

A la vida, a la libertad

# Thinking inside the box

THE CATALOGUE

**ECHOES OF 1973: REVISITING THE  
MEMORIES OF LATIN AMERICA**

University of London  
King's College London  
London School of Economics  
Queen Mary University of London  
School of Advanced Studies - Senate House  
University of Leeds  
University of Liverpool



King's College London, 2023

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# Table Of Contents

**03.** The project

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**04.** Countries covered

---

**05.** Introducing  
the teams

---

## **07. Poster articles**

---

<b>07.</b>	Argentina	<b>46.</b>	Paraguay
<b>10.</b>	Brazil	<b>49.</b>	Uruguay
<b>13.</b>	Chile	<b>52.</b>	Elsewhere
<b>33.</b>	Colombia		
<b>40.</b>	Cuba		

**61.** Side events

---

**62.** Behind the scenes

---

**64.** Acknowledgments

---

# THE PROJECT



By Vinicius Mariano de Carvalho

In 2021/22, at King's College London, together with my colleagues Dr Anna Grimaldi, Dr Eleonora Natale and Julio Cazzasa, we lead a co-curricular project called 'Thinking Inside the Box'. This was a student-led pedagogical project set up at King's College London, in close partnership with University of London's Senate House Library. The project took a deep dive into their largely unknown yet expansive Special Collection of Latin American Political Posters and pamphlets of the mid- to late-20th century. This project is pedagogically oriented by Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, and the intention being to bring student's worldviews and positionalities into the interpretation and treatment of the visual artefacts contained in the collection. Students were prepared through a series of workshops and presentations on how to conduct their research in archives. Students organized themselves into groups to coordinate different aspects of the project, including the visual identity, documenting the project, and website and social media management. The Exhibition launch was held on Wednesday 30 March, 2022. Images were displayed alongside captions produced by students, as well as audio descriptions of the items for people with visual impairments. Students also created an 80-page catalogue. Among other things, the catalogue contained 19 reflective research essays written by students based on the materials they had curated. All the outcomes are available on the website designed by students at: <https://brazilinstitute.squarespace.com/thinkinginsidebox>

This exhibition was also presented in Leeds University and in the University of Torino, in Italy. Following the success of the first edition of this project, we expanded it in scope to drive a nationwide, multimedia exhibition based on the theme of 1973 in Latin America. The most famous event of the period is undoubtedly the overthrow of democratically-elected President Salvador Allende of Chile on the 11th September. But Latin America has several other reasons to remember this year; in June, a military coup installed an authoritarian regime in Uruguay; in Paraguay, military officer Alfredo Stroessner was suspiciously re-elected for the fourth of seven times; Argentina re-elected Juan Perón, recently returned from exile; and in Brazil, the harshest years of the military regime, the so-called years of lead, appeared to be coming to an end. We continued working with Senate House Library on Thinking Inside the Box: 1973, but expanded the archives, including, for instance the digitalized collection of Tallersol, a Chilean engaged art

collective and the collection of University of Liverpool - Popular Music Archive. The universities of Leeds and Queen Mary University in London also joined forces in this new endeavor. In addition, a series of related events in conjunction with the exhibition, such as film screening, academic roundtables, musical performances are part of this year project.

This catalogue represents a very important part of Thinking Inside the Box. It is a concrete product that reflects the work done by the students involved in all the stages of this project. Here you will have not only the images selected by the students to perform and interpret. This catalogue represents the dialogue between what the archives kept memorialistically and the worldview of the students that opened the boxes, immersed themselves in their content and history, and reanimated the content of the archives, performing then in the exhibition.

Thinking Inside the Box intends to generate liberatory conscientisation. Through the project, students were encouraged to build up their own interpretation of the posters through their worldviews, and likewise their interpretation of the world through the performance of the posters. By engaging in performing the archive, students are invited to move from passive audiences to prescribed knowledge that merely incorporate content to active knowledge creators in the educational process. The difficult exercise of break boundaries of hierarchical structures of management of knowledge was experienced and we could experiment what Paulo Freire said in his Pedagogy of Oppressed: "Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each Other". This project would be not possible without the participation and contribution of several actors, all of them acknowledge in these pages. But the most important of them are definitely the students that engaged in the project this year and dedicated an immense amount of work in making this a reality. I don't have enough words to thank them, to congratulate them, to express how much they have taught me during the exercise of reenacting these posters.

**May the messages of these posters and pamphlets resonate to us today and remind us about the values of justice, human rights and solidarity, so needed in our times as it was in 1973.**

# COUNTRIES COVERED



Credits: World Atlas

# INTRODUCING THE TEAMS

## External Relations

*Nathalie Scharpf, Paulina Bravo Prida, Isabelle Hickman, Ella Sweeting, Rayhana Begum*

'Thinking Inside the Box' takes a unique perspective on a difficult chapter of Latin American history. This project focuses on 'echoes of memory' through each country's unique and individualistically rich cultural tapestries. Our belief that these forgotten memories deserve to be seen, heard and felt and that this project, and everyone who has worked tirelessly towards it, deserves to be recognised has driven our work.

Behind the posters and event production, the PR and External Relations team has worked to connect with the public, journalists, diplomatic missions, and academic experts in Latin America, seeking to harness their expertise and increase the project's reach.

## Visual Identity

*Tilila Sara Bakrim, Shauna Amsellem, Lucy Georgiou, Victoria MacKinnon*

The Visual Identity team is in charge of designing and printing all the visuals of the project (logos, posters, catalogue, colour palettes, captions, presentations...) to give the Thinking Inside the Box project its own and unique identity! Our aim is to use creativity to express powerful messages related to the project's theme, which is resistance under Latin American dictatorships. The fact that we are working on a creative project makes the design even more important and shows how much we can express through images and visuals. Because, yes, an image is worth a 1,000 words.

## Social Media

*Shauna Amsellem, Nicole Xiayi Pung, Lucy Georgiou*

The social media team plays a crucial role in promoting the "Thinking Inside the Box" project led by students. It includes managing the project's social media accounts, creating and sharing pertinent content, making appealing visuals and making partnerships with other relevant accounts for promotion. By leveraging the power of social media, the team helps to amplify the project's message and can reach a broader audience which contributes to the project's success.

## Documentary

*Bobby Crosby, Daniel Spill*

Our role is to document the behind-the-scenes of the Thinking Inside the Box project by interviewing the students and academics involved and filming events, to create a short film exploring and promoting the project. The documentary screening accompanies the exhibition, and will be used to promote future iterations of Thinking Inside the Box.

## Publications

*Anupriya Saraswat, Ciaran Mooney, Paulina Bravo Prida, Mercedes Osuna Vergara*

Thinking Inside The Box 1973 is a beautiful performance that relies entirely on our ability to take dormant political subjects from a removed location, and have researchers from very different backgrounds bring them to life 50 years later.

The Publications and Research team meticulously ensured every single author was able to explore these topics, discover and propose an interpretation in their unique voice.

## Podcast

*James Hulme, Cynthia Lacouture Gonzalez, Shimoni Sinha*

The Thinking Inside The Box Podcast is a guest podcast series hosted by the King's College London History Society that will explore the impact art and music had on the revolutionary and social movements in Latin & South American countries and around the year 1973 and how the legacy and themes of these works of art still resonate with the political situations in Latin & South America today.

This podcast is in conjunction with the Thinking Inside the Box project and exhibition, a co-curricular project between King's College London, Leeds University and Queen Mary University in close partnership with Senate House Library that takes a deep dive into their largely unknown, yet expansive, collection of Latin American political posters and pamphlets of the mid-20th century. Our guests will include academics and leading experts in the field of Latin American politics and Latin American political art and music and students participating in the analysis of political posters chosen for the exhibit.

## Film screening

*Nathalie Scharpf, Mercedes Osuna Vergara, Daniel Spill, Jason Clerico Pharaoh, Keir McEwan*

Kicking off a month-long festival of events, the screening of 'La Historia Oficial' marked the inaugural step of Thinking Inside The Box: 1973. Organised by a subset of the London team with the collaboration of the Visual Identity, Social Media, Documentary, and Publications teams, the event sought to investigate the role of memory in the search for truth and justice in Argentina, collaborating with the Argentinian Embassy, Queen Mary University London, and academics across London.

