



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

CONTENTS

1. General Cold War Latin America
2. Operation Condor
3. Argentina
4. Chile
5. Brazil
6. Guatemala
7. Nicaragua
8. Exile and Solidarity
9. Resistance Music/Music for Hope/Nueva Canción
10. Testimony, Memory & Truth
11. Films
12. Podcasts
13. Primary Sources
14. Student-generated Content

1. GENERAL COLD WAR LATIN AMERICA

Dávila, Jerry, *Dictatorship in Latin America* (Chichester, Wiley Blackwell, 2013)

Rabe, Stephen G. *The Killing Zone: the USA wages Cold War in Latin America* (New York, Oxford University Press 2012)

- especially chapter 3

Skidmore, Thomas E. & Smith, Peter H. *Modern Latin America* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989)

- good for an overview, has several specific country sections (including Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Peru, Cuba) divided up into time periods, as well as a section on Central America and US influence

Meade, Teresa *A History of Modern Latin America: 1800 to the Present* (Wiley Blackwell 2010)

- another good introductory text, see chapters on Cold War period - esp chapter 10

Peter Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Latin America, the United States and the World* (New York, 2013)

- chapter 4 background on US-Latin America relations, good for general context

Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, *'From the Noble Savage to the Third World' in Alexander Dawson, Latin America since Independence: A History with Primary Sources, 2nd ed.* (New York, 2015)

Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser (eds.), *In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War* (Durham, 2008).



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

Pereira, Anthony. *Political (In)justice: Authoritarianism and the Rule of Law in Brazil, Chile, and Argentina* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005)

Marchesi, Aldo. *Latin America's Radical Left: Rebellion and Cold War in the Global 1960s*. (New York and Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018).

- *SHORTER READ: Marchesi, Aldo. The May 68 That Was Not May 68: Latin America in the Global Sixties. Verso Blog. <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3846-the-may-68-that-was-not-may-68-latin-america-in-the-global-sixties>

2. OPERATION CONDOR (cooperation between military regimes in Southern Cone)

Harmer, Tanya. "Brazil's Cold War in the Southern Cone, 1970–1975", *Cold War History*, 12:4, 2012: 659–681

Dinges, John. *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents* (New York, 2004)

- especially chapter 1.

McSherry, J. P. "Operation Condor: Clandestine Inter-American System, Shadows of State Terrorism: Impunity in Latin America". *Social Justice* 26(4) 1999

McSherry, J. P. *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005)

Gill, Lesley. *The School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence in the Americas* (Durham, 2004)

- especially chapter 3

Lessa, Francesca. *The Condor Trials: Transnational Repression and Human Rights in South America*. (Yale University Press, 2022). *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2g591p5>.

- if you have less time, see this article by the same author: Lessa, Francesca. "Remnants of Truth: The Role of Archives in Human Rights Trials for Operation Condor." *Latin American Research Review* 56, no. 1 (2021): 183–99, 2021 doi:10.25222/larr.769.

3. ARGENTINA

Jaroslavsky, Andrés, *The future of memory: Children of the dictatorship in Argentina speak*, (London, Latin American Bureau, 2004)

Nouzeilles, Gabriela & Montaldo, Graciela R. *The Argentina Reader: History, Culture, and Society* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2002)

Marguerite Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror, rev. ed.* (New York, 2011),

- See chapter 1 on how the regime used language to repress



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

Torre, Juan Carlos, and Liliana de Riz. "Argentina since 1946." Chapter. In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell, 8:73–194. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

- This chapter is great for the longer historical context. If you don't have time to read the whole thing, you might want to skip to page 144 which starts three years before the coup, or page 157 which starts with the coup itself.

Argentina 1978 World Cup:

<https://papelitos.com.ar/home> - website with 78 stories about the World Cup, the military dictatorship and the protests and campaigns around it (each story is in Spanish and English)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2c4cio8CLPo> A Dirty game documentary about Dutch campaigns against the 1978 World Cup

Pelé Argentina and the dictators

<https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/1655BC61?bcast=132242936> (log on with Uni details)

4. CHILE

Constable, Pamela & Valenzuela, Arturo, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet*, (New York, Norton, 1993)

Winn, Peter, (ed). *The Chile Reader: history, culture, politics* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2013)

- Various short readings on the country from a variety of sources including various on the lead up to the coup and the Pinochet dictatorship. Apart from the Argentina one above, there are also versions of these for Peru, Colombia, Brazil and Bolivia

Guardiola-Rivera, Oscar, *Story of a Death Foretold: Pinochet, the CIA and the Coup against Salvador Allende, 11 September 1973* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

Bruey, Alison J., *Bread, Justice, and Liberty: Grassroots Activism and Human Rights in Pinochet's Chile* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2018).

