



**THINKING
INSIDE
THE BOX**

Latin American
Political Posters
& Pamphlets

King's College London

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additional materials, and
full collection of posters
scan here



The Project

Dear Readers,

We are absolutely delighted to share with you our project, *Thinking Inside the Box*, and to extend a warm welcome to this exhibition.

There are a number of reasons we chose this name for the project. The story dates back to 2016, when Anna Grimaldi, one of the project's present-day organisers, was still a student at the Brazil Institute here at King's College London. At the time, Anna was volunteering at Senate House Library to revive their collection of Latin American Political Pamphlets. Together with the collection's coordinator, Julio Cazzasa, Dr. Vinicius Mariano de Carvalho, and Prof. Anthony Pereira, then Director of the Institute, a roundtable discussion was organised to explore the contents of the collections. We wanted to share their immense value with the academic community, and encourage others to think about what was inside the boxes.

It was over the summer of 2021 that Anna, Vinicius, and Dr. Eleonora Natale decided to reopen the project, this time, with students. The reasons for rethinking the form of engagement with these archives goes far beyond simply diversifying the curriculum. This time, we really wanted to see these materials through the eyes of students. In this way, *Thinking Inside the Box* took on a new layer of meaning - it became, above all else, a collective and pedagogically-conscious project, through which we would explore the historical contents of these archival boxes with new eyes and find new ways of connecting with them in the present.

The Latin American Political Pamphlets collection itself is a valuable resource, situated in the heart of London and with a rich connection to University of London institutions. It began with the donation of the holdings of the Contemporary Archive on Latin America (CALA) upon its closure in 1986, and with subsequent additions it now consists of around 140 boxes, including around 4,000 items of pamphlets, posters, reports, miscellaneous journals, and other ephemera. The materials

themselves were produced by a range of actors, such as political parties, pressure groups, NGOs, trade unions, and governments from the 1960s-1990s.

Examples include the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario, Chile), CAIS (Centre Argentin d'Information et de Solidarité), the PRT (Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores Argentina), the MRP (Movimiento Revolucionario Popular, Argentina), Montoneros (Argentina), ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo, Argentina), the Committee of Solidarity for Brazil, CUT (Central Unico dos Trabalhadores, Brazil), the UDR (Union Democrática Revolucionária, Colombia), the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights and Political Prisoners in Colombia (France), The Britain Cuba Resource Centre, Granma, the FSLN (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional), Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, Programa Nacional Forestal (Ecuador), Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres, the MRT (Movimiento Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, Ecuador), The National Liberation Front of Venezuela and Venezuela Now. The collection is predominantly in Spanish and Portuguese, though there is a significant proportion of English language material. Every country in the Latin America is represented, however there are particularly abundant materials from countries like Guatemala, El Salvador, and Chile.

We are fortunate enough to have been joined by students from all over the world and from various different departments within King's - ranging from the Centre of Strategic Communication, to History, War Studies, Latin American Studies, and International Relations. These students have brought with them an incredible range of skills. Our first meeting was truly an explosion of excitement, and we soon realised that the students all had something unique to contribute; some had curated exhibitions before, others had worked in journalism, others still were musicians and suggested bringing a musical component to the project. More impressive still was students' willingness to form groups and lead on the most important aspects of the project - media, the visual identity, accessibility, website, exhibition management... the list goes on.

The Project

The project required us, as educators, to let go of many of our instincts and trust the students in guiding the project. Our approach was inspired by the principles of Pedagogy of the Oppressed, by Paulo Freire, which understands education not as a process of 'banking' knowledge onto students, but as an activity that takes place together with the students and their life experiences. It is through this process of dialogue between educator and student, and between different world views and perceptions, that new knowledge is constructed and conscientisation can take place.

While we provided overall guidance and connected students with relevant points of contact and resources within King's, they are truly the stars of the show that allowed this project to happen. While each of us brings our own field of expertise and disciplinary backgrounds to the table, it is the students who approached us with their questions, who told us what support they needed, and who questioned the interpretations we had. While we used our knowledge of the pamphlets' historical contexts to provide students with background information, it was them who reacted and decided which avenues to take when conducting their own research. Most importantly, what this means is that the work we have done to make these posters and pamphlets relevant and transformative today was part of a dialogue without hierarchies.

This catalogue has been produced to accompany the exhibition but also to ensure it survives beyond its physical presence here in Bush House. We present here a collection of reflective essays prepared by students, to share with you their own experiences of the materials they chose to curate. But before it was possible to think inside the boxes, we needed to open them. Not only have we re-opened the boxes for ourselves and introduced them to our inquisitive students, but today we are also opening them up to the wider academic community and public, to create real

connections between the contents of the boxes and lived experiences in the present.

For this reason, not only do we have this physical exhibition, but also an online version which will be open to everyone for as long as the website exists. We have also organised workshops to take place alongside the exhibition, as a way of leaving visitors with ideas and practices they can take forward with them.

Once the current exhibition is finished, we will also ask our friends and networks at other universities across the country to take on the display, so that it can continue to inspire audiences and communities elsewhere, as well as to bring to the surface entirely new memories and relationships with the individuals and histories that appear in the posters and pamphlets. Most importantly, we encourage you to take your own peek inside the boxes. This does not just mean reading the captions and essays in this catalogue, but also to let the images and messages that you see looking out of the boxes from the past to speak to you in the present.

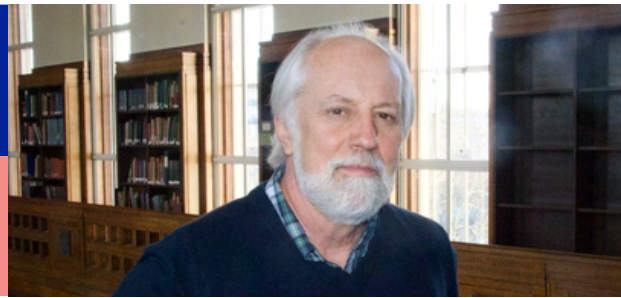
These posters and pamphlets were produced to provoke political engagement, to promote social justice, and to reclaim human rights. They acted as critical tools of strategic communication for several groups, organizations, and individuals at a time that preceded the internet and social media. These pamphlets have been sleeping inside their boxes for quite a long time, so looking at them, engaging with them, and beginning a dialogue with them today reminds us that the values they represent are still needed in our times: political engagement, social justice, and human rights. By joining us in "thinking inside the box", we also invite you to join us in this process of conscientization and transformation.

Vinicius Mariano de Carvalho
Anna Grimaldi
Eleonora Natale

London, March 2022

Introducing the Team

Julio: the Godfather of the Project By Anna Grimaldi



None of this project would have been possible without the generous support of Julio Cazzasa, the Collections Development Coordinator for Latin American and Commonwealth Studies at Senate House Library. Both on a personal level and on behalf of the team, this short text is dedicated to extending a heartfelt thank you to Julio for all his work; for coming to King's to tell us about the collection, for warmly inviting us into the Library, and for your constant enthusiasm and encouragement.

As someone who has worked across and with many of the Library's collections and research partners for over twenty years, Julio has been more than expertly qualified to provide the best possible guidance to the student curation team in their work on this project. Yet it has been his passion and enthusiasm for the project that has really made an impression on students over the past six months.

I first met Julio in 2015, when I came to work as a volunteer on a project to bring the Latin American Political Pamphlets collection back to life and onto the radar of scholars. At the time, I was halfway through my Masters degree, and was in all honesty just looking to bulk out my CV. But working with Julio and the collection allowed me to develop my own personal passion for the kinds of ephemeral archival materials found in the collection. In fact, I built my entire PhD project on the premise that such materials would significantly enhance scholarship on the history of Cold War Latin America.

It would be insufficient to say that Julio simply introduced me to the materials. Every day I came into work we would talk about what was going on in Latin American politics and society. He would quiz me on my studies and push me to think about how my volunteer work could help me to refine a more specific research agenda.

On a number of occasions, as we walked through the corridors of the library, he would stop to introduce me to his colleagues or the odd Latin Americanist researcher passing through - he seemed to know everyone. What I didn't quite realise at the time was how this was helping me expand my networks at that critical point in my career.

Most importantly, and to this day, he makes sure I kept on top of my Spanish – diligently weeding out any colloquialisms that did not strictly honour the Argentine dialect. If anything makes a first impression of Julio, it is his humour.

In February 2016, Julio and I collaborated on the first chapter of *Thinking Inside the Boxes*, bringing together distinguished scholars in an effort to highlight the value and potential of the collection for students and researchers alike. The collection has long relied on the care and determination of the people surrounding it, and in many ways this is what we are hoping to do with this second iteration of the project.

As we peer inside the boxes and allow them to speak to us, we intend to treat them with the respect and nurture needed for their survival. In a climate of uncertainty and hardship, we hope this exhibition also acts as a reminder of the important work being carried out by people like Julio Cazzasa and everyone else who has interacted and bonded with the materials we are displaying today.

**Scan to watch an interview
with Julio about the collection
and Senate House Library!**



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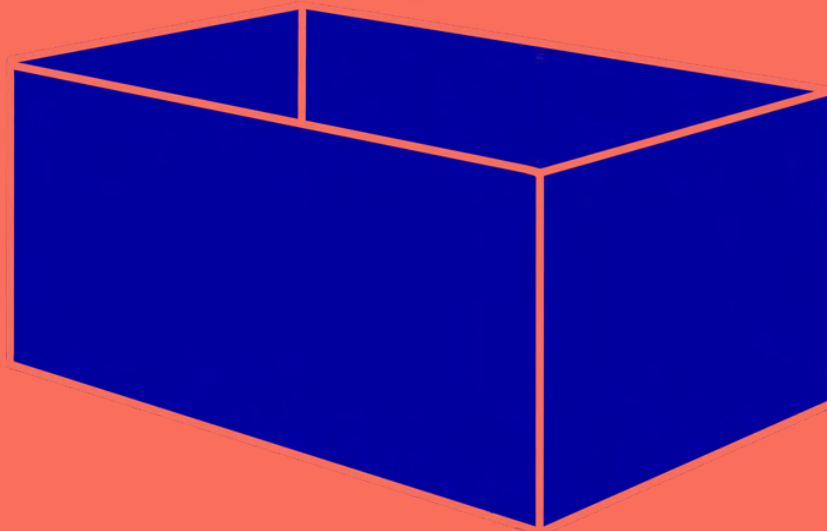
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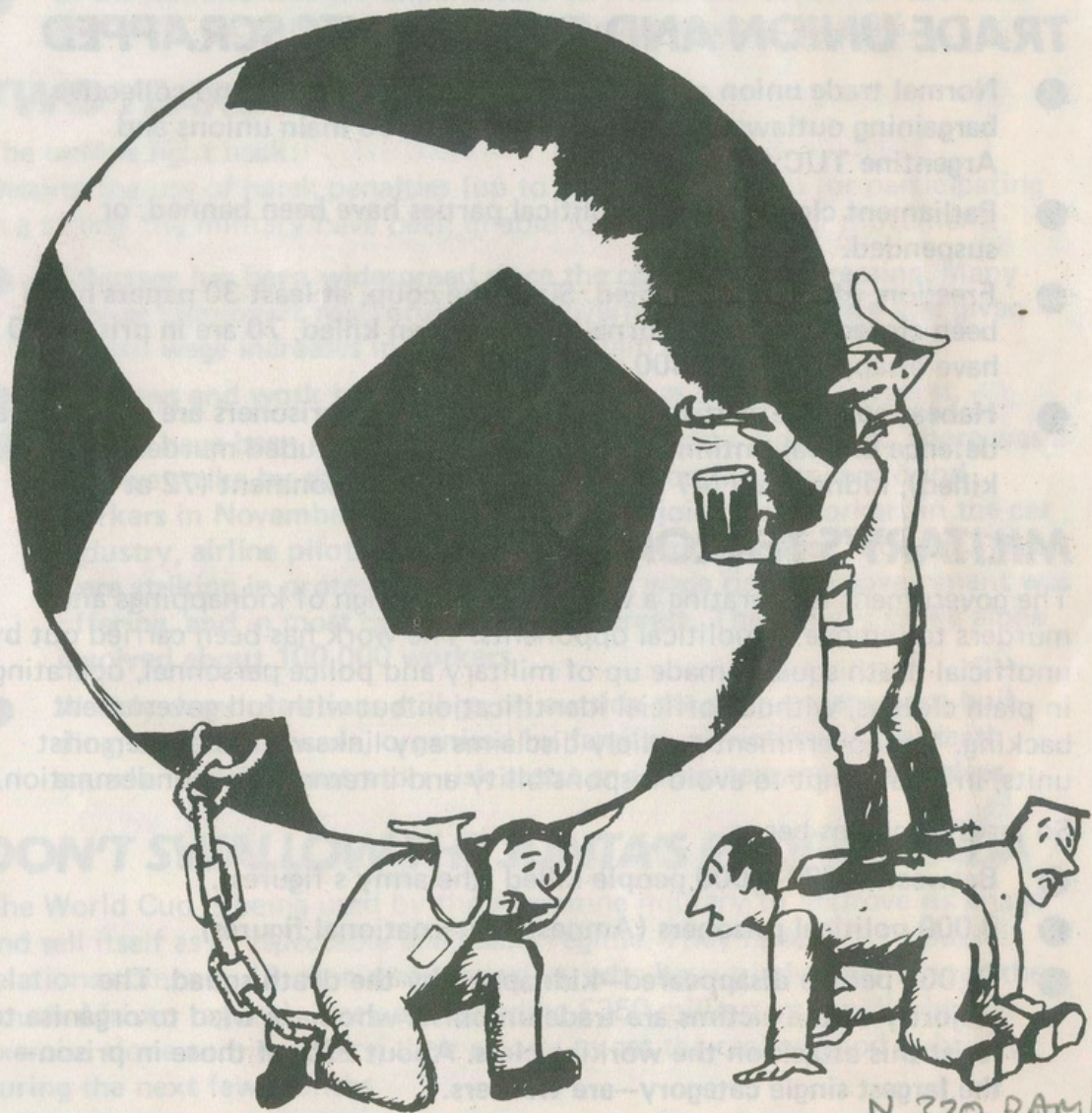
Argentina



Listen to Argentinian
protest music here:



ARGENTINE MILITARY JUNTA spends £350m on WORLD CUP to cover up REPRESSION



7-8,000 KILLED 8,000 IMPRISONED 15,000 DISAPPEARED

N 320 PAM/3/08

Blowing the Whistle on Argentina by Ingrid Gnaedig

If you were to ask a person in the street today what their first thought was when considering Argentina and football together, chances are they would probably mention Lionel Messi or Diego Maradona. If they follow the sport more closely, they might mention how many FIFA World Cups the national team have won (two), or even that Argentina hosted and won the tournament in 1978. However, they probably would not tell you that this monumental event in Argentina's football history served as an attempt by its military government to conceal from the world the many atrocities it committed.

This is exactly what is denounced by the cartoons created for the UK's Argentina Support Movement as well as the Comisión Argentina de Solidaridad (Argentine Solidarity Commission of Mexico). Indeed, on the cover of the pamphlet created by the British organisation we can see the figure of Jorge Rafael Videla, the leader of the military junta, painting over a ball attached to a chain, transforming it into a football. This image clearly alludes to the desire of the junta to use the World Cup as a means of brushing over and distracting from their oppressive regime. Similarly, although perhaps more explicitly, Mexican artist Naranjo's cartoon in the second image alludes to violence and death caused by the military regime, as his reference to the World Cup is a football table built into a tomb, with the figure of Videla leaning against it saying "we are ready". Yet there is no precision as to what they are ready for – the World Cup itself? Or to respond to any potential protests or opposition with repressive violence? The uncertainty created by this veiled threat reflects the general atmosphere of fear in Argentina at the time. Ultimately, the idea of dissimulation in the cartoons is a very important one, as it reflects the junta's desire to make Argentina a country like any other, able to host and engage in international sports events as a means of gaining international legitimacy.

However, as demonstrated by the pamphlets, the oppression and violence carried out by the military government was undeniable. Indeed, despite being painted over, the massive ball and

chain dominates the page, as well as the figure it is tied to, who is also forced to hold it up, like a condemned Atlas, forced to hold up the world. This image is strengthened by the other two figures on all fours that are serving as step-stools for the Videla figure. What is more, there is a stark contrast between these kneeling men and the single standing figure, the dictator, who is also the only character smiling while the others show sad faces, thus reinforcing the inequality and extreme diversity of situations within Argentine society.

Overall, these three civilian figures represent the Argentinian people buried under the weight of the junta's repression, which is embodied by the Videla figure as well as the ball and chain. In Naranjo's cartoon the violence is alluded to by the various military figures, which is first and foremost embodied by the caricatural Videla, whose enlarged figure dominates over the rest of the elements of the picture. This imagery is also in the finer details of the piece, where we see that one of the teams within the football table consists of soldiers, who make up every other row, thus seemingly imprisoning the opposing team. These two elements only serve to emphasize the constant presence of the military in Argentinian society. Moreover, like Videla's aforementioned promise of readiness, the tomb and its imposing cross serve as a promise that any resistance will be met with merciless persecution, ranging from torture to death.