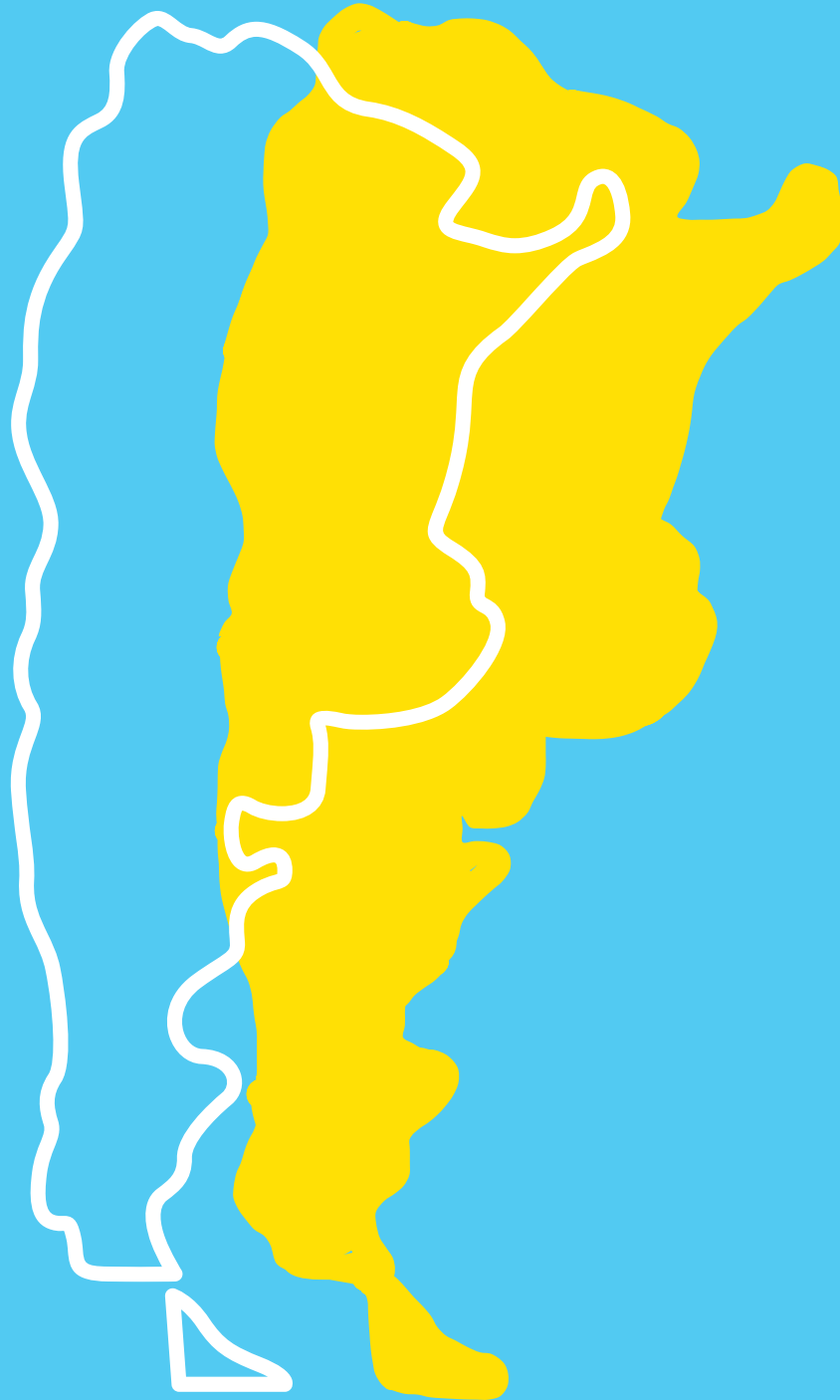
## Exhibition set up

*Linda Kelmendi, Nathalie Scharpf, Anupriya Saraswat, Nicole Xiyai Pung, Paulina Bravo Prida, Tilila Sara Bakrim, Shauna Amsellem, Siddhanti Meshram, Daniel Spill*

This team, as the final exhibition is a product of the cooperation of all the project's teams. However, the few students mentioned above have "walked an extra mile" to create a dynamic and engaging exhibition that will leave a lasting impression. Combining varying levels of expertise and experience, this team handles all aspects of exhibition setup, from planning and design to installation and dismantling. They are behind the exhibition's physical and virtual catalogue, social media communications and other beautifully designed audio-visual materials. Finally, thanks to their fantastic outreach, they ensure that the final work reaches audiences across the University of London and beyond.

# ARGENTINA

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# RAISE YOUR VOICE, SAVE A LIFE

How did the resistance committees in Europe organise to provide support and visibility to their counterparts in Latin America? This article studies the case of Argentina under General Jorge Rafael Videla.

*Tilila Sara Bakrim*

*CISA "Levez la voix, sauvez une vie",  
Case postale 167 - 1211 Genève - C.C.P 12  
- 8889  
S.H.L*



**T**he 1970s were a tumultuous time for Latin America, as many countries in the continent were ruled by right-wing authoritarian regimes notorious for their human rights abuses.

These regimes, often backed by the United States, targeted left-wing activists, labour organisers, and anyone else who challenged their authority. In response, many activists in Latin America sought support from sympathetic individuals and organisations in Europe, particularly France,

which had a strong tradition of left-wing activism.

## **The emergence of the Comité d'Information et de Soutien à l'Argentine (CISA)**

In response to this call to aid, one of the organisations that emerged during this time was the Comité d'Information et de Soutien à l'Argentine (CISA), or the Committee for Information and Support for Argentina. The CISA was founded in France in 1976, shortly after a military coup in Argentina had ousted the democratically elected government of Isabel de Perón. The new regime,

led by General Jorge Rafael Videla, immediately launched a ruthless campaign of repression that would eventually claim the lives of an estimated 10,000 to 30,000 people. The CISA was founded to raise awareness about the situation in Argentina and to support the efforts of Argentine activists resisting/protesting the military regime. The organisation consisted of a diverse group of individuals, including journalists, activists, and academics. ►►

They organised demonstrations, circulated petitions, and lobbied for the French government to take a more active role in opposing the military regime.

### **Politics, Art and Resistance**

The poster "*Levez la voix, sauvez une vie*", which translates to "Raise your voice, save a life", is one of the most iconic images associated with the CISA. The poster features a striking image of a skull on a map of the Latin American continent. With its aim to inform and mobilise individuals in Europe, the message of the poster was clear: by speaking out against the repression and disappearances in Argentina, individuals in Europe could help protect those being targeted by the regime.

The poster was designed by a French artist named Gérard Fromanger, who was a member of the CISA. Fromanger was a prominent figure in the Parisian art scene in the 1970s, known for his politically charged work. His art often addressed issues of social justice and political oppression, and he was a vocal critic of the French government's support for right-wing regimes in Latin America.

The poster was widely distributed in France and other parts of Europe, becoming an expression of solidarity as European activists sought to

support their counterparts in Latin America. through political dialogue and human rights advocacy.

### **The role of European Support Committees**

Committees like the CISA played a crucial role in coordinating their actions – serving as a conduit for information and resources, keeping activists informed about the situation, and enabling effective collaboration.

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**“There is no doubt that political artworks helped spread the message of resistance in the face of adversity”**

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European support committees were instrumental in supporting activists in Latin America by providing them with funding. Many activists in Latin America were working in extremely difficult conditions, and they often lacked even the most basic necessities, such as food and shelter. European support committees helped these activists to continue their

work by giving them the vital resources they needed.

In addition to providing material support, these committees also played an important role in raising awareness about the situation in Latin America. The protests and demonstrations that they organised garnered the support necessary for pressuring foreign governments and international organisations to take action to oppose the military dictatorship in Argentina.

### **Fostering Community and Solidarity**

Perhaps most importantly, these committees helped to create networks of solidarity between activists in Latin America and Europe. These networks allowed activists to share information, resources, and strategies, and they helped to create a sense of international community among those who were fighting for social justice and human rights.

Despite the many challenges they faced, activists in Latin America were able to achieve significant victories during the 1970s and 1980s, and there is no doubt that political artworks helped spread the message of resistance in the face of adversity. ●

# BRAZIL

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# WHEN VOLUNTEERS BECAME ACTIVISTS

In the condemnation of the Brazilian regime and its western supporters, an unlikely group played a major role in bringing awareness and support: the Committee of Returned Volunteers.

*Ciaran Mooney*

*Brazil, Committee of Returned Volunteers.*

*S.H.L - S 320 PAM 1/08*



**T**he Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV) was an anti-war and anti-imperialist organisation that operated from 1966 to 1971. It had approximately 3,000 members in the

United States, across 12 chapters in 25 cities. The CRV primarily consisted of individuals who had previously worked in voluntary service programs within the United States as well as Asia, Africa and Latin America, with a majority of its members having served in the Peace Corps.

After volunteering in these countries, many members of the CRV had become disillusioned with America's foreign policy and role in international development. They believed that the U.S. not only lacked an understanding of the root causes of poverty and inequality, but also actively perpetuated underdevelopment, leading them to oppose the U.S. role in world affairs.

Their aim was to draw attention to social, political, and economic injustices in the "Third World," particularly those perpetuated

and sustained by the United States and its allies. To achieve this goal, the organisation circulated a quarterly newsletter to its network, for raising awareness about various issues worldwide. The objective of these newsletters was to promote visibility and solidarity among leftist and anti-imperialist organisations globally. They featured a collection of pictures, essays and reports that covered a wide range of topics from around the world as well as from...▶▶

...within the United States, detailing protests and organising the collection of funds for groups abroad. The chosen illustration, which was the cover of a newsletter published by the CRV in 1971 is emblematic of the group's political beliefs and activism. The cover emphasises CRV's critique of the Brazilian military regime's authoritarianism and its human rights abuses, as well as their condemnation of the countries that supported the regime. The illustration portrays Western countries as puppeteers controlling the Brazilian military regime, suggesting that those countries are complicit in the regime's actions. The cover underscored the CRV's view that the human rights violations committed by Brazilian authorities were not solely the responsibility of the Brazilian government, but also of those who supported it from abroad.

The Committee of Returned Volunteers was part of a broader movement of activists, intellectuals, and artists who were critical of the military dictatorship in Brazil and the US government's support of the regime. The CRV's usage of such a cover tells us how widespread not only the knowledge of the atrocities being committed in Brazil was, but also the extent to which the US and its allies were seen as being complicit due to their support for the regime. The US, especially, played a significant

role in the establishment and continuation of the authoritarian regime in Brazil by providing political, financial, and military support. In 1964, the US supported a military coup that deposed democratically elected left-wing President João Goulart, under the guise of fighting corruption and communism, and reinstating democracy – paving the way for the military regime in the process.

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***"The cover tells us how widespread not only the knowledge of the atrocities being committed in Brazil was, but also the extent to which the US and its allies were seen as being complicit."***

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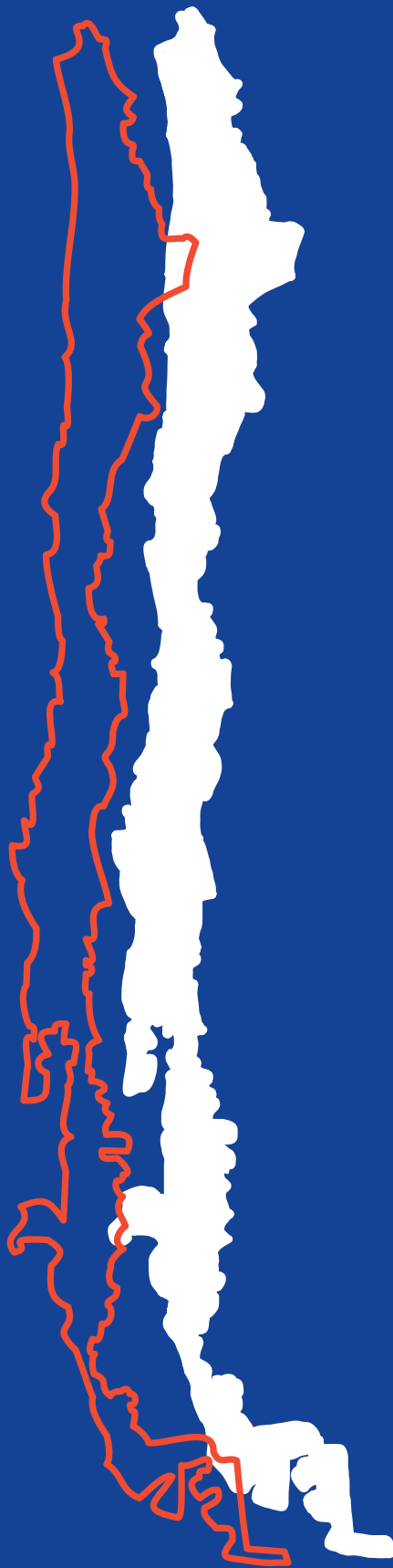
The US justified its support by viewing the authoritarian regime as a bulwark against communism in Latin America, fearing that leftist movements – such as those in Cuba and Chile – could spread throughout the region. The period from 1968 to 1974 is known as Anos de Chumbo, or Years of Lead, which was a particularly brutal period of authoritarian rule characterised by widespread human rights abuses, political repression, and economic inequality. Under the military regime, political opposition was

suppressed through censorship, torture, and disappearances. The government implemented a series of repressive laws, including the Institutional Act No. 5, which suspended civil liberties and allowed the government to imprison people without trial. Labour unions, student groups, and leftist political parties were among the groups targeted by the regime, and violent tactics were often employed to quell protests and demonstrations. The United States was aware of the abuses occurring in Brazil, and a 2018 CIA memorandum indicates that the US supported these actions as a means of protecting their interests in the region.