Power, Margaret "More than Mere Pawns: Right-Wing Women in Chile," *Journal of Women's History*, Volume 16, Number 3, Fall 2004, 138-151.

Angell, Alan. "*Chile since 1958*", *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. 1st ed. Vol. 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 311-382. Cambridge Histories Online.

Debray, Regis. *The Chilean Revolution*. (New York City: Pantheon Books, 1972)

- Doubles up as a primary source, an account of the situation on the ground



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

5. BRAZIL

Langland, Victoria. *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil* (Durham, 2013)

- Especially chapters 3 and 4

Langland, Victoria. "Birth Control Pills and Molotov Cocktails: Reading Sex and Revolution in 1968 Brazil". In Gilbert M. Joseph & Daniela Spenser (Eds.). *In From the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter With the Cold War*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

- On the gendered dimensions of repression in Brazil.

Serbin, Kenneth. *Secret Dialogues: Church-State Relations, Torture, and Social Justice in Authoritarian Brazil* (Pittsburgh, 2000)

- Especially chapter 1

Skidmore, Thomas, E. *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil* (Oxford, 1988)

Bethell, Leslie (Ed.). (2008) *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume 9. Brazil Since 1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Skip to the chapter section on the 1964 coup onwards

Câmara, Helder. "Violence and Misery". *New Blackfriars* 50(589): 491–496, 1969

6. GUATEMALA

Cullather, Nick *Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of its Operations in Guatemala, 1952– 1954*, 2nd ed. (Stanford, 2006).

Garrard-Burnett, Virginia *Terror in the Land of the Holy Spirit: Guatemala under General Efraín Ríos Montt* (Oxford, 2010)

- Especially chapter 1

Grandin, Greg *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War*, rev. e (Chicago, 2011), 1–18.

Menchú, Rigoberta, *I, Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, ed. Elisabeth Burgos Debray, trans. Ann Wright (London, 2009)

- Doubles up as a primary resource - this book is a first hand testimony of state repression from the perspective of a Mayan Indigenous woman who went on to win the Nobel Peace Prize. The book sparked interesting debate surrounding the relationship between collective memory and "truth". See especially chapter 1, pp15–24.

Dunkerley, James. "Guatemala since 1930." Chapter. In *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell, 7:211–50. The Cambridge History of Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

- if you don't have time for the whole thing, start on page 226 which deals with the lead-up to Arbenz' overthrow in 1954 and sets the scene for the string of military rulers to follow.

Grandin, G.; Levenson, D. T. & Oglesby, E. *The Guatemala Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (Duke University Press, 2011)

- This is a collection of primary sources and short texts relating to Guatemala. Some to focus on: Section VI, Intent to Destroy, particularly 'The San Francisco Massacre', 'We Cannot Confirm or Deny' and 'Acts of Genocide' pages 373-394.

7. NICARAGUA

Kampwirth, Karen, "Women in the Armed Struggles in Nicaragua: Sandinistas and Contras Compared", in Victoria González and Karen Kampwirth (eds.), *Radical Women in Latin America: Left and Right* (University Park, 2001), 79-110.

Peace, Roger, "Winning Hearts and Minds: The Debate Over U.S. Intervention in Nicaragua in the 1980s", *Peace & Change* 35, no. 1 (2010), 1-38.

8. EXILE AND SOLIDARITY

Christiaens, K. "Orchestrating Solidarity: Third World Agency, Transnational Networks & the Belgian Mobilization for Vietnam & Latin America, 1960s-1980s". *Journal of Belgian History* XLIII 2013: 2-3. 2013

Christiaens, K. "Why Brazil? The Belgian Mobilization Against Repression in Brazil in the 1970s." *Journal of Belgian History*. 2013

Christiaens, K. "European Reconfigurations of Transnational Activism: Solidarity and Human Rights Campaigns on Behalf of Chile during the 1970s and 1980s". *International Review of Social History* 63(3): 413-448. 2018

Christiaens, K., Rodríguez García, M., & Goddeeris, I. (Eds.). *A Global Perspective on the European Mobilization for Chile (1970s-1980s)*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 7-46. 2018

Green, J. N. *We Cannot Remain Silent: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010)

- This book weaves together history and testimony. If you don't have time for a whole book, see the below article by the same author.