Yet despite the junta's hopes that its violence could be hidden, the undeniable of the oppression hinted at in the cartoons extended into an international awareness. Indeed, the simple existence of international organisations of solidarity with Argentina such as the UK's Argentina Support Movement and the Comisión Argentina de Solidaridad (Argentine Solidarity Commission of Mexico), prove that knowledge of the junta's actions had spread around the world. However, by referring to the World Cup specifically, solidarity organisations sought to divert the audience's attention away from the sport to the reality of the Argentine dictatorship, in the aims of spreading awareness and extending solidarity. Moreover, from a broader perspective, football is a sport that has a mass following and a well-established community anchored in a sense of solidarity, which presents

Blowing the Whistle on Argentina

by Ingrid Gnaedig

a major opportunity for any campaign. In 1978, the World Cup was broadcasted in over 70 countries, providing a massive platform from which to spread awareness from. Moreover, the tournament already raised international controversy due to concerns surrounding Argentina's political context, and was considered by critics to legitimise the military junta. This made the efforts of solidarity organisations all the more important as it shared key facts and figures with audiences that may not have been interested previously. For example, the cartoons studied in this essay are part of pamphlets that provide insight into the backdrop of Argentinian World Cup preparations, as well as data on the economic and political context. The Argentina Support Movement's choice to integrate facts and figures as a part of the cover alongside the drawing shows the desire to present the urgency of the situation in Argentina, particularly the human cost. Finally, it is important to bear in mind that these organisations had the advantage of security that local and foreign journalists in Argentina at the time of the World Cup did not have.

Overall, the cartoons for the Argentina Support Movement and the Comisión Argentina de Solidaridad were a means of calling attention to the situation in Argentina beyond the World Cup, denouncing the atrocities committed by the military junta. Moreover, they reminded international audiences that the most important team to root for and support was not made up of football players but rather the Argentinian people, in their struggle against repression. A sentiment that would resurface decades later, when discussing the 2022 FIFA World Cup set in Qatar.

Argentina

Links Institute of Latin American Studies No. 6

for action against poverty and underdevelopment

Argentina: THE TERRORIST GOVERNMENT



N 320 PAM/7/19

SHL: N 320 PAM/7/19

The World Cup that Should Never Have Been Played

by Lucy Georgiou

In 1978, the Argentine junta hosted the FIFA World Cup. This was two years after the military coup of 1976, when a junta led by General Rafael Videla deposed then-president, Isabel Peron. The junta attempted to use the World Cup to conceal the 'Dirty War' of 1976-1983. The 'Dirty War' was an ongoing campaign of state terrorism, aiming to wipe out left-wing opponents. During this period, those affiliated with the left of the political spectrum were exposed to extreme violence and countless human rights abuses. Contrastingly, the World Cup helped the junta gain popular support from the people and prolong its rule, however, it simultaneously brought unintended international attention to the human rights abuses occurring in Argentina.

'Vamos, Vamos Argentina, Vamos, Vamos a ganar'

It has been claimed the 1978 World Cup was the biggest manipulation of sports as a political tool since the 1936 Olympics in Nazi Germany. The junta ensured victory through a series of gamesmanship tactics such as match stalling, playing their games in the evening so they would know the scores, playing on the best pitches and leaving other teams to play in awful conditions. Most famously was the alleged match fixing between Argentina and Peru whereby Argentina needed a 4-0 win to progress to the finals over Brazil. Argentina won the game 6-0 progressing to play the Netherlands in the final. After the game with Peru, Argentina signed a food aid deal with the country, while General Videla awarded decorations to several Peruvian generals. Argentina went on to beat the Netherlands in the final by 3-1 during extra-time.

Links

Links is a journal produced and edited by Third World First, based in Oxford. Links was a national organisation working mainly with students, and this single-country issue focuses on the human and democratic rights abuses in Argentina prior to the 1978 World Cup. Links claims the junta could not have achieved their economic and social order without international direction and assistance. This corroborates with the fact foreign powers, namely the United States,

maintained predominantly covert relations with Argentina through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The largest was Operation Condor; a secret intelligence program supported by the United States in which South American military regimes coordinated intelligence information to locate, torture, and execute political opponents. The operation involved Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia, and explains the similarities between their human rights abuses.

The Terrorist Government

The front cover of this Links pamphlet cleverly ties together two of the most notorious dictators of the 20th century; General Jorge Videla (right) and General Augusto Pinochet (left), then leader of the Chilean government. The image seems to show Pinochet manipulating two of the football table rods whilst Videla is perhaps nodding in acceptance. This alludes to the two dictators' regimes, which were aligned in their tactics of repression and often colluded to stamp out communist 'subversion' and 'terrorism'. Any kind of left-wing activism in opposition to the junta more broadly was deemed 'terrorist' action. This presents a case of immense juxtaposition whereby a 'terrorist' government was trying to eradicate what it perceived to be a 'terrorist' threat to Argentina.

Chilean Human Rights Abuses

In Chile 1973, Pinochet staged a coup d'état overthrowing democratically elected President Salvador Allende and his socialist government. With the support of the US, Pinochet persecuted socialists, political critics, and leftists. The Chilean secret police, the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (National Intelligence Directorate), and the Chilean Army would torture political prisoners almost in broad daylight in centres such as the National Stadium and Villa Grimaldi. Prisoners were executed during helicopter flights known as the 'Caravan of Death', becoming known as 'desaparecidos' (disappeared persons) because no traces of them were found.

Argentine Human Rights Abuses

The 1978 World Cup in Argentina began to expose these systematic, grotesque human rights violations. The Argentine junta attempted to eradicate any opposition using torture and subsequently forced disappearance. The infamous 'death flights' of Argentina's 'Dirty War',

The World Cup that Should Never Have Been Played

by Lucy Georgiou

commenced primarily between 1977-1978. During these flights, the junta would drop tortured prisoners into the Rio de la Plata or Atlantic Ocean. Political prisoners were tortured in football stadiums, the Navy Mechanics' School (ESMA), and Villa Devoto. Testimonies of detainees from ESMA claim that they could hear the cheers from the Estadio de River Plate it was so close.

Pinochet x Videla

The Argentine junta had many authoritarian regimes it could draw lessons from, learning different ways to deal with 'left-wing terrorist' activism. Pinochet and Videla came into power by orchestrating coups. However, in Chile, Pinochet marked the beginning of a 'war on terrorism' that other Southern Cone countries came to use as an example to eradicate 'terrorist' and 'subversive' groups. Many of the same human rights abuses that occurred in Chile also took place in Argentina, and both were facilitated by Operation Condor. While cases of torture and desaparecidos occurred in Chile from 1973, it would not be until a few years later that these tactics would appear more systematically in Argentina, representing one of the many ways the regimes learned from each other.

'Fútbol sí, Tortura no'

(Yes to Football, No to Torture)

The World Cup exposed Argentina to more investigations on human rights, torture, and the desaparecidos. Activists throughout the world promoted debates on these topics and on the abuse of sports for political purposes. Amnesty International's West German section launched a campaign adopting this slogan to bring attention to these human rights violations. This was an attempt to appeal to the players and those attending the '78 World Cup. The campaign demonstrated how the dictatorship's plans to gain respect and create a new 'cleansed' image for international audiences had backfired. There were symbols throughout the games such as black bands around the goalposts that were painted in secret to remember the desaparecidos. Based in Paris, the Committee

for the Boycott of Argentina's Organisation of the World Cup (COBA) created a centre of solidarity for victims of the Argentine junta. In France, more than 200 centres were established, involving thousands of people in the campaign. This led to calls from Le Monde newspaper in France in 1977 for a boycott of the World Cup as well as from the Netherlands, West Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. Although a boycott of the games failed, it succeeded in bringing international attention to the grotesque crimes the Argentine junta were committing.





Boletín de la Secretaría Internacional PRT-ERP (Argentina)

Contemporary Archive
on Latin America
1, Cambridge Terrace London NW14JL
Telephone: 01 487 5277



junio 1980

n°1

SHL: N 320 PAM/2/14

Cracking Down on Videla

by Emily Dionissiou

“I knew my life had changed forever.”

– Patricia Isasa, a 16-year-old student activist, tortured in a detention centre for 17 months after being kidnapped in 1976.

Cracking Videla

During the ‘Dirty War’, an estimated 30,000 people were disappeared and the barbaric human rights abuses were astronomical. Los desaparecidos, as they became known, were kidnapped off the street in broad daylight, tortured, and killed. By 1980, Jorge Videla had been the military dictator of Argentina for four years; in the above poster, he can be seen cracking under a thumb, symbolising the pressure from internal and external forces. In 1981, he resigned, handing over power to Roberto Viola.

The Thumb – 1980

The thumb cracking down on Videla’s head in the above poster represents the numerous powers that were calling on Videla to improve the horrendous human rights violations that Argentina was facing.

Boletín de la Secretaría Internacional PRT-ERP (Argentina):

The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) was a Communist political party in Argentina, founded in 1965. Being a left-wing party, they became targets of Videla and, influenced by Che Guevara in Cuba, a military wing of the PRT was created, known as the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERT). However, by 1977, the PRT-ERP was no longer a threat to the government due to lack of numbers and, in 2008, they announced the disappearance of at least 5,000 members, with several hundreds of young guerrillas being killed after the 1978 World Cup. The Boletín de La Secretaría Internacional PRT-ERP was the reporting paper of the PRT-ERP. This poster features on the cover of the June 1980 No.1 edition; it details the situation for workers and left-wing supporters at the time, outlining the numbers that had been disappeared or murdered, along with proof of the deteriorating economic situation. The PRT-ERP Boletín can be said to be one of the pressures on

Videla that is represented by the thumb; by reporting on the number of people persecuted for their political standings, the PRT-ERP was placing pressure on Videla.

Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo

Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo (1977-present) was the closest thing that the regime had to a domestic pressure group. Pregnant women who were kidnapped by the regime were generally allowed to carry to full term, but upon giving birth, their babies were often stripped from them and given to families that were deemed worthy of raising children by the regime. The mothers were then killed and over 400 children have since been reported missing. In April 1977, Azucena Villaflor and the Abuelas (grandmothers) marched in the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires, demanding their grandchildren be given back to them. To this day, this ritual takes place every Thursday at 3:30pm. Throughout the 1978 World Cup in Argentina, Las Madres took advantage of the extra coverage and the whole world saw them protesting for their children, highlighting the pressure on Videla to stop the illegal appropriation of children.

The World Cup

The next year saw the World Cup being hosted in Argentina, placing further pressure on Videla. The World Cup of 1978 has been said to have been ‘the dirtiest world cup of all time’; Videla announced to the audience that the tournament was to be played in peace, whilst a few streets away, the most notorious torture centre continued to operate in full swing. Several countries debated pulling out of the World Cup in protest of Videla’s human rights abuses, notably West Germany and the Netherlands, highlighting the international pressure on Videla.

Non-Governmental Organisations

The following year, Amnesty International conducted a report of 2,665 known desaparecidos, urging the Argentine government to account for these people. In April 1980, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights also conducted a report on the deteriorating situation in Argentina, reporting that Argentina was seriously violating a number of basic human rights, including, inter alia, the right to personal integrity, the right to a fair trial, freedom of opinion, and labour rights. These reports by Amnesty International and the Inter-American

Cracking Down on Videla

by Emily Dionissiou

Commission on Human Rights shed light on the barbaric living conditions in Argentina and informed the rest of the world on the situation, thus pressurising Videla to improve the situation.

The United States

Videla entered government through Operation Condor, a US-backed organisation, and so to begin with, he had the support of the US. Upon Jimmy Carter's inauguration, however, US Foreign Policy saw an increased emphasis on human rights and by 1978, Carter implemented the Kennedy-Humphrey Amendment, placing a halt on all US military aid, training, and arms sales to Argentina, and demanding that the Argentine government show a real improvement on human rights abuses; 1980 saw a decrease in disappearances. With the loss of US support, Videla faced more pressure to improve the barbaric situation.

Guerrilla Unity

The logo in the corner outlines a gun in front of Latin America, encapsulating the togetherness of the entire Latin American community, almost as a symbol of their strength and determination to put an end to the colossal human rights abuses throughout the region in the 20th century. It was iconic to Cuba's Tricontinental, the official publication of the Organisation of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Guevara's death led to an increased youth interest in left-wing political activism in Argentina and throughout Videla's dictatorship, there were Cuban influences within left-wing guerrilla groups. This logo on the Boletín's cover symbolises the inspiration for resistance from Cuba, and represents the overarching theme of guerrilla activism throughout Latin America.

Hope

In 1985, Videla became one of the first Latin American dictators to be convicted for crimes against humanity. Up to 11,000 Argentines have received compensation from the state for their loss of loved ones. In 1987, the National Bank of Genetic Data was created and, together with Las

Madres, has led to 137 (as of 2018) lost children being found. With the idea that Videla was crumbling under pressure, this poster represents hope, and this hope was created by the internal and external forces who refused to submit to Videla's illegal rule.



Niños Desaparecidos · Crianças Desaparecidas · Disappeared Children · Enfants Disparus · Argentina

1983

20 MAY 1983

INSTITUTE
Latin American Studies



N 320 PAM/1/18

SHL: N 320 PAM/1/18

Julio · Julho · July · Juillet

1		Liliana Clelia Fontana Deharbe, emb. 4 m., des. en este día, en 1977. Liliana Clelia Fontana Deharbe, grav. 4 m., des. neste día, em 1977.	Liliana Clelia Fontana Deharbe, 4 m. preg., dis. on this day, in 1977. Liliana Clelia Fontana Deharbe, enc. 4 m., est. disp. ce jour-ci, en 1977.
8		María de Las Mercedes Argañaraz de Fresneda, emb. 5 m., des. en 1977. María de Las Mercedes Argañaraz de Fresneda, grav. 5 m., des. em 1977.	María de Las Mercedes Argañaraz de Fresneda, 5 m. preg., disp. in 1977. María de Las Mercedes Argañaraz de Fresneda, enc. 5 m., est. disp. en 1977.
13		Cecilia Marina Viñas, emb. 7 meses, desapareció en este día, en 1977. Cecilia Marina Viñas, grav. 7 meses, desapareceu neste día, em 1977.	Cecilia Marina Viñas, 7 m. pregnant, disappeared on this day, in 1977. Cecilia Marina Viñas, enceinte 7 m., est. disparue ce jour-ci, en 1977.
17		Hoy es el 6º cumpleaños del hijo de Silvia Dallasta, nac. cautiverio. Hoje é o 6º aniversário do filho de Silvia Dallasta, nasc. na prisão.	Today is the 6th birthday of the son of Silvia Dallasta, b. in prison. Aujourd'hui c'est le 6ème anniv. de Silvia Dallasta, né en prison.
19		Ana María Lanzillotto de Menna, emb. 8 m., des. en este día, en 1976. Ana María Lanzillotto de Menna, grav. 8 m., des. neste día, em 1976.	Ana María Lanzillotto de Menna, 8 m. preg., dis. on this day, in 1976. Ana María Lanzillotto de Menna, enc. 8 m., est. disp. ce jour-ci, en 1976.
19		Blanca Haydée Altmann Levy, emb. 4 m., desapareció en este día, en 1977. Blanca Haydée Altmann Levy, grav. 4 m., desapareceu neste día, em 1977.	Blanca Haydée Altmann Levy, 4 m. preg., disappeared on this day, in 1977. Blanca Haydée Altmann Levy, enc. 4 m., est. disparue ce jour-ci, en 1977.
20		Mónica María Lemos de Lavallo, emb. 8 m., des. en este día, en 1977. Mónica María Lemos de Lavallo, grav. 8 m., des. neste día, em 1977.	Mónica María Lemos de Lavallo, 8 m. preg., disappeared this day, in 1977. Mónica María Lemos de Lavallo, enc. 8 m., est. disp. ce jour-ci, en 1977.
22		Hoy es el 9º cumpleaños de Tamara Ana María Arce, Desaparec. en 1975. Hoje é o 9º aniversário de Tamara Ana María Arce, Desaparec. em 1975.	Today is the 9th birthday of Tamara Ana María Arce, disp. en 1975. Aujourd'hui c'est le 9ème anniv. de Tamara Ana María Arce, disp. en 1975.
26		María Cristina López Guerra, emb. 3 m., desapareció en este día, en 1976. María Cristina López Guerra, grav. 3 m., desapareceu neste día, em 1976.	María Cristina López Guerra, 3 m. preg., disappeared on this day, in 1976. María Cristina López Guerra, enc. 3 m., est. disparue ce jour-ci, en 1976.
27		Hoy es el 9º cumpleaños de Sabino José Abdala, Desapareció en 1977. Hoje é o 9º aniversário de Sabino José Abdala, Desapareceu em 1977.	Today is the 9th birthday of Sabino José Abdala, disappeared in 1977. Aujourd'hui c'est le 9ème anniv. de Sabino José Abdala, disp. en 1977.
30		María José Rapela de Mangone, emb. 3 m., desapareció en este día, en 1977. María José Rapela de Mangone, grav. 3 m., desapareceu neste día, em 1977.	María José Rapela de Mangone, 3 m. preg., disappeared on this day, in 1977. María José Rapela de Mangone, enc. 3 m., est. disparue ce jour-ci, en 1977.