Provocative political art, such as the illustration on the cover of a newsletter by the Committee of Returned Volunteers, played an instrumental part in laying bare the undemocratic and self-serving interests of governments across the world. CRV were among the many leftist and liberal groups in the US and Western Europe who sought to bring attention to the increasing authoritarianism in Brazil, the suppression of civil liberties, as well as highlight their own countries' complicity in supporting the regime; political art simply served as a simple but powerful medium to do so. ●

# CHILE

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# THE ROLE OF MEMORY IN CONSTRUCTING HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

Cinema is a powerful medium in our increasingly visual world. In the creation of collective memory, what part does it play in shaping public narratives?

*Nathalie Scharpf*

*The Letelier - Moffitt Memorial Fund for Human Rights*

*S.H.L - M 320 PAM/11/32*

In 1973, Salvador Allende's democratically elected Chilean government was overthrown by a violent coup d'état — backed by the Nixon administration in the United States.

The military junta took power in Chile, and the country fell under authoritarian rule, with the dictatorship utilising violent modes of terror and repression to maintain control. Tactics included the spreading of disinformation concerning opponents of the dictatorship

(and supporters of the Allende government) to undermine support and legitimise the dictatorship's actions.

## Archival poster context

This poster illustrates one such example of the dictatorship's use of terror tactics to suppress dissenting voices: namely, the assassination of Chilean politician and diplomat Orlando Letelier, former Chilean Ambassador to the United States and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Defence during the Allende administration. Following the successful military coup

against the Allende government in 1973, Ambassador Letelier was incarcerated and tortured in a concentration camp before being released and exiled from the country. He fled to Washington, D.C., with his family and took up a senior role at a progressive think tank, the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), as a strong dissenting voice against the new Pinochet regime. In 1976, the explosion of a car bomb tied to the work of "Operation Condor" resulted... ►►

## The Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Fund for Human Rights Lecture Series

Following the assassinations of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt on September 21, 1976, the Institute for Policy Studies established the Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Fund. Both had worked at IPS, a private, Washington-based research center established in 1963 to examine major public policy questions. In 1976, Letelier had become Director of the Transnational Institute, IPS' international program with offices in Amsterdam and Washington, established three years earlier to address the fundamental disparity between the rich and poor nations of the world and develop alternatives for a remedy.

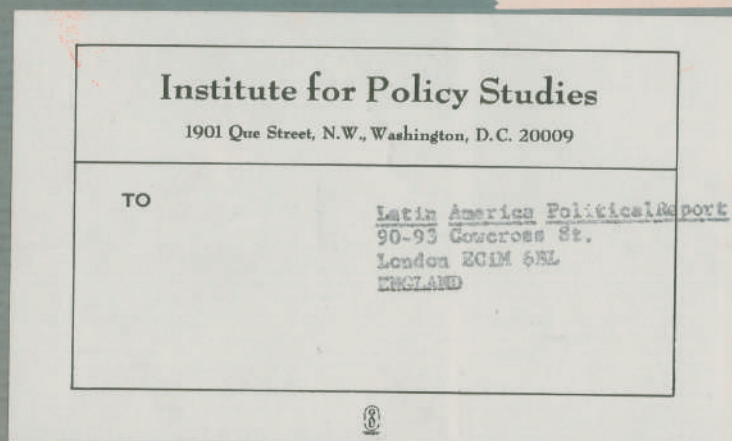
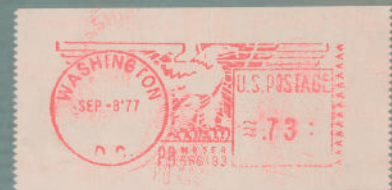
The **Lecture Series** will offer speakers, films, and slide shows to interested organizations. All honoraria will be donated to the Fund.



Letelier car is inspected after bomb explosion at Sheridan Circle, Washington, D.C.

Contact Jeffrey Stein, Coordinator of the program, at the Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, or call (202) 234-9382.

Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Fund Lecture Series  
Institute for Policy Studies  
1901 Q Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20009



...in the assassination of both Orlando Letelier and his assistant, Ronni Karen Moffitt. 19 years later in 1995, the head of Pinochet's intelligence service, Manuel Contreras, was convicted of having ordered the assassination and was sentenced to a mere seven years in prison. However, it wasn't until the Obama administration in 2015 that U.S. government documents were declassified and showed that the order for Letelier's assassination came from Pinochet himself. Though kept confidential, the hit performed on U.S. soil by the Chilean dictator's henchman put a dent in the former alliance between the U.S. and Chile and helped create distance from Pinochet's regime.

This poster is significant in what it symbolises: the search for truth and control of the narrative through the work of IPS. Following the assassinations of Letelier and Moffitt, IPS created the Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Fund for Human Rights to commemorate both them and their work. Even in the highly politicised context of the Cold War and U.S. involvement in Latin America, the Institute orchestrated a Lecture Series that sought to establish and disseminate an account of truth. Stumbling across this poster, I was intrigued by IPS's concentration on the notion of "fact" in how they sought to lay

out the truth about what had happened (highlighting U.S. involvement in Chile at that time) whilst at the same time dedicating a memorial to the victims of the atrocity.

To affirm their narrative, the Institute turned to individual perspectives, using speakers' experiences and narratives (as well as that of films) to create this "shared memory" of the events and seek justice for the victims.

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***"I was born a Chilean, I am a Chilean, I will die a Chilean. They, the Fascists, were born traitors, live as traitors and will be remembered forever as Fascist traitors."***

***– Orlando Letelier***


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### **Our engagement**

Inspired by the poster and the use of films in IPS's Lecture Series, I organised a film screening with a team of students from our Thinking Inside the Box: 1973 project, investigating the role of memory and the search for justice and truth in Argentina – another country that was also under a bloody dictatorship around the same

time. We held the film screening and panel discussion on March 24th, Argentina's national day of "Memory, Truth, and Justice," commemorating the victims of the last Argentinian dictatorship and the "Dirty War." The film that we chose to explore, Luis Puenzo's *La historia oficial* ("The Official Story"), was released in 1985 – a mere two years after the fall of the dictatorship. This film was the first from Latin America to win the Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film. The drama is set in 1983 during the final months of Argentina's last military dictatorship (1976–83). Based on political events that unfolded during the dictatorship, the film follows the story of a family as the mother sets out to investigate her adopted daughter's true origins.

As the plot unfolds within the politically charged tension of the Dirty War, the film offers a unique civilian perspective of those years. The audience watches as the mother pieces together various narratives, collaging them with personal, individual memories of other civilians to uncover the real story (the truth) rather than the "official" narrative, which had been fed to her by those with ties to the military junta.

In our post-screening panel discussion, the conversation investigated memory's... 



...critical role in shaping narratives around the past and our perception of events. We were joined on the panel discussion by Minister Alessandra Viggiano, Cultural Attaché for the Argentine Embassy to the United Kingdom. Minister Viggiano described the subjective (and intricate) process of creating memory. She emphasised how memory differs from history in its fragmentation and described memory's impact on the narratives and stories that we, ourselves, adopt and create, noting how this affects the role that we play in the present in relation to those memories and stories. Dr. Vinicius Mariano de Carvalho, a Reader in Brazilian & Latin American Studies within the Department of War Studies at King's College London, broke down this concept further, investigating the ethics of memory construction, considering how a shared memory around these significant historical events is created and maintained.

Dr. Pablo Bradbury, Lecturer at the University of Greenwich International College, raised the question of ambiguities from the past and urged the audience to review the events in less of a black-and-white context, considering the impact that secrecy had on the creation of memories and these historical narratives, whilst also recognising the more complicated and (potentially, at times) complicit roles that

civilians may have played over the course of the events.

### **The interconnected nature of memory and film**

A theme that was not explored through our discussions – but which I believe to be significant to tie both the archival poster and the event together – is the role of cinema as a communicative tool with a strategic role in memory construction. Indeed, the IPS chose to include films in its lecture series, recognising the significant influence that films (both fictional and documentaries) wield in forming public consciousness around events and as certifiers of “fact.” Films like *La historia oficial* or the ones listed on the poster – *The Long Arm of the DINA* and *Qué Hacer* – are examples of retellings of events, yet the films still communicate a specific narrative and cement a defined memory of the period at hand.

