fiar. forum for inter-american research
the journal of the international association of inter-american studies (ias)

Eric Selbin (Southwestern University)

Spaces and Places of (Im)Possibility and Desire: Transversal Revolutionary Imaginaries in the Twentieth Century Americas

Abstract

This article explores the ways in which twentieth century revolutionaries in Latin America and the Caribbean have created and employed revolutionary imaginaries with particular attention to their deployment of time, place, and space. The tension between urban/city places and spaces and rural/jungle/mountain places and spaces are considered, with specific attention to Mexico at the "beginning" and "end" of the century and Cuba in the 1950s. By positioning the revolutionary imaginary that evolved as acentric (transversal) rather than arboreal or polycentric (rhizomic) it is possible to see how (im)possibilities might abound for people in the region.

Keywords: revolution, imaginaries, Americas, spaces, place

© Forum for Inter-American Research
ISSN: 1867-1519

Introduction

This article seeks to (re)consider and think through the way(s) Latin America's twentieth century revolutionaries deployed and employed translocal, transnational and transregional imaginaries of spaces and places in which, with apologies for the nineteenth century novel style formulation, revolutions "began", played out, and "ended." Running through these imaginaries are conceptions and formulations of the city, in particular of neighborhoods, of "the jungle", and of the mountain(s), all of them - in several senses of the word - border regions, liminal spaces. To muddy matters further, there are also (often temporary) autonomous zones, both literally and figuratively, which play significant roles in the revolutionary imaginations, revolutionary sentiments, revolutionary situations, and, on rare occasions, actual revolutions that occurred.

"Imaginaries" - social, cultural, technological, psychological, and more - are very much of the moment, reflecting a renewed academic appreciation for human agency, collective action, ideology, cultural, and what has been called the "narrative turn." Specifically, the notion of "imaginary" invoked here is rooted, as most are, in Castoriadis' depiction of the imaginary as the understanding people create in any given historical period of how they live and make meaning of their existence, the narrative that binds a society together and defines what is real. Even more, Taylor's formulation of "social imaginary" as "the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations" (23). It is complicated, it is complex, and it is fundamental.

So these imaginaries are socially, collectively constructed by people in what are essentially daring acts of bricolage, wherein symbols, songs, tales, rituals, dates, places, memory/ies, and more are woven together into a sort of legible, working narrative (Selbin, *Revolution, Rebellion* 75-76), a story of who and what they are, how they came to be, and what they do and will. [1] This should not be surprising. While many matters - cultural, economic, ethnic, political, religious, social bind, and more - may bind us together or drive us apart, it is through stories, including those told in forms just listed, that we manage the world, our world. Didion famously wrote that "we tell ourselves stories in order to live" (11); the poet Muriel Rukeyser goes further: "The Universe is made of stories, not of atoms" (111). [2] It is impossible to understand who we are and what we do (and how) without recourse to story. It is our stories that locate us, situate us, and provide us with the tools (which could as easily be conceived of as weapons) that we need to navigate, mediate, mitigate our world(s), and, hence, defend or foment the change(s) necessary.

One final point: Imaginaries are not imaginary, but as Anderson might suggest, imagined. People's creativity, verve, élan, if you will, imagination, with which they generate, create, maintain, and extend the world(s) in which they live is real. The challenge is for us to access this construct and in the process resist overwriting it with our narrative(s), our (all to) often self-serving story which serves to justify our story even as it putatively "tells" (through North/Western eyes, an inelegant invocation of Mohanty as well as Said) "theirs"-those people, over there, the ones who need us to tell their story for them, because they are incapable of knowing or doing so. Only we can see their imaginary and interpret it for them. It is a dangerous path and we should tread carefully.

My guides here are a diverse set of scholars bound by their smart work, commitment to pushing boundaries, and demanding much of themselves and us (Buck-Morss; Hardt and Negri; Gaonkar; Lippens; Parker; Seidman; Khasnabish; Gräbner; Haiven and Khasnabish; Guidotti-Hernández; Merrifield; Juris and Khasnabish; Andrews; and Basok). [3] Most all are indebted to Deleuze and Guattari and this article is as well to Tsing's notion of friction and "zones of awkward engagement." All of them, it seems to me, believe that people create their own world(s) and (im)possibilities drawing on what Parker describes as "a totality of symbolic resources available to a society to represent a real world, the entities within it and their mutual relationships" (55, note 6). Imaginaries provide us with a glimpse into these world(s).

Clearing Some Brush, Imaginary and Otherwise

A couple other issues merit attention before turning to matter at hand, with apologies for the often tedious but essential work of definition and context. The first has to do with issues of time and space and place, including what are Latin America and the Caribbean, and when is the twentieth century, a more complicated question than it might seem. Then there is the matter of revolution, never an easy term (as I belabor elsewhere), and the elusive but powerful notion of the transversal. All of these will lead back to space, place, time (redux) and, lo and behold, in finest storytelling fashion, a brief but important return of story.

While many vaguely familiar with Mexico's modern Zapatistas, revolutionaries who on 1 January 1994 rose up against the Mexican state and shocked the world by among other things announcing their lack of interest in seizing control of the state. Perhaps the most internationally famous Zapatista leader then and now is Subcomandante Marcos, a "consummate *performancero*," per Gómez-Peña, who presented himself as "a carefully crafted collage of twentieth-century revolutionary symbols, costumes, and props borrowed from [Mexico's] Zapata, [Nicaragua's] Sandino and Che, and [Palestinian leader] Arafat as well as from celluloid heroes such as Zorro, and Mexico’s movie wrestler, El Santo" (90-91). Moreover, Marcos made plain through his writings that he owed as much to Groucho Marx as to Karl, to John Lennon as to V. I. [4] Indeed, Marcos' accouterments - the mask and pipe, the bandoliers resplendent with bright red (photogenic) shotgun shells that did not match the weapon (usually an AK-47, occasionally an M-16, each with their own messages to send) in hand - and demeanor are remarkably modern even as, in some sense, they are decidedly pre-modern, meant to evoke some of the region's pre-European cosmologies and resistance to Europe's invasion. This was reinforced by the perspective of the EZLN's "Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle" whose title set their uprising outside of any city and evocatively in the literal and figurative "jungle" and text in a tradition at least 500 years old and with allusions to struggles even older. At the same time, reading their documents and considering their demands, there seems little question that the EZLN are self-consciously a piece with the decidedly modernist sensibilities that their intellectual (and emotional) compatriots espoused in France well over two hundred years ago and which you can find across Latin America's twentieth century revolutions.

