CHAPTER 23

National Security State and Dirty Wars

CHRONOLOGY

1960	José María Velasco Ibarra wins presidency in Ecuador; refuses to cut ties with Castro's Cuba or curtail leftist activity in his country
1961	Brazilian president Jânio Quadros resigns; vice president João Goulart assumes presidency
1961	Alliance for Progress created by John F. Kennedy to promote economic and social reform in Latin America in response to the Cuban Revolution
1961	Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo assassinated by military officers
1963	President Julio Arosemena ousted by military junta in Ecuador
1963	Dominican president Juan Bosch overthrown by the military
1964	Brazilian president João Goulart overthrown by U.S.-backed military coup
1965	Lyndon B. Johnson sends 22,000 U.S. Marines into the Dominican Republic to restore order
1966	Joaquín Balaguer elected president in the Dominican Republic; stays in office until 1978
1968	Massacre at Tlatelolco; Mexican forces fire on crowd of student protestors at Tlatelolco Plaza; number of deaths estimated at 300
1970	Salvador Allende, under aegis of a leftist coalition, wins presidency in Chile; enacts platform of social and economic reform
1973	Juan Domingo Perón returns to Argentina from exile and is elected president
September 11, 1973	U.S.-supported military coup in Chile; president Salvador Allende commits suicide and a military junta, led by Augusto Pinochet, takes power; 150,000 Chileans are detained and tortured, and thousands are "disappeared"
1974	Juan Domingo Perón dies and his third wife and vice president, Isabel, assumes presidency
March 1976	Isabel Perón is deposed as president in a military coup; Jorge Videla assumes power; under military junta, 10,000–30,000 Argentines are disappeared and murdered by the government
1982	Argentina invades the Falkland Islands and goes to war with Great Britain; Argentina's defeat leads to the fall of the junta and democratic elections

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, ostensibly democratic governments were taking root in Latin America. Many of these civilian regimes cultivated images as defenders of social justice and popular reform. In Brazil, regular democratic elections between 1945 and 1960 provided a sense of legitimacy to the ISI-inspired economic policies that were defining the country. Although short lived, the popularly elected and socialist-oriented government of Jacobo Árbenz that gained power in Guatemala in 1951 also exemplified this trend. In Ecuador, the social reformer and former president José María Velasco Ibarra won the presidency once again in 1952 and pursued a socially oriented program that included land reform, high levels of government spending, and friendly relations with Cuba after the revolution. Juan Bosch won election as president in the Dominican Republic following decades of rule by dictators. He led a social-democratic government concerned with land reform, labor rights, and social welfare. In 1970, Chileans elected as president Salvador Allende, a founder of the nation's Socialist Party, as part of an alliance among leftist political parties. All of these governments relied on democratic elections to legitimize social justice measures and engaged in increasingly aggressive leftist rhetoric.

This democratic trend collapsed between 1964 and the 1980s, as a series of military coups replaced freely elected governments throughout Latin America. But the resulting authoritarian regimes lacked powerful and charismatic leaders common among the region's earlier *caudillos* and military dictators. Instead, the military as an institution became an authority figure that justified seizing power by force and retaining it because of alleged threats to the country's safety. During this era of the National Security State, military regimes made the doctrine of national security their foundation, often at the expense of individual liberties and social equality. The results included egregious human rights abuses and close alliance with the United States in defense against communism.

NATIONAL SECURITY STATE DEFINED

Unlike individual military dictatorships, National Security State regimes insisted their rule would last only until they had transformed economic and political systems. Most recognized the deleterious consequences of inflation, economic stagnation, and fiscal crises that had accompanied the ISI policies of earlier decades. Some of the new governments imposed rigid conservative economic systems in an effort to reverse the problems of ISI. Many identified leftist policies and popular revolutionary movements as their main political problems. In the name of anticommunism, the National Security State regimes routinely and heinously violated human rights.

Although a country's particular circumstances shaped the path toward power, National Security State regimes tended to exhibit some common characteristics. With the exception of Chile, nearly all followed a military coup that quickly ousted a civilian government and seized power in a matter of 24–48 hours and with little bloodshed.

Map 23.1 Dirty Wars in South America

Immediately invoking repressive authoritarian practices, the new right-wing leaders dissolved legislative bodies, censored the press, disallowed political parties, and took other measures to silence opposition. They presented themselves as anti-Marxist in general and anti-Cuba in particular. Thus, they cloaked their actions as preemptively preventing "another Cuba."

