents, once created, only just begin their second life, a sometimes perilous journey into the archive and then from the archive to the researcher.
staged assignments on 2 parallel tracks

Discovery
1. find a document
2. prelim. document synopsis
3. deep dive into document’s creation and archival history
4. class presentation only on the document itself

Analysis
1. choose a topic
2. first bibliography: use Zotero
3. determine debates in field, in order to pose a research Q
4. write final paper using the document to help answer the research Q
carefully timed support

• Graeme Campbell, Public Documents Librarian, presentation on where and how to find original documents, and some of the unique challenges that government documents present.

• Individual student meetings, after preliminary document synopsis and first working bibliography, to help students with their deep dive into the document's creation and archival history, and with their effort to find some historiographical question/conflict/debate that the document might contribute to answering.
Student Comments

• “In just one semester, HIST 353 has given me research skills and resources that my previous two and a half years at university did not equip me with.”

• “the most challenging task I have ever been given in all my years of education.”

• the assignment “demanded that I not only find these documents, but that I understood their provenance, the conditions and reasons for their maintenance, the need to ask myself why it was that I could read one document whilst another was inaccessible or redacted, and to comprehend both the merits and detractions of using primary sources as the basis for drawing conclusions.”
Representative Documents Chosen
Cuban Rebel Is Visited in Hideout

By HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

New York Times

Castro Is Still Alive and Still Fighting in Mountains

This is the first of three articles by a correspondent of The New York Times who has just returned from a visit to Cuba.

Fidel Castro, the rebel leader of Cuba's youth, is alive and fighting hard and successfully in the rugged, almost impenetrable fastnesses of the Sierra Maestra, at the southern tip of the island.

President Fulgencio Batista has the cream of his Army around the area, but the Army men are fighting a thus-far losing battle to destroy the most dangerous enemy General Batista has yet faced in a long and adventurous career as a Cuban leader and dictator.

This is the first sure news that Fidel Castro is still alive and still in Cuba. No one connected with the outside world, let alone with the press, has seen Señor Castro except the writer. No one in Havana, not even at the United States Embassy with all its resources for getting information, will know until this report is published that Fidel Castro is really in the Sierra Maestra.

This account, among other things, will break the tightest censorship in the history of the Cuban Republic. The Province of Oriente, with its 2,000,000 inhabitants, its flourishing cities such as Santiago, Holguin and Manzanillo, is shut off from Havana as surely as if it were another country. Havana does not.

Continued on Page 34, Column 1

Fidel Castro at a heavily shaded outpost on Feb. 17. He gave the signature to the correspondent who visited him.

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FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1964–1968
VOLUME XXXI, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA; MEXICO, DOCUMENT 16

16. Telephone Conversation Between President Johnson and the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs (Mann)¹

Washington, June 11, 1964, 7:05p.m.

Mann: I just got back from the Hill talking to Cooley about sugar with Charlie Murphy.²

President: What are our problems now? You got the Kubitschek problem in Brazil. What are the hot ones? You got an election in Chile.
REPORTS TO U.S. EMBASSY OF GOVERNMENT MASSACRES GUATEMALA 1982

SECRET

PAGE 01

ACTION ARA-16

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-10 CIAE-00
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SECRET SECTION 01 OF 03 GUATEMALA 08491

E.O. 12356: DECL: 11/10/02
TAGS: PINS, PINR, PINT, SHUM, PGOV, GT
SUBJECT: (S) EVIDENCE OF CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS
- VIOLATIONS IN CHIMALTENANGO

REFS: (A) GUATEMALA 8381
- (B) GUATEMALA 8150
- (C) GUATEMALA 7905
- (D) GUATEMALA 7825

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

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ARMY, NOT THE GUERRILLAS. DURING THIS SWEEP, THE ARMY ALLEGEDLY MASSACRED MANY INDIANS. KNOWING THAT THE ARMY HAD ALREADY PACIFIED THE VILLAGE OF LA ESTANCIA DE LA VIRGEN, MANY INDIANS FLOODED INTO THAT VILLAGE SEEKING RELIEF. EVENTUALLY, VILLAGE AUTHORITIES NOTIFIED THE ARMY WHICH THEN TOOK THE REFUGEES TO CHOATALUM. (CHOATALUM AND LA ESTANCIA DE LA VIRGEN ARE BOTH ALDEAS OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF SAN MARTIN JILOTEPEQUE, CHIMALTENANGO.)
3. SOURCE, WHO HAS LIVED IN THE SAN MARTIN JILOTEPEQUE AREA OFF AND ON FOR SIX YEARS, REPORTED THAT THE ARMY CONTINUES TO HARASS VILLAGES AND HAMLETS IN THE AREAS THAT ARE CONSIDERED "NOT AT PEACE WITH THE ARMY". HE CLAIMED TO HAVE TALKED WITH A SURVIVOR OF A MASSACRE WHO HAD REMAINED IN LA ESTANCIA. THIS SURVIVOR TOLD SOURCE THAT THE ARMY KILLED 70 MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN FLEEING ALONG THE PIXCAYA RIVER IN LATE SEPTEMBER. SOURCE, HOWEVER, DID NOT WANT EMBASSY TO REPORT THIS AND LIKE INCIDENTS UNTIL HE HAD RETURNED TO LA ESTANCIA TO FURTHER VERIFY SUCH ALLEGATIONS. SOURCE RETURNED ON NOVEMBER 9, BRINGING WITH HIM 4 MEN AND ONE YOUNG ORPHAN FROM LA ESTANCIA. EMBOFF INTERVIEWED THIS GROUP; DETAILS FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