Domingo Domingo Sunday Dimanche	3	10	17	24	31
Lunes Segunda Monday Lundi	4	11	18	25	
Martes Terça Tuesday Mardi	5	12	19	26	
Miércoles Quarta Wednesday Mercredi	6	13	20	27	
Jueves Quinta Thursday Jeudi	7	14	21	28	
Viernes Sexta Friday Vendredi	1	8	15	22	29
Sábado Sabado Saturday Samedi	2	9	16	23	30

‘Niños Desaparecidos · Crianças Desaparecidas · Disappeared Children · ‘Enfants ‘Disparus’ Argentina



ABUELAS CLAMOR

5		Hoy es el 10º cumpleaños de Jorge Lina Planas, Desapareció en 1977. Hoje é o 10º aniversário de Jorge Lina Planas, Desapareceu em 1977.	Today is the 10th birthday of Jorge Lina Planas, disappeared in 1977. Aujourd'hui c'est le 10ème anniv. de Jorge Lina Planas, disp. en 1977.
8		Hoy es el 6º cumpleaños de Lucía Suarez Nelson Corvalán, n. cautiverio. Hoje é o 6º aniversário de Lucía Suarez Nelson Corvalán, nasc. prisão.	Today is the 6th birthday of Lucía Suarez Nelson Corvalán, b. in prison. Aujourd'hui c'est le 6ème anniv. de Lucía Suarez N. Corvalán, né en prison.
12		Hoy es el 7º cumpleaños de Clara Anahí Mariani, Desapareció en 1976. Hoje é o 7º aniversário de Clara Anahí Mariani, Desapareceu em 1976.	Today is the 7th birthday of Clara Anahí Mariani, disappeared in 1976. Aujourd'hui c'est le 7ème anniv. de Clara Anahí Mariani, disp. en 1976.
14		Susana Leonor Siver de Reinhold, emb. 4 m., des. en este día, en 1977. Susana Leonor Siver de Reinhold, grav. 4 m., des. neste día, em 1977.	Susana Leonor Siver de Reinhold, 4 m. preg., dis. on this day, in 1977. Susana Leonor Siver de Reinhold, enc. 4 m., est. disp. ce jour-ci, en 1977.
19		Carranza Coeytes, embarazada, desapareció en este día, en 1976. Carranza Coeytes, grávida, desapareceu neste día, em 1976.	Carranza Coeytes, pregnant, disappeared on this day, in 1976. Carranza Coeytes, enceinte, est. disparue ce jour-ci, en 1976.
24		María Claudia García Irureta Goyena de Gelman, emb. 5 m., des. en 1976. María Claudia García Irureta Goyena de Gelman, grav. 5 m., des. em 1976.	María Claudia García Irureta Goyena de Gelman, 5 m. preg., disp. in 1976. María Claudia García Irureta Goyena de Gelman, enc. 5 m., disp. en 1976.
25		Hoy es el 5º cumpleaños de Verónica Leticia Moyano Artigas, cautiverio. Hoje é o 5º aniversário de Verónica Leticia Moyano Artigas, nasc. prisão.	Today is the 5th birthday of Verónica Leticia Moyano Artigas, b. in prison. Aujourd'hui c'est le 5ème anniv. de Verónica L M Artigas, né en prison.
26		Hoy es el 7º cumpleaños de Juan Pablo Moyano, Desapareció en 1977. Hoje é o 7º aniversário de Juan Pablo Moyano, Desapareceu em 1977.	Today is the 7th birthday of Juan Pablo Moyano, disp. en 1977. Aujourd'hui c'est le 7ème anniv. de Juan Pablo Moyano, disp. en 1977.
26		Liliana Isabel Acuña de Gutiérrez, emb. 6 m., des. en este día, en 1976. Liliana Isabel Acuña de Gutiérrez, grav. 6 m., des. neste día, em 1976.	Liliana Isabel Acuña de Gutiérrez, 6 m. preg., dis. on this day, in 1976. Liliana Isabel Acuña de Gutiérrez, enc. 6 m., est. disp. ce jour-ci, en 1976.
27		Ana María Baravalle, embarazada 5 m., desapareció en este día, en 1976. Ana María Baravalle, grávida de 5 m., desapareceu neste día, em 1976.	Ana María Baravalle, pregnant 5 m., disappeared on this day, in 1976. Ana María Baravalle, enceinte 5 m., est. disparue ce jour-ci, en 1976.
30		Hoy es el 9º cumpleaños de Humberto E. Franciscetti Colautti, des. en 1977. Hoje é o 9º aniversário de Humberto E. Franciscetti Colautti, des. em 1977.	Today is the 9th birthday of Humberto E. Franciscetti Colautti, disp. en 1977. Aujourd'hui c'est le 9ème anniv. de Humberto E Franciscetti Colautti.
30		Hoy es el 13º cumpleaños de Roberto Lanuscou, Desapareció en 1976. Hoje é o 13º aniversário de Roberto Lanuscou, Desapareceu em 1976.	Today is the 13th birthday of Roberto Lanuscou, disp. in 1976. Aujourd'hui c'est le 13ème anniv. de Roberto Lanuscou, disp. en 1976.

Agosto · Agosto · August · Août

Domingo Domingo Sunday Dimanche	7	14	21	28
Lunes Segunda Monday Lundi	1	8	15	22
Martes Terça Tuesday Mardi	2	9	16	23
Miércoles Quarta Wednesday Mercredi	3	10	17	24
Jueves Quinta Thursday Jeudi	4	11	18	25
Viernes Sexta Friday Vendredi	5	12	19	26
Sábado Sabado Saturday Samedi	6	13	20	27

‘Niños Desaparecidos · Crianças Desaparecidas · Disappeared Children · ‘Enfants ‘Disparus’ Argentina



ABUELAS CLAMOR

31		Juana Matilde Colayago, emb. de 6 m., desapareció en este día, en 1977. Juana Matilde Colayago, grav. de 6 m., desapareceu neste día, em 1977.	Juana Matilde Colayago, preg. 6 m., disappeared on this day, in 1977. Juana Matilde Colayago, enc. 6 m., est. disparue ce jour-ci, en 1977.
31		Leonor Rosario Landaburu de Catnich, emb. 7 m., des. en este día, en 1977. Leonor Rosario Landaburu de Catnich, grav. 7 m., des. neste día, em 1977.	Leonor Rosario Landaburu de Catnich, 7 m. preg., disp. on this day, in 1977. Leonor Rosario Landaburu de Catnich, enc. 7 m., est. disp. ce jour-ci, en 1977.

Over the Rainbow

by Camille Darbo

1983: the End of Argentina's "Dirty War"

After seven years of military dictatorship and state terrorism, the Argentinian people were finally freed from further human rights violations by its first democratically elected president, Raúl Alfonsín (1983-1989), since the military dictatorship of 1976. The mothers protesting in Buenos Aires were now able to act legally, without being brutally expelled by the police. These women of all ages have protested every Thursday afternoon since 1977 at the Plaza de Mayo, screaming with anger and sorrow as they await news of their children's and husbands' fate.

The Story that was Not Told

Amongst the desaparecidos were children born to pregnant women who were kept alive long enough to give birth to their babies. It is estimated that between 250 and 500 of these new-born children were given to and adopted by new families or sold on the black market. In 2018, 137 of those children, who are now grown adults, were found and offered the chance to meet their biological families. This achievement was made possible thanks to the grandmothers who saw their pregnant daughters whisked away and their grandchildren given to other families. With their help, Mary-Claire King, an American geneticist, managed to use the grandmothers' mitochondrial DNA to match them with their grandchildren.

The Rainbow

In 1977, the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) published the calendar exhibited here. Its light-hearted and colourful cover does not foreshadow the content of the calendar. It appears to be an attempt to de-dramatise and make the calendar's content seem lighter than it is, in order to create a sharp contrast with the reality behind these pages. Children seem to have been cut up from the rainbow as if they were being used for a stencil. It symbolises their vanishing from the world they belonged to, from the bliss and nonchalance of childhood to the horror they probably lived once they were taken away from their parents. On a more optimistic note, the rainbow could also be interpreted as a sign of hope for the post-dictatorial future.

Day After Day

As you can see in the image, each monthly page is filled with photos and short descriptions of individuals who have disappeared during the dictatorship. Even if the calendar's title relates to disappeared children, most of the victims represented are women, many of whom were pregnant at the time. Their black and white portraits suggest the absence of colours and ultimately of life. Some victims are also represented without photos, which makes them even more anonymous than they already are. The days in red in the calendars indicate the day of someone's disappearance or the birthday of children who have disappeared.

A Tool of Resistance

The message conveyed by this calendar is straightforward: it aims at resisting the horrors committed by the military junta by remembering its victims on a daily basis. It is a recognition of the pain suffered by the families of the victims, used to help these communities to deal with their trauma. The calendar also had a practical use: to keep a record of the desaparecidos, as the junta made no effort to identify or document the bodies, in order to pretend they never existed. With translations in Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French, this calendar also shows the desire of the Argentinian people to turn their struggle into an international issue. This everyday object was used both as a tool of remembrance and of resistance.

Las Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo

The first logo visible reads "identidad, familia, libertad, abuelas" (identity, family, freedom, grandmothers). La Asociación Civil Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo (Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo) is an organisation which aimed to find the stolen babies of the mothers killed in 1977 during the Junta's dictatorship. During the Dirty War, the government actively kidnapped babies of activists in order to prevent them from raising another generation of subversives.

CLAMOR

The second logo belongs to the Comitê de Defesa dos Direitos Humanos para os países do Cone Sul (The Committee for the Defence of Human Rights for the Southern Cone countries - CLAMOR), an organisation that played an outstanding role in the protection of refugees and the international denunciation of crimes against human rights

Over the Rainbow

by Camille Darbo

committed by the dictatorships. It was the first organisation to denounce the existence of clandestine detention camps in Argentina. The documentation gathered is remarkable, containing many posters, diaries, bulletins, testimonies, correspondence, photographs, and activity reports. CLAMOR's main focus was undoubtedly the denunciation of arbitrary persecutions, kidnappings of people, clandestine detention centres, torture of prisoners, and the disappearance of victims.

PATRIA PERONISTA



ORGANO DE REAFIRMACION DOCTRINARIA

Año 3 N° 24

Reg. Prop. Intelectual N°1201150

\$8



SHL: N 320 PAM/7/67

The Eternal Perón

by Marta Navarro Mora

Context

Isabel Perón became president in 1974, after the death of her husband Juan Domingo Perón. What many people might not be aware of was that not only was she the first woman to become president in Argentina, but also worldwide. Her presidency, however, is often described as dark. In 1973, Juan Perón returned from his exile after having been removed from the government by a coup d'état in 1955. During his first two presidencies, he created a signature ideological position, justicialismo, which became the basis of his Peronist movement. To understand the mechanisms of this ideology it is essential to acknowledge the importance of the figure of Perón himself.

After returning from exile, Perón created a new government. This surprised Argentinians due to the profile of people that conformed it. Due to the context of the Cold War, the people that formed this government were mainly anti-communists. However, most of them were known to have dark and unclear pasts, often linked to criminal activities. The darkness of this government was embodied by José López Rega, the most disliked government figure of all. He was known for having created the terrorist group, the Triple A. In addition, Juan Perón chose his wife Isabel Perón as his vice-president. It is not surprising, therefore, that after he died in 1974, people became unhappy with the government that they had been left with. On the 1st of July of 1974, Isabel took the role of president, however, without the leadership of Perón and the nor the unanimous support of the government that surrounded her, people started to oppose her government.

Propaganda Magazine

In this unstable context, the Peronist propaganda magazine, *Patria Peronista* ('Peronist Fatherland'), published a cover in support of Isabel. To start with, it is important to highlight the logo that can be seen in the upper right-hand corner of the cover. It is the logo of the Partido Justicialista, the Peronist party to which Isabel and Juan Domingo Perón belonged. The explicit link between the magazine and the leaders can then be appreciated here.

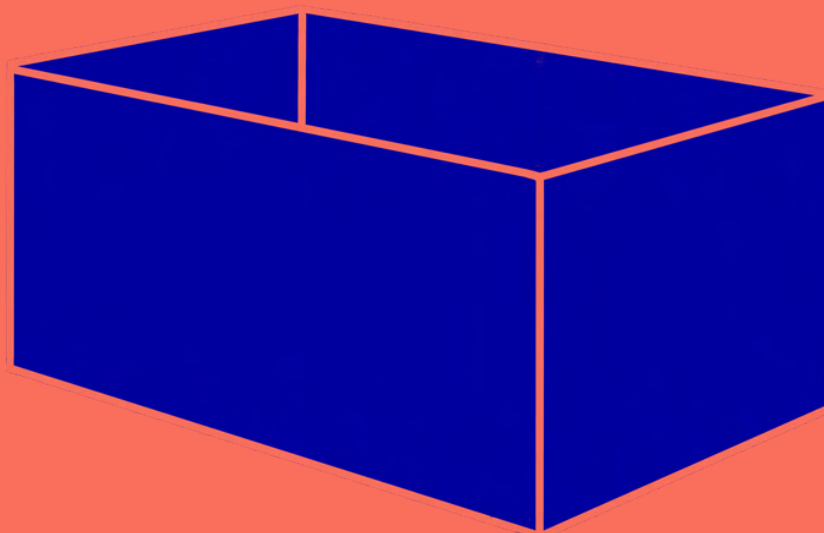
The Continuity of Leadership

The main goal of this cover is to demonstrate the continuity between the late Juan Perón and the new president Isabel Perón, as it would be the only thing that could save her presidency. Next to the Partido Justicialista's logo you can find two silhouettes. The bigger one in black belongs to the deceased Juan Perón, while the smaller white one belongs to Isabel. The position of these silhouettes is very significant. Isabel's profile is inside the bigger profile of Juan. By containing Isabel's image within Perón's, the cover sends the message that Isabel is Juan's natural successor. She was one with him, but at the same time the image recognizes the difference between the two in terms of their importance, and therefore does not attempt to suggest Isabel should take his place, but rather his legacy.

The most explicit example of the goal to preserve the continuity of the regime is the headline surrounding the image of Isabel Perón. 'Perón Vive, Isabel Vence' ('Perón is alive, Isabel wins'). With just this quote, the magazine attempts to portray the eternity of Juan Domingo Perón. This quality, however, is portrayed as being linked to the rule of Isabel. Only if Isabel rules does Perón live. By linking the two, they give continuity to the presidency and try to portray a more friendly image of Isabel.

The Creation of an Image

The portrayal of Isabel as a friendly woman comes mainly from the image chosen as the central element of the cover. By looking away from the camera, Isabel gives the impression of being caught naturally, rather than a posing artificially for the photo, and therefore appearing more identifiable for the viewer. Not only that, but the natural smile on her face attempts to make the viewer empathize with her more, giving the impression of a friendly, natural woman in which millions of other women can see themselves. The colours chosen are also something to be highlighted. The black background gives importance to the clarity of Isabel's portrait, making her, even more, the centre of attention of the cover. Not only that, but the fact that they chose to put her in the middle of the 'V', which is light blue and white, like the national colours of Argentina, gives more importance to the idea that they want to transmit. Isabel is at the centre of Argentina; with the colours, they link the figure of Isabel Perón to the country of Argentina.



Listen to Brazilian
protest music here:



Helder Camara's Latin America

Betty Richardson Nute



Non-violence in Action Series

25p

SHL: S 320 PAM/3/29

Non-Violence is Paramount: Hélder Câmara's Legacy in Brazil and Abroad by Alma Uhlmann

Brazil in the 1970s

In 1974, the year in which this pamphlet was published, Brazil had been ruled by a military regime for a decade. To tighten its grip on Brazilian citizens, a complex structure of repression was established over the years. It encompassed censorship of the media, arbitrary arrests, imprisonment without trials, kidnapping, and torture to violently crush opposition voices and create a climate of fear. Alleged proponents of communism were especially targeted. The military regime was enthusiastically supported by American and British forces, who created a propaganda offensive against communist threats in Brazil and trained members of the Brazilian military to enhance their torture techniques.