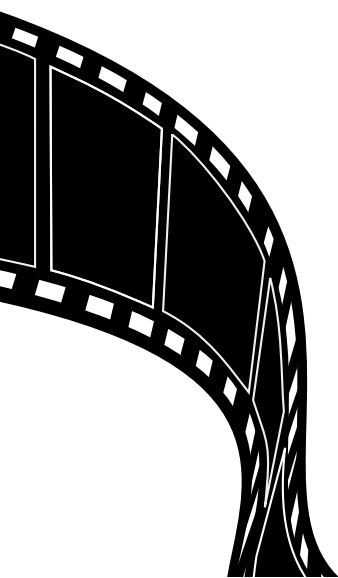
There are a multitude of reasons behind why audiences will accept the (hi)stories of films as fact; one main one is that audiences are content to do so. Our judgments are shaped by what we have seen, and we, as viewers, recognise the basis of truth in the creation of these historical film plots, even if we, ourselves, cannot definitively see the role of bias in a plot's creation, nor where the truth ends and

fiction begins. The realistic nature of films resembles the selective reel of events that is human memory; films are not continuous unravellings of a complete summary of information, but, rather, focus on selected noteworthy events that impact the characters and unfolding of a plot. Through its use of images, cinema is a powerful medium in our increasingly visual world, which relies on photos to relay narratives and influence public perceptions. Another tool contributing to the success of film as an influential medium is its ability to instil in an audience sentiments that then have resonant and real-world effects. The sentiments depicted in films (fear, sadness, anger, confusion) are tangible emotions prevalent in the everyday lives of the films' protagonists; films hold the power to transcend the screen and infuse the audience with similar feelings, influencing opinion or action. Through the frustrations and struggles that unfold in very real images in front of the audience's eyes, a certain understanding of culture and society is formed.

These sentiments converge with individual memories, and thus the narrative of a society is preserved and expressed through this solidification of facts by films. The audience must be cautious, however, in their willingness to accept... ▶▶▶

...the histories presented in films as fact, because information and this concept of “truth” can be readily manipulated by the producers – not just for propaganda, but also in the film’s incorporation of bias.

When considering the role of films in the wider narrative of a country’s history and actions in the present day, we, as viewers, should ask further questions about how these (un)official narratives are constructed, and how our engagement with history and memory continues to have repercussions today. How do we decide what to remember and what to forget, and who determines how our public consciousness is created? How are our senses of “self” and ties to communities and nations formed through these memories? And how do we (consciously and unconsciously) continue to interact with memory and narratives from the past in the present day? ●



# ALLENDE - CHILE'S COMPAÑERO PRESIDENT

Allende's place in the Chilean consciousness was cemented by the aspirations of many, and widely varying, social groups – each of which perceived his political ascent as connected to their own.

*Linda Kelmendi*

*¡Allende! Con tu ejemplo venceremos.  
S.H.L - M 320 PAM 12/13*

In the years between 1958 to 1990, Chile experienced a strong and costly political divide brought on by recurrent economic problems and power shifts between social groups. Four administrations

governed during this period – conservative-liberals, Christian-Democrats, socialist-communists and a neoliberal military dictatorship – all with diverging ideologies, political aims and policies. Nevertheless, they all were met with and failed to address excessive inflation

and massive foreign debt. Each of these administrations tried to modernise and stabilise the economy; however, as the country's population became increasingly urbanised, their policies failed to integrate the workforce into a progressively industrialised economic infrastructure.

In the 1960s, the majority of the rural population consisted of small farmers, peasants, and agricultural workers who owned little to no property. In contrast, a small group of landowners held a disproportionate share of Chile's land, wealth, and

power. This began to change under Christian-Democrat Eduardo Frei's reforms which broke up large estates and redistributed land to small farmers. However, these efforts were later stalled upon opposition from wealthy landowners and conservative politicians.

As the Christian-Democrats lost support and social conflict and ideological polarisation built up, the left-wing coalition grew stronger. Consequently, socialist-communist Salvador Allende rose to power... ►►



...in 1970 under banners that announced him as a man of the people, and his presidency like the rule of workers.

Left-leaning policies – such as the nationalisation of large-scale industries, increased access to healthcare and education, and redistribution of wealth through continued agrarian reform – led to ambitious spending by the government.

These measures created significant budget deficits that were financed through the printing of currency by the central bank. Parallely, the national currency was devalued in an effort to make Chilean exports more attractive. These conditions caused a sharp increase in inflation rates in 1972, exacerbating tensions among domestic interest groups.

On the other hand, Allende's election marked a significant departure from Chile's traditionally conservative and pro-US political orientation. At the time of his election, several US-based companies had major commercial stakes in some of Chile's biggest copper mines. His attempt to break away from dependence on the US, notably through nationalising the copper industry, prompted pushback from abroad that ultimately boiled over to create the conditions for the coup d'état of 1973.

### **Symbolism**

Presumably used for Allende's election campaign in 1970, a poster prepared by a youth

organisation affiliated with Chile's Socialist Party captures the increasingly socialist sway of popular opinion in mid-19th century Latin America. There are quite a few elements that capture the viewer's eye, such as the centrality of Allende's figure, the diverse imagery, the use of bright pink colour and the bold textual elements.

To understand these features, one needs to go back to what Allende represented and stood for.

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***"Nicknamed the  
"compañero"  
president, Allende  
was perceived as a  
representative vessel  
that would drive  
forward the people's  
vision"***

---

A champion of the working class, Allende came to power following several social movements led by peasants, students and factory workers. His own campaign had succeeded after three lost presidential races. Against this backdrop, his victory signified the triumph of non-elites, hence the slogan "Con tu ejemplo nos venceremos/Following your example, we will win".

On the poster, Allende stands before the map of Latin America next to the letters "J" (for Juventud/Youth) and "S" (for Socialista/Socialist).

Not by coincidence, the map is focused on Central America and Cuba. At the time, Fidel Castro had consolidated his socialist government in Cuba; simultaneously, left-wing guerilla activism had been making waves across Central America (especially Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador) in defiance of dictatorships, and military or right-wing regimes. The map can thus be interpreted as a reference to the long wait of the Chilean left to take power and build a united Latin America (los "pueblos hermanos" / sibling peoples), as well as to the shifting power narratives in Chilean society now leaning favourably towards the non-elites.

Allende's policies aimed to empower workers by raising wages and encouraging self-organisation. His commitment to fully implement the Agrarian reform enabled the emancipation of the rural population. Attempts to expand education access heartened Chile's women and youth. Keeping that in mind, it is easy to see how Allende portrait in the centre served as a unifying figure both literal and visual. Nicknamed the "compañero/comrade" president, Allende was perceived as not an oppressor but a representative vessel that would drive the people's vision forward... ►►

...Ultimately, Allende is presented as multifaceted: a strongman (top centre picture) surrounded by his private paramilitary security escort; a man from the countryside on horseback, more resonant with landowners than common peasants (second row to the left); a traditional family man holding his grandchildren (bottom centre image); a revolutionary standing next to Fidel Castro (bottom right picture). The curation of these identities is intentional – Allende appeals to his audiences by either resembling them or presenting himself in a way that is socially accepted and praised.

On a final note, on the poster, Allende is often seen in a heightened position: raising his hand, standing over a crowd or leading them, speaking on a podium. This does not imply superiority in front of his supporters but rather conveys his role in driving the “bottom-up revolution” or what has been described as “everyday revolutions” by author Marian Schlotterbeck. The elevated placement of his image was not about seizing power; it sought to change how the place of previously underrepresented groups saw themselves and their place in society.

### Relevance to the present

The tensions that the poster highlights are as relevant today as they were fifty years ago. It raises questions about how to navigate highly-polarised societies, and how those in

in power can provide long-lasting solutions to deeply-rooted problems. More importantly, it prompts us to think about how – assuming if – leaders navigate an ideological divide with their democratic opponents. Finally, one may trace the cause of friction between Chile’s social groups in the 1970s as a consequence of power narratives transposing. If that is the case, how do we build resilient participatory democratic systems that can represent the interests of the many while weathering disruptions by the few? ●



# THE TRIUMPH OF PEACE OVER BARBARISM

The story of Bishop Fernando Ariztia and Pastor Helmut Frenz standing against the terror in Chile.

*Shimoni Sinha*

*Support Pastor Helmut Frenz and Bishop Fernando Ariztia, Christian Fighters against Dictatorship.  
S.H.L - M 320 PAM/16/50*



1976 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR THE CHILEAN PEOPLE.  
SUPPORT PASTOR HELMUT FRENZ AND BISHOP FERNANDO ARIZTIA, CHRISTIAN FIGHTERS AGAINST DICTATORSHIP!  
M 320 PAM/16/50

Beauty lies in simplicity! This is evident in the solid black sketch with unidirectional strokes that appears to be juxtaposed with the brutal military coup that took place in Chile.

The democratically-elected government was overthrown and the nation was bleeding red with the mass arrests, torture, and killings. The coup was a severe violation of human rights. The gory events that followed under the dictatorship of military force caused an uproar of international

outrage. Latest figures speak of 38,000 victims of wrongful imprisonment, torture or political persecution. Just over 3,000 of them were killed or remain as forcefully disappeared by the state. This was perhaps the most barbarous form of dictatorship, and the Chilean people suffered under its terrible repression.

The existing working class were facing abject poverty and uncertainty yet they remained firm in their determination and struggles to regain freedom in Chile. People believed that the Chilean working class

should be awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1976. However, due to existing regulations, the honour could not be bestowed upon a nation; it must be awarded to the institution or individual unanimously proclaimed as their true representative.

## **Under the protection of the Committee for Peace**

It is no secret that some congregations of the Catholic church were seen as friends of the authoritarian regimes...▶▶

...while others were in fierce opposition. The clergy in Chile was no exception and as early as the 18 of september 1973, father Fernando Ariztía had the audacity and the support of his superiors to publish a letter on the ultra conservative newspaper El Mercurio. He then addressed Pinochet directly denouncing that the number of executions informed by the Junta were more than inaccurate. Hence the poster boldly proclaims “support Pastor Helmut Frenz and Bishop Fernando Ariztia, Christian fighters against dictatorship.”

Following the coup, the churches of Chile established the Committee for Peace to help the thousands of Chileans in distress. This was a courageous move to stand against the reign of terror in a peaceful way on behalf of a helpless working class who sought shelter from political persecution or were defamed as communist and had therefore lost their job. The committee provided free legal assistance to political prisoners and relief materials to support affected families. Additionally, the committee sought to find the whereabouts of those who went missing after the coup. These simple acts of aid proved to be a much-needed sigh of relief from the daily torment of dictatorship for many Chileans.

Bishop Fernando Ariztia and Pastor Helmut Frenz were the pioneering founders of these initiatives and their work was recognized as a progressive movement both in Chile and abroad. Their embodiment of peace and simplicity was the ultimate triumph over the dictatorship, drenched in the blood of innocents. It also put them on the regime’s radar. Pastor Frenz (who bears a resemblance to the man on the poster) was denied permission to stay in Chile and had to return to Germany in 1976, from where he continued advocating for human rights.