In most cases, the new governments addressed economic problems with conservative fiscal and monetary policies. They attacked inflation and cut government spending, particularly for social programs. They encouraged private investment as a strategy for diminishing government involvement in business ventures; they lowered tariffs and other trade barriers to create a more open environment for global exchange. These approaches often won them support from the middle and upper classes, particularly in the buildup to the coup and in its immediate aftermath.

The military governments showcased their actions as the best option to protect their countries' security and economic stability and managed to achieve some semblance of stability and progress. But their efforts came at a high price because their authoritarian practices quickly began to violate human rights. Claiming justification in the name of national well-being, security forces aggressively silenced the opposition—both real and perceived. They detained not only suspected dissidents, but also their family members, friends, and acquaintances. After their arrests—often made in the middle of the night—many prisoners suffered lengthy detention, torture, and even death, their bodies discarded in clandestine graves or tossed to sea. The secrecy shielding these tactics added to the grief of friends and family members left behind. Government officials frequently denied involvement in these cases and the victims augmented the growing number of "disappeared."

THE UNITED STATES AND NATIONAL SECURITY DOCTRINE

The United States fomented the National Security Doctrine as part of its strategy to prevent the Cuban Revolution from spreading to other parts of the hemisphere. The U.S.-operated School of the Americas trained more than 16,000 troops between 1961 and 1964 alone, developing techniques in counterinsurgency and weeding out leftist rebels. Bristling at the CEPAL's promotion of dependency theory and state-sponsored structuralism, U.S. leaders used aid programs and other inducements to encourage more conservative economic policies. To destabilize democratically elected leftist regimes and to disrupt daily life, the CIA covertly coordinated local agitators and repeatedly provided strategic support and indirect assistance to leaders of military coups.

Alliance for Progress

In March 1961, the administration of John F. Kennedy introduced an innovative plan to transform radically the social order of Latin America without violent revolution. Under his Alliance for Progress, the United States pledged billions of dollars in loans and aid. In exchange, Latin American nations pledged to correct social injustices and promote economic growth. The program encouraged land reform and changes in tax laws to alter the general framework of wealth and income distribution. In some countries, it supported building new homes and schools for the poor as well as health and sanitation initiatives. Largely a response to the Cuban

Revolution, Kennedy's Alliance for Progress sought to prevent future upheavals while promoting democracy and capitalist development.

To be successful, the new program needed the cooperation and support of the masses in Latin America as well as national leaders who would promote its vision and implement its provisions. The U.S. Information Agency used radio, film, and print media to publicize the way the program helped local communities. Alliance organizers also sponsored exchange and private aid programs between the United States and Latin America to establish educational and support networks across the hemisphere. In 1961, Kennedy also launched the Peace Corps program that sent thousands of idealistic youth to Latin America and around the world to provide assistance in impoverished areas and to participate in cultural exchange. Many of those volunteers returned after their Peace Corps tenure and entered graduate programs in Latin American studies. These strategies marked a continuation of those put in place by the OCIAA and other U.S. offices to enhance cultural relations during World War II. But complicated loan procedures overwhelmed the common people and failed to generate enthusiasm.

The Alliance for Progress eventually failed. It faced bureaucratic and insurmountable funding challenges in the United States as foreign policies shifted following Kennedy's assassination. Even more troublesome, Latin American leaders eschewed the types of structural social changes the Alliance advocated. As beneficiaries of land tenure systems that favored latifundia and perpetuated the exploitation of the poor, the economic and political elite opposed any attempt at serious reform. But the program spawned more ominous consequences by providing military aid to U.S.-friendly regimes.

After 1963, the administration of Lyndon Johnson increasingly shifted assistance from economic programs to those benefiting Latin American armed forces. Thus, the United States poured money into Víctor Paz Estenssoro's repressive regime in Bolivia as he faced growing challenges from leftist workers. U.S. cash also flowed to Nicaragua's national guard under the right-wing rule of the Somoza family. In the 1970s, officers at the School of the Americas became part of a brutal strategy to combat a leftist uprising in the country.

THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL SECURITY STATE TRENDS

Early signs of U.S. intervention and the National Security State doctrine emerged immediately following the overthrow of Jacobo Árbenz in Guatemala in 1954 and became more firmly entrenched after the Cuban Revolution in 1959. What started as individual instances of U.S. collusion in government repression against the Latin American left gave rise to a more coordinated region-wide authoritarian wave.