Hélder Câmara

Still, some Brazilians were able to voice their discontent with the military regime. One of them was Hélder Câmara (1909-1999), a humble Catholic priest who became Archbishop of Olinda and Recife in Brazil's impoverished north-east in 1964, the year in which Brazil transitioned to a military dictatorship. He had already made a name for himself within the Catholic church due to his advocacy for a church serving and supporting the poor rather than protecting its own privilege as a possessor of great influence and vast lands. In one of his most passionate outbursts, Câmara called for a "most excellent" church reform, arguing that "we have had enough of a church that wants to be served and demands to be always the first served ... Enough of prince-bishops who keep themselves at a distance from the people". A skilled organiser, he created a group of bishops from around the world who similarly adhered to liberation theology (promoting the liberation of the oppressed). They exerted great influence on Pope Paul VI who issued a series of papal encyclicals (such as *Populorum Progressio*) contending that the economy of the world should serve all humankind, not just the few. Yet, in the eyes of the military junta and conservative elements of Brazilian society, Hélder Câmara and many other clerics were 'subversive' or 'communist' and thus among the first targets of the repressive apparatus. In Brazil and abroad, Câmara spoke out against the

torture and killings of Brazilian clerics and members of civil society. As a consequence, the military regime threatened and tried to silence him. His secretary and several of his aides were killed, his house was bombed several times, and sometimes at night he received death threats over the telephone. But Câmara prevailed, and his speeches that gave a 'voice to the voiceless' resonated around the world. He became a celebrated figure among the Catholic left and received many prizes, but remained faithful to his modest life in Recife and an outspoken critic of the role of multinational corporations and industrialised nations in the developing world.

The Cover of the Booklet

The cover of this edition of the 'Non-violence in Action Series' shows several abstract people with darker and lighter skin looking in the same direction and interlacing their arms to form what appears to be a human chain. This image seems to tell the viewer that when people from different backgrounds come together with the same vision they can peacefully and effectively push for change.

All of the 'Non-violence in Action Series' booklets use the same imagery on their covers. Only the colour changes, and I can only speculate why green was chosen for Latin America. Immediately, the continent's lush rainforests, the 'green lungs of the world', come to my mind. Green also commonly represents tranquillity, which might correspond to the focus on non-violence. It is interesting that this secular topic is the pamphlet's overarching theme rather than, for instance, the religious concepts promoted by liberation theology, which Câmara and the Quakers endorsed. The visuals of the cover also use no obvious religious imagery, stressing a holistic approach to non-violence which appeals to a diverse audience.

A Quaker Publication

The booklet was published by the Friends Peace & International Relations Committee (the Society of Friends is informally known as the Quakers) in the UK. Quakers maintain that pacifism, equality, justice, and sustainability are central elements of their beliefs. Throughout the three centuries-long history of this heterogenous protestant Christian movement, Quakers have been outspoken critics of the slave trade, were conscientious objectors during the First and Second World Wars, and,

Non-Violence is Paramount: Hélder Câmara's Legacy in Brazil and Abroad by Alma Uhlmann

more recently, joined the protests of Black Lives Matter and Extinction Rebellion. Evidently, they ground their values and beliefs in the Christian religion, which most Quakers interpret as an invitation and obligation to be proactive in accordance with their values to create change. Interestingly though, it seems that many of the Quaker values are held by, and are relevant to, many people around the globe, irrespective of their religious creed or cultural background.

The booklet is clearly written from a Quaker perspective, leaving out the more controversial parts of Câmara's life, such as his short time as a supporter of the Brazilian far-right movement Integralismo (which he regretted later in his life) or his inclination not to oppose violent tactics against an oppressor (though he explained that this is not 'his way').

The British Audience

As the pamphlet is directed at a British audience, the viewer should not forget that the UK found itself in a phase of great upheaval in the 1970s, with a three-day week due to ongoing miners' strikes, bombings by the Irish Republican Army (IRA), a state of emergency in Northern Ireland, and the bankruptcy of several big British businesses. This may have prompted many people to find new ways of conceptualising the economic system, voice discontent, and connect with others who also felt a need for change. This booklet may have served as a source of inspiration for the British public. It highlights the impact Hélder Câmara had in Brazil and around the world and inspires non-violent direct action such as political strikes, public appeals, symbolic activity, and passive resistance, all of which Câmara endorsed. As the booklet reminds the reader, regardless of their worldview, many people peacefully acting in unison can shape the world.

A PRESCRIÇÃO BIENAL

OU A LEI DOS 2 ANOS



Xilogravura de: Marcelo Soares.

Cordel, Brazilian Popular Culture, and Exodus by Lavinia Cyrillo

This pamphlet is, in fact, the cover of a booklet - a chapbook - of the literary genre Cordel, entitled *A Prescrição Bional ou A Lei dos 2 Anos*. The Cordel remains to this day an essential element of Brazil's northeastern culture and tradition. It encompasses visual, oral, and written elements of a popular character that seek to inform, entertain, and educate the masses through its use of simplistic images and language. For the purpose of this brief analysis, focus will be given to these crucial elements, represented, respectively, by the *Xilogravura de Cordel* and by the presentation of rhymes.

In his book *Eyewitnessing*, Peter Burke assesses the different roles images and illustrations play as historical agents. Among them, he highlights that of "stimuli to mediation," arguing that images often complement and reinforce both the written and spoken word. Thus, where the written word might pose an obstacle to audiences, images may be a tool for clearer and more effective communication. Such is the case of the so-called *Xilogravura de Cordel*. The *Xilogravura* consists of a printing technique based on wood carving, which is covered in black paint and pressed against cheap paper - very much like a stamp. It represents an affordable and accessible artistic manifestation that found favourable soil in the Sertão, where vast portions of the masses have historically been afflicted by droughts, poverty, and inequality. By 1970, over fifty percent of the northeastern population above the age of fifteen were declared illiterate. Hence, effective communication was deeply reliant on alternative sources, of which the *Xilogravura de Cordel* remains a pivotal example.

Soares' illustrations sought to communicate the stiff consequences of the *Lei dos Dois Anos* (The Law of the Two Years) to the everyday life of the sertanejos (inhabitants and labourers of the Sertão, whose livelihood by and large depended on agricultural production). Such an attempt is revealed by his choice of images: they depict common elements of northeastern culture,

fostering a sense of self-identification within its audience. The sun indeed evokes the high temperatures that often damaged crops and livestock, worsening the already dire socio-economic conditions of sertanejos. Yet, the fact that it is impossible to determine whether the sun is rising or setting alludes to the repetition of the sertanejo's daily journey of labour - working the land is thus not only his craft, but his life, his primordial occupation.

The representation of the hoe is equally telling, as the main instrument used during harvests. The fact that the sertanejo is barefoot is of crucial importance. It highlights not only the dire reality of pervasive poverty, but his intrinsic connection to the land: his feet are as embedded in the earth just as the roots of the plants he is harvesting. The effect of this illustration is an emphasis on the sertanejo's reliance on agricultural production, and on his emotional and even physical dependence on his native land. Through this *Xilogravura*, even illiterate elements of the population could identify themselves with the image, and engage in a dialogue that would otherwise be impossible if solely based on the written word.

The use of rhymes, although not depicted in the pamphlet, complements the importance of the *Xilogravura de Cordel*. The rhymes of Cordel are inseparable from the oral traditions of Northeastern culture, despite having its roots traced back to the arrival of Portuguese colonisers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The open-air markets and squares of Brazil's Northeast presented a flourishing stage for popular poets. Through their simplistic, albeit rigorous rhymes (usually following the metre *abcdbd* or *ababccb*), these poets sang out loud common themes, such as elements of northeastern daily life, social malaises, and even folklore. In so doing, they established the Cordel as a crucial tool of communication within northeastern communities, rendering it the "people's newspaper." As a primordially oral artistic manifestation, the Cordel has been successful in reaching the masses: both by virtue of the poet's physical positioning (in markets, the so-called *feiras*, and different sorts of public spaces), and of the simplicity of the words and

Cordel, Brazilian Popular Culture, and Exodus

by Lavinia Cyrillo

themes, this genre contributes to a sense of identification within the northeastern - and overall Brazilian - public.

The case of *A Prescrição Bial* exemplifies the importance of these rhymes. This Cordel targets the possible consequences of loss of land for the sertanejos, while highlighting their connection to the countryside. It calls for a united front of agricultural labourers in defence of their rights over the land they cultivate. Alongside the xilogravuras, the rhymes (which were most likely originally sung by the poets) aimed for a sense of unity and identification among members of the sertanejo community. Following usual features of the genre, this pamphlet epitomises the importance of the Cordel as a means of communication, education, and artistic manifestation.



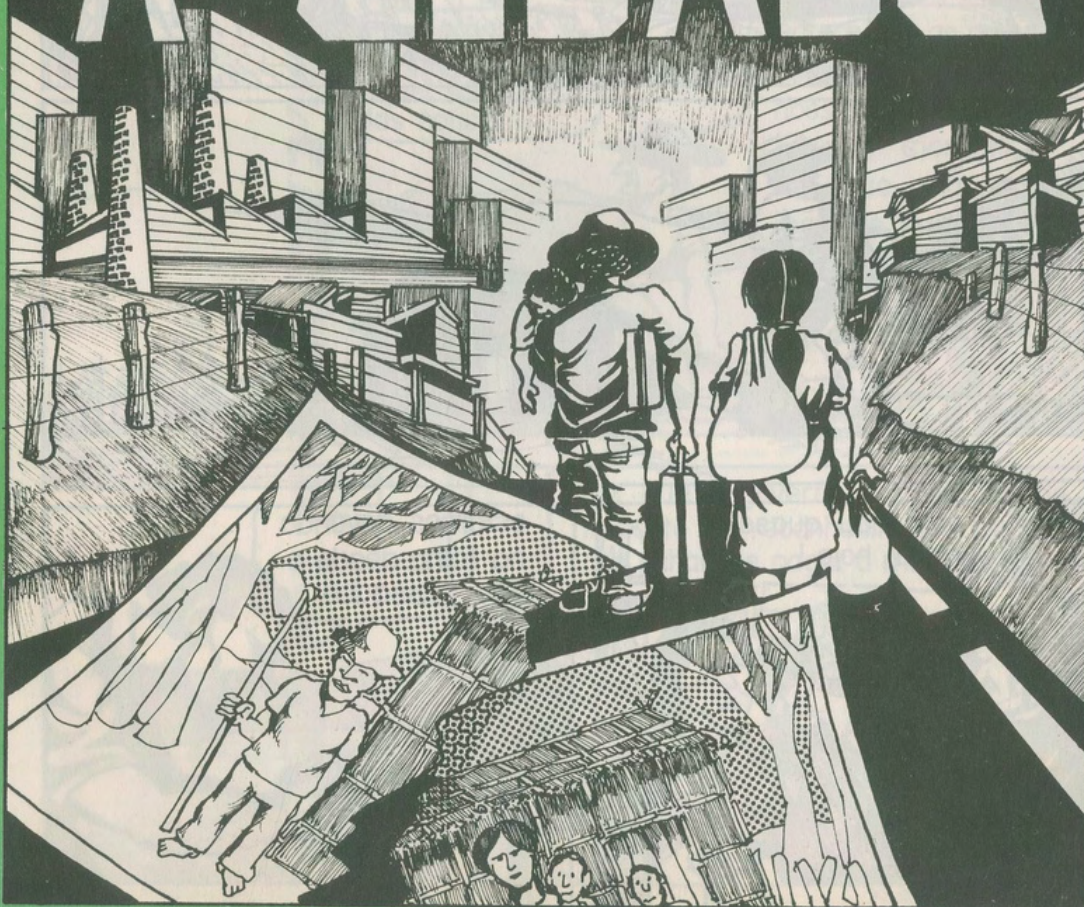
CADERNOS DO CET
SÉRIE TRABALHO-Nº8



PREÇO: 5,00

MARÇO DE 1980

DA ROÇA PARA A CIDADE



SHL: S320/PAM/3/07

Brazilian Exodus: From the Countryside to the City

by Simran Dhokia

This poster was published on the front cover of one of the 'cadernos', or notebooks, of the Centro de Estudos do Trabalho (CET) - Centre for Labour Studies - based in Belo Horizonte in Brazil's state of Minas Gerais. The CET was an organisation that existed from the latter part of the 1970s to the late 1980s and their role was to provide professional qualifications and education to a large part of the Brazilian rural and illiterate population. This particular issue was published in March 1980, most likely referring to the mass exodus from the rural countryside to the cities that occurred in the 1970s. The cadernos had two famous cartoonists, Nilson and Lor, but unfortunately this poster is not annotated with the illustrator's name.

The CET's cadernos followed Paulo Freire's (1921-1997) model of pedagogy that argued pedagogy should be developed with rather than for students and that students should be co-creators of knowledge, especially those who came from marginalised populations. The cadernos also had strong links with the Catholic Church, who assumed responsibility for providing educational services to the poor during Brazil's military regime from 1964 to 1985. Working primarily with the illiterate and poor, Freire's educational theory and methods influenced the Latin American Theology of Liberation movement of the 1970s.

Visuals

The poster's headline, in Brazilian Portuguese, is 'da roça para a cidade', or 'from the countryside to the city', in English. At center stage, the image depicts a young, rural family of a father, mother, and young child heading towards the city. They are holding four bags of belongings between them, while the father is carrying a sleeping child on his left shoulder. Dressed in simple clothing, the young family are heading away from the countryside, symbolised by the barbed fences on both sides of the illustration, and towards Brazil's fast-growing cityscape illustrated here by tall, cuboid-shaped, concrete buildings. The poster represents the rural population of Brazil migrating to the urban towns and cities. Its ambiguous title and faceless illustration are both

deliberate: it implies that the poster's target audience is any rural family migrating to the city, regardless of their reason of doing so. It shows that the migration was significant for the families affected, indicated by the ripped photograph of the family at the bottom of the poster. Moving to a new location certainly brought a mix of intense emotions for the rural dwellers, from anxiety to excitement to fatigue to apprehension. The lack of writing is also deliberate, because the cadernos were targeted to a large population of rural Brazil that was illiterate; using clear and uncomplicated illustrations would have appealed to most people.

Various push factors led to the rural to urban migration of Brazil in the 1970s, including low rural incomes, limited landownership, variable climatic and environmental conditions, large-scale commercial and industrial agriculture, and an increase in neoliberal reforms that decreased employment opportunities for rural labourers. Capital penetration into agriculture because of neoliberal reforms impacted the agricultural performance in the short- and medium-term. Whole families of poor sertanejos subsequently fled the countryside to seek economic opportunities in frontier areas or cities. Often facing oppression, many rural migrants were left with no other option than to leave.

Brazil's drive to industrialisation began mid-century, transforming Brazil's economy from rural to urban and acting as a major pull factor for rural migrants. The cities of the Southeast and South were pivotal in these transformations, with much of the rural population of other parts in Brazil heading for these areas to seek jobs, housing, and better standards of living. This reconfigured Brazil's rural-urban settlement patterns. As a consequence of the rural exodus, the urban population of Brazil accelerated: it is estimated that in 1980 it was 80.4 million, which grew to 108.1 million in 1991, a rise of 27.7 million. Cities became the core of economic activity, the hub of high levels of productivity and growth, and became ethnically and socially diversified. However, the road to such high levels of urbanisation was socially, economically, and politically disruptive and challenging.

Political Relevance Today

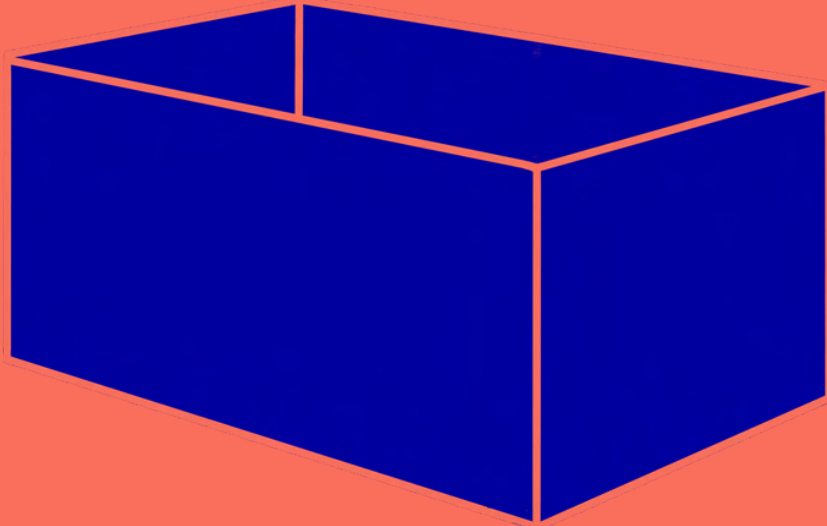
This poster is relevant today because it alludes to the continuation of Brazil's urban transformation,

Brazilian Exodus: From the Countryside to the City

by Simran Dhokia

increasing rates of industrialisation, and neoliberal economic policies that affect migration and settlement patterns. On the one hand, economic and social development in Brazil has improved alongside sustained rates of GDP, GDP per capita, and employment. On the other hand, the migration of rural dwellers to urban cities and towns highlights the lack of or declining opportunities in rural areas. The front cover of this publication reveals the considerable decline in rural populations since the 1960s, as well as increasing urban populations and the growth of urban cities and towns. It speaks to much wider trends relating to the Brazilian economy, society and political movements including settlement patterns, employment rates, social and economic opportunities available for Brazilians as well as the direct and indirect impacts on newly formed communities as a result of new migration trends. Rural migrants face several overlapping challenges that may hinder their quality of life, because many may not have had the necessary education or skills required for decent-paying jobs, forcing them into unstable or exploitative jobs. As a result, they often experience poorer living conditions, including inadequate water and energy supply, or even severe housing shortages. Many modern favelas in Brazilian cities appeared in the 1970s because of the rural exodus.