Tens of thousands of testimonies of victims gathered over the years are now part of national archives, memorial sites, court files and history books. ●

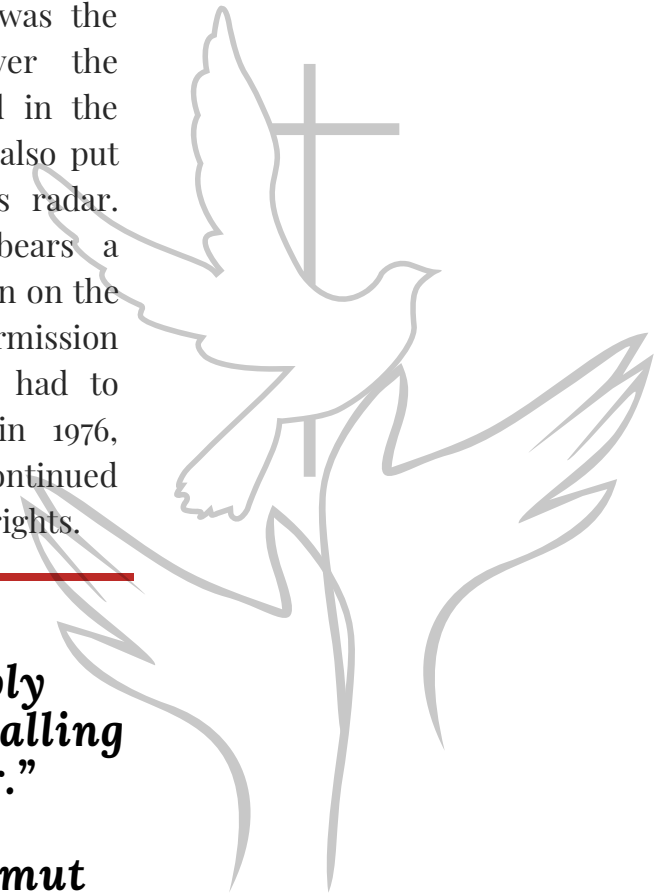
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***“I am simply  
fulfilling my calling  
as a pastor.”***

***– Pastor Helmut  
Frenz***

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The Committee for Peace was dismantled after Pinochet requested it in an almost cordial letter addressed to the Archbishop, fully reflecting the different treatment the dictator gave high-ranking members of the church. Archbishop Raúl Silva Henríquez swiftly complied, for he had already procured support from the Pope to create the Vicary for Solidarity to continue the Committee’s mission.



# REMEMBERING CHILE'S DISAPPEARED YOUTH

During Pinochet's dictatorship, kidnapping was used as a tool of political control and repression. Its impact on Chilean society has lasted through the decades.

*Nicole Xiayi Pung*

*Save the lives of the Chilean students and youth kidnapped by the "Junta".*

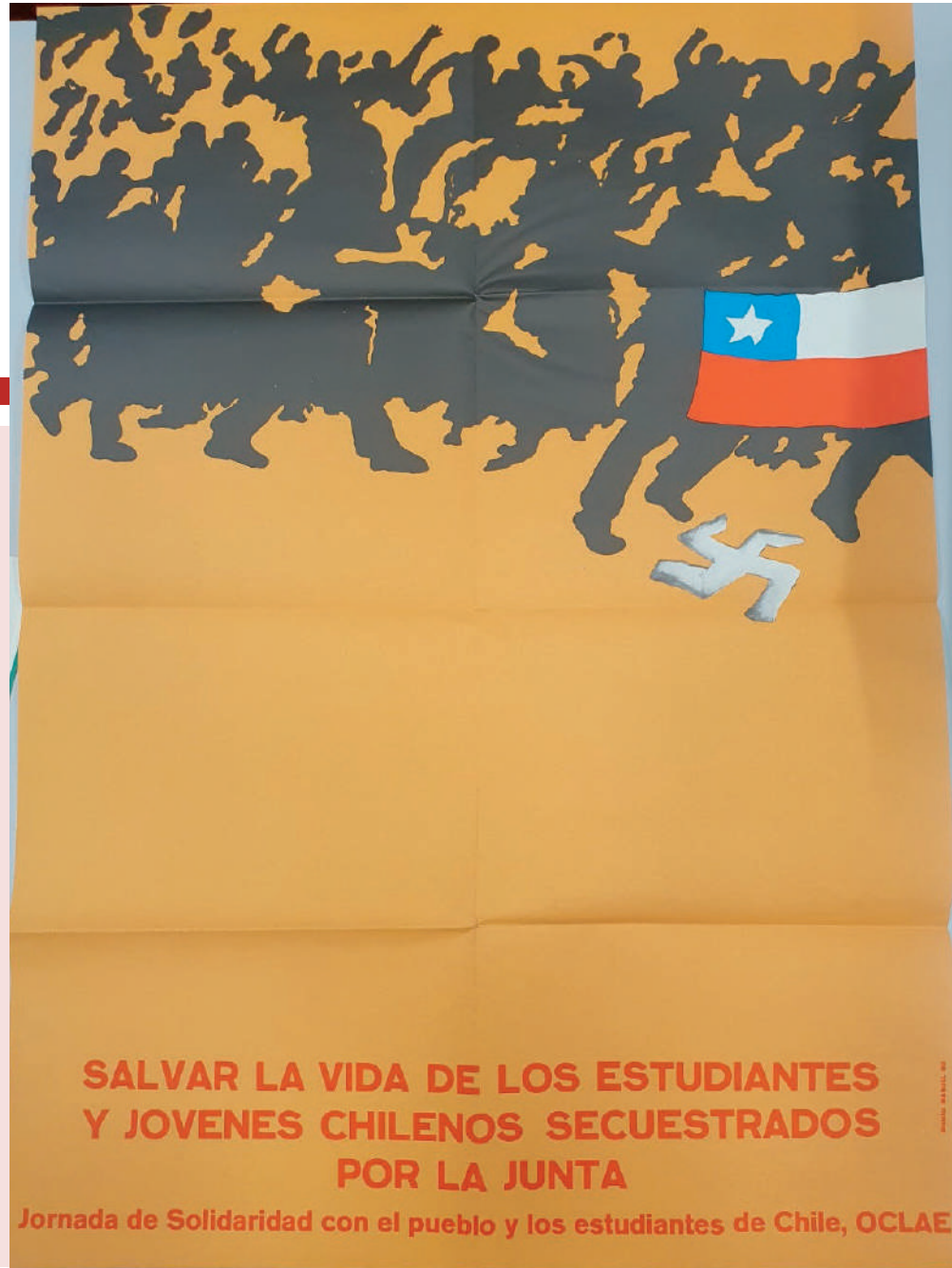
*S.H.L - B320 PAM*

**D**uring the 1970s, Chile was engulfed in a period of extreme violence and repression. During this time, there were kidnappings, illegal incarcerations, and killing of students

and young people that were deemed as potential threats to the dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet. This period was preceded by a popular demand for significant changes both politically and socially. With the rise of the Socialist Party and the election of Salvador Allende as

president in 1970, the government was committed to social justice by means of wealth redistribution and economic reforms, but it faced fierce resistance from the military, the business elite, and conservative elements within Chilean society. On September 11, 1973, a military coup led by General Pinochet overthrew Allende's government. The aftermath of the coup was marked by widespread violence. Pinochet's regime was characterised by extreme violence, with thousands of people killed, imprisoned, or forced into exile.

A brutal crackdown on political dissent was the regime's policy, with students and young people frequently targeted for their involvement in leftist organisations or their activism on behalf of social justice. Many students were arrested and detained without trial or records of any kind, constituting a state sponsored type of kidnapping. The young people taken off the streets by soldiers or paramilitary groups were taken to secret detention centres, where they were interrogated, submitted... ►►





...to torture and abuse, left incommunicado for long periods of time and sometimes murdered. The National Stadium in Santiago was among the most infamous of these detention centres, where thousands of people were held and subjected to inhumane treatment on a mass scale. In 1976, six students from the University of Concepción were forcefully taken by military forces and transported to an undisclosed detention centre. Their whereabouts remain unknown to this day, and it is believed that they were murdered by the regime. With different details, this high-profile story repeated itself over and over until the kidnapped became the disappeared.

The dictatorship in Chile finally came to an end in 1990, but the scars of this period continue to be felt by many Chileans, especially those who lost loved ones to the violence and repression of the regime. The kidnappings, incarcerations, and killings of students and young people were just one tragic aspect of the brutality of the Pinochet regime, but they serve as a stark reminder of the dangers of authoritarianism and the vital importance of protecting human rights and civil liberties. In the aftermath of the dictatorship, the democratic government established the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, also known as Rettig Commission. The entity was able to determine that over 3,000

people detained by military forces were never found again.

### **The Use of Kidnapping as a tool of Repression during Pinochet's Dictatorship and its lasting impact on Chilean Society**

In the poster created by La Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes (OCLAE), the top of the poster is filled with figures seemingly running or being chased. Upon closer inspection, it becomes clear the poster depicts a struggle between a stronger party and a weaker one with little ability to fight back.

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***"The kidnappings, incarcerations, and killings of students under Pinochet's regime serve as a stark reminder of the vital importance of protecting human rights and civil liberties"***

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The bottom of the poster bears the words "Save the life of the students and young Chileans kidnapped by the junta." The empty space in the middle of the poster helps further emphasize and command attention to the conflict above. It is also interesting to see a swastika in the poster below the Chilean flag. While historically, the swastika was a symbol of good luck and auspiciousness in Europe, it later became associated with the Nazis and became a symbol of hatred and repression in the 20th century.