Green, James N. "Clergy, Exiles, and Academics: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States", 1964-1974. *Latin American Politics and Society* 45(1), 2003: 87-117



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

Grimaldi, A. "Brazilian Portrayals of Indigenous Rights in Western Europe During the 1970s and 1980s." *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 12(2), 2020: 321–340

Grimaldi, A. *Brazil and the Transnational Human Rights Movement, 1964–1985* (Anthem Press, 2023)

- This book builds on the works of James Green (see above) by looking at Western Europe

Kelly, P. W. "Magic Words": The Advent of Transnational Human Rights Activism in Latin America's Southern Cone in the Long 1970s. In J. Ecker & S. Moyn (Eds.). *The Breakthrough Human Rights in the 1970s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013: 88–106)

Livingstone, Grace. "British Campaigns for Solidarity With Argentina and Chile". *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 39(5), 2019: 614–628

Rolleberg, D. & Thompson, T. "The Brazilian Exile Experience: Remaking Identities" *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 2007: 81–105

Livingstone, Grace, *Britain and the Dictatorships of Argentina and Chile, 1973–82: Foreign Policy, Corporations and Social Movements* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

Hirsch, Shirin, "A Quarrel of Limited Concern to the People of this Country?": The British Labour Movement and Chile Solidarity", *Labour History Review*, 81, 2016: 237–57

9. RESISTANCE MUSIC/MUSIC FOR HOPE/NUEVA CANCIÓN

Balliger, Robin, 'Sounds of Resistance', in *The Global Resistance Reader*, ed. by Louise Amoore (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 423–36.

González, Jordán & Francisca, Laura. "Clandestine Recordings: The Use of the Cassette in the Music of the Political Resistance during the Dictatorship (Chile, 1973–1989)", in *IASPM 16th International Conference: Situating Popular Musics*, ed. by Ed Montano and Carlo Nardi (Grahamstown, South Africa, 2011): 307–15

McSherry, J. Patrice, *Chilean New Song: The Political Power of Music, 1960s–1973* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2015)

McSherry, J. Patrice, "Chile 1960s: Intertwined Revolutions in Music and Politics", in *Global 1968: Cultural Revolutions in Europe and Latin America*, ed. by A. James McAdams and Anthony P. Monta (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2021): 261–87

Vila, Pablo, and Paul Cammack, "Rock Nacional and Dictatorship in Argentina", *Popular Music*, 6, 1987: 129–48

Taffet, Jeffrey F., "My Guitar is Not for the Rich': The New Chilean Song Movement and the Politics of Culture", *Journal of American Culture*, 20, 1997: 91–103



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

Pring-Mill, Robert, "The Roles of Revolutionary Song: A Nicaraguan Assessment", *Popular Music*, 6, 1987: 179-89

10. TESTIMONY, MEMORY & TRUTH

Weld, Kirsten. A. "Dignifying the Guerrillero, Not the Assassin: Rewriting a History of Criminal Subversion in Postwar Guatemala". *Radical History Review*, Issue 113, 2012

- This text discusses the discovery of Guatemala's police archives and the country's subsequent truth commission, and deals with some of the more complex debates around the politics of remembering

Hite, K. & Badilla, M. "Memorializing in Movement: Chilean Sites of Memory as Spaces of Activism and Imagination". *A Contra Corriente: Una Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos*. Volume 16 N.3, 2019: 1-16

Jelin, Elizabeth et. al., *State Repression and the Labors of Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003)

Jelin, Elizabeth, "Public Memorialization in Perspective: Truth, Justice and Memory of Past Repression in the Southern Cone of South America", *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 1, 2007: 138-56

Bosco, F, "Place, space, networks, and the sustainability of collective action: the Madres de Plaza de Mayo". *Global Networks*, Vol.1 No.4, 2001

Klep, K "Tracing collective memory: Chilean truth commissions and memorial sites. *Memory Studies*, 5(3), 2012: 259-269

Atencio, R "Haunting Pasts and the Politics of Street Naming in Nicaragua and Brazil". *American Anthropological Association, City & Society* 30(1): 2018

Staiger, U; Steiner H, & Webber, A. "Buenos Aires 2010: Memory Machines and Cybercities" in *Memory Culture and the Contemporary City* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

Kirsten Mahlke, Kirsten "A Fantastic Tale of Terror: Argentina's "Disappeared" and their Narrative Representation in Julio Cortazar's "Second Time Around"" *Literature and Terrorism: Comparative Perspectives*. Edited by Michael C. Frank and Eva Gruber. Rodopi, 2012: 195-212

Garibotto, Verónica. "Iconic Fictions: Narrating Recent Argentine History in Post-2000 Second-Generation Films" *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas*. Vol.8, No.2 (March 2012): 175-188

Rebecca Atencio, R & Schneider, N. "Reckoning with Dictatorship in Brazil: The Double-Edged Role of Artistic-Cultural Production". *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 210, Vol. 43 No. 5 (September 2016): 12-28



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

- looks at (Brazil's) cultural production in the absence of state narratives on the past (includes non-fictional autobiographies, but also telenovelas).