Las Elecciones No Solucionan Nada

¿Qué queremos los bolivianos?

Vivir



No sobrevivir



¿Y por qué no podemos?

Porque la burguesía se embolsilla la ganancia, pagándonos migajas por nuestros salarios...



Y vendiendo en el mercado Negro los dólares que reciben del gobierno a precio oficial... y también gracias al tráfico de cocaína.

Porque el imperialismo saquea nuestras riquezas



nos oprime políticamente y con sus paquetes fondo-monetaristas nos mata de hambre, para que le paguemos una deuda que se la derrocharon los fascistas y demás burgueses.

¿Para qué nos llevan a las elecciones?

Para eternizarse en el poder,



para distraernos del hambre que tenemos

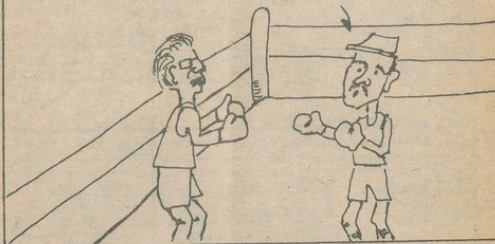
Y porque Siles ya no sirve para acallar a las masas...



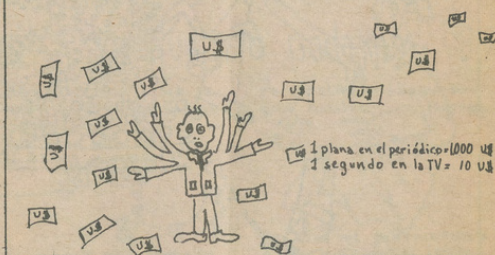
El imperialismo ahora quiere mano dura !!!

¿Y qué son las elecciones?

una pelea entre los defensores de los intereses burgueses...



que cuestan fortunas, fortunas que no sabemos de dónde vienen



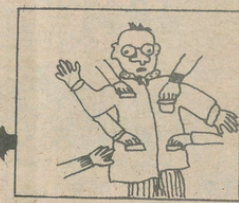
CONCLUSIÓN: Las elecciones sólo pueden ganarlos los ricos.

Pero... ¿Y cuál es la solución?



Votear al imperialismo

Expropiar a la burguesía y



reorganizar nuestra economía.

Y esto es hacer la revolución.

Es decir: que los explotados organizados tomen el poder.

What do Bolivians Want? The Masses Respond

by Sara Lucia Pastrana

In his book, “The Open Veins of Latin America”, Eduardo Galeano resorts to the metaphor of the body to illustrate the magnitude of the Spanish pillage in the Americas. He describes how, with the silver looted in the town of Potosí, alone, it would have been possible to build a bridge that crossed the Atlantic from Bolivia to Spain. This metaphor is not far from reality. For more than four centuries, Bolivia has over-relied economically on the mining industry and the export of commodities such as silver, coca, and tin. That is why when the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB) was established in 1952 to unify Bolivia’s trade unions, miners placed themselves at the forefront of the labour movement. The COB became a central political force formed of various factions, including blue-collar, white-collar, public, and private sector workers under the miners’ leadership.

It was precisely this unification of workers through the COB that motivated the creation of the ‘MASAS’ (Masses) publication by the Partido Revolucionario Obrero (Workers’ Revolutionary Party) of Bolivia. It embodied the workers’ sacrifice and struggle to oppose corruption, nepotism, and abuse. The reduced size and modest printing methods used by the publication reflect the limited budget, materials, and methods that the labour organisation had at the time. MASAS publications were mostly made up of text, though they sometimes included images. This particular piece includes comical satire that successfully portrays the demands and complaints of workers during the year of 1985, in the run-up to the presidential elections.

The first page poses two prompts: “What do Bolivians want?” and “Why can’t have it?”. The illustrations attempt to answer these questions by referencing the former president, Hernán Siles Zuazo, as he stares at a beggar’s empty hand. Shortage and hunger were part of the daily life of most Bolivian workers during the first half of the 1980s due to economic instability hauled from the Banzer military dictatorship. The external debt caused hyperinflation while wages were consistently decreasing. President Siles had his

back against the wall, caught between pressure from labour unions demanding wage increases and corporate interests requiring monetary stabilisation.

This graphic representation of bourgeoisie groups and imperialist interests is repeated through depictions of Uncle Sam, whose hands are elongated to look like claws. It is clearly an allegory to the stereotypical idea of the North American Yankee embodying capitalistic values. The graphic decisions made by the comic illustrator are there for a reason, and clearly reflect the labour movement’s political stance. The miners, farmers, teachers, and manufacturing, healthcare, and transport workers did not support the implementation of neoliberal policies, corruption, nepotism, and oppression perpetrated by elite groups.

The cartoon’s first page, on the lower left-hand side, refers to black markets and cocaine production monopolized by elite groups. It is particularly interesting to see how artistic pieces of popular resistance condemn and reflect the power dynamics of that period. Corruption and illicit business was a distinct feature of the 1980s in Bolivia due to hyperinflation and black currency exchange markets. Through these platforms, transactions occurred simultaneously but were sold at a more reasonable price. Eventually, powerful groups had the exclusive privilege to access these markets and benefited from exclusive rates of dollar exchange. The illustrations demonstrate graphic decisions that attempt to antagonise elite groups. For instance, the hand on the lower right section shows a long sharp hand with pointy fingers scratching the shape of the Bolivian territory. The scary-looking hand is attached to a sleeve with minuscule swastikas. Potentially these symbols allude to fascist claims that accused the elite of manipulating and monopolising power at their convenience. Cocaine was an example of the elite’s corruption since the industry primarily developed and expanded during the military dictatorship of Hugo Banzer. The former president was associated with cocaine production and trafficking despite publicly adopting a zero-tolerance campaign against cocaine production. He tended to benefit his close circle of friends and other wealthy groups at the expense of economic organization by engaging in illicit business.

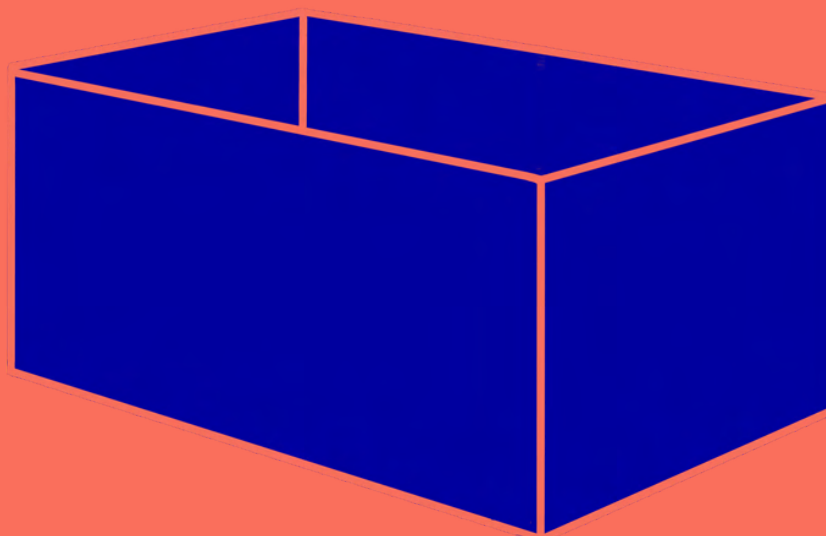
What do Bolivians Want? The Masses Respond

by Sara Lucia Pastrana

This illustrative piece not only embodies the claims, desires, and concerns of the working-class population in Bolivia at the time, but also the broader movement of resistance that was taking place in Latin America against U.S. intervention and imperialism. It is essential to highlight that this comic was published and disseminated through the MASAS publication during a period of transition. Democracy had been recently restored, and presidential elections were approaching. Yet U.S. directed economic policies would continue to dominate the region following neoliberal ideals that largely benefitted elite groups and significantly increased inequality in the following years.



Chile



Listen to Chilean
protest music here:





MAPU
WORKERS' PARTY



The RESISTANCE is FIGHTING
for FREEDOM
PEOPLE'S POWER
SOCIALISM

SHL: M 320 PAM/1/22

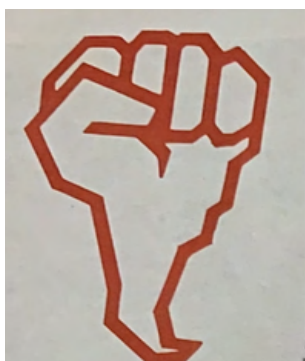
The MAPU Workers Party: "The Resistance is Fighting for Freedom, People's Power, Socialism"

by Gracie Andrews

In 1973 the Chilean Government, led by Salvador Allende, was overthrown by a military dictatorship headed by Augusto Pinochet. This poster was produced by MAPU (the Popular Unitary Action Movement), a political party in Chile that had been part of the Popular Unitary coalition under Allende's leadership until the coup. Following the coup, all opposition groups were forcefully repressed, and torture, disappearance, and death awaited those who were unable to flee. Many of those who managed to escape found refuge in Europe, where they continued to resist the Junta in their home country, inspiring solidarity remotely with posters and pamphlets such as this one.

As soon as this poster was uncovered in the archive collection, its message of resistance was clear. Having explored the documents in the archive collection that detailed the brutality of Pinochet's regime, such as the catalogues of torture committed to "subversives", this poster instantly encapsulated the tone of the opposition groups resisting the authoritarian regime.

Immediately, the arm of resistance catches the audience's eye as a universal symbol of resistance. It conveys the spirit behind the groups who opposed the Chilean government, as well as the solidarity felt between other resistance groups both within Chile, but also across the region, which was presently consumed by authoritarian dictatorships.



"Since the Coup of September 1973, the MAPU, like all the organisations of the Left, has lost many of its leaders and members. It has had to reorganise itself to work underground and in exile"

This powerful and captivating poster was produced in order to inform the wider international community of the need for resistance against the military dictatorship in Chile, as well as the repression that characterised this period in their country, which had been on an optimistic path towards social and democratic development under Allende until the military coup of 1973.

Having been part of the democratic coalition prior to Pinochet's coup, MAPU had embraced the merits of elections for their cause, to create a socialist Chile. However, having faced the brutality of the military regime, they had resolved that the only means of resistance against the Junta was to fight, which is reflected in the narrative of the pamphlet. The iconic arm of resistance in red ink conveys a clear message, that politics in Chile was no longer to be fought at the ballot box.

The character of this poster broadcasts much of what the movements sought to communicate to the world. The blood red is bold and striking, but also symbolic of left-wing politics and resistance. The vibrant green reflects the colours of the party's flag, but may also be symbolic of Latin America's guerrilla fighters, and when combined with the red star these colours also invoke the memory of the now martyred hero of left-wing revolution, Che Guevara.

This possible homage to Che is indicative of a wider message in the poster which does not stop at the Chilean border and conveys solidarity across the region with other repressed groups under brutal right-wing regimes. Unity is a central message in this poster, as is hope for Chile. Using the images of smiling but defiant workers conveys the power of collective action and inspires hope, but it also encourages the motivation to fight together to combat the Junta.

Although produced by a Chilean group, the pamphlet expresses the need for socialist unity against their oppressors across Latin America and indeed the Third World. The pamphlet behind the poster presents a very interesting logo in which the shape of Latin America is formed into a fist of resistance, mirroring the central logo on the poster. This call for Pan-American unity is insightful and speaks to the common experiences of Latin America in this period.

The MAPU Workers Party: "The Resistance is Fighting for Freedom, People's Power, Socialism" by Gracie Andrews

The context of the Cold War had intensified US interference in the region, which had manifested itself in violent US-backed coups, such as the one led by Pinochet in Chile, but this story was reinacted across the region, first occurring in Guatemala. Regime change was not the only impact that the Cold War had on Latin America. Tensions between the superpowers also inspired instability in the region as Cuba emerged as a Communist state, further sharpening the US' watch over the region. The common experience of Latin America's Cold War strengthened an anti-imperialist sentiment that perforated national borders. MAPU calls on this sentiment in the detail of the pamphlet, and this commonality of cause is also represented in the imagery of the arm of resistance.

Solidarity for and resistance to the brutality and injustice of the Chilean military Junta, as well as the various manifestations of right-wing dictatorships across the region, is encapsulated in this poster. The message is powerful, hopeful, and indicative of the sentiment held by many Chileans. This verse from Victor Jara's final song, written before he was 'disappeared', reflects the common message in the pamphlet, which became essential to Latin American resistance and characteristic to the period in the region:

**"Let Mexico, Cuba and the world
cry out against this atrocity!
We are ten thousand hands
which can produce nothing.
How many of us in the whole country?
The blood of our President, our compañero,
will strike with more strength than bombs and
machine guns!
So will our fist strike again!"**

Victor Jara - Estadio Chile, 1973

5to. CLAE:
"La unión antimperialista
es la táctica
y la estrategia de la victoria"
Santiago de Chile
mayo 13 al 19 de 1973.



Student Response to Uncle Sam's Influence in Chile

by Kelly Mahoney

Overview

Printed in Santiago, Chile, the text at the top of this poster reads, “The anti-imperialist union is the tactic and the strategy of victory”. It is dated May 13-19th, 1973. An estimated four months after this poster would have been printed, the infamous CIA-backed coup in Chile took place on September 11, 1973, putting a halt on the anti-imperialist movement in Chile for the foreseeable future.

Context

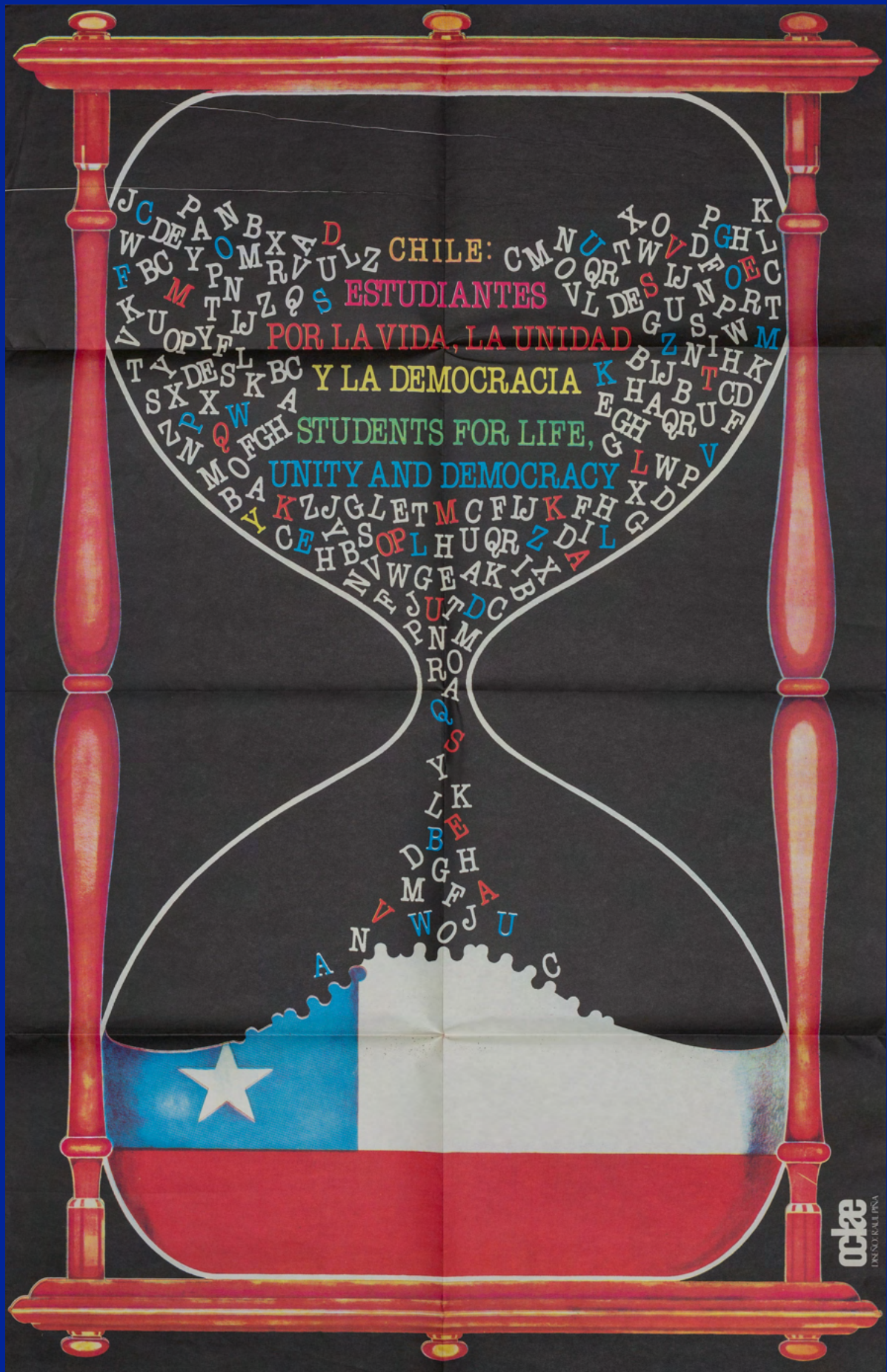
The United States had been actively involved in trying to influence politics in Chile throughout the early 1970s. Fearful of a successful socialist state in South America, President Richard Nixon leveraged the CIA to delegitimize and eventually overthrow the country's democratically-elected president, Salvador Allende. Knowledge of U.S. interference in Chilean politics was not unknown to the Chilean people. This fear and distrust of the U.S., for some, is represented in this political poster. Along with the text, this poster shows the United States as an imperial power, one that must be stopped in order for there to be victory in Chile.