Myriad points may be (and have been) gleaned from this, but consider this here: There are different notions of time, space, and place and they merit our attention if we want to understand why revolutions happen here not there, now not then, and among these people and not those. In what may well be an apocryphal story, a reporter is supposed to have asked the late Zapatista Comandante Ramona (an important member of the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee), as she was leaving a meeting with Mexican officials, how long the Zapatistas were prepared to fight. The diminutive Tzotzil Maya woman shrugged her shoulders and replied to the effect that, they had been struggling for some five hundred years, so if they had to struggle for another five hundred years, then it was not important. [5] This is meant neither to exoticize nor fetishize, but as a salutary reminder that chronological time is not the same as mythological time, whose variants' include what revolutionaries sometimes refer to as "mountain time" or "jungle time" or even spaces and places which might represent "no time" or "outside" of time. Such spaces and places may also be moments of sacralization, making holy.

Latin America and the Caribbean are all the states and assorted other political entities in the Western Hemisphere exclusive of Canada and the Unites States of America. Despite any number of differences large and small, all of the places have shared experiences of colonialism, imperialism, underdevelopment, and various degrees of marginalization. [6] As for the twentieth century in Latin America and the Caribbean, for the purposes of this paper, it was a somewhat short century (though one could argue it began with the USA's 1898 intervention in the Cuban War of Independence) and Mexico looms large for the entire region. The Mexican revolution that begins in 1910 not only ushers in the twentieth century for Latin America and the Caribbean, but is actually globally the first great social upheaval of the twentieth century. Meanwhile, the 1 January 1994 uprising of Mexico's modern-day Zapatistas, predominantly Mayan and named for one of the great heroes of the 1910 revolution seems to signal a fitting end to an era overwhelmingly marked by state repression and, in response, resistance, rebellion, and revolution. In terms of the focus here, whether or not the modern Zapatistas were or are the first post-modern revolutionaries, and in some interesting ways you could argue they are if that category has any utility, in important ways they are almost certainly the region's last modern ones. [7]

As recently as a few years ago the concept of revolution was adjudged by Guattari as "broken and worn out…dragged through so many places it's necessary to go back to a basic, albeit elementary definition" (258). If this is not a new concern (see Eckstein; Walton) it may reflect some of the confusion extant. It is an odd moment with regard to matters revolutionary. Not many years ago politicians, pundits, and academics of various perspectives inside the academy and out (Goodwin; Nodia; Snyder; Fukuyama; Castañeda) were pronouncing a somewhat loosely defined "age of revolution" (1789-1989) over, the time, place, and space passed, none too soon and certainly not to be missed. Such quickly proved exaggerated, as seen in Eastern Europe's "revolutions," the "Pink Tide" in Latin America, and persistent revolutionary struggles elsewhere. At least since 2009 in Iran (but also Georgia, Guinea, Iceland, Moldova, and elsewhere), people have been demanding social, political, and economic change in their lives, their worlds.

The uprisings in the Arab world, indignant movements throughout Europe, Chile, and Mexico, the North American Occupy movement, Brazil, Gezi Park in Turkey, Ukraine, and India's Naxalites are reminders that radical socio-political movements for greater participation and social equality persist. Whatever their demands - or no demands - such collective behavior represents a call to be seen and heard, reflecting King's "fierce urgency of now" and the Zapatistas' compelling question: "Is this the democracy you wanted" (234)? [8] People are leaving their homes to claim their private hopes and dreams in public fora. If this is not revolution in the grand scale we conventionally associate with the term, is it revolutionary nonetheless? Thus, the term revolution is once again bandied about, albeit as something dangerously close to an empty signifier, simultaneously maddeningly vague and yet potentially productive.

Opening up revolution to mean a great many more things seems fruitful, but caution is in order: Revolutionary (im)possibilities extending infinitely in every possible direction and dimension all at once risk rendering the concept ever more unhelpful. Telling people that their struggles for justice, for dignity, for revolution, are not meaningful seems unhelpful. Yet, little is gained by defining dumpster diving, nomadic living, or lifestyle anarchy as instances of revolution, though resistance or rebellion they might be and hence may contain elements of revolution. But, if the question is one of understanding and utility: What exactly is a revolution? As I have argued recently, Theda Skocpol's formulation, where state power is sought in pursuit of fast, fundamental transformations of state and class structures to alter societal systems in a contemporaneous and mutually reinforcing fashion remains compelling. Jack Goldstone marries her structuralist approach to the efforts of John Foran and others of us to bring in subjective facets such as culture and ideology. If in some cases power may be captured non-violently (Tunisia) and/or electorally (Latin America's Pink Tide), his conception of revolution as the forcible seizure of state power through mass mobilization in the name of social justice and seeking to transform or create new institutions and structures seems well suited to the moment. Whatever the structural conditions or reasons extant, most often people unite around a story that is commonly a heady concoction and concatenation of names (most often heroes and martyrs), dates (Cabrera Infante, "Between History" 1994: 148), places, grievances, and even means and methods, woven together, often in daring acts of bricolage, into some sort of working narrative. It is here where hopes, dreams, and desires; anger, resentment, and grievance; fears, commitments, and passions fire revolutionary imaginations, create revolutionary sentiments, revolutionary situations emerge, and (im)possibilities flow.

The "transversal" was proffered by Guattari as a means or method intended to overcome the dead end of the hierarchical (and patriarchal) control networks and the logic of compulsory horizontal control-so neither arboreal (or centrist) or polycentric models but a-centric constellations "which do not move on the basis of predetermined strands and channels from one point to another, but right through the points in new directions (Raunig 205). In other words, transversals are not at all intended to be connections between multiple centers or points, but rather lines that do not necessarily even cross, lines of flight, ruptures which continuously elude the systems of points and their coordinates." Here again, some care should be exercised. On the one hand this lends itself to notions of no borders and multiple connections (not to mention entrances and exits) as well as the idea of "creating situations in new places rather than familiar, well explored territories" (Raunig 229). Yet it also means that, to borrow a phrase (out of context) from Gleick, "instead of six degrees of separation, we have billions of degrees of connectedness" and need to resist universalizing impulses (9). Tsing's compelling notions are also worth keeping in mind here, both her metaphor of friction for describing the interconnections between processes and actors that interact "across difference and distance" and the concept of "zone of awkward engagement", "where words mean something different across a divide…These zones...are transient; they arise out of encounters and interactions. They reappear in new places with changing events" (xi).