Ecuador

In 1960, the populist leader José María Velasco Ibarra won the presidency in Ecuador. Although he was not a communist, his toleration of leftist activists and refusal to sever ties with Cuba quickly caused concern among U.S. leaders. They responded

with strategies to destabilize his administration while simultaneously undermining leftist groups. Covert action in Ecuador became a model for subsequent U.S. interventions in Latin America. Intelligence officials infiltrated political organizations to encourage social unrest and provoke a military response. They bribed newspaper editors to publish stories indicating the president lacked widespread support. U.S.-backed labor unions and other political organizations competed with and undermined the influence of legitimate local groups. In this increasingly unstable political atmosphere, demands for the president's removal followed.

As if following a script, the military ousted Velasco and two years later deposed his successor. In power through the 1970s, the military government outlawed communism, detained suspected leftists, and tortured perceived enemies. In 1977, the leftist labor union in the Aztra sugar mill went on strike, demanding wage increases and adherence to a collective contract. Armed security forces violently dispersed a crowd of workers, their wives, and children. Union leaders claimed that 120 people died in the "Aztra massacre"; however, government officials acknowledged the deaths of only 25 agitators.

Dominican Republic

The Caribbean island nation experienced decades of dictatorial rule under Rafael Trujillo, notorious for silencing political opposition while amassing a personal fortune. His hardline tactics eventually eroded U.S. support and alienated Dominican military leaders orchestrated his assassination in 1961. His successor, the social democrat Juan Bosch, backed reforms that included land redistribution, public works, low-rent housing, increased rights for labor, and some nationalization of businesses. Both local business leaders and the U.S. ambassador equated this social reform program to an endorsement of communism. President Kennedy cut off the country from Alliance for Progress aid and the CIA worked to undermine Bosch's local support. After the military overthrew Bosch in 1963, turmoil and civil war led to armed intervention by U.S. Marines. New elections in 1966 placed Joaquín Balaguer in the presidency. He followed the National Security Doctrine and used authoritarian rule to persecute political opponents and censor the press.

Paraguay and Bolivia

In Paraguay, Alfredo Stroessner seized power following a coup in 1954. A staunch anticommunist, he accepted U.S. aid and ruled through repression and terror for more than three decades. In response to almost immediate guerrilla resistance, the dictator declared a state of siege. Citing general chaos in the country as justification, he censored the press and imprisoned and tortured suspected opponents. Many fled into exile. The rise of military dictatorships in neighboring countries bolstered Stroessner's regime throughout the 1960s and he continued to rule despotically until his violent overthrow in 1989.

In 1964, a U.S.-supported coup started an 18-year repressive military dictatorship in Bolivia. During that time, the government arrested, tortured, and exiled

approximately 5,000 suspected leftists; it killed or disappeared hundreds more. The situation in Bolivia attracted the attention of Che Guevara, who saw an opportunity to export the Cuban Revolution to South America. He led a small guerrilla force for almost a year, but government forces killed him in October 1967 with CIA assistance.

BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM

In an effort to understand the rise of military regimes and their distinct type of autocratic rule, the Argentinian scholar Guillermo O'Donnell introduced the concept of "bureaucratic authoritarianism" in 1973. He argued that rapid industrialization under ISI combined with social and political tensions that arose out of populist reform to create conditions ripe for this new form of despotism. In the bureaucratic authoritarian model, military juntas relied on expanded bureaucracies with civilian "technocrats" assigned to devise economic policy to encourage capitalist development. Thus, the ruling committees protected the interests of the economic elites while attempting to maintain social control. These more systematic, professionalized, and institutionalized military dictatorships contrasted with the personalism and volatility of earlier autocrats who exhibited remnants of caudillismo.

Political observers initially applied O'Donnell's term to the autocratic rule that emerged in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay from the 1960s to the 1980s. And although Mexico escaped any military coups during this period, its institutionalized one-party authoritarianism resembled the martial versions in many ways. Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes emphasized modernization and economic growth, often borrowing heavily from abroad to fund the expansion of infrastructure and state-owned industrial enterprises. Foreign debt also helped to pay the ever-increasing numbers of civilian bureaucrats. The governments believed such strategies would promote development, attract new investors, and boost the private sector.

The economic policies instituted by bureaucratic authoritarian regimes had a lasting impact in Latin America, notably in increased indebtedness that eventually led to near economic collapse after 1982. But the social consequences of military rule devastated many sectors of the population even more. Governments halted the redistributive and social justice reforms that the earlier populist regimes had implemented. Security forces suppressed the labor movement and other forms of social activism with terror and brutality, often justifying these measures as a way to stamp out leftist agitators who threatened national stability. In many countries civilians responded with a sense of powerlessness.