4. THE GROUP FROM LA ESTANCIA WAS TOO FRIGHTENED TO COME TO THE EMBASSY. EMBOFF AND SOURCE MET THEM AT A NEARBY CHURCH AND ALL WENT TO AN EMBOFF'S APARTMENT IN ORDER TO SPEAK PRIVATELY.

SECRET

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DURING A 90-MINUTE DISCUSSION THE INDIAN MEN TOLD EMBOFF WHAT HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THEIR AREA OF CHIMALTENANGO FROM ROUGHLY THE FIRST OF THE YEAR TO THE PRESENT.
Narco-Insurgent Links in the Andes

Summary

Relations between traffickers and insurgents in Colombia and Peru will continue to be characterized by both cooperation and friction. In general, the insurgents are seeking larger profits from narcotics and diversifying their roles in the drug trade. Besides extorting money for protecting trafficker infrastructure and drug shipments, many insurgents directly participate in coca growing and processing. Moreover, Colombian guerrilla groups have become increasingly involved in that country's emerging opium and heroin trade. Although traffickers occasionally benefit from guerrilla protection, they resent the insurgents and sometimes have used force to resist their encroachment. Andean government assertions that increased attacks against the insurgents would affect the drug trade are primarily an attempt to convince the US to allow the use of counternarcotics aid for counterinsurgency operations; in fact, many traffickers would support government counterinsurgency operations.
groups, however, are too small, poorly organized, and lack popular support to have a significant hand in drug trafficking.

Financial Gains for Guerrillas

Guerrillas are involved with the narcotics industry primarily to raise funds.

Assessments of drug revenues collected by Colombian insurgents are more uncertain, but because of their more extensive involvement in the drug trade we believe that the drug earnings of Colombian insurgents exceed that of their Peruvian counterparts.

Colombian insurgents probably continue to raise much of their funding through extortion and kidnapping.

Andean insurgents first became involved in the drug trade by imposing "war taxes" on coca growers and traffickers in their operational areas, a method that continues to be their primary means of collecting drug revenues. In the late 1970s, FARC fronts in Colombia charged growers and traffickers for safe passage through areas under the group's control; this activity was officially sanctioned by FARC's National Directorate in 1982. Since opening a front in Peru's primary coca growing region—the Upper Huallaga Valley—in the mid-1980s, the Sendero Luminoso has been taxing drug enterprises and exacting contributions in kind from coca growers there.

Direct revenues from cultivation and processing appear to be increasing among some groups as they accept a broader role in the trade.
US embassy in El Salvador translates Archbishop Romero’s public letter to President Carter
FOLLOWING IS ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF MONSEÑOR ROMERO’S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER AS IT APPEARED IN LOCAL PRESS.

QUOTE: IN THE LAST FEW DAYS NEWS HAS APPEARED IN THE NATIONAL PRESS THAT WORRIES ME GREATLY: ACCORDING TO THE REPORTS YOUR GOVERNMENT IS STUDYING THE POSSIBILITY OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO THE PRESENT JUNTA GOVERNMENT.

BECAUSE YOU ARE A CHRISTIAN AND BECAUSE YOU HAVE SHOWN THAT YOU WANT TO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS I VENTURE TO SET FORTH FOR YOU MY PASTORAL POINT OF VIEW CONCERNING THIS NEWS AND TO MAKE A REQUEST.