The transversal also has implications with regard to space(s). Theoretical accounts of space are a complicated concept beyond the scope of this article; geographers, historians, physicists, and many others have their versions as may you. For the purposes here, simply note that different activities in our lives are, sometimes by choice, sometimes by necessity, carried out in various and varying locations (Sewell 56-57) and that those locations matter, often shaping the identities and agendas, and for conceptions of what is possible; "spaces are culturally marked as particular kinds of places" Sewell (2001: 64) argues, echoing Schneider's contention that "the spaces in which struggles were concentrated also shaped the identities and agendas of resistors" (798). As a result, Sewell points out, "one of the most remarkable effects that protest activities can have on the meanings of places… [is]…their sacralization as sites of transcendent significance" (Sewell 65). When Castro and the revolutionaries who had been training in Mexico returned, they headed for Oriente province and the mountains of the Sierra Maestra, mythic locations from Cuba's nineteenth century wars of independence and understood by Cubans as not just historic places, locales, but as sacralized spaces. While such spaces may be urban areas, [9] a shantytown or specific *barrio* are most often associated with what Schneider calls "uncolonized geographic space", jungles and mountains (790). [10]

With Latin America and the Caribbean set, revolution limned out, and transversal boxed in for the purposes of this paper, one more matter merits attention. As I have argued elsewhere (Selbin 2010), it is our biology that makes us human, but it is our stories that define us as people. We are storytellers. And our stories tell us who we are and, hence, who we were and may well be and are not, how to be and what we should do to get there. People have, for as long as we know, reshaped land, made paths, erected buildings and dams and so on. So, too have they constructed institutions such as systems of justice, information, and healthcare. And in much the same way, people create stories which form and shape their lives and world. We are inclined to connect these in a (mainstream) arboreal sense, seeking seeds and roots, describing how the story tree grows, its branches, and so on. It is almost certainly more useful, however, to construe these stories and the world they weave rhizomically (a la Deleuze and Guattari), and the transversal, with multiple "centers" or “points” or lines of thought that do not necessarily even cross, ruptures which elude easy connections and classifications, may be the most fruitful of all.

Here is where people make, maintain, and extend connections and build community. If stories commonly designated as History are used to support and maintain the status quo by the powerful, they may have a secret life, as competing versions of Zapata do in Mexico. And there are the stories without History's imprimatur that fire people's imaginations and contribute to imaginaries that make meaningful and legitimate people's actions as they struggle for a more just society. People have lacked food and clean water, been immiserated, and have watched their children suffer in many times and places and have not risen up. Structural conditions alone have not initiated or sustained revolutionary processes. Stories and the imaginaries they construct can make that possible. Stories are weapons, albeit not uncomplicated ones; almost one hundred years later the struggle over Zapata's story continues apace as most everyone on every side seeks to claim him as their own. What's critical here is "possibilism" (Darnton 7, 19; on the possibilities inherent in the impossible, see Rabas 1997), when people articulate compelling stories of what others have done, where and when and how, which allow them to imagine.

Revolution and the Revolutionary Imaginary

What follows is a narrative not a story. There is now wide recognition, if not always the concomitant follow through, that life rarely lends itself to conveniently "coherent stories endowed naturally with central subjects, highly organized plot structures, thematic integrity, and moralizable conclusions" (Graziano 2) akin to a nineteenth century novel with a beginning–middle–end structure describing with a familiar plot and cast of characters (Steinmetz 490). The contention here is that stories are open-ended and a mess, even as they resemble in some ways Swidler's "'tool kit' of symbols, stories, rituals and world-views" (273) people use to make sense out of the world around them and which therefore provide them the basis for among other things what Tilly calls "repertoires of collective action" (143). Writing such an open-ended mess, however aspirational, is beyond the scope of this article. Consequently the chimera of chronology noted earlier will reappear as well. Chronology is devilishly hard to resist, in part because we expect it, prize it, and find it helpful for making sense of "the chaotic and unceasing flow of historical events, personalities, ideas, and movements"; it enables us to "speak confidently about decades…or of centuries as if such entirely artificial constructs conferred some kind of meaning on what happened..." (Bowersock 56). Mea culpa.

If it is little remarked upon in the West, in 1519 on the island of Hispaniola, indigenous chieftain Enriquillo took up arms against his *encomendero* and the colonial authorities (Castro 1999: xv), an act of resistance that inspired people throughout the region and led to years of struggle primarily against the Spanish but also against the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and importantly for our purposes, the French [11], back on Hispaniola, in Haiti, arguably the world’s most important and most ignored revolution. Haiti oddly presages Mexico: Haiti was the first great social upheaval in the New, at least to Europeans, World and the first great social upheaval of the nineteenth century; it was also the world’s first and, to date, only successful slave revolt. Why has the Haitian revolution been "silenced" (Trouillot 98)? Perhaps because it was "unthinkable" (Popkin 2), given that it was led by African slaves, uneducated by Western standards but inspired by France’s 1789 revolution and the promise of *liberté*, *égalité*, *fraternité*, who rose up not only to win their independence but defeat all three of the world’s great colonial powers - France, Britain, and Spain - to maintain it? This is all beyond the scope of this article. What is of relevance here is that in Haiti there was a clear distinction between the cities and plantations of the colonizers and the rural areas of the revolutionaries’, which the colonizers read and understood as impenetrable - a word which carried with it, then as it often does now, hints of exoticism and fear. Despite being silenced, the impact of the Haitian revolution was felt throughout the hemisphere, including the southern USA.

While there were a number of struggles across the continent during the first half of the nineteenth century and some refugees from both the 1848 "Springtime of the European Peoples" revolutions in Europe [12] and the 1871 Paris Commune, there was little to hint at the revolutionary era to come. But there was a clear pattern in which emerging cities came to be identified with the elite and powerful who identified (deeply) with Europe and were prone to view jungles, mountains, and even rural areas as opaque and even unfathomable, beyond their ken, places to be kept down, brutally so if "necessary." This became particularly clear with the Cuban War of Independence, the last of Cuba's three liberation struggles against Spain (the first two were the 1868-78 Ten Years' War and 1879-80 Little War). Here people neither wealthy nor powerful honed the mythos of the cities as decadent and hostile locales, the provinces of the powerful, in contrast to the purity, the goodness, the decency of the rural poor, ever willing to sacrifice for the cause. In Cuban lore, two of that struggle's heroes, Antonio Maceo and Máximo Gómez, at the behest of Cuba's national hero, José Martí, set fire to the island's profitable sugar cane fields as a signal of commitment, defiance, and the readiness of the Cuban people to sacrifice everything for their independence. Some sixty years later, at a critical juncture and eager to evoke the independence struggle and capture the popular imagination, Fidel Castro paired his most charismatic lieutenants, Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos, and had them replicate the "famous" "incendiary march" of 1895; it proved to be a brilliant tactical stroke which succeeded on several levels: militarily, psychologically, and culturally, renewing people's commitment.