Socially active and politically aware university students and other young adults often became primary targets of a military regime's suppression of suspected dissidents. Their activism coincided with a rise in student movements around the world. College and even some high school students embraced an interpretation of history that privileged a sense of anti-imperialism and at times turned militant. Young people throughout Latin America, many inspired by the Cuban Revolution,

organized themselves into social movements, committees, and brigades. They demanded an end to the exploitation and systems of widespread inequality that had long characterized Latin American society. Their movements became almost a festival full of music, street theater, and other artistic expressions, a momentary inversion of power.

Brazil

Brazil maintained a strong democratic tradition for nearly two decades following World War II. Civilian leaders embraced ISI policies and initially the economy appeared to thrive. But by the 1960s the effects of economic mismanagement had become obvious. Between 1962 and 1966, inflation rose more than 500 percent, while industrial production declined. At the same time, U.S. leaders scrutinized the reactions of Brazilian and other Latin American counterparts to the Cuban Revolution. Vice President João Goulart assumed Brazil's presidency in 1961 after Jânio Quadros resigned. The new president initially enjoyed the support of U.S. leaders, who hoped he would oppose communism and protect U.S. Cold War interests in the Western Hemisphere. But Goulart began pursuing suspect policies such as labor and land reform. Furthermore, he allied with the Brazilian Communist Party and refused to sever ties with Cuba and the Soviet Union. In response, the United States began to withhold economic aid and exert pressure on his administration. In 1964, a military coup—widely suspected of having CIA backing—overthrew the president and ushered in two decades of repression under the National Security State model.

Brazilian security forces targeted suspected leftists and engaged in a brutal campaign to weed out dissidents. Kidnappings, torture, and murder of political opposition created an environment of fear. A 2014 Truth Commission report—commissioned by President Dilma Rousseff, a victim of military repression—revealed a host of human rights abuses, including 191 deaths and more than 200 disappearances of suspected leftists.

Brazil's military coup and the onset of its National Security State regime had important repercussions. Much like the earlier overthrow of the Árbenz government in Guatemala, Brazil provided a model for other Latin American nations. Indeed, similar coups spread to the surrounding areas as other military leaders ousted civilian governments under the banner of national security. The establishment of the Brazilian military regime also set the stage for the emergence of a type of military brotherhood. Cooperation among neighboring military regimes often became a fundamental component of National Security States, particularly in the Southern Cone.

Mexico

In Mexico a youth movement emerged in the 1960s in response to rising poverty in large urban areas, labor issues, and concerns that government security forces were overstepping their boundaries. In summer 1968, university students in Mexico City went on strike to protest the vast government expenditures to host the upcoming Olympic Games. They also demanded the release of a jailed labor leader and called for abolition of the extralegal security forces known as the *granaderos*.

Many participants in the student movement came from middle-class families; their parents were educated beneficiaries of new government programs. But the young demonstrators represented a growing rejection of the government's typical rhetoric and policy changes that favored industrialization and capitalist growth over programs of redistribution for social justice. Import substitution strategies and state-sponsored structuralism had created short-term economic expansion evident in 6 percent annual gross domestic product growth and other macroeconomic measures; both the middle class and the major cities grew as population migrated to urban areas. But these changes occurred at the expense of the poor and rural sectors.

The movement began with strikes among students in Mexico City's two main universities and evolved into barricades in buildings, protest marches, and even street theater. Female students often participated and some even played leadership roles. As a result, the student movement introduced a call for more inclusive democracy and paved the way for a strong feminist movement in subsequent years.

As student protests gained momentum, the government response toughened. A large demonstration in Mexico City's prominent Tlatelolco Plaza on October 2, 1968, turned tragic when government forces opened fire on a crowd of approximately 5,000. Chaos ensued as demonstrators attempted to flee and security forces detained hundreds of young people. Press accounts downplayed the violence and repeated the official, and inaccurate, government account that foreign agitators had attacked police, resulting in 4 deaths. The actual toll was likely 200 to 300. Following Tlatelolco, the government cracked down on dissent—apprehending and torturing opponents of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, which remained the dominant political party. Faced with rising government repression, small-armed guerrilla groups formed in many rural areas. Their presence led to even more heavy-handed responses. A dirty war ensued as paramilitary units detained student activists and suspected guerrilla leaders in secretive and often extralegal operations.