I AM VERY WORRIED BY THE NEWS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS STUDYING A FORM OF INTERVENTION OF EL SALVADOR BY SENDING MILITARY TEAMS AND ADVISORS TO “TRAIN THIRD SALVADORAN BATTALIONS IN LOGISTICS, COMMUNICATIONS, AND INTELLIGENCE.” IF THIS INFORMATION FROM THE NEWSPAPERS IS CORRECT, THE CONTRIBUTION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT INSTEAD OF PROMOTING GREATER JUSTICE AND PEACE IN EL SALVADOR WILL WITHOUT DOUBT SHARPEN THE INJUSTICE AND REPRESSION AGAINST THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PEOPLE WHICH REPEATEDLY HAVE BEEN STRUGGLING TO GAIN RESPECT FOR THEIR MOST FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE PRESENT JUNTA GOVERNMENT AND ABOVE ALL THE ARMED FORCES AND SECURITY FORCES UNFORTUNATELY HAVE NOT DEMONSTRATED THEIR CAPACITY TO RESOLVE, IN POLITICAL AND STRUCTURAL PRACTICE, THE GRAVE NATIONAL PROBLEMS. IN GENERAL THEY HAVE ONLY REVERSED REPRESSIVE VIOLENCE PRODUCING A TOTAL OF DEATHS AND INJURIES MUCH GREATER THAN IN THE RECENT MILITARY REGIMES WHOSE SYSTEMATIC VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WAS DENOUNCED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY WITH MILITARY, ECONOMIC, DIPLOMATIC, OR OTHER PRESSURES TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE.

IN THESE MOMENTS WE ARE LIVING THROUGH A GRAVE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISIS IN OUR COUNTRY, BUT IT IS CERTAIN THAT IT IS INCREASINGLY THE PEOPLE WHO ARE AWAKENING AND ORGANIZING AND HAVE BEGUN TO PREPARE THEMSELVES TO MANAGE AND BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EL SALVADOR; ONLY THEY ARE CAPABLE OF OVERCOMING THE CRISIS.

IT WOULD BE UNJUST AND DEPLORABLE IF THE INTRUSION OF FOREIGN POWERS WERE TO FRUSTRATE THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE, WERE TO REPRESS IT AND BLOCK ITS AUTONOMOUS DECISIONS ABOUT THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PATH THAT OUR COUNTRY OUGHT TO FOLLOW.

IT WOULD VIOLATE THE RIGHT PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED BY THE LATIN AMERICAN BISHOPS MEETING IN PUEBLA:

"THE LEGITIMATE SELF-DETERMINATION OF OUR PEOPLE THAT PERMITS THEM TO ORGANIZE ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN GENIUS AND THE MARCH OF THEIR HISTORY AND TO COOPERATE IN A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER".

I HOPE THAT YOUR RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS AND YOUR FEELINGS FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WILL MOVE YOU TO ACCEPT MY PETITION, AVOIDING BY THIS ACTION WORSE SUFFERING IN THIS SUFFERING COUNTRY.

UNQUOTE.

CHEER

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CG/74R 8 JUL 82

REVISED BY 9 JUL 82
SECRET

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON CHILE AT 1525, SEP 15, 1970
PRESIDENT JOHNNIE RICHARDS

1 in 10 chance perhaps, but save Chile!

With sending
not intended with intent
no interest in sympathy
10,000,000 available, more if necessary
full-time job - best men we have
some plan
make the economy scream
48 hours for plan of action
make the warning remain
for 48 hours for plan y action

WHITAKER W. W.
Washington

SECRET
By KBH MARA, Date 10/4/67
PUBLIC LIBRARY OF US DIPLOMACY

VELASCO'S MEASURED SPEECH

Date: 1973 October 4, 19:40 (Thursday)  Canonical ID: 1973LIMA07350_b
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL  Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Handling Restrictions -- N/A or Blank --  Character Count: 6547
Executive Order: GS BELCHER  Locator: TEXT ONLINE
TAGS: BDIS - Business Services--Trade
Complaints, and Disputes and Inquiries I EIND - Economic Affairs--
Commerce, Industry and Industrial
3. CERRO SPARED. TOWARD THE END OF HIS SPEECH, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LIMA 07350 01 OF 02 042110Z

ACCUSING THE CERRO DE PASCO MINING COMPANY OF INSOLENCE AND OF TRYING TO GOAD PERU INTO AN UNWISE ACTION (E.G., AN ABRUPT NATIONALIZATION), VETASCO SAID THAT PERU WOULD HANDLE THE CERRO PROBLEM "SAGACIOUSLY." (LAST WEEK, HE HAD SAID "IN REVOLUTIONARY FASHION" AND A MONTH EARLIER THREATENED A FORCIBLE TAKEOVER.) VELASCO LINKED CERRO WITH THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND SAID THE COMPANY WANTED TO SEE PERU SUFFER INTERNATIONAL DAMAGE. VELASCO STATED THAT PERU WOULD NOT PLAY CERRO'S GAME.

4. A NATIONAL, NON-MARXIST REVOLUTION. THE FIRST PART OF VELASCO'S SPEECH DEALT WITH THE PRETEND...