The sprawling, multi-act process in Mexico - it is nearly impossible to identify a singular "Mexican Revolution" - moved across boundaries and borders, a constantly shifting kaleidoscope in which different revolutionary groups, literally and figuratively, staked out different ground. If most notable for its agrarian character, there were also town and country liberal bourgeois democratic elements, a small but real urban workers' role, and rural workers in the north, loosely cobbled together in some sort of pro-*campesino*, pro-labor, deeply nationalistic whole with democratic aspirations (Foran 38). As a result, even as the revolution became identified with the rural, agrarian south, revolutionary forms and identities emerged among urban workers in Mexico City, sailors and dock workers of Tampico and Veracruz, indigenous in the southern jungles, the rural workers-miners, lumberjacks, and rail workers - Pancho Villa welded together in the desert north [13], and anarchists in the (seemingly) inhospitable Baja California. One of the most telling moments, in not just Mexico's revolutionary mythos but the region's revolutionary imaginary, occurred in December 1914. With Villa effectively controlling the north, Zapata the south, and Carranza and his most able general, Obregón the center, Zapata and Villa drove the Carranza's "Constitutionalist forces" out of Mexico City and occupied the capital. Neither wished to stay and while Villa famously sat in the president's chair, Zapata demurred; the message seemed clear: they fought neither for power nor control of the state, but for freedom and justice. The image, the imaginary, is irresistible in a world where whatever the slogans and promises, people too often succumb to the allure power for the sake of power. Yet, generations of the region's revolutionaries would see different but equally profound messages, or perhaps warnings: on the one hand, fail to seize power when the opportunity avails itself, and the chance may not come again; on the other, power corrupts and, as many would see it, leads to oppression, conservatism, stultifying bureaucracy and inefficiency, and inertia.[14] If many of Mexico's cities had bastions of radicalism (Selbin, *Revolution, Rebellion* 172-174), they quickly collapsed and the revolutionary imagination was firmly located in the agrarian south and rural north.

While Mexico's cities were quickly reclaimed and reimagined as spaces hostile to revolution and revolutionaries, the myth of the jungle and the mountains was deepening elsewhere. In Brazil, there was the epic Prestes Column, a three year (1924-1927) 25,000 kilometer campaign through the jungle and countryside that spanned the entire country and sparked the popular imagination at home and abroad. 1920s Nicaraguan revolutionary Augusto Sandino chose to flee the cities to escape USA air strikes; he was among the first to talk about (and use) "the mountains and tropical terrain as a strategic ally" (Clayton 184) during the struggle he led (1926-1934). From 1934 to 1944, there was relatively little revolutionary activity in the region. [15] But the imaginary was alive and well and soon animated by Guatemala's 1944 democratic elections which heralded the ten year "Guatemalan Spring." Coming out of Costa Rica's complicated 1944-1948 civil war, the Caribbean Legion, a group of democrats, reformists, left radicals, socialists of various stripes, and communists from around the region, announced their efforts to overthrow the region's dictators by force. [16] Somewhat similarly, demobilized Eastern Caribbean soldiers who had fought for the British during the war began to struggle for independence and were not shy about mentioning their experiences, particularly in the jungles of Southeast Asia and Oceania. [17] And it was rural workers, miners in particular, who played the crucial role in Bolivia's 1952 revolution and *campesinos* and rural workers who did the great majority of the fighting and dying in Colombia's ten year *La violencia* (1948-1958).

Whether or not the 1959 Cuban Revolution can be said to bring revolution into the "modern" world (Selbin, *Revolution, Rebellion* 20), it is the process that brings it into the contemporary world. No other instance electrified so many people in so many places all at the same time and the influence lingers yet. The outline, narrative, as it were, is familiar: Led by Fidel Castro, a small band of radicals sought to trigger an uprising to topple Cuba's corrupt and brutal dictator Batista by attacking the Moncada Barracks on 26 July 1953. An abject failure, Castro was captured, but his trial allowed him to offer his famous "History will absolve me" defense. After a brief prison term, he fled to Mexico where he recruited and organized a small group of rebels who would seek to make the revolution. In 1956 these men returned as the 26th of July Movement and, after heavy losses, made their way to the mountains, where they were sheltered by and engaged with the *campesinos*, an experience that would fundamentally transform the revolutionaries - and the revolution. As a result, the remaining two years of the struggle would prove to be far more of an ideological struggle than a military struggle. From its earliest days, there was a conscious and intentional effort to construct a revolutionary imaginary which featured the seemingly impossible but also irresistible opportunity to construct in effect a new society in a new place and space, indeed, in a new time.[18] A comparatively minor defeat at a relatively unimportant place at the end of December set in motion the surprisingly swift collapse of the Batista regime and his departure on 1 January 1959 was widely welcomed by people across the country. The "triumph" of the wildly popular revolutionaries, *los barbudos* (the bearded ones), over the dictator and his minions captured the imagination of the region and the world and profoundly shifted the revolutionary imaginary in the region and well beyond.

This clear and compelling narrative erases any number of critical complications and complexities. There were several groups of revolutionaries in action [19] and willfully ignores the crucial role played by urban revolutionaries (Sweig), not least in providing support. Yet the Cuban revolutionary imaginary, locally, regionally, and globally, has a deep investment in the "myth of the Sierra." No one represented this narrative globally more than the revolution’s most mythic figure, the asthmatic Argentine doctor Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Che embodied memories of Chile’s fleeting three month 1932 Socialist Republic, knowledge of Spain's anti-fascist struggle, abbreviated revolution, and the destruction of democracy there (see endnote 16) and in Guatemala, whose destruction he was present for in 1954. Che, Clayton argues, is where the "potent image of…the guerrilla fighter springing from the tropical bush" [20] comes from, married to the idea that a small band of revolutionaries connected to "the people" and based in "the mountains, jungles and swamps" can and will defeat considerably larger and better equipped regular armed forces; the mountains, the jungles, are almost palpable (181).

This myth and mythos, the imaginary, is deep and powerful. Clayton points out, "In his *Minimanual* for the urban guerrilla, the Brazilian Carlos Marighella (26) argued that to ‘leave the enemy bewildered in areas he doesn’t know’ was not an inherently rural quest. Using urban terrain as an ally also meant knowing ‘how to use with intelligence its unevenness, its high and low points, its turns, its irregularities, its regular and its secret passages, abandoned areas, its thickets’" (184).[21] Yet it was clearly the compelling imaginary of the rural regions that shaped the revolutionary processes for the rest of the century. The mountains or jungles were "a particular type of space…on the territorial and symbolic fringes of economic and political oppression" (Clayton 184) that was revolutionary; and not just revolutionary, but unsullied, pure, and true, connected to the land (a place) and the people (a space). Thus, Guevara accorded not just predominance but superiority and concomitant legitimacy and authority to the rural and all over the region (and beyond) the role of urban movements - so critical to the success of the Cuban revolution - were downplayed, even denied; with very rare exceptions, those *barrios* deemed sufficiently revolutionary and, more pointedly, sufficiently inaccessible to and by the state, cities were framed as decadent and sites of pacification and state control. The mountains and jungles were valorized as true, pure, powerful places and spaces of revolution. [22]

Inspired, across the continent and around the world, a new generation of revolutionaries emerged, particularly inspired by Che, nowhere more so than in Central America. Nicaragua's Sandinistas, second to none in their veneration, took on the mountains as a core myth, aptly summed up in Comandante Omar Cabezas' book on his evolution from urban youth to a revolutionary committed to the people: *The Mountain is More Than an Immense Green Steppe* (*La montaña es algo más que una inmensa estepa verde*). [23] Despite the essential roles played by Nicaragua's urban revolutionaries, just as in Cuba, the story, the narrative, was told and written as one firmly in the Cuban model and for years many Nicaraguans would wax poetic about heroic guerrillas in the hills and the *campesinos* and rural workers who nurtured them, even as much of the fighting (and dying) was done by the urban poor (Massey 20-21).