Chile

Chile had enjoyed a long democratic experience throughout the twentieth century because a stable constitutional system had enabled it to avoid the military rule dominant elsewhere. But its relatively unique tradition did not immunize the country from the rise of the National Security State. Indeed, in the 1950s and 1960s the nation suffered from an array of socioeconomic inequalities: high rates of infant mortality, inadequate housing for the urban and rural poor, and a power imbalance based on workers' exploitation by the landowning elite under the system of latifundia. Chile had also experimented with ISI. The result forced the nation to begin importing food as the agricultural sector declined in favor of manufacturing. Despite efforts to diversify and shift the production of vital resources to national control, the copper industry and other large and profitable sectors remained under U.S. ownership.

In 1970, Salvador Allende won the presidency through an alliance of Chile's leftist parties behind a platform calling for sweeping reform to foment equality and social justice. His proposed changes included housing reforms, workers' rights, access to health care, improvements to the nation's legal system, and a system of

milk distribution to combat infant mortality. Once in office, the president began to implement his ambitious agenda.

Allende's efforts to fulfill his campaign commitments came as no surprise. But the immediate impact of some policies angered many Chileans, particularly those in the middle and upper classes. Price freezes and mandated higher wages to increase poor Chileans' purchasing power reduced manufacturers' profits, so many stopped producing; shortages of some consumer goods followed. When the government rationed the distribution of milk and other foodstuffs based on need rather than ability to buy, middle- and upper-class mothers denounced the policy as well as other egalitarian reforms that erased social privilege.

Allende also faced serious challenges from the United States. Concerned that Chile's socialist-oriented solutions in the midst of the Cold War set a dangerous precedent, policy makers in Washington ordered the CIA to engage in covert destabilization strategies, similar to those employed in Ecuador in the early 1960s. In addition, the United States restricted trade with Chile, cut off aid, and blocked access to foreign credit. A declining price for copper created more problems since the Chilean economy relied heavily on mining exports. Copper workers and other labor unions went on strike, some at the instigation of U.S. covert agitators.

Allende's opposition expected the congressional election of 1973 to provide enough seats to allow a majority coalition to impeach the president. When they failed to win by a sufficient margin, many opponents concluded that only a military-backed coup could remove Allende from office.

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean military overthrew Allende's government. Fighter planes bombed the presidential palace as ground troops surrounded and then occupied the building. After several hours of fighting, Allende's personal security force was overrun; the president eventually committed suicide rather than surrender. A military junta assumed power and eventually General Augusto Pinochet became president, a position he held until 1990.

In the aftermath of the coup, military leaders anticipated popular resistance. They cracked down violently on Allende supporters and suspected leftist sympathizers, arresting, torturing, and often killing leaders of socialist and communist groups. The new government detained in 1973 alone an estimated 150,000 people of a total population of 10 million. Some of the early arrests resulted in public execution. Other detainees simply disappeared. For nearly two decades, many Chileans lived under a shroud of secrecy and fear. As family members searched for loved ones, security officials offered few answers.

Government censorship and the threat of repression kept many family members from speaking out. But some mothers, sisters, and wives of the disappeared turned to each other for support. Many gathered regularly in informal workshops to create tapestries, or *arpilleras*, specifically embroidered to portray scenes of military repression, poverty, and the desperate attempt to search for the disappeared. Catholic charities smuggled the tapestries out of the country and sold them abroad. For many embroiderers, the money earned was their sole source of income.

Chilean soldiers burning Marxist literature, including a poster with the image of Che Guevara, in the streets of Santiago after the coup deposing President Salvador Allende. The military dictatorship under General Augusto Pinochet initiated a period of repression in Chile that lasted until 1990.

The Pinochet regime worked hard to hide the true extent of its repression. Rumors circulated about security forces apprehending "subversives," but many middle- and upper-class Chileans remained unaware of the violent measures

the government used in secret detention facilities. The government killed or disappeared an estimated 3,500 to 4,000 Chileans in the name of national security.

Argentina

Argentina's experience with a National Security State related to the legacy of Peronism. Forced out of office in 1955, Perón spent nearly two decades in exile while government control alternated between civilian Peronist activists and military leaders. In 1973, Perón returned to Argentina. Although he was elected president once again, he found that his delicate populist coalition had fractured. The extreme leftist branch had coalesced in the Montoneros, an increasingly militant urban guerrilla group engaged in violent attacks against the right-wing arm of the Peronist movement. The aging president denounced the Montoneros and tensions between the left and right Peronist factions continued to build.

When Perón died at the age of 78 after only one year in office, Isabel, his third wife and vice president, replaced him. Inheriting a tumultuous situation, she quickly proved unprepared for the responsibility, leaving all major decisions to her main advisor, José López Rega. Within two years, inflation had reached nearly 1,000 percent amid escalating violence among extremist groups. In March 1976, the military deposed her in a relatively quiet coup d'état and Jorge Videla assumed power.