Characters

This poster features three characters: a domineering faceless man, a small girl, frightened and looking up at him, and a small boy, smiling as he has just lit a fuse in the back pocket of the leering man. This tall figure is the most prominent figure in the poster. With his striped hat, it is clear to the viewer that he represents the United States of America, specifically Uncle Sam. The iconic image of Uncle Sam is known globally from the ‘I want you for the U.S. Army’ posters which lined U.S. streets throughout World War One. Fixed on top of his head in those posters is a striped red and white hat, identifying him as the iconic American figure of Uncle Sam. On this poster, however, the Uncle Sam character has a claw-like hand and is looming in a threatening manner over the small girl. A far cry from the U.S. symbol of patriotism and freedom, this Uncle Sam is a menacing adversary that must be stopped.

Color

The only color showcased in this poster can be found in the sticks of dynamite and lit fuse. As the only color, the red captures the viewer's attention, drawing them in. What might be seen as violent, however, is dampened as the viewer notices the smile on the face of the small boy who has lit the fuse. If we are to interpret the dynamite as a tactic, then we can assume the boy lighting it is a member of the anti-imperialist movement. As described by the superimposed text, the creator of this poster believes that the anti-imperialist movement is not only a tactic against the United States, but it is seen as what is needed to deliver victory for Chile. Interestingly, while red could have been used to color Uncle Sam, or other colors could have been used in general throughout the poster, the creator only leveraged red on the sticks of dynamite and fuse. Again, this reinforces the significance of tactics. How people, specifically the anti-imperialist movement, may leverage violence or other strategies, to achieve victory.



SHL: B 320 PAM/Posters

The Interminable Student Battle for Life, Unity, and Democracy

by Anna Mitchell

Life, Unity, and Democracy: the three themes of the student movement of South America. This poster depicts the role of the student movement against Pinochet's regime. The military control and the brutality of Pinochet's dictatorship started after the coup-d'état on September the 11th, 1973, which overturned an age of socialism under Salvador Allende and the Popular Unity government. In the years that followed, Pinochet created a state of fear and militant rule under which Chileans directly suffered until 1990. Thousands of people in opposition to the military junta were 'disappeared', and many more were assassinated by the regime; the official number of presumed deaths identifies 40,018 people but countless more people are unaccounted for. The severe loss of life, coupled with the loss of democracy and unity, left Chile overshadowed by horror which the nation endured for many years. The thousands of testimonies collected since describe how a nation and its people were beaten and brutalised under Pinochet's dictatorship. My experience studying in Chile from 2019-2020 meant I was a part of the contemporary student movement opposing President Piñera and fighting against the shadow of Pinochet that is undoubtedly still present in Chilean society. This poster caught my eye due to its shocking similarity to that of the message of the student opposition over 40 years later.

During the years of oppression, many political groups from both within Chile and the international political sphere opposed this regime and its reign of terror. The student movement in Chile, and in wider Latin America, was consistently a great source of opposition. After the coup d'état of 1973, the depoliticization of Chilean society led to military control of universities. This suppressed direct student opposition which was led from within universities, meaning that until 1984, the Chilean student movement against the dictatorship was curtailed. The deconstruction of traditional mechanisms for student activism meant that students reorganised under the banners of larger political organisations. One of these larger groups, The

Organization of Students (OCLAE), which was one of the main student organizations opposing the regime, produced this poster. It represented 38 student federations within Latin America who united to support and give voice to the student population. The aspiration of OCLAE to 'develop the effective solidarity of students in their struggle against fascism, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hunger, social injustice' meant they supported the fight against Pinochet.

The organisation produced a considerable number of supportive media and held the fifth Latin American and Caribbean Student Congress (CLAE) in Santiago, Chile, in May 1973, four months before Pinochet's coup-d'état, demonstrating their support for Salvador Allende and socialism. During this student congress, resolutions of solidarity were demonstrated again with Chilean students, and the use of the same slogan in the CLAE 14 years later shows the OCLAE's continuing support of the student movement against Pinochet's regime in Chile

This poster produced by the OCLAE aims to impassion the student population, encouraging unity and to fight for freedom against dictatorship and for the lives of the Chilean people. Although it is uncertain when this poster was published, other posters designed by Raul Piña were published between 1970-1988 suggesting that this poster was produced at a similar time. The bold poster, with its colourful image of the hourglass filled with letters falling into the Chilean flag, is eye-catching and audacious. The use of multicoloured writing against the black background highlights the message and distinguishes each aim demonstrating their individual importance. The flag being filled by the letters, a nod to learning and education, portrays the importance of the student movement within Chilean society and encourages unity against the dictatorship under the banner of the national flag with its symbolism of national pride. The motif of an hourglass suggests that 'time is of the essence', evoking urgency and the need for swift opposition. The poster proposes that time is 'running out' and that it is the mobilisation of students in the fight for freedom, democracy, and human life that can 'stop the clock' on death and oppression, before time runs out and the dictatorship triumphs. The hourglass is taunting, asking: how long are young people willing to wait before fighting for their lives?

The Interminable Student Battle for Life, Unity, and Democracy

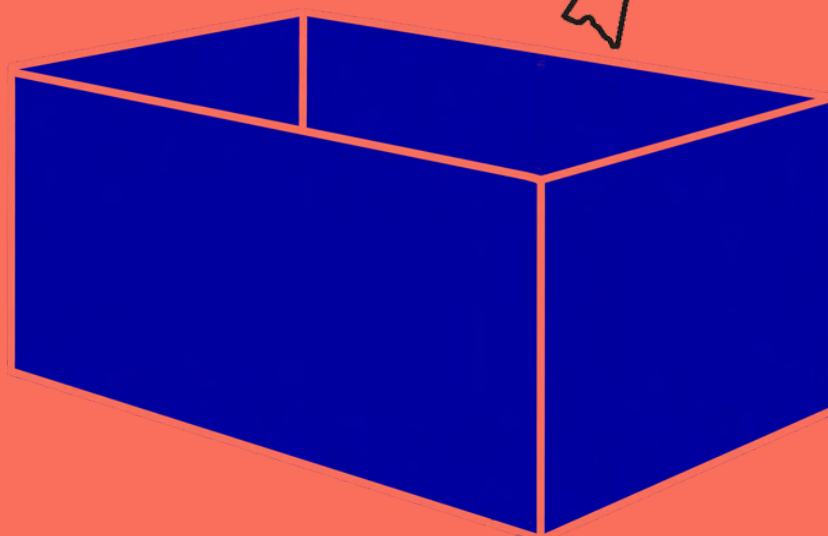
by Anna Mitchell

Furthermore, the message of unity came at a time in which many South American countries were suffering under dictatorships and living under repressive regimes, which used disappearances and isolation to increase fear. The use of Spanish and English evokes and encourages strength through international student unity, a key aspect of the OCLAE. This poster stood out to me as it reflected the messages of political posters and street art that can be seen in Santiago today.

Although the style of this poster is different to what one might see in Santiago today, the colours, and more importantly, the message, is one which easily fits into the current political scene in Chile. More recent student protests in Chile, those of 2011 and the social movement of 2019, both emulated a similar message of unity and the fight for democracy. The recent protests in Chile used the power of the united Chilean pueblo and international pressure to protest President Piñera's government. The social movement of 2019, headed by a university student, led to national strikes and months of protests in the capital and throughout the country against inequality and corruption in Chilean society and government, which has left most of the country in poverty.

Furthermore, they criticised President Piñera, his government, and its indisputable ties with Pinochet's regime. The social movement was fighting for a change in the constitution and thousands called for President Piñera's resignation. Even now, in the 21st century, the Chilean students are the ones taking the stand against oppression, fighting for their lives, for real equality and democracy, and doing so through the support and unity of students from across the country and from the united Chilean pueblo. The shadow of Pinochet's dictatorship undoubtedly remains hovering over Chilean society at all levels. This poster, aimed towards students in the 1970s and 1980s, the aims of the OCLAE who produced it, and the large involvement of young people parallels the contemporary protests. The message has not changed in the last 48 years. The fight for unity, life, and democracy is ongoing, time has not run out, and students continue to be the force that fights for a better future.





DEL COLECTIVO ... A NUESTROS LECTORES

Durante el año 93 hemos caminado por varios colegios distritales de Bogotá contándoles el cuento: "se puede objetar a la obligatoriedad del Servicio Militar, es un derecho." Algunos nos creen, otros nos miran con recelo y los demás ponen oído. Para todos es novedoso y les hace sonar la alarma que todos los jóvenes tienen cuando se les obliga.

Por ahí pegan unos carteles que nos leen los que no están en los colegios visitados. Mucha gente llama, pregunta y se va con la semillita que esperamos algún día crezca y florezca ...objetores de conciencia...

También las mujeres han puesto oído, a ellas no les gusta que sus hijos varones se vuelvan más machistas en el ejército y aprendan de violencias a nombre de la patria. Quieren a sus hijos para la vida y no como carne de cañón.

Ellas tampoco están de acuerdo con el servicio militar para las hijas bachilleres pero reconocen que es una "atracción" ante la falta de oportunidades que tienen las mujeres jóvenes al terminar el bachillerato.

También "paseamos" por Cali, Medellín y otros lugares, invitando a través de talleres, charlas, foros, folletos a grupos juveniles, y a jóvenes de secundaria asumir un compromiso de frescura por el derecho a decidir lo que "el pepe grillo" de cada uno diga, decida y ... arranquen con iniciativas.

Nos volvimos callejeros, y nos tomamos la calle con carteles, chapolas, pancartas y la frescura de los objetores, para decirle a la ciudadanía que las

opciones militaristas "no pasaran..."

A los que fueron a la Feria del Libro, a la Jornada de los maestros... a las fiestas juveniles en las calles y a todos los caminantes que sienten que la patria no es asunto de armas ni guerras, ni obediencias ciegas les llevamos un mensaje alentador:

" la no-violencia es un camino que no hemos ensayado..."

Tuvimos tiempo para volar sobre otros mundos y llegar a Turquía al Encuentro Internacional de Objetores ICOM 93, una torre de babel que habla de un solo problema y un solo asunto; el militarismo y la objeción. Caras nuevas con los mismos problemas, nos encontramos para buscar caminos no recorridos arrullados por el cálido Mediterráneo Desarme para el desarrollo..., libertad de Conciencia...educar para la paz... no-cooperación en asuntos de guerras...

y objeción fiscal a los impuestos de guerra.

Finalmente el próximo año tendremos una gran fiesta de objetores, pacifistas, no violentos, insubmisos, remisos, desertores, antimilitaristas, otros soñadores, y quijotes de mundos posibles, sin guerras, sin armas en el frío bogotano de noviembre del 94. Todos los que quieran acompañarnos a esta fiesta quítense el uniforme de la indiferencia e incorpórense a las filas de la Objeción de conciencia en ICOM 94.



"LOS PIONEROS DE UN MUNDO SIN GUERRA SON LOS JOVENES QUE REHUSAN EL SERVICIO MILITAR OBLIGATORIO."

EINSTEIN

Conscientious Objectors: “Peace is Not Built with Bullets” by Samantha Colorado

Colombia has a long history of violence, dating from the 1940s with La Violencia, a period of warfare between peasants and the elites. Two years after its end, the Colombian Conflict, a three-way conflict between the Colombian military, far-right paramilitary groups, and far-left guerrilla groups all fighting for influence over Colombian territory began. Crime syndicates would also be added to the mix as narco-trafficking and the “War on Drugs” started. I grew up hearing of Colombia from my family as a far away place, beautiful but dangerous, and as I study it, I continue to discover even more interesting nuances and facets of its history. This magazine in particular caught my attention because of its use of color, illustrations, and its specific focus on the right to be a conscientious objector.

During the 1990s, Colombia was going through a dual process of dialogue with guerrilla groups and an intensification of governmental security policy. The State of Internal Commotion in 1992 symbolized the end of Colombia’s more democratic and inclusionary politics as it reverted to authoritarian patterns. The Constitution of 1991 made military service compulsory, and in 1993, other decrees further regulated it, requiring all men to ‘resolve their military situation’, that is, undertake military service, when they reach adulthood, with the exception of undergraduate students who could resolve it after their studies. The reality and practice of these laws in the daily lives of young men is much more controversial and difficult.

The image presented in this magazine speaks directly to the state of violence Colombia found itself during the last decades of the 20th century. The magazine is called *El Objeto* and was published in December 1993. The ‘Objeto de Conciencia al Servicio Militar Obligatorio’ (Conscientious Objectors of the Military Service) are essentially people who object to complying with the requirement of serving in the armed forces due to reasons of conscience.

As I researched, I discovered the global nature of these conscientious objectors, as they are present in practically every nation that doesn’t recognize their right to objection, including Colombia. Objectors faced human right violations during batidas, a forced recruitment method in which young men are rounded up in public spaces to check their military status, and also discrimination as those who didn’t resolve their military situation couldn’t legally be employed or graduate from university. The political message of the magazine joins the intensifying human rights debates at the time and calls for the rights of conscientious objectors to non-violence and peace.

The illustration consists of a military helmet on top of a rifle, with vines and leaves around them. It explicitly refers to the militaristic state Colombia was in during the 1990s with its use of military armor and weaponry. The helmet itself can be interpreted as a reminder of human life and the cost of war, which contrasts with the stark violent and deadly use a rifle has.

The use of leaves is also significant, as they are one of the most common symbols of nature, representing not only its power of life but also its ability to transform. The combination of the symbols of the helmet, weapon and leaves can be interpreted as a desire for change, to leave behind the use of rifles and armors, and instead let them be consumed and overrun by peace, vines, and leaves.

In terms of color, it is also important to note that the entirety of the magazine, and the illustration, is in variations of shades of green. There is also an interesting contrast in terms of color, as the helmet is much whiter and lighter in color, whereas the weapon is uniformly darker, connecting back to the dichotomy between ‘good’ and ‘evil’, dark and light. Symbolically, cool colors are usually associated with nature and nighttime, and are seen as calming. The color green in particular is connected to nature, representing new beginnings and growth, relating back to the message and desire for change. As can be seen in the photograph below, nature has been consistently used as contrast and opposition to militarism and violence, as student activist Jan Rose Kashmir did when she faced the National Guard in 1967 during an anti-Vietnam march.

Conscientious Objectors: “Peace is Not Built with Bullets”

by Samantha Colorado

The placement of the image in the center of the last page of the magazine further reinforces the importance of the symbols used. Its centering may be seen as a simple aesthetic decision, but it can also be interpreted as more purposeful, aimed at leaving readers with a strong message: let peace, non-violence, and conscientious objection have victory over war and mandatory military service.

The timelessness of the illustration is another feature of interest. The combination of military equipment with nature is a recurring theme in photography and posters of arguing for peace and non-violence, as can be seen in the iconic protest photograph below. This pattern highlights not only the ‘commonality’ of war, but also points out the association we make between nature and peace, and violence and man-made technology.

As wars occur across the world, political magazines, posters, and illustrations such as this one will continue to use their symbolism and art as a way to spread messages of peace and non-violence.