As revolutionary struggles continued in Central America and the Andes, the central trope remained one of the mountains and the jungles versus the cities, though in at least some cases, most notably Peru's *Sendero Luminoso*, there was attention to the cities. There was organizing in the urban shantytowns and there were armed strikes. Still, cities were commonly understood as evil places and spaces, essentially anti-revolutionary, which were to be surrounded, choked off, and starved (which could lead to revolutionary uprisings). The *Senderistas*' notion of themselves as in part the intellectual heirs of the levelling egalitarianism of far-left of the French Revolution and somewhat dismissive attitude towards Mao's Cultural Revolution in China, and Pol Pot's Kampuchea (Cambodia), read as having failed to go far enough, led some to speculate they might empty the cities (as the Khmer Rouge had done after their victory in Cambodia) if they won (on both matters, see Selbin, *Modern Latin* 137, especially endnotes 35 and 40, and 146). It is interesting that what small pockets of *Sendero* and Colombia's FARC that remain are in the mountains, jungles, and rural areas and that when they negotiate or surrender, much as with the Central American revolutionaries, it is most commonly framed as a scenario where they are coming in from an earlier era of life in the mountains or jungles and encountering a "new world," awash in globalization, liberal capitalism triumphant and resplendent.

Indeed, it was, in a very real sense, this sort of liberal triumphalism that the Zapatistas so rudely interrupted when they arose, not so much against the Mexican government and state - after all, they made no claims on nor evinced any interest in seizing the reins of the state; a move not lost on a population raised on the decision by Zapata and Villa to forgo power. Rather, they made abundantly clear that their struggle, on behalf of the indigenous and the poor, was against neoliberalism and global capital(ism). Mexico's (putatively) modern revolutionaries challenged the post-modernity of globalization which was washing away the past and present.

Yet as noted earlier, these modern or even postmodern revolutionaries were also deeply embedded in traditions hundreds of years old and meant to explicitly reflect the struggles which had come before them and which they hoped would blossom from their actions. Central to their public presentation was the valorization and sacralization not only of the Maya but of the jungle, of the mountains, of animal familiars and cosmologies bespeaking different times and places; this was their home and at some point, presumably, all these Europeans - presumably and predominantly residing in cities (and towns) - would go home and leave them in peace. One European who visited often, a journalist trying to convey to his audience what was distinct about the region, wrote that in Latin America and the Caribbean "fact is mixed with fantasy here, truth with myth, realism with rhetoric" (Kapuściński 152). Perhaps another way to imagine it is that it is all true, all myth or mythical, all real, and that there is no greater fantasy than the notion that one has the right to write their own world and hence to seize the material and ideological conditions of their everyday lives. Such possibilities; imagine imaginaries.

A Few Final Thoughts on Narrative, Imaginaries, and Revolution

The Global North/West narrative has long (re)presented Latin America and the Caribbean as a place where revolutions just happen, much as storms or earthquakes in the natural world, in essence part of the region’s "romantic" flora and fauna. [24] And if North American and European "leftist intellectuals have a tendency to romanticize the violent social processes south of the border" (Sánchez Lira and Villarreal 1995), millions in the region have historically succumbed as well, with popular fascination and especially "heroic" (re)presentations of Pancho Villa or Emiliano Zapata, the Cuban revolution and the myth of "Che," a process which almost fifty years after his death continues apace, even at times renewed. Indeed, Mexico’s "modern" Zapatistas consciously sought to evoke the romanticism of revolution in choosing their name; it was Zapata, after all, who is credited with declaring that it was "better to die on one's feet than live on one's knees," a phrase rivaled in its romanticization of revolution only by Che’s famous proclamation that the "true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love." Che is ubiquitous, the global marker of revolution, rebellion, and resistance, omnipresent and dangerously close to an empty signifier, even as he remains integral to the revolutionary imaginary.

Cubans no longer enamored with the results of the revolutionary process remain proud of what they did and why, and recall the romance of *los barbudos*. Nicaraguans will tell you about heroic guerrillas in the hills and the *campesinos* who nurtured them. [25] And the Zapatistas consciously deploy romanticism, not only in their choice of name but their decision to renounce violence, intentional marketing, for lack of a better word, of Subcomandante Marcos ("El Sub"), Commandante Ramona, and the quasi-mythical Clandestine Revolutionary Committee-General Command (CCRI-GC) whose command they and others operate under, and in their denial of any vanguard party and contention that it is not state power that they seek (although here again they sound positively modernist, calling upon "civil society" to do so). Their vision appears to be one of a "retro-fitted" Mexico, meaning, in Samuels' formulation, one that is "simultaneously modernized and antiqued" (70). If, as some have suggested, the EZLN offers a new and hopeful model of revolutionary change, one which does not seek state power or rely on violent means and methods - at the moment it does not seem so - they certainly offer a tantalizing view of what may be possible and serve to remind that possibilism and imagination are at the heart of any social revolutionary process. The revolutionary imaginary is not short on the hardships or traumas that are inevitably part of the process; in a sense, these provide a degree of drama and excitement, even fear. It is not as if violence is absent or even avoided in the revolutionary imaginary. [26] But the violence is rarely dwelled upon, except perhaps as a precursor to the need to rise up, and indeed, the evocations and invocations of heroes and martyrs often have a celebratory if at times somber aspect.