Videla's military dictatorship invoked the National Security State doctrine to justify suppressing dissidents and suspected leftists throughout the country. Because of the secrecy surrounding Argentina's Dirty War, the precise number of victims questioned, tortured, and killed is uncertain, but subsequent human rights investigations estimates range between 10,000 and 30,000. Efforts to flee dictatorial repression in Argentina and elsewhere proved futile; military regimes throughout South America collaborated to investigate and hunt down dissidents who had sought refuge in other countries. Right-wing leaders in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Brazil devised Operation Condor to exchange intelligence and pursue suspected leftists across borders—much of this carried out with the knowledge of U.S. officials. The former Chilean foreign minister Orlando Letelier and U.S. citizen Ronni Moffitt were two high-profile individuals targeted and killed by a car bomb in Washington, DC.

As elsewhere in Latin America, gender became an important component of the Dirty War. Torture tactics often included sexual assault, particularly against females. Young women who were pregnant when arrested—or became pregnant while detained—often gave birth in prison and suffered immediate separation from their child. Many of these mothers were eventually killed and the babies were adopted by unquestioning families friendly to the military regime.

Family members of detainees had few options in searching for loved ones and standing up to the military regime. One exception was the collective actions of mothers of the disappeared who began meeting as a small group to provide each other support and solace. As their numbers grew, the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo eventually held weekly public demonstrations in Buenos Aires' main public square. Identifiable by their white headscarves, the mothers generally marched

in silence, but their somber protests began to attract national and international attention. Although members of the Madres at times fell victim to harassment, the military government generally refrained from interfering in their activities. The group proved instrumental in raising enough opposition to bring down the military government.

Dictatorial rule lasted until 1983. Sensing a decline in public support, the military had launched an ill-advised invasion of the Malvinas or Falkland Islands—a British possession off the coast of Argentina that had been the source of jurisdictional conflict since the 1830s. Argentina's humiliating defeat combined with growing popular animosity to return the country to civilian rule. In recent years, grandmothers of babies born in detention centers have rallied together as the Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo. Leading a public campaign of DNA testing, they have successfully reunited with their biological families more than 100 of an estimated 500 children of the disappeared.

CULTURAL EXPRESSION UNDER AUTHORITARIANISM

Music

Folk and protest-inspired genres characterized new musical styles during the era of the National Security State. In Argentina, neofolklore combined traditional rural music with sophisticated arrangements. Artists included the singer Atahualpa Yupanqui and groups like Los Chalchaleros. Neofolk influenced music in both Catholic and Protestant church services in Latin America, in no small part because of the popularity of folk masses like Ariel Ramírez's *Misa criolla*. In other areas, a style known primarily as *nueva canción* (New Song) featured songs that addressed issues such as economic exploitation, North American imperialism, social inequality, and an implicit pan-Americanism. Artists included Amparo Ochoa and Los Folkloristas (Mexico), Silvio Rodriguez (Cuba), Mercedes Sosa (Argentina), Víctor Jara (Chile), Violeta Parra (Chile), Atahualpa Yupanqui (Argentina), and Daniel Viglietti (Uruguay).

The New Song movement in Chile took on a special character because of its association with leftist social movements and the regime of Salvador Allende. The singer, songwriter, poet, and theater director Víctor Jara (1934–1973) emerged as one of the most popular figures. Committed to recovering folk music and eschewing the overproduction of songs characteristic of more commercial neofolklore music, *nueva canción* in Chile included traditional instruments like the *charango*, a small Andean lute that features a resonator made with an armadillo shell.

Jara had experienced rural and urban poverty firsthand as a child and his music became an invective against hardship and social inequalities that he tied to conservative elements in Chile. As a supporter of Salvador Allende, Jara wrote "Venceremos" (We Will Triumph"), the theme song of the president's Unidad Popular movement. Jara became one of the first to be arrested in the immediate aftermath of the military coup in September 1973. In a particularly cruel display of torture, soldiers broke his hands and obliged him to play; he was later executed in

Santiago's Chile Stadium. Subsequently, the musician's memory became a symbol of resistance against the Pinochet regime, although the dictatorship effectively silenced his music until the 1990s.

U.S. and British rock and roll and international pop music trends also influenced Latin America popular music during the 1960s and 1970s. In Mexico, Spanish-language *rocanrol* groups like Los Teen Tops and Los Locos del Ritmo performed Spanish-language cover versions, known as *refritos*, of popular English-language songs by U.S artists like Elvis and Little Richard. *Rocanrol* appealed primarily to middle-class youth in urban areas. The same audience in the mid-1960s adopted English-language artists like the Rolling Stones and the Beatles. Leftist critics, however, denounced imported English-language rock music as part of U.S. cultural imperialism.