11. FILMS

La Historia Oficial (Argentina, 1985) directed by Luis Puenzo - DVD in library

Garaje Olimpo (Argentina, 1999) directed by Marco Bechis -
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9KILC4hBQbg>

Imagining Argentina - (Argentina, 2003) directed by Christopher Hampton
<https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/00525393?bcast=33176256>

No (Chile, 2012) directed by Pablo Larraín -
<https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0601D80B?bcast=127556355> (log on with Uni details)

Post Mortem (Chile, 2010) directed by Pablo Larraín - DVD in library

Tony Manero (Chile, 2008) Pablo Larraín -
<https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/014C0DD9?bcast=87485093>

Nostalgia for the Light (2010); *The Pearl Button* (2015); *The Cordillera of Dreams* (2019);
Chile: The Obstinate Memory (1997) - documentary, all from Chile, all films by Patricio Guzman -
<https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/02F0BCE3?bcast=110360982>

Marighella (Brazil, 2019) directed by Wagner Moura

Four Days in September (Brazil, 1997) directed by Bruno Barreto

12. PODCASTS

"In this series of podcasts, University of Liverpool academics explore the Institute of Popular Music's archive, and, in particular, the Robert Pring-Mill collection of Latin American 'canciones de lucha y esperanza'; 'songs of hope and struggle':
<https://podcasts.apple.com/gb/podcast/chile-en-liverpool-music-memories-m%C3%BAsica-memorias/id1587011862>

General Introduction to dictatorship in the region: <https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/democracies-and-dictatorships-latin-america-emergence-survival-and-fall>

On the use of state terror: <https://podcasts.la.utexas.edu/this-is-democracy/podcast/ep-75-uses-of-terror-by-latin-american-dictators/>



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

On Argentina/UK government with Grace Livingstone (University of Cambridge):
<https://audioboom.com/posts/7960200-the-uk-and-latin-america-an-interview-with-grace-livingstone-october-2021>

On football from Peter Watson (University of Leeds) <https://outsidewrite.co.uk/podcast-football-under-dictatorship-in-south-america/>

A podcast episode looking at the reconstruction of the story of a massacre decades after the event: <https://www.thisamericanlife.org/465/what-happened-at-dos-erres>

13. PRIMARY SOURCES

Cristi Rojas, Nicole, and Javiera Manzi Araneda, "Political Resistance Posters During Pinochet's Dictatorship in Chile: Approaching the Graphic Backroom", *Journal of Design History*, 32, 2018: 69-87

- This paper looks at the artworks of Antonio Kadima. Below you can see a sample of his Tallersol collection

Archive of Resistance, Tallersol collection:
<https://meap.library.ucla.edu/projects/memories-of-resistance/>

Compilation of data relating to human rights violations under Plan Condor
<https://plancondor.org/en/project>

14. STUDENT-GENERATED CONTENT

Spotify Playlist, *Thinking Inside the Box: 1973*:
<https://open.spotify.com/playlist/58rM96b9yq983QgoTG42vq?si=EqrNUePsTPqwpzyRvXPZnw&nd=1>

15 Essays on Hope, Struggle and Solidarity, written by students at the University of Leeds as part of *Hope, Struggle and Solidarity* <https://www.thinkinginsidethebox.co.uk/hope-struggle-solidarity>

Documentary: *Thinking Inside the Box*, King's College London, 2023. Directed & produced by Robert Crosby and Daniel Spill
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NqlpskNkz3w&ab_channel=ThinkingInsideTheBox

Thinking Inside the Box: 1973 Zine, Issue 1, University of Leeds, 2023. Download here:
<https://www.thinkinginsidethebox.co.uk/s/Thinking-Inside-The-Box-catalogue-2022-compressed-1.pdf>



Hope, Struggle and Solidarity: A Reading List (2022)

Thinking Inside the Box Vol.2: Echoes Of 1973: Revisiting The Memories Of Latin America, King's College London, 2023. Download here:

https://static1.squarespace.com/static/63cad96a2c69fc2f342b8244/t/643bedcac5df372a3e66e12b/1681649113614/Thinking+Inside+The+Box+2023+Catalogue_compressed.pdf

Thinking Inside the Box Vol.1: Latin American Political Posters & Pamphlets, Kings College London, 2022. Download here:

<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/63cad96a2c69fc2f342b8244/t/63f904404836bd79ade87410/1677263971471/Thinking+Inside+The+Box+catalogue+2022-compressed+%281%29.pdf>