People envision and share together; they imagine a moment, which will last forever, and an opportunity that is rare, magical, exhilarating, and mythic. What more could people want and wish for than the chance to change their world(s) that they inhabit every day? Instances, however fraught, however fragile, of disorder where people (re)imagine their world and seek their dreams and desires, reimagining, reworking, and reshaping their lives. Such are revolutionary imaginaries, spaces where people imagine a more just society and better world to come, for themselves, their children and grandchildren, and others to come. [27]

With apologies for the reliance on nice, neat, clean, and clear narrative, whenever the twentieth century "began" or came to an "end," here I have opted for 1910-1994 [28], it was an intense period marked by revolutionary imaginations of various sorts (Billington; Parker; Saldaña-Portillo; Khasnabish), the emergence of revolutionary sentiments (Firchow), the rise of revolutionary situations (Tilly), and, on occasion, the making of revolutions. In a time, place, and space redolent with possibilities, people in the region see the fantastic, mythical, and magical nestled with the commonplace and almost everything seems possible, imaginable. The Zapatistas' demanding question - is this the world we wanted? - fits well their most stirring assertion: "It is not necessary to conquer the world. It is sufficient with making it new. Us. Today." Marcos' contention that behind the ski masks are different Marcoses and more are coming echoes Tupaq Katari's 1781 promise when the Spanish overlords he fought put him to death: "I die today but will rise again and be millions."

Do people still imagine revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean? If by revolution we mean a process which accords neatly with those that mark the twentieth century - Mexico, Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru - probably not or at least not so much, maybe some around the edges. But there are thousands, maybe millions, in the jungles, mountains, shantytowns, and barrios of Latin America and the Caribbean whose hearts quicken, whose voices change, and whose eyes gleam when they imagine the possibilities extant. Even as they are lead to believe that they do not make history, they imagine that they can and do and will. To do so they tell themselves and each other stories that enmesh them into a community reflecting shared pictures of how the world is and how it ought to be. They unite around certain symbols, themes, and characters that provide recognition, knowledge, and understanding; their common problems may take different forms, but across time and place they find a space of possibility. These stories create an imaginary which can and may provide the catalyst for changing their world. In the face of today's immense and daunting challenges, (re)claiming and (re)animating stories of resistance, rebellion, and revolution is a challenge and possibility.

Writing at an ominous juncture in the late 1930s, Walter Benjamin argued that the "state of emergency" in which they were living was the rule, not the exception, and that people needed to create their own states of emergency to create the possibility for and bring about change (256). If most of us do not live in states constricted and constrained by explicit "states of emergency," such threats are never far away. Indeed, most of us find ourselves in a time and in places of essentially permanent "states of emergency," one event or threat, real or perceived, away from the imposition of security and order to "protect us." Often those providing us with such protection are also those who seek to maintain structures and institutions at the expense of those who are disenfranchised, serving to suppress people's dreams, hopes, desires, and forestall their efforts to bring about meaningful change in their state and society. Even weak states are powerful and the elites and their minions who benefit stop at little to defend the social order. But when people begin to imagine, begin to believe, they can and do create (im)possibilities. Them, now, today, making the world new, not by conquering it, but by reimagining it in new ways.

Endnotes

[1] But see Khasnabish (2008) and Guidotti-Hernández (2011), both of whom who consider the role of the state in creating imaginaries. On Mexican state claims to Zapata, see Khasnabish (2008) and Selbin (2010).

[2] From biology to physics…and perhaps quantum physicists might not entirely disagree…or, with a tip of the hat to Heisenberg, they well may; I'm, er, not certain.

[3] Gaonker (2002) is a dated but excellent précis of sorts about imaginaries up to that time. Churchill (2010) raises an important question about what is meant by "radical imagination."

[4] Gräbner (2010) offers an interesting analysis of Marcos, especially his various personas.

[5] As I have noted elsewhere (Selbin, *Revolution, Rebellion* 2), this brings to mind Steffens's comment about a purported exchange between British Prime Minister Lloyd George and Italy's Duce, Mussolini: "Authentic? I don't know … Like so many rumors, it was truer than the records … but somebody said it, somebody who understood what it was all about" (809).

[6] Nayak and Selbin (2010) construe Canada and the USA as part of the "Global North/West" while Latin American and Caribbean countries are part of the "Global South," places that "have specific hierarchical power relationships with the so-called North/West"; they do recognize "the need to understand the different kinds of experiences various people might have…different kinds of relationships with the North/West…" (Nayak and Selbin, *Revolution, Rebellion* 167-168, endnote 3).

[7] This ignores the enigma that is Colombia's FARC (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo*; The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army). India's somewhat perplexing and impressively persistent Maoist Naxalites are another case.

[8] This was posed by the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee General Command (CCRI-CG) in a communiqué sent out January 31, 1994 in which they asked, 'Why is everyone so quiet? Is this the democracy you wanted?' often dated February 4, 1994 in the USA.

[9] Schulzke (2012) proffers a compelling argument for nineteenth century urban revolutionary spaces.

[10] Specifically she invokes "impenetrable jungles, and the soaring Andes mountains" and contends that such spaces facilitate political violence (Schneider 790).

[11] Through Manco Inca's 1536–1572 rebellion, ending with the beheading of his last son, Túpac Amaru, to the 1780 Great Andean Rebellion of Túpac Amaru II and Túpac Katari (often fused in popular memory); the seventy-year slave revolt in Brazil centered on the Republic of Palmares, which by the 1690s had some 20,000 inhabitants (Meltzer 86) and whose leaders in 1696 chose to leap to their deaths in the face of Dutch and Portuguese invaders rather than surrender; Haiti's 1791 slave revolt, often considered the only successful slave uprising, and revolts elsewhere in the Caribbean such as Fedon's Rebellion in Grenada 1795–1796.

[12] The events in Europe inspired activities in Colombia and to a lesser extent Brazil as well.

[13] Knight (65) describes Villa's crew as "semi-proletarians".

[14] Lázaro Cárdenas presidency, 1934-1940, is arguably an exception to this.

[15] A few "evanescent instances" are mentioned in Selbin (177).

[16] The noble if ill-fated Caribbean Legion was trained in part by the former loyalist Spanish Air Force officer Alberto Bayo (Hodges 167-172), who specifically trained the expeditionary forces that sailed against the dictators Somoza in Nicaragua in 1948 and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic in 1949 (Ameringer 1974). Bayo subsequently trained Castro's Cuban exiles in Mexico, where his "star" pupil was Che Guevara. In

Cuba, Bayo, Guevara, and others helped train thousands from all over the world, among them a new generation of Nicaraguan exiles, passing on to them lessons from Spain, Sandino, Guevara's 1954 experiences with the USA's destruction of democracy in Guatemala, and the Cuban experience.

[17] A similar situation existed as World War I wound down and some of the sergeants from the British West Indies Regiment formed the short lived Caribbean League in Italy in 1918.

[18] Even featuring, promised a Che, "a new man," in the sexist language of the time. While some have taken to translating his phrase "*hombre nuevo*" as "new person," reflecting more modern sensibilities, Karen Kampwirth contends that such interpretations let "sexist revolutionaries off the hook too easily. If they had wanted to say '*persona nueva*' or '*ser humano nuevo*' they could have easily done so." K. Kampwirth. Personal communication. (May 1998). My own experiences interviewing revolutionaries inclines me to agree.