A countercultural movement known as *La Onda*, or "the wave," emerged in Mexico in the 1960s. Like their U.S. counterparts, *onderos* used music, clothing, and hairstyles as tools of social protest to challenge society's patriarchal structure. Young men eschewed traditional ideas of masculinity through long or unkempt hair and young women pushed the boundaries of dress with the miniskirt.

After the student massacre at Tlatelolco, a new generation of counterculture Mexican rock bands emerged, labeled as *La Onda Chicana*, with protest and politically tinged songs performed in English. In 1971, a local version of the Woodstock music festival took place in Valle de Bravo, two hours northwest of Mexico City. The state-approved Avándaro music festival attracted tens of thousands of mostly young males, reflecting the country's prevailing gender norms that generally circumscribed young women's mobility. Bands like Los Dug Dugs and Three Souls in My Mind performed and, like its U.S. counterpart, the Avándaro festival experienced crowds, rain, and mud. Unlike Woodstock, soldiers surrounded the Mexican music festival, lest it turn into a political rally.

Those on the far left criticized Avándaro as indicative of the cooptation of Mexican youth movement, since no mass gathering could happen without government approval and involvement. Others chastised participants for allowing themselves to be colonized by imperialist cultural forms. Conservatives denounced the festival for its perceived drug use, nudity, and other challenges to traditional Mexican values. The government blunted Avándaro's cultural impact by banning songs and images related to the festival, lest a political movement build around it.

Literature

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Latin American novel captured world attention in a literary movement known as the "Boom." A focus on Latin American identity and experimentation with form characterized the works of Gabriel García Márquez (Colombia), Carlos Fuentes (Mexico), Julio Cortázar (Argentina), Mario Vargas Llosa (Peru), Guillermo Cabrera Infante (Cuba), and Juan Carlos Onetti (Uruguay). Cortázar's *Rayuela* (1963), the first Boom novel to achieve international acclaim, uses a stream-of-consciousness narrative to produce a nonlinear reading. García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* (1967) employs magical realism to

reinterpret Latin America history through the story of the small town of Macondo. Carlos Fuentes's existential *La Muerte de Artemio Cruz* uses the life of its dying protagonist as a metaphor to explore the failures of the Mexican Revolution.

Several regional trends gave rise to the Boom. The economic policies of import substitution of the 1950s contributed to the formation of a larger, university-educated urban middle class whose sense of nationalism turned their literary tastes toward native authors. The Cuban Revolution drew attention to the region and fomented artistic imaginations across Latin America. Moreover, translations of Boom novels gave Latin American writers a global audience. The Boom, in a sense, created its own supply and demand as both Latin American and foreign readers gravitated toward García Márquez's village of Macondo and Fuentes's dying revolutionary Artemio Cruz. Boom authors have been recognized for their contributions to the world of letters. Fuentes, Onetti, Vargas Llosa, and Cabrera Infante have all received the Premio de Literatura en Lengua Castellana Miguel de Cervantes (the Miguel Cervantes Prize), one of the highest honors in Spanish letters. García Márquez and Vargas Llosa received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1983 and 2010, respectively. Many of the Boom writers remain popular today, with García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* a perennial favorite among readers.

Television

The television industry expanded and matured during the 1960s and 1970s. Several broadcasters rose to hemispheric prominence as audiences grew and programming became more sophisticated.

Under Brazil's military regime, television entered a nationalist phase (1964–1975) with the introduction of TV Globo, which began broadcasting in 1964. Aided by assistance and investment from Time Life, Inc., TV Globo set up a U.S.-style commercial operation that relied primarily on ad sales. The network also adopted U.S. management practices and uniform programming patterns for all of its stations across the country.

Live variety shows dominated much of the early programming. *Chacrinha* starred José Abelardo de Barbosa Medeiros as the eponymous clown, whose antics and interaction with audience members contributed to his popularity. In addition to comedy, dances, and games, *Chacrinha* often featured musicians known for criticizing the military government. The unpredictability and spontaneity of live television suffered with the imposition of prior censorship of all media. TV Globo complied by canceling *Chacrinha* in 1972 and replacing it with a more controlled and preproduced show called *Fantastico* in 1973.