During the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet and other Latin American authoritarian rulers, kidnapping was commonly utilised as a method of political repression and terror. State security forces and paramilitary groups frequently carried out these kidnappings with the aim of intimidating and eliminating perceived enemies of the regime. The victims of these kidnappings included students, intellectuals, activists, and others who were deemed to be a threat to the authoritarian rule of Pinochet and his supporters. In later years, it has been reported that around 20,000 children were taken out of Chile between 1973 and 1990. While the definition of kidnapping in Chile has remained largely the same over time, the context in which it was used during the dictatorship was a gross violation of human rights and a stark example of the dangers of unchecked state power. To address this, a new criminal figure was created: the "detenidos desaparecidos," or forcefully disappeared. Unlike other victims of the regime, the status of the "detenidos desaparecidos" remains unknown and they may never be declared dead, allowing democratic authorities to continue their search to this day. ●

# THE MANY DEATHS OF PABLO NERUDA: MAN AGAINST POET IN THE HARSH LIGHT OF HISTORY

"While we wait for justice to determine if the regime took Neftali Reyes' life to silence Pablo Neruda, we must endeavor to piece together all the fragments of this complex yet gifted man. Only then can we decide if we are to participate in a form of erasure, that would amount to yet another murder."

*Paulina Bravo Prida*

*Homage to Pablo Neruda.*

*TallerSol Collection - 0059*

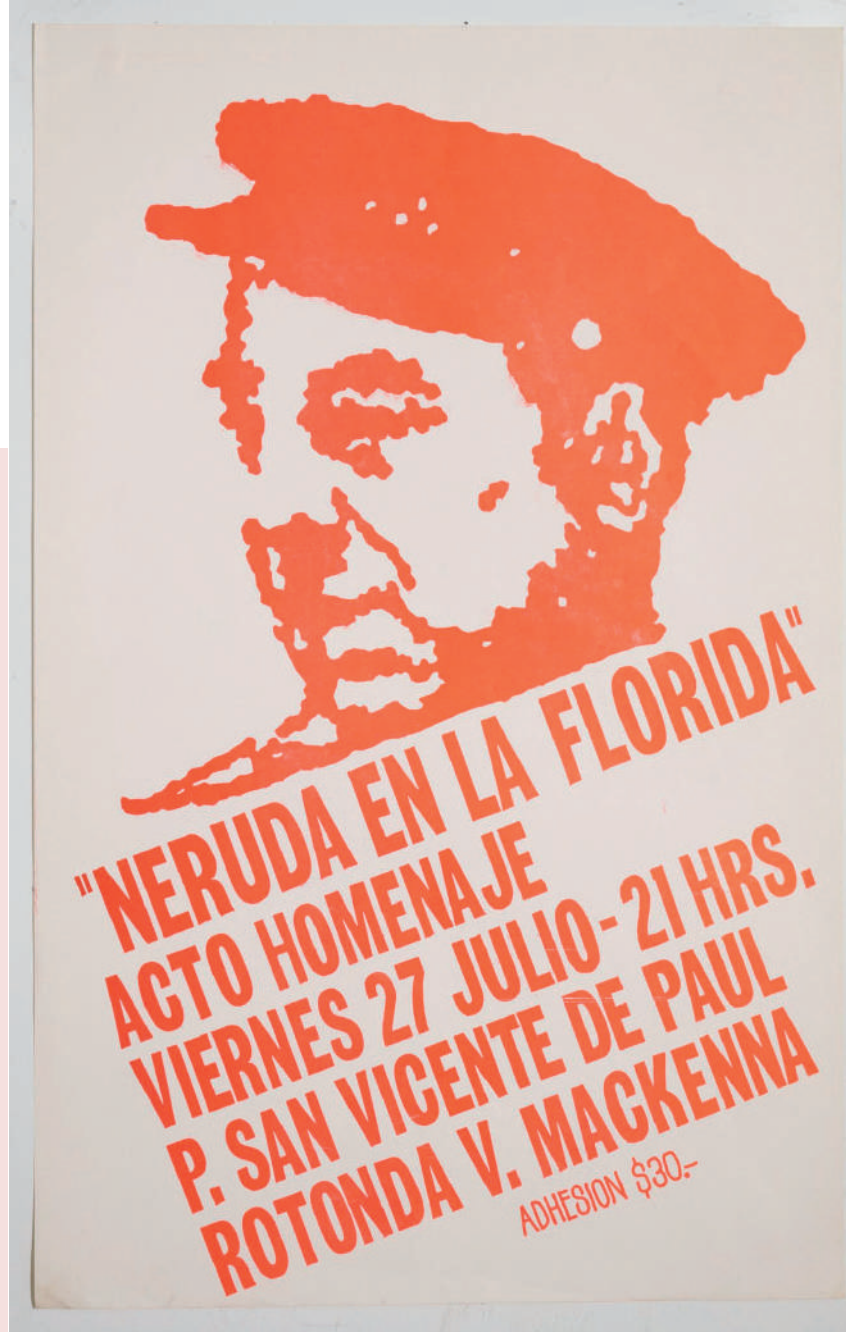
It was September 23, 1973 when Neftali Reyes became truly deceased. His name on that death certificate was somewhat irrelevant since he had been forced into anonymity many

years before that. News of his death made headlines around the world, referencing his alias: Nobel prize winning poet, diplomat and international communist figure, Pablo Neruda. Almost 40 years had to pass before an investigation could be launched to clarify if the Chilean

died of cancer, or was the victim of political murder by the military regime that had seized power just two weeks prior to his death.

Around that same landmark anniversary, a new term emerged, 'passive accomplices,' to refer to those in position to publicly oppose the regime but didn't. The judiciary system was among them, prompting the Supreme Court in an act of contrition, to take a closer look at some unanswered questions: the suicide of Salvador Allende, the identity of troubadour Victor

Jara's executioner, the rumors of magnicide against former president Eduardo Frei Montalva, and how did Pablo Neruda die. In February 2023, forensic laboratories in Canada and Denmark delivered their final reports on the Neruda case. According to his family's interpretation, the author's remains contained lethal amounts of bacteria that could only have been injected. These reports were included in the ongoing investigation in Chile, and the judicial breakthrough received global...▶▶



...media attention.

In stark contrast to the media reaction, Chilean political figures remained completely silent. With the largest number of communist state ministers since 1973 and the 50th anniversary of the coup right around the corner, neither the party leader nor the millennial government, well accustomed to commentating about current affairs on social media, said a word about the breakthrough in Neruda's case.

### A posthumous death

Somewhere in the last 10 years, an "image murder" was committed using Neruda's memoirs, ironically titled "I Confess I Have Lived" (1974). Within, a passage describing how the poet raped a house maid is as well written as it is unequivocal and repulsive. Told as if another anecdote in his eventful life, the lightness and playfulness with which Neruda recounts the event bared the weight of a whale at the top of a long list of unconfirmed but widespread accusations: domestic violence against multiple wives, substance abuse and the abandonment of a daughter born with severe mental impairments.

These matters were not merely the deeds of a man "a product of his time". Even during the 20th century in Chile, social disapproval existed, if not in the name of feminism then for the

sake of the conservative ideas of chivalry, decency and duty to family. Women today are not willing to let these actions and attitudes go unchallenged. Those born into the third feminist revolution (preceded by the suffragist and sexual revolutions)) they will no longer be easily swayed by the allure of Neruda's words claiming love for women, such as the famous line "I like it when you are silent because you seem absent" from "20 Love Poems and a Song of Despair" (1924), or any other of Neruda's many captivating writings.

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***"Today, while talking, the past, my past, got out of hand. With indulgence the dirty little things, empty episodes, black flour, dust (...) You hold your nose, clearly you dislike the pasts of others a lot." - Extract from Ode to the Past in Elemental Odes (1950), Pablo Neruda.***

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Evidence of this shift became apparent during the 2019 social unrest in Chile, where images of Neruda, a communist icon, were noticeably absent from the calls advocating for social change. Instead, the Chilean poet and Nobel laureate, Gabriela Mistral, emerged as a prominent figure. Mistral had also tackled issues of social injustice with the sad yet warm power of her words, but unlike

Neruda, Gabriela's private life, that she was born into as Lucila Alcayaga, got her the recognition of the Gen Z.

Coming from a modest matriarchal family, Lucila and the women in her family could read and write at a time when most women could not. She also defied convention by adopting and raising her nephew, creating a non-traditional family in a society where such arrangements were stigmatized. Moreover, she had to suppress countless love poems to observe the rigid boundaries set in early 20th century Chile for "unconventional" women who dared to love other women. As a result, Gabriela Mistral became a revered figure of the LGBTQ+ movement, providing a spotlight for the struggle of non-conforming individuals, and her alter ego, Lucila, ensured that she was not consigned to oblivion.

On the other hand, Neftali Reyes, with all his flaws as a man, rose from the grave to take revenge on Neruda for attempting to erase him from history. Neruda's name seems to have taken a wrong turn into oblivion or contempt. Not even his own Communist party could be bothered to send out a public statement in response to the new evidence surrounding his death. Is this neglect not just another form of death? ►►

## Cherry picking and memory

The call of posters archived by TallerSol asking us to remember Neruda raises tricky questions today. What is to be remembered? Who determines what should be remembered and how? No amount of poetry can erase the damage he inflicted on women, and vice versa. Does this mean we should outlaw the reading of a remarkable artist because of his misogynistic and possibly criminal behavior? Are the trademarks of his prominent nose, the burette, the blurry misshapeness of his jaw and the guttural hypnosis of his recitations to be erased from our collective memory?

The issue of what to remember about a complex individual like Neruda is not a simple one.. People, especially those with alter egos, are multidimensional, and should not be flattened into memory. Perhaps, the families of the 2,000 refugees from the Spanish Civil War who were able to board the S.S. Winnipeg in 1939 towards Chile, thanks to Neruda's determined efforts, might play a role in this confusing endeavor of choosing what is remembered. And if the poet himself could speak to us now, he might recite the words he wrote as the ship entered the Valparaíso harbor: *"The critics may erase all of my poetry, if they want. But this poem, that today I remember, nobody will be*

able to erase".

Even if taken seriously as self-fulfilled prophecy, the painfully persistent validity of the words in "General Song" (1950, also known as "Song for the Americas") and the elevating nature of the "Elemental Odes" (1954) resist in their own right. In any case, voluntary forgetfulness is a futile endeavor (as demonstrated by the 'don't think of an elephant' theory) and particularly for a writer whose work has been translated into more than twenty languages.