[19] For example, by 1958 there was a significant revolutionary force in Cuba's central Sierra Escambray, the rebel force of the student dominated Revolutionary Directorate, and the 26th of July Movement itself was to some extent a loose amalgam constantly subsuming other, small, disparate groups, not always without a fight. It merits mention that only Castro's was in any meaningful sense contemporaneously planning for the whole new state and society.

[20] As Clayton (189, n. 4) points out "the wax model of Guevara in the Museum of Revolution in Havana portrays him this way."

[21] Though one might reasonably note the ways in which his language (presumably consciously) evokes the rural and stakes its claim in claiming a parallel with mountains and jungles.

[22] Clayton (184) astutely notes the critique (one might even imagine, for an urban dweller, lament) of the influential Marxist philosopher Althusser that Guevara and his comrades were "fashioning a spurious spatial binary, with 'the struggle in the hills' valorised as the primary space of revolution and ''life in the cities' deemed the derivative space." For Althusser's (stinging) criticism he cites Althusser's former student, Debray (261–262).

[23] The English title, *Fire from the Mountain: the Making of a Sandinista*, is no less evocative.

[24] The reference to storms and the physical world reflects Thomas Jefferson's deterministic but compelling view, which clearly influenced structuralist explanations of revolution (Skocpol 1979; Goodwin 2001), held "that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical' (93). Powerful examples of Global North/West perceptions can be seen in Dorfman and Mattleart (1971) or Black (1988).

[25] An urban Nicaraguan revolutionary once told me that if every Nicaraguan who claimed to have been in the mountains had been there, there would have been no need for a revolution.

[26] My thanks to an astute reviewer for reminding me of the need to address this issue. Much more could and no doubt should be said.

[27] More compelling than "revolutionary imaginaries" may be the term "imaginaries of insurgency" deployed by Juris and Khasnabish (8); see also Plant (71).

[28] Reasonable cases might be made for 1898, 1905, 1910, 1914, or 1917 as staring points and 1989, 1991, 1994, and 2000 as end points.

Works Cited

Ameringer, Charles. *The Democratic Left in Exile: The Antidictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945–1959*. Coral Gables: Penn State UP, 1974. Print.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991[1983]. Print.

Andrews, Molly. *Narrative Imagination and Everyday Life*. New York: Oxford UP, 2014. Print.

Basok, Tanya. "Reclaiming Democracy and Social Justice: The Arab Spring, Occupy, and Radical Imaginaries in the 21st Century." *Studies in Social Justice* 8.1 (2014): 1–4. Print.

Benjamin, Walter. "Theses on the Philosophy of History". *Illuminations*. Ed. Hannah Arendt. New York/Harcourt: Brace & World, 1968: 253–264. Print.

Billington, James. *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith*. New York: Transaction Publishers, 1980. Print.

Black, George. *The Good Neighbor: How the U.S. Wrote the History of Central America and the Caribbean*. New York: Pantheon, 1988. Print.

Bowersock, Glen W. "A Different Turning Point for Mankind?" *The New York Review of Books* 60.8 (2013): 56–58. Print.

Buck-Morss, Susan. *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000. Print.

Cabezas, Omar. *La montaña es algo mas que una inmensa estepa verde*. Mangaua: Siglo XXI, 1982. Print.

———. *Fire From the Mountain: The Making of a Sandinista*. New York: Plume, 1985. Print.

Cabrera Infante, Guillermo. "Between History and Nothingness: Notes on an Ideology of Suicide." *Mea Cuba*. Trans. Kathleen Hall with Guillermo Cabrera Infante. New York, 1994: 138–171. Print.

Castañeda, Jorge. *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left after the Cold War*, New York: Vintage, 1993. Print.

———. "Cuba. The End of The Revolution." *Miami Herald.* 16 Aug 2006. Web. 26 Apr 2016.

Castro, Daniel. "Introduction--The Interminable War: Guerrillas in Latin American History." Ed. Daniel Castro. *Revolution and Revolutionaries: Guerrilla Movements in Latin America*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999: xv–xxxvii. Print.

Castoriadis, Cornelius. *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Trans. Kathleen Blamey. Massachusetts: MIT Press Cambridge, 1998. Print.

———. "Radical Imagination and the Social Instituting Imaginary." Ed. David Curtis. *The Castoriadis Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997: 319–337. Print.

Churchill, Christopher. "A Radical and Elitist Imagination? Political Paternities and Alternatives in the History of Ideas." *Affinities* 4.2 (2010): 39–47. Print.

Clayton, Daniel. "Militant Tropicality: War, Revolution and the Reconfiguration of 'The Tropics' c.1940–c.1975." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38.1 (2013): 180–192. Print.

Crews, Harry. "Searching for the Wrong-Eyed Jesus". 2005. Web.

Darnton, Robert. "The Kiss of Lamourette." Ed. Robert Darnton. *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1990. 3–20. Print.

Debray Regis. *A Critique of Arms, Vol. 1* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977. Print.

Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Trans. Brian Massumi, Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1987. Print.

Didion, Joan. *The White Album*. New York: Farrar, Strauß and Giroux, 1979. Print.

Dorfman, Ariel and Armand Mattleart. *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialism Ideology in the Disney Comic*. Amsterdam: International General, 1971. Print.

Firchow, Pamina. *¿Que se vayan todos? Revolutionary Changes and Changes in Revolution at the Dawn of the 21st Century in Buenos Aires, Argentina*. Ph.D. dissertation. Geneva, 2009. Print.

Foran, John. *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions*. Cambridge: CUP, 2005. Print.

Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History." *The National Interest* 16 (1989): 3–18. Print.

———. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press, 1993. Print.

Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar. "Toward New Imaginaries: An Introduction." *Public Culture* 14.1 (2002): 1–19. Print.

Gleick, James. "Time Regained!" *New York Review of Books* 60.10 (2013): 46-49. Print.

Goodwin, Jeff. *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945–1991*. Cambridge: CUP, 2001. Print.

Gómez-Peña, Guillermo. "The Subcommandante of Performance." Ed. Elaine Katzenberger. *First World, Ha, Ha, Ha! The Zapatista Challenge*. San Francisco, 1995. 89–96. Print.

Gräbner, Cornelia. "'Four Paths Five Destinations': Constructing Imaginaries of Alter-Globalization Through Literary Texts." *Cosmos and History: The Journal of Natural and Social Philosophy* 6.2 (2010): 93–112. Print.

Graziano, Frank. *Divine Violence: Spectacle, Psychosexuality, and Radical Christianity in the Argentine 'Dirty War'*. Boulder: Westview P, 1992. Print.