Jan Rose Kasmir facing the American National Guard during an anti-Vietnam protest in 1967

April 1979



**el
cric
denuncia**

SHL: H 320 PAM/2/18

The CRIC Denounces: Indigenous Resistance through Testimonial Accounts in Colombia's Cauca Region

by Mario Rojas Acostas

With its brief, sharp declaration 'El CRIC denuncia' (The CRIC denounces), three one-word lines of black, lower case, sans-serif type positioned beneath splattered blood on off-white paper, this 1979 pamphlet by the Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (Cauca Regional Indigenous Council or CRIC) makes its objective—the denunciation of government terror and violence—immediately known. Its stark simplicity both invites and repels our gaze, evoking a crime scene. Indeed, inside the shocking cover, the reader is confronted with one testimonial account after another depicting crimes committed by the Colombian government and military against the Cauca's indigenous people, including kidnapping, unlawful incarceration, coercion, and torture. Exactly why were the CRIC targeted in this way in the 1970s?

One answer may have its roots in Colombia's long twentieth-century political conflict between conservatives and liberals, epitomized by but not limited to the ten-year civil war known as La Violencia (the Violence), from 1948-1958. This war pitted farmers, many of whom were indigenous people, on opposing sides against each other, backed on one side by Colombian Conservative party paramilitary groups, and on the other, by paramilitary and guerrilla groups backing the Colombian Liberal Party and Colombian Communist Party. Possibly in response to the enduring legacy of this earth-shattering conflict and to their long-term experience of being swept into political conflicts while never granted full citizenship rights by Colombian governments, indigenous communities began organizing in the decades following La Violencia in order to demand better lives. Because Spanish colonization of the Americas brought with it the 'encomienda system', which granted Spanish settlers the right not only to lands they claimed for the Crown but also to the labour of the inhabitants of those lands, many indigenous people in the Andean region of Colombia have since colonial times lived and worked as peasants. The establishment of cabildos, or administrative councils that governed municipalities and represented landowning heads of households before the Spanish Crown, had a long-lasting impact on Colombia's administrative

organization and today the name cabildo is used by indigenous municipalities in order to be represented in Colombia's governing bodies, which still reflect to an extent their colonial origins and enact colonialist, paternalist attitudes towards indigenous people. As such, indigenous cabildos were first incorporated into leftist and state peasant organizations during the first half of the twentieth century. However, by the 1970s, indigenous peoples of Colombia began to organize into regional and national organizations with specifically indigenous agendas. Among the first of these was the Cauca Regional Indigenous Council (CRIC), who published this pamphlet in 1979, a time when the Colombian military was actively torturing 'leftist suspects'.

The Cauca Region



Founded in Toribío on 24 February 1971 by a federation of seven indigenous cabildos, the CRIC faced intense repression from landowners that prevented its full establishment until September of that year. It has since grown to comprise 90% of the Cauca region's indigenous population: one hundred and fifteen cabildos and eleven associations hailing from the communities of Nasa, Guambiano, Totoroez, Polindara, Guanaco, Kokonuko, Kisgo, Yanacona, Inga, and Eperara, among others. Its initial seven-point program was as follows:

- Recover the lands from the resguardos (territories originally granted during colonial times by Spain to indigenous people).
- Expand the resguardos.
- Strengthen indigenous cabildos.
- The elimination of rent to landowners.
- Make known any laws protecting indigenous people and demand their just application.

The CRIC Denounces: Indigenous Resistance through Testimonial Accounts in Colombia's Cauca Region

by Mario Rojas Acostas

- Defend indigenous history, languages and customs.
- Train indigenous educators.

In subsequent conferences, three more points were added to the agenda:

- Strengthen economic and community enterprises.
- Defend indigenous territories' natural and environmental resources.
- Strengthen the Family (unit).

In addition to being drawn into conflicts between political ideologies, it can be seen how the CRIC's ten demands would meet resistance from the modernizing project of extractive capitalism imposed upon the Americas by the Global North. The CRIC thus continues to fight to raise awareness of the violent, unlawful methods used to suppress indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing. In the years following the diffusion of this pamphlet, the CRIC went on to co-found the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC) in 1982, taking its organisational experience beyond the Cauca region so that indigenous communities throughout Colombia could more effectively demand rights at the national level. Most recently, the CRIC was found standing alongside thousands of union members, teachers, and students during the October 2020 national strike to protest President Ivan Duque's policies, the murder of human rights activists, and police violence in response to 2019 protests. Hermes Pete, leader of the CRIC, was quoted as saying, 'Not even the pandemic will stop our movement'. The CRIC's peaceful collective action enabled some 10,000 indigenous people, mostly from southwestern Colombia where the Cauca region is found, to protest.

The contents of this pamphlet, while unsettling, are a testament to the empowering effect collective action can have on colonized communities' resistance efforts against the existential threat and epistemic violence of modernity. Marcos Avirama, CRIC president at the time, and then-secretary Taurino Ñuscue,

lead this litany of anti-indigenous government actions with a three-page accusation and rallying cry:

"There has been no lack of mistreatment and torture when Third Brigade troops invade our lands or, as has recently occurred, commit new assassinations of leaders of our organization at the hands of bandits sent by landowners and, as has always been the case, no culprits exist, there are no arrests, and our dead, beaten, detained, tortured, do not get the justice the government has so often preached to us. (...) Compañeros: the fight for our demands, the pursuit of our program's seven points will make it so that the injustices committed against those of us who now suffer, directly, the attacks of this system so full of injustices, shall be overcome and that our fight shall keep on. Go forward, compañeros."

Following this denunciation and *raison d'être* for the organization, the first testimonial account comes from Avirama himself, who appeals to the readers' humanity by introducing himself as 'an indigenous person of the Coconuco, of agricultural profession, [who] work[s] to maintain six young children and my wife'. He then decries in graphic detail the experience he and his brother had whilst being detained and tortured by military agents, including how they were coaxed out of the CRIC's offices by setting up a fake meeting with a lawyer named Carmen Eugenia Ruano. 'Around 5pm', he goes on, 'some individuals arrived in a blue Toyota to take us to said lawyer, but immediately took us to the non-commissioned officer school Inocencio Chínca de Popayán'. After stripping him of his day's earnings, his national ID, his handkerchief, and his pencil, they took Avirama to a dungeon and told him he needed to tell them everything he knew. At 11pm, the officers entered the dungeon and put Avirama up against the wall, blindfolded him, and took him away in a jeep, telling him they were going to take him to identify some indigenous suspects. Instead, they took him out of the car and beat him, asking him to answer questions he couldn't answer about indigenous individuals.

They kicked me in the belly, the face and the head and they kept kicking me'. They then took him to a room and started shocking him with electricity, raising the voltage to 500 at one point. The account goes on in excruciating detail as to the torture methods used by the officers, including

**The CRIC Denounces: Indigenous Resistance
through Testimonial Accounts in Colombia's
Cauca Region**
by Mario Rojas Acostas

throwing him in a ditch supposedly made by the M-19, Colombia's second largest guerrilla movement at the time, where they offered to make him a passport and some cash so that he and his family leave Colombia in exchange for information. Because he did not know what they wanted, Avirama was tortured in increasingly inhumane fashion for a month, lying to his family about his whereabouts whenever they inquired about bringing him food or clothing. This account is followed by a dozen or so pages of declarations by other Cauca indigenous individuals, members of the CRIC similarly detained and tortured by military officers without legal recourse.

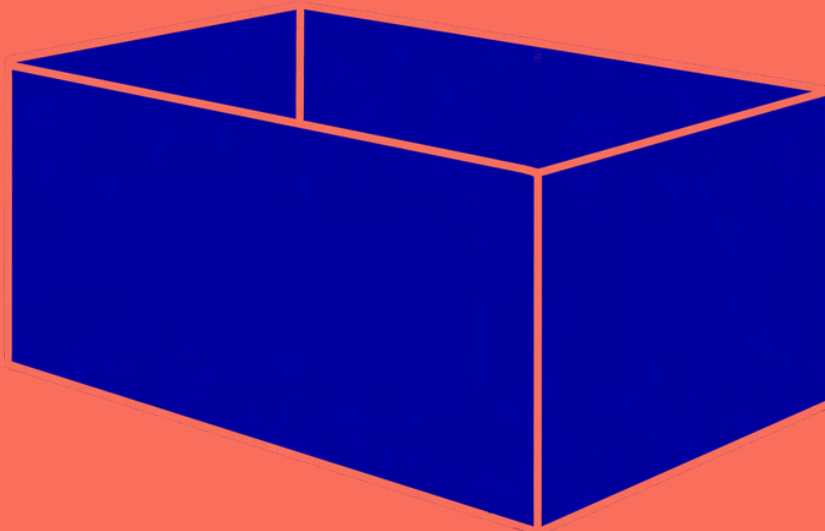
Apart from the first-person accounts, the pamphlet also includes a poem based on a Paez myth about Juan Tama de la Estrella, a Cauca-region leader who succeeded in making the Spanish crown recognise indigenous lands in the early 18th century. A text imbued with as much power as the testimonial accounts, the poem serves as a reminder that the Cauca's indigenous people have been resisting persecution for centuries, while also affirming the importance of oral tradition as a tool for the preservation of indigenous knowledge and, like the accusations, speaks a truth otherwise silenced by the official story.

**In the great town of
Vitoncó
the son of the star
Juan Tama
read the coca leaves
and foretold:
even more difficult times will come
times of war and
derision where
any voice that raises itself will be
silenced
they will cut away
the earth
and the flesh
and will try to erase from time
our language
nevertheless**

**from the embers
from the waste
from the outraged land
from the cursed people
from oblivion
new men will rise
new hands will take up arms
and injustice shall be defeated
forever**

**The war music
of the flute
announced that the moment had arrived
and Juan Tama
say the ancient ones
vanished in the mountain
on the road that leads
to the Pataló Lagoon
to occupy his place
in the sky**





Listen to Cuban
protest music here:



ANGOLA:

¡VICTORIA DE LOS PUEBLOS!



oclae

SHL: B 320 PAM/Posters

"The Latin-African Nation": Cuban Solidarity in Angola

by Cristina Costa Coromina

From the 1970s until the early 1990s, almost 500,000 Cubans crossed the Atlantic in solidarity with Angola. Having just achieved independence after a long and brutal anti-colonial struggle against Portugal, Angola soon confronted incursion by the South African apartheid regime. Named after the leader of a revolt against slavery that took place in Cuba on November 5, 1843, Operación Carlota was Cuba's military mission in support of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). A significant number of the Cubans who served in Angola were descendants of African slaves who had been deported between the 16th-19th centuries and felt compelled to assist their Angolan brothers and sisters in their fight against racism. As such, the majority were filled with the conviction that they were performing a genuine act of political solidarity.

During Operación Carlota, important battles took place that defined the course of the war in favour of the MPLA. Operación Carlota became a historical turning point in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa from apartheid rule. As depicted in this poster through the triumphant hand holding what appears to be a European soldier, black troops – Angolan and Cuban – had defeated white troops in the battlefield. Designed by Victor Manuel Navarrete, this poster belongs to an exhaustive collection of political posters by the Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes (OCLAE). OCLAE was founded in 1966 as a student-led mobilisation and coordinating platform towards the struggle against imperialism and social injustice. Through the creation of these posters, the organisation played a remarkable role in educating and strengthening solidarity bonds between students within and outside the Latin American continent. Angola: ¡Victoria de los Pueblos! displays the military victory of the Cuban-Angolan troops against imperialist and racist Portuguese troops. Military victory, however, was just a small step towards sweeping away the advantage that the white man had enjoyed and exploited over years of colonisation and empire. Today, this victory is still yet to be complete.

Cuba's political drivers for its involvement in Africa were the struggle against colonial powers and imperialist interests with the goal of building up a world-wide anti-imperialist front. The Cuban Revolution was to become internationalised. This solidarity discourse of internationalism was decisively shaped by Che Guevara and his supporters and served as a motive for dispatching Cuban troops and civilian auxiliary helpers and instructors. Indeed, Cuban solidarity with Angola was not only limited to military assistance, but additionally expanded in other realms of civil society covering areas of health, education, and civil engineering.

Hence, Cuba's role in Angola illustrates the division between those who fight for the genuine cause of freedom, liberation, and justice, and those who wage war to occupy, colonise, and oppress. The Cuban solidarity missions in Africa are a profound challenge to those who argue that the world's nations and peoples are – and can only be – determined by self-interest and the pursuit of power and wealth. Cuba provides an example of how it is possible to build relations based on genuine solidarity and social love.



Because we love life
We can fight to the death...!

Cartoons on Castro: A Look into Mexican Political Artist, Rius

by Stella Goodwin

A striking illustration with a message of anti-American imperialism, this cartoon combines a rough style with humorous undertones. Odd combinations of humour and politics like these were a common theme in the prolific cartoonist Rius's (Eduardo del Rio) publications until his death in 2017.

Born in 1934 in Michoacán, Mexico, the advocate for socialism started his artistic ventures from a funeral home. As a former seminary student, he began drawing gag cartoons in the 1950s whilst working at the funeral home that later got the growing artist picked up to work for a variety of newspapers throughout Mexico. Unfortunately, he was regularly fired for his controversial humorous work, and it was not until the 1965 launch of his own comic book, *Los Supermachos*, that critiqued the Mexican way of life, its politics, and social hierarchy, that Rius had the opportunity to publish without any limitations. However, due to government pressure, Rius was fired by his publisher who took over the comic, passing the publication into the hands of other writers and illustrators that were government approved. It was during this period that the 'For Beginners...' comic series was launched; an introductory series of illustrative publications that advocated for the artist's beliefs in socialism.

The first in the series titled 'Cuba para principiantes' (Cuba for Beginners), was published in 1966 and although initially not to wide-ranging success, it was the first of its kind that mixed artistic satire with a political account of the Cuban revolution that counteracted U.S. portrayal of events. A known critic of U.S. economic, political and cultural authority, Rius viewed its dominating anticommunism and interventionism approach, notably in Latin America, with much distaste, and repeatedly used the infamous Uncle Sam figure to present his criticism. Rius's artistry proposed a different visual perception on how the Cuban revolution acted as a break away from the influence of US capitalism as he favoured Castro's rise to power.

It should be noted, however, that although Rius was a strong supporter of the Cuban Revolution, his disapproval of the government grew as allegations of repression and corruption became rife. In 1968, Rius renounced his communist party membership following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. When asked to explain his change in mind, his views would be elaborated in his distinctly humorous and intellectual tone; 'The only revenge we have as Mexicans is to laugh at the powerful', a tone that rings clear in his illustrations.

The image here appears on the last page of this issue of 'Cuba for Beginners', providing a powerful departing image that depicts Fidel Castro standing with armoury draped from shoulder to shoulder in a fine line style. In his hand, a cup of tea, while a victorious boot is seen crushing the 'Uncle Sam' top hat. The hat, synonymous with American culture, is a satirical ode by Rius to a country's revolution that gathered widespread global attention to challenge and contest one of the world's biggest powers, as well as their interventionist political agenda. Perhaps 'because we love life; we can fight to the death' echoes these feelings and how the changes in Cuba, from the eyes of Rius, could have been the start of new progressive socialism in the region.

8th Latin American Student Congress 1987, Havana, Cuba

by Irene Pérez Beltran

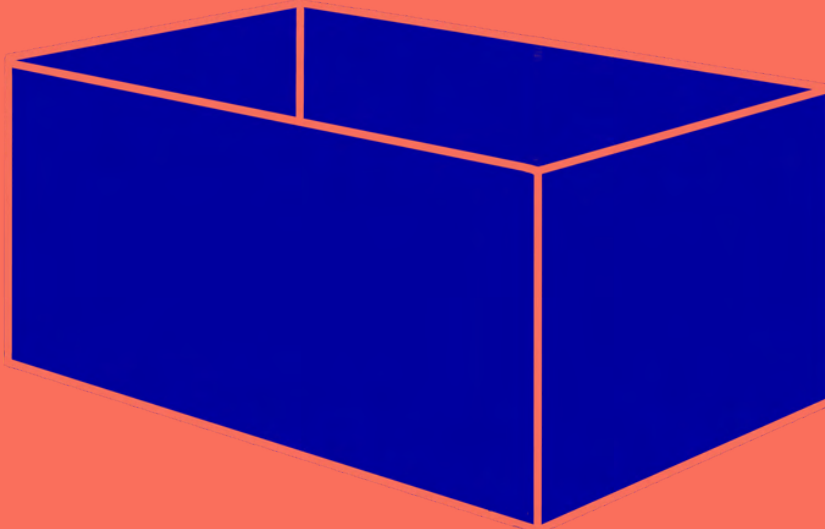
This depiction of a sunrise over an overwhelming sea of letters perfectly conveys the endurance of a student organisation that emerged in the 1960s to advocate for mass literacy, the democratisation of education, and solidarity amongst Latin American students. OCLAE (Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes) released this poster designed by Raúl Piña to announce the 8th Latin American Student Congress taking place in the City of Havana in 1987. The topic of this congress was Latin American unity and solidarity against imperialism, which is alluded to through the white lettering in the background creating the shape of the Latin American continent. During the congress, resolutions of solidarity with Chilean, Salvadoran, and Nicaraguan students were passed in light of Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile, the Civil War in El Salvador, and the Contra War in Nicaragua. The fact that OCLAE's 8th Congress took place in Cuba is particularly significant given that the Cuban Revolution was a core inspiration for many of the student movements across Latin America from the late 1950s onwards, and given that figures such as Fidel Castro began their political careers in student movements themselves.