Telenovelas became one of the most popular programming genres for Brazil's other networks. TV Globo aimed to produce a higher-quality version of the serial compared to its competitors and developed a sophisticated production operation. The network hired writers from cinema and theater and crafted its own star system to nurture talent. Its popular *telenovelas* included *Gabriela* and *Esclava Isaura*, adapted from the nineteenth-century novel by the abolitionist Bernardo Guimarães and showcasing issues of race, class, and gender. Set in nineteenth-century Brazil

before the abolition of slavery, it featured the daughter of a black slave and a white man who escaped and lived as a free woman. Because of its immense popularity, a dubbed version later aired in other South American markets. *Esclava Isaura* would go on to be one of the first international *telenovelas*, eventually showing in more than 80 countries.

Like TV Globo, the Mexican broadcaster Televisa produced its own programming and came to dominate the local television market. Formed from the merger in 1973 between Telesistema Mexicano and Televisión Independiente de México (based in Monterrey, Nuevo León), the network faced little competition. It segmented its programming by channel and developed its own nascent star system through its *telenovelas*. Nationally produced movies, sports, and children's shows aired alongside dubbed U.S. programs such as *Kojak* and *The Streets of San Francisco*. Variety shows included *Siempre en Domingo*, which showcased singing, dancing, and an array of novelty acts. The beloved children's program *El Chapulín Colorado* starred the actor and comedian Roberto Gómez Bolaños as the eponymous bumbling superhero whose powers were a figment of his imagination. Many Televisa-produced programs proved popular throughout Latin America.

Latin American networks also developed transnational programming in local versions of the highly successful U.S. children's educational show *Sesame Street*, which debuted as *Vila Sésamo* in 1972. The show featured Brazilian characters and dubbed programming from the United States. A Mexican version first aired in 1972 on Televisa. *Plaza Sésamo* featured Muppet characters designed for the Latin American market, including Paco, a grouchy green parrot, and Beto and Enrique, based on Bert and Ernie. The Mexican government capitalized on Beto and Enrique's popularity, using the characters to help promote a vaccination campaign in 1975. By the mid-1970s, *Plaza Sésamo* aired in 17 Spanish-speaking countries.

By the mid-1970s, military dictatorship or some other type of bureaucratic authoritarian regime held power in every Latin American country except Costa Rica, Colombia, and Venezuela. Instead of moving away from the ISI models that had started showing weaknesses or addressing inequality and poverty, these governments began borrowing extensively from abroad. Some of the money went into military spending; a portion supported enormous state enterprises. Chile proved the sole exception to this trend; after 1975, the Pinochet regime devalued the national currency and eliminated protectionist trade barriers. Those measures led to a decline in industrial production, which served to weaken Pinochet's political opposition in the labor sector. The dictatorship refocused the nation's export sector on the "three F's:" fruit, fish, and forest products. Despite its alternate economic path, Chile did not escape the fiscal fate that befell the rest of Latin America as poor policy planning during the 1970s eventually gave way to a major debt crisis for the entire region.

Primary Source

The official government account of the violent confrontation between Mexican students and security forces in October 1968 blamed leftist agitators and minimized the casualty figures. The journalist Elena Poniatowska interviewed victims, witnesses, and family members and published a book of their firsthand accounts.

SOURCE: Elena Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico*, trans. Helen R. Lane (New York: Viking Press, 1975), 210–13.

They're dead bodies sir. . . .

A soldier, to José Antonio del Campo, reporter for El Día

I'll never forget one poor youngster, about sixteen or so, who crawled around the corner of the building, stuck his deadly pale face out, and made a V-for-Victory sign with two fingers. He didn't seem to have the least idea what was happening: he may have thought the men shooting were also students. Then the men in the white gloves yelled at him, "Get the hell out of here, you dumb bastard! Can't you see what's happening? Clear out of here!" The kids got to his feet and started walking toward them, as though he didn't have a care in the world. They fired a couple of shots at his feet, but the kid kept right on coming. He obviously didn't have the slightest idea what was going on, and they shot him in the calf of his leg. All I remember is that the blood didn't immediately spurt out; it just started slowly trickling down his leg. Meche and I started screaming at the guys with the white gloves like a couple of madwomen: "Don't kill him! Don't kill him! Don't kill him!" We ran to the door, but the kid had disappeared. I have no idea whether he managed to escape despite his wound, whether they killed him, or what happened to him.

Margarita Nolasco, anthropologist

. . .

Ever since then, whenever I see a helicopter, my hands start trembling. For many months after I'd seen that helicopter fire on the crowd like that—as I was sitting there in my car—I couldn't write, my hands trembled so.

Marta Zamora Vértiz, secretary

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

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