Guidotti-Hernández, Nicole. *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries*. Durham: Duke UP, 2011. Print.

Guattari, Félix. *Molecular Revolution in Brazil*. New York: Semiotext(E), 2008. Print.

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2000. Print.

Haiven, Max and Alex Khasnabish. "What Is the Radical Imagination?: A Special Issue." *Affinities* 4.2 (2010): i–xxxvii. Print.

———. *The Radical Imagination. Social Movement Research in the Age of Austerity*. London: Zed Books, 2014. Print.

Hodges, Donald. *Intellectual Foundations of the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Austin: U of Texas P, 1986. Print.

Jefferson, Thomas. "Letter to James Madison 30 January 1787." Ed. Julian Boyd. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, *Vol. 11*. Princeton: PUP, 1955. 92–97. Print.

Kapuściński, Ryszard. *The Soccer War* New York. Vintage, 1992. Print.

Khasnabish, Alex. "Insurgent Imaginations." *Ephemera* 7.4 (2007): 505–525. Print.

———. *Zapatismo Beyond Borders: New Imaginations of Political Possibility*. Toronto: U of TP, 2008. Print.

———. "Subterranean Currents: Research and the Radical Imagination in the Age of Austerity." *Studies in Social Justice* 8.1 (2014): 45–65. Print.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. "I Have A Dream". Ed. Josh Gottheimer. *Ripples of Hope: Great American Civil Rights Speeches*. New York: Civitas, 2004. Print.

Knight, Alan. "The Working Class and the Mexican Revolution, *c*. 1900–1920." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 16.1 (1984): 51–79. Print.

Juris, Jeffrey and Alex Khasnabish (Eds.). *Insurgent Encounters: Transnational Activism, Ethnography, and the Political*. Durham: Duke UP, 2013. Print.

Lippens, Ronnie. "The Imaginary of Zapatista Punishment and Justice: Speculations on the 'First Postmodern Revolution.'" *Punishment and Society* 5.2 (2003): 179–95. Print.

Marighella, Carlos. "Minimanual of the urban guerrilla." Ed. Robert Moss.*Urban Guerrilla Warfare*. London: Institute for Strategic Studies, 1971: 20–42. Print.

McColl, Robert. "The Insurgent State: Territorial Bases of Revolution." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59.4 (1969): 613–631. Print.

Massey, Doreen. *Nicaragua: Some Urban and Regional Issues in a Society in Transition*. Philadelphia: Open UP, 1987. Print.

Meltzer, Milton. *Slavery: A World History*, *Vol. 2*. Updated edition. New York: Da Capo Press, 1993. Print.

Merrifield, Andy. *Magical Marxism: Subversive Politics and the Imagination*. London: Pluto Press, 2011. Print.

Mohanty, Chandra. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *Boundary 2* 12:3/13:1 (1984): 333–358. Print.

Nayak, Meghana and Eric Selbin. *Decentering International Relations*. London: Zed Books, 2010. Print.

Nodia, Ghia. "The End of Revolution?" *Journal of Democracy* 11.1 (2000): 164–171. Print.

Parker, Noel. "Parallaxes: Revolutions and 'Revolution' in Globalized Imaginary." Ed. John Foran. *The Future of Revolutions: Rethinking Radical Change in the Age of Globalization*. London: Zed Books, 2003: 42–56. Print.

Plant, Sadie. *The Most Radical Gesture: The Situationist International in a Postmodern Age*. London: Routledge, 1992. Print.

Popkin, Jeremy. *Facing Racial Revolution: Eyewitness Accounts of the Haitian Insurrection*. Chicago: U of CP, 2007. Print.

Rabas, José. "Of Zapatismo: Reflections on the Folkloric and the Impossible in a Subaltern Insurrection." Eds. Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd. *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*. Durham: Duke UP, 1997: 399–431. Print.

Rukeyser, Muriel. *The Speed of Darkness*, New York: Random House, 1968. Print.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979. Print.

Saldaña-Portillo, María Josefina. *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development*. Durham: Duke UP, 2003. Print.

Samuel, Raphael. *Theaters of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London: Verso, 1994. Print.

Sánchez Lira, Mongo and Rogelio Villarreal. "Mexico 1994: The Ruins of the Future." Ed. Elaine Katzenberger. *First World, Ha, Ha, Ha! The Zapatista Challenge*. San Francisco: City Lights Publishers, 1995: 223–234. Print.

Schneider, Cathy Lisa. "Violence, Identity and Spaces of Contention in Chile, Argentina and Colombia." *Social Research* 67.3 (2000): 773-802. Print.

Schulzke, Markus. "The Ephemeral Borders of Revolutionary Spaces." *Geopolitics* 17.1 (2012): 177–191. Print.

Selbin, Eric. *Modern Latin American Revolutions*. Second edition. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999. Print.

———. "What Was Revolutionary About the Iranian Revolution? The Power of Possibility", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East* 29.1 (2009): 33–46. Print.

———. "Conjugating the Cuban Revolution: It Mattered, It Matters, It Will Matter." *Latin American Perspectives* 36.1 (2009): 21–29. Print.

———. *Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance: The Power of Story* London: Zed Books, 2010. Print.

———. "Revolution: a Source of Insecurity and a Thing of the Past?" *The International Relations and Security Network, a project of the Center for Security Studies at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology and the Swiss Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport*. 2014. Web. 26 Apr 2016.

Seidman, Michael: *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004. Print.

Sewell, William. "Space in Contentious Politics." Eds. Ronald Aminzade et al. *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics.* Cambridge: CUP, 2001. Print.

Singer, Brian Jr.: *Society, Theory and the French Revolution: Studies in the Revolutionary Imaginary*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1986. Print.

Skocpol, Theda. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*. Cambridge: CUP, 1979. Print.

Snyder, Robert. "The End of Revolution?" *The Review of Politics* 61.1 (1999): 5–28. Print.

Steffens, Lincoln. *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*. New York: Heyday Books, 1931. Print.

Steinmetz, George. "Reflections on the Role of Social Narratives in Working-Class Formation: Narrative Theory in the Social Sciences." *Social Science History* 16.3 (1992): 489–516. Print.

Sweig, Julia. *Inside the Cuban Revolution: Fidel Castro and the Urban Underground*. Cambridge: CUP, 2004. Print.

Swidler, Anne. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* 51.2 (1986): 273–286. Print.

Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham: Duke UP, 2004. Print.

Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1978. Print.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995. Print.

Tsing, Anna. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton: University Press Group Ltd., 2005. Print.

Suggested Citation:

Selbin, Eric. “Spaces and Places of (Im)Possibility and Desire: Transversal Revolutionary Imaginaries in the Twentieth Century Americas.” *forum for interamerican research* 9.1 (May 2016): 19-41. Available at: <www.interamerica.de>