While we wait for justice to determine if the regime took Neftali Reyes' life to silence Pablo Neruda. We must endeavor to piece together all the fragments of this complex yet gifted man. Only then can we decide if we are to preserve his memory, stand by as passive accomplices while he fades away, or participate in a form of erasure that would amount to yet another murder. ●

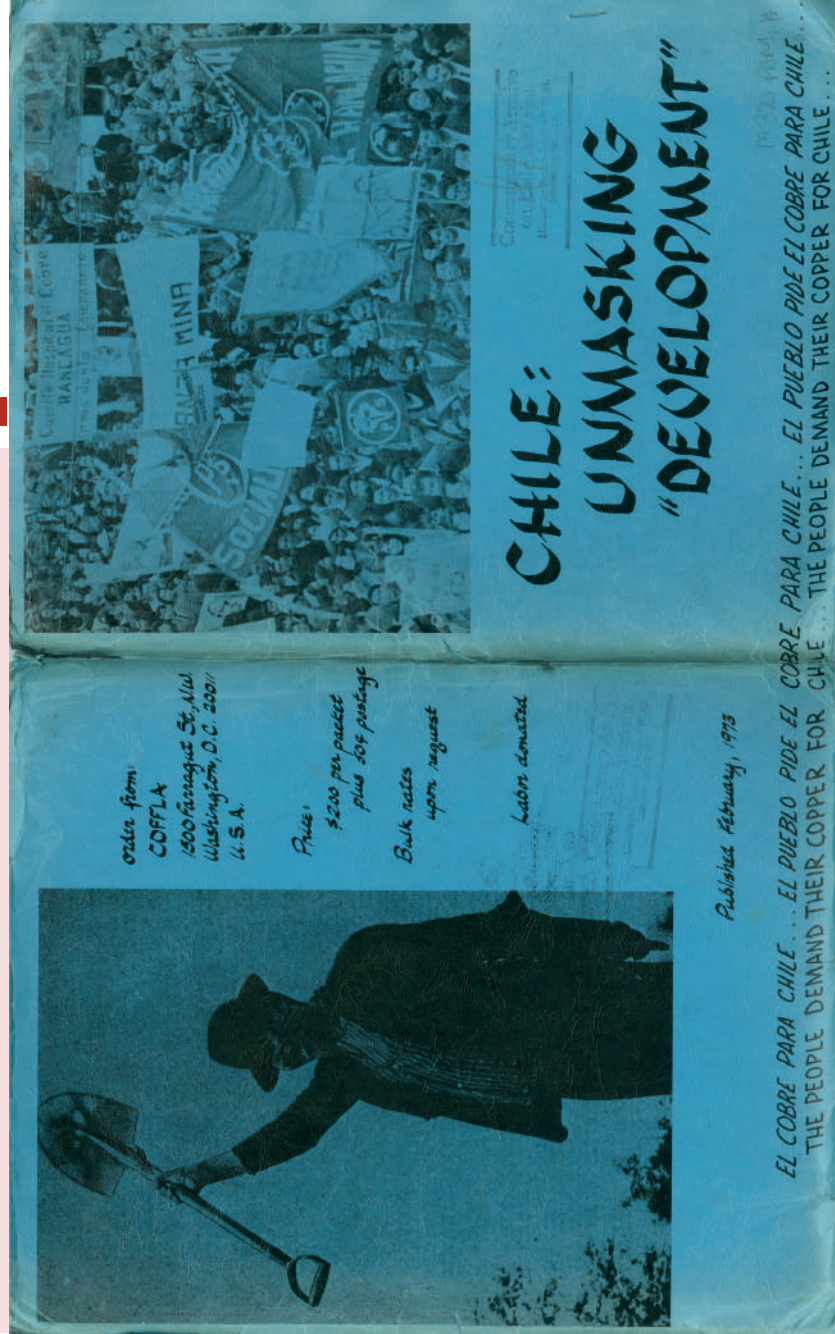


# CHILE: UNMASKING DEVELOPMENT

How fascism co-opted the workers' industry to overthrow Allende's government.

*Cynthia Lacouture*

*Chile: Unmasking "Development"*  
S.H.L - M 320 PAM 14



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Chile: "Unmasking Development" is a poster that recounts how fascism co-opted the copper workers' movement to overthrow the government of Salvador Allende. It features a

photograph of a strike that occurred on June 21st, 1973, in Santiago, where the Central Union of Workers rallied in support of the Allende government all over Chile. The poster's subtitle, "The people demand their copper for Chile," raises the question of the rightful

ownership of a valuable natural resource.

### Political Backdrop

In 1973, Allende described his own government as popular, democratic, national, and revolutionary, which aimed to pave the way for socialism and the transformation of society.

On March 4th, 1973, elections to the Chilean Congress were held. Popular Unity, the government's party, surprisingly obtained 43% of the votes, increasing their representation in the parliament. This put the opposition in a difficult position, and they began using

various tactics to co-opt different spheres of Chilean society, including targeting the copper industry.

The opposition's primary objective was to sow chaos among the people. They used their minority position in the National Congress to disavow the government. They achieved the dismissal of high government officials every ten days over a three-month period (Guzman, 1975).

### Political Backdrop

The Central Union of Workers called for a... ►►

...demonstration against the actions of Congress in April 1973, showing support for the government. In response, the government expropriated 49 industries that were caught boycotting the production of essential products. However, the opposition passed a constitutional reform that invalidated most of these expropriations, decreasing presidential power.

Workers began to suspect that the products they manufactured were being taken by opposition groups, with the approval of the owners of mines and factories. The employers and bosses of the factories also gained disapproval from their workers for intentionally stealing machinery, hiding production, and withholding wages that caused widespread poverty, hunger and discontent among the working population.

As discontent grew, some workers began to call for a strike, which the opposition slowly began to take over. In the *El Teniente* mine, located in the O'Higgins region close to the capital city, a group of well-paid workers with the support of the opposition declared themselves on strike and aimed to paralyze the mine. Consequently, violence erupted on the streets of Santiago for 21 days.

In the regional capital of Rancagua, transport workers, merchants and some professionals declared a strike in solidarity with the ongoing

strike in Santiago. The strikers represented 25% of the copper mines' workforce. With the support of the workers in Rancagua, the opposition was able to summon 3,000 people to rally against the government in the capital city.

### **Crear Poder Popular: Resisting Fascism**

In response, the Central Union of Workers called for a new strike under the motto "Crear poder popular" (create popular power), demanding that the opposition cease taking over social movements. Many also rallied in front of the presidential house, La Casa de la Moneda, to show their support.

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***"The poster is more than just a photograph of a workers' strike – it highlights the role that protests play in building a country's future."***

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Depicting a photograph of the June 21st strike, the selected poster shows workers from various public companies taking to the streets of Santiago to protest against fascism in social movements. Lasting 76 days and costing the state millions of dollars in lost revenue for their main exports, both sides eventually ended the strike on June 28th.

### **The Aftermath**

Fifty years after the onset of the dictatorship in Chile, there are now 12,355 workers' unions representing 1.2 million people, according to the Labor Ministry. The largest entity is the Central Union of Workers, which comprises 3,101 entities and accounts for 81.4% of all union members. In 2019, during the Estallido Social (social outburst) demonstrations, an organization called MUS (Mesa Unitaria de Trabajadores, or United Table of Workers) played a significant role by uniting various workers' organizations. The resulting workers' strikes paralyzed various economic activities and increased support for the protest, which led to the establishment of the Agreement for Peace and the New Constitution.

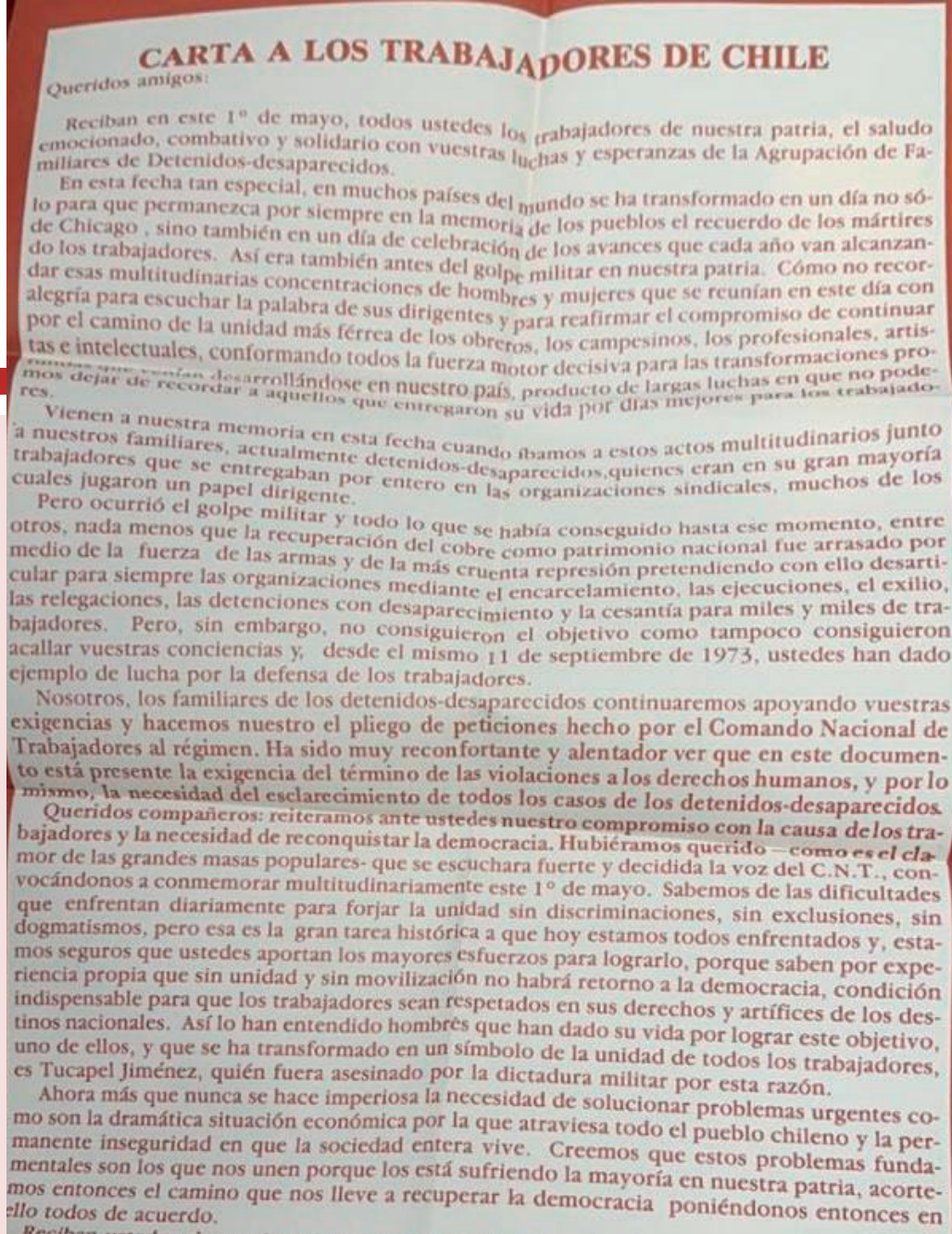
The poster Chile: Unmasking Development still resonates with various social movements and changes in Chilean politics. It is more than just a photograph of a workers' strike in 1973 – it raises awareness of the crucial role that protests play in building a country's future. ●

# CARTA A LOS TRABAJADORES DE CHILE

Letter to the workers of Chile from the families of the forcefully disappeared, in remembrance of their common struggle.