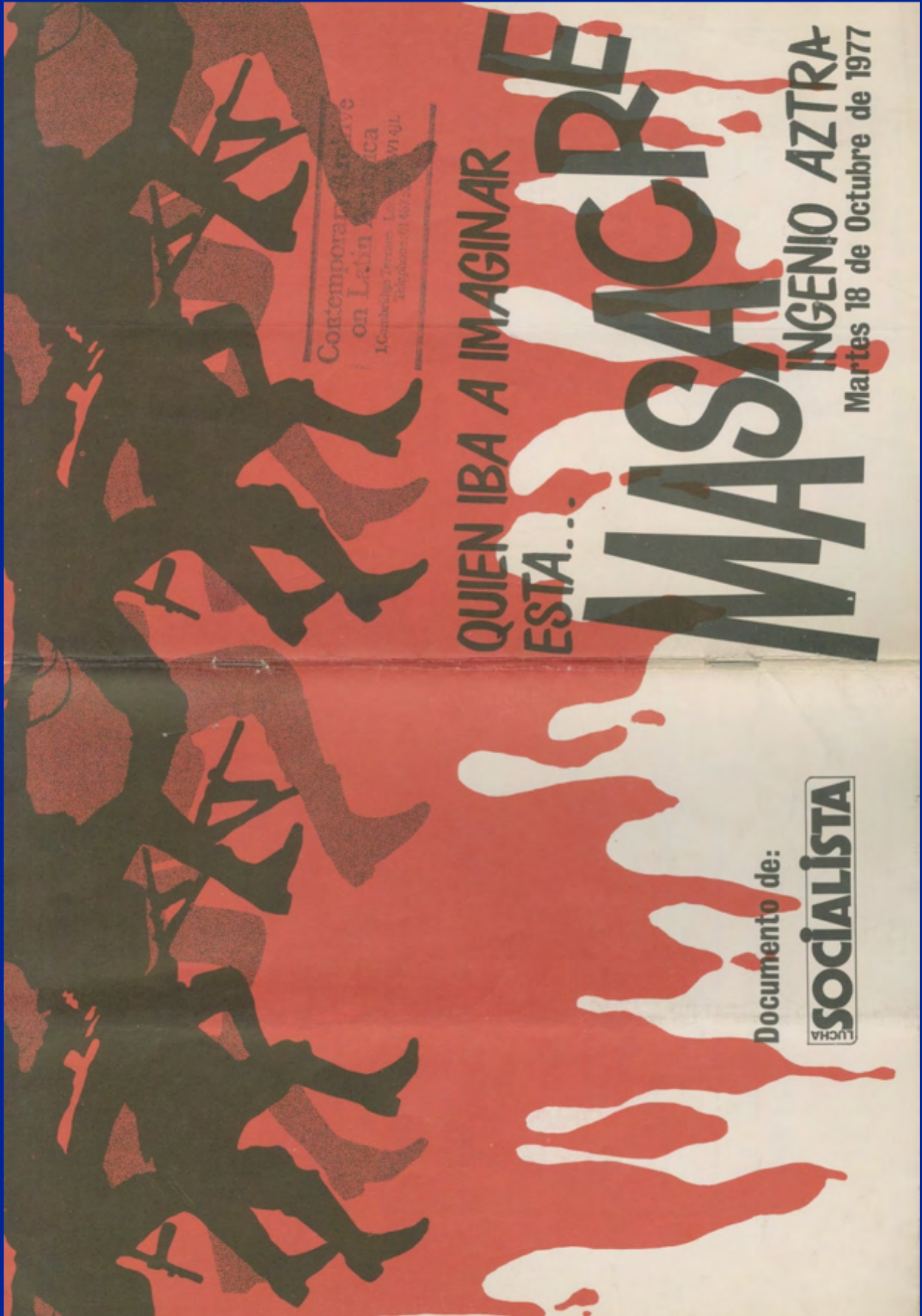
One of the most striking features of this poster is the vibrant colour scheme. For instance, the warmth of the sunrise can be interpreted as a symbol of hope for a brighter future and rebirth of a shared Latin American identity of equality, freedom, and diversity. Another powerful feature is the rainbow coloured OCLAE acronym at the bottom of the page. This element is particularly interesting when comparing contemporary and current perceptions of the poster, as these colours could instantly remind current audiences of LGBTQ+ advocacy in student movements. Conversely, contemporary audiences in La Havana in 1987 would have most likely not made that connection, given that queer rights were

predominantly absent from student revindications in Latin America at the time. This 8th Congress took place one year after the Chilean politician José Joaquín Brunner wrote "The student movement is dead, student movements are born", notably due to the brutal repressions that students suffered during the wave of protests for educational reform during the 1950s and 1960s across Latin America. Despite this, student movements endured and their results were twofold; achieving increased university democratisation and youth involvement in politics. For example, in 2011, students were directly involved in critiquing a new law that would essentially privatise Colombia's university system and eventually managed to revoke the proposed law. Efforts such as this one have been reproduced across the region and, despite ongoing violence towards young activists in Latin America, OCLAE currently has representation from 24 Latin American countries with over 100 million members.

This 8th OCLAE Congress was the first to have a female president, Ana María Pellón Sáez. Later in her career, she went on to become the director of International Relations at the Culture Ministry of Cuba, thereby proving the transformative potential of student empowerment through organised mobilisation and solidarity. Overall, one can firmly say that Brunner was wrong in assuming that solidarity and mobilisation amongst Latin American youth have decreased in recent decades. Most recent examples, including the green wave advocating for safe access to abortion and the increase in environmental activism, have positioned Latin American youth at the centre of an unstoppable movement towards societal change.







SHL: J 320 PAM/1/26

Who Could have Imagined this Massacre?

by Nour Mahdjoub

Since its independence from the Republic of Colombia in 1831, Ecuador has suffered significant political instability. Ecuador experienced several periods of military dictatorship, during which the country developed considerably. In 1976, after four years of dictatorship ruled by Guillermo Rodríguez Lara, another authoritarian regime, led by a Supreme Council of Government, took over until 1979 and set out to ensure a democratic transition. This military regime was the last dictatorship in Ecuador. Under this regime, the Azucarera Tropical Americana (Aztra) factory massacre occurred on 18 October 1977. The factory, which produces sugar, is located in La Troncal in the province of Cañar, on the Pacific coast, 80 km from Guayaquil, Ecuador's second-largest city.

This image is the cover of a booklet produced by the "Revolutionary Workers' Movement" in homage to the victims of a massacre that took place in the sugar factory on 18th October, 1977. The ambition of this text is to tell the truth of what really happened that dark day. The authors of the booklet argue that official narratives shared by the Ecuadorian government are full of lies and contradictions, meaning there is no single version of the truth. In the preface, the authors explain that this document is the result of the collection of more than ten testimonies, including that of a brother of a victim of the massacre and an employee of the provincial hospital. This is a collective testimony in which only those directly involved participated.

According to the testimonies collected, the following events led to the massacre of the 18th October. On 20th September that year, the council of factory workers presented a petition to the regional labour inspectorate to demand that the factory owner respect a collective agreement. This cooperative agreement stipulated that the employees' wages would be indexed to the price of sugar, and thus they were to be increased. The factory manager, Colonel Jesus Reyes Quintanilla, contested the (legitimate) demands of the workers and, on 14th October, the Labour

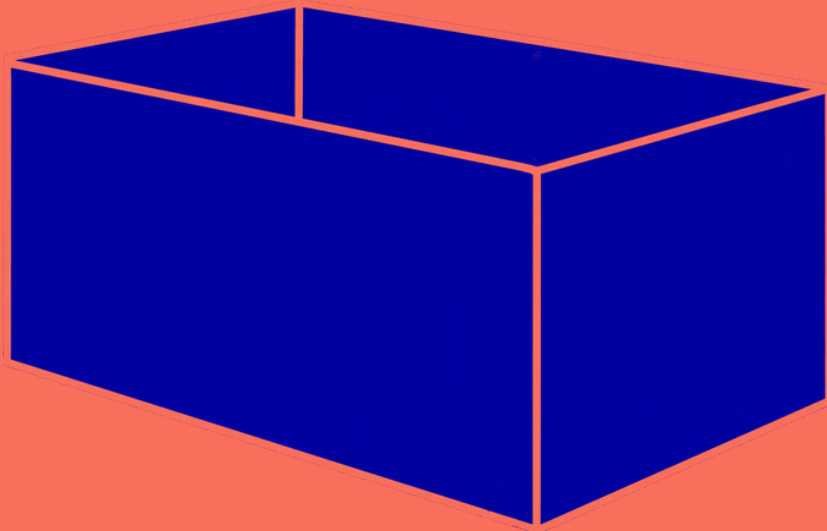
Inspector officially declared that their demands were to be ignored.

On the same day, the workers' council applied to the Labour Inspectorate for a strike, and, following the labour law in force, specified that the collective would strike on the day that suited them best. On 18th October, as required by law, the workers' council notified the Labour Inspectorate that the strike would be held that same day. The Labour Inspectorate once again refused the legal request to strike and called the police to go into the factory. At noon, the company's guards closed the main gates of the factory. At 5pm, the strikers' families visited them to bring them food, by which point there were over five thousand workers inside the building.

An hour later, four police trucks from the "Las Peñas" service, also known as the "Flying Squadron", arrived. They gave a two-minute warning to leave the premises, to which the strikers replied that the strike was legal and just. No less than a minute after threatening them, the police launched the first gas canisters. The police officers soon used firearms and followed the orders of officials Lenin Cruz and Coronel Reyes Quintanilla. Several accounts contradict each other on what happened next. Some say that the workers then showed their machetes as a sign of resistance, and that the police then opened fire. Others say that the police threw strikers and their relatives into the boilers they had explicitly lit to kill them.

An estimated 26 people were killed that day during the peaceful strike carried out by workers who only demanded what their government had promised them. To this day, the Aztra Factory massacre remains a symbol of social struggle in Ecuador.

I chose this image because I understood the seriousness of the subject it dealt with without even before I opened it. The red colour that dominates the cover leaves no doubt as to the bloodshed that took place. The silhouettes with weapons at the top of the cover also hint at the nature of the subject covered in the booklet. The disjointed and shaken font used on the front cover suggests the dramatic nature of events to be discussed, asking: "Who could have imagined this ... Massacre", indicating how horrifying and unexpected the events were.





espejo

Nº 0 JULIO 1997 300 PTS.

"Si quieren saber qué rostro hay tras el pasamontañas,
es muy sencillo: tomen un espejo y véanlo"

**DOCUMENTO:
7 PREGUNTAS
A QUIEN CORRESPONDA**

CHIAPAS: CRONOLOGIA DEL 97

**ENTREVISTA:
EDUARDO GALEANO**

SHL: D 320 PAM/3/19



Encuentro Intercontinental
por la Humanidad y
contra el neoliberalismo

del 25 de Julio al 3 de Agosto 1997
estado español - europa - planeta tierra

"They Must See That We Are the Rebellious Mirror That Wants To Be Glass and Break" by Julia Marszalkowska

Who Are the Zapatistas?

The Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN; Zapatista Army of National Liberation; from here onwards: Zapatistas), founded in the Lacandon Jungle in the eastern part of Chiapas, Mexico, in 1983, is a movement focused mainly on indigenous rights and land autonomy, often associated with anti-globalisation and anti-neoliberalism. The Zapatistas gained traction and international recognition with their vociferous opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), famously staging an uprising in Chiapas on the day of its ratification in 1994. Espejo (meaning mirror in English), is a magazine published by Barcelona-based counter-hegemonic collective, El Lokal. It commemorates the third year since the Zapatista revolt by providing an overview of the movement thus far, its ideological foundation, and its future prospects. As it is encapsulated in one of the magazine's articles, the Zapatistas' objective is not to install a communist state – rather, it is to unite the victims of international capital in the struggle for autonomous ways of life, a life with dignity. The transformative potential of these ideals is realised through the extensive use of symbolism and visuals. This is demonstrated through the magazine cover, where Zapatismo is interwoven with Mayan traditions and rebellious activism, drawing from both the past and the future, the local and the global.

"We Are the Rebellious Mirror" – the Use of Symbolism

The cover creates a robust, visual world that illuminates the use of imagery as a tactic to communicate political goals. Based on a combination of indigenous, communist, and Christian imagery, the Zapatistas employ a symbolic language that amplifies their message of resistance. The eponymous mirror is not only incorporated into the magazine's logo, but it also alludes to the image traditionally associated with the movement – the black balaclavas that reveal only the wearer's eyes and mouth. The recurring symbol of balaclavas, combined with the mirror imagery, illuminate the movement's solidarity-fostering objective. Here, the anonymity of the ski

mask emphasises that while the struggle is rooted in the injustice faced by the Mayan community, it corresponds to the global experience of the victims of neoliberalism. Paradoxically, the act of covering the faces makes the Zapatistas recognisable as rebels and revolutionaries. It emphasises the decentralised nature of the movement and its universalism, uniting the dissidents from all around the world.

The main spokesperson of the movement, Subcomandante Marcos (centre, saluting), emphasises the power that this symbolism holds. He demonstrates a profound awareness of his image and its potential – he has rarely been seen in attire that does not constitute his military uniform, balaclava, and pipe. This iconisation also alludes to the iconographic tradition of Latin American revolutionary imagery, resembling the omnipresence of portraits of Che Guevara or Emiliano Zapata. This way, the Zapatistas spotlight solidarity and communicate their new way of doing politics – as remarked by the Subcomandante in the magazine's slogan: "if you want to know what face is behind the balaclava, it's very simple: take a mirror and look at it."

Similarly, Comandanta Ramona (sitting, in a white dress) taps into the traditional Mayan imagery through her usual wear – a dress typically worn by indigenous women, accompanied by the iconic balaclava. As women constitute almost 30% of the Mayan community in Chiapas, Comandanta Ramona was devoted to carving out space for the indigenous women within the movement and fighting their traditional isolation from politics. They quickly became known as "las mujeres con la dignidad rebelde" ("women with rebellious dignity"), with Ramona as their key figure and spokesperson. In their campaign for the EZLN to incorporate Women's Revolutionary Law into the agenda, "las mujeres" constantly illuminate that while indigeneity is a category of struggle, so is gender. The strong presence of the Comandanta on the cover makes this point loud and clear.

Transnational Solidarity

The back cover of the magazine is covered by a poster announcing II Encuentro Intercontinental por la Humanidad y Contra el Neoliberalismo (Second Intercontinental Meeting for Humanity and against Neoliberalism; Encuentro onwards), which points to another key aspect of the movement –

"They Must See That We Are the Rebellious Mirror That Wants To Be Glass and Break"

by Julia Marszalkowska

transnational solidarity. As reflected by the red colour palette and the revolutionary symbol of a red star, the Encuentro was focused on building intercontinental networks of resistance against the neoliberal hegemony and brought together more than 4,000 participants from all over the world. United in defence of human dignity, the delegates at Encuentro spearheaded a new definition of solidarity as a common journey grounded in grassroots struggle and resulting in an exchange of lived experiences and organisational know-how.

This way the magazine, despite being produced thousands of kilometres away from the jungle of Chiapas, captures the essence of the Zapatista mission. It conveys that although they are engaged in a struggle that spans over 500 years of oppression and injustice, the novelty of the Zapatista tactics, their focus on art and transnational orientation defies the conventional ways of doing politics.

The Protectors of Life

As we are entangled in a global crisis that put the relationship between humans and nature into question, the Zapatismo's message seems more relevant than ever. Their fight for personal dignity, democracy and justice rooted in the indigenous identity demonstrates that another form of political organisation is possible, one that retains the fight for human dignity at its heart. Through their activism, the Zapatistas have created a platform for cooperation with anti-globalisation movements from different parts of the world. Such an internationalist focus illustrates the urgency of cross-border political alliances. With their recent initiative – sailing to the shore of Spain in May 2021 – the Zapatistas take their local struggle to a global level. Both the Encuentro and their latest venture are efforts to forge solidarity and defend life in its multiplicity of forms. To echo Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the recently deceased former student of King's College London where this project is taking place, "the future does not belong to the Merchants of Death – it belongs to the Protectors of Life."



An illustration of a Zapatista woman derived from the pamphlet (SHL: D 320 PAM/3/19)

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