*Isabelle Hickman*

*Carta a los trabajadores de Chile.  
S.H.L -M320 PAM/15*



This poster is a reproduction of an open letter from the 'Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos', the Association of Families of the Detained-

Disappeared (AFDD) to the workers of Chile on May 1st, 1987. The letter tells the story of the strength of the Chilean people, how in the face of horrific human rights violations, they continued to strengthen their bonds and create alliances without the “discrimination, dogmatism and

exclusion” that the AFDD had been a victim of. They resolved to work together, united, to “shorten the path towards democracy”. Hope and unity resonate throughout the letter – a pertinent sentiment as, three years after its publication, the first democratic election in 17 years was held in Chile, ending Augusto Pinochet’s military dictatorship.

## International Workers’ Day

May 1st is a symbolic date for trade unionists around the world. It is celebrated in commemoration of the

Haymarket Affair (1886) in Chicago, US when thousands of workers went on strike together in unions. These individuals are referenced as the ‘Chicago martyrs’ by the AFDD, signalling the day’s importance. The AFDD reminisces on this day’s joyfulness in Chile before the coup of 1973 as the occasion when men and women celebrated and reaffirmed their commitment to working towards a better tomorrow, while remembering those who gave themselves entirely... ➤

...to do so.

This letter works to remember, to mourn and to celebrate the distant past with eyes firmly locked on the future. At the time, Chile's path to recovery contended with significant roadblocks: the need to solve the dramatic economic situation facing the Chilean population, the 'permanent insecurity' threatening society, and the hunger to reconquer democracy. This letter works as bookends to Pinochet's dictatorship from the perspective of the relatives of the 'forcefully disappeared' and their long-standing bilateral relationship with the workers of Chile, as the AFDD continued to support their demands of economic, social and political security for the Chilean people.

### Partners in sadness

Mostly composed of women, the AFDD is a human rights organisation established in 1974 in the wake of the 1973 coup d'état that saw the end of Salvador Allende's presidency and the rise of Pinochet. Pinochet led a military authoritarian dictatorship where disappearances, illegal and covert arrests, extrajudicial killings and torture were commonplace in maintaining state control. Members of the AFDD worked tirelessly,

putting their own lives at risk, demonstrating openly against Pinochet during his regime. AFDD members staged a series of hunger strikes when no leads to their loved ones could be found following the disclosure of detention centre records, in order to bring public attention to the human rights violations under Pinochet. Their actions were underpinned by the hope of finding the *detenidos* (detained) and *desaparecidos* (disappeared). AFDD address the unionised workers of Chile as "dear friends" in their letter; their relationship was born of

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***"They come to our memory on this date, when we went to these massive events together with our relatives, currently detained-disappeared, who were mostly workers who gave themselves entirely to union organisations, many of whom played a leading role".***

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sad circumstances, albeit one that sought to consolidate national civilian unity, strength and power. Workers' unions have a long and complex history in Chile, with many political factions. By 1958 a proportion of these factions

had united under the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Chile (CUT). CUT was suppressed in 1973 by Pinochet, who feared them as "leftists" or "communists". Many of the disappeared and detained that the AFDD fought to locate were union members.

One trade unionist named in this letter as a "symbol of the unity of all workers" is Tucapel Jimenez, who was a member of the Radical Party of Chile and was murdered by operatives of Pinochet's political police, most likely in connection to his desire to reunite the trade union movement. In this letter, the AFDD while commanding for the voice of the CNT (Comando Nacional de Trabajadores, a multi-union organisation that served as a base for CUT) to be heard strongly, speaks across trade union factions, as they were united in the common goal of bringing democracy home to Chile. In 1988, a year after the publication of this letter, CUT was re-founded – adding further prominence to the relationship between the AFDD and the workers of Chile.

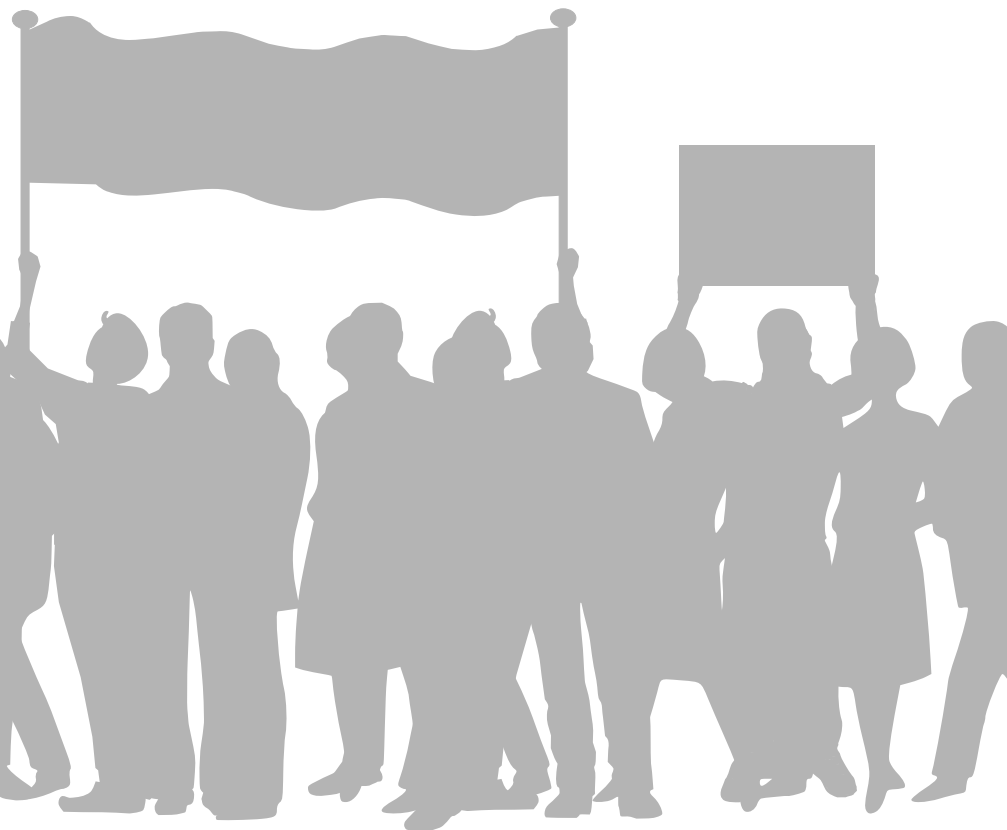
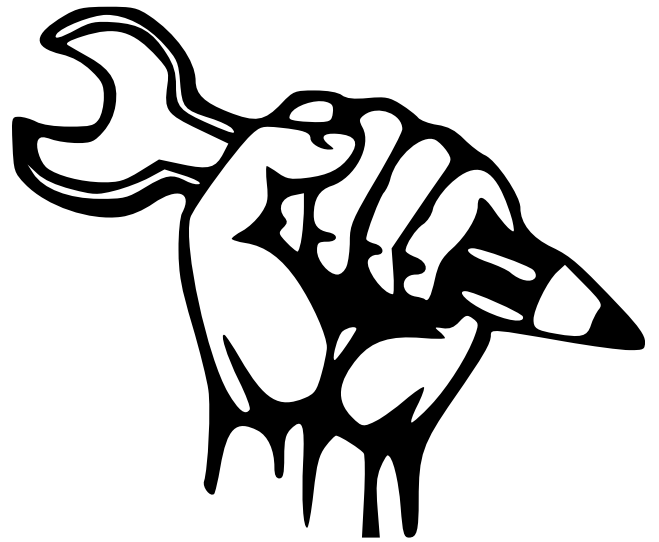
These developments further cemented this letter as a bookend and potential player in building the unitarian force that voted to depose Pinochet by the end of 1988 and called for democratic elections. ►►



A simplistic yet beautiful and poignant illustration was included when this letter was reproduced as a poster. On a red background, possibly symbolic of blood or rust (representing industry-hard work and determination) are the silhouettes of men and women from all professions and backgrounds. These non-descript people could be anyone past, present, future, detained or disappeared – yet they all walk hand in hand, fists in the air, towards democracy and freedom.

### **The AFDD's never ending struggle**

Following the regime's defeat, the AFDD was represented in the inauguration ceremonies of Patricio Aylwin and in the 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission'. Today, the AFDD continues to work towards securing "truth and justice for the crime against humanity" under Pinochet's regime. Although some cases have been met with justice, the whereabouts of the loved ones of many remain a secret that those in the know insist on keeping. CUT continues to grow; while the nature of the present relationship between AFDD and CUT is unknown, it can be expected that this bond prevails as every worker marching on May 1st is a reminder for the AFDD that the memories of those who are gone linger on. ●



# COLOMBIA

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...coffee production industry. This industry's success helped the Colombian economy gain entry into global markets.

Minifundia's involvement in the lucrative coffee industry posed a threat to the powerful latifundia landlords' monopoly as well as the overall agrarian structural hegemony. As Colombia continued to engage in global markets this inequality was exacerbated, leading to the "destabilization of archaic agrarian structures"(Thomson, 2001).

The exclusion of peasant farmers from coffee production eventually resulted in the election of politician Jorge Eliecer Gaitán. As Thomson (2011) notes, Gaitán was "a political outsider who appealed to both urban labor and the peasantry with populist and reformist rhetoric" (p.335). Gaitán's assassination served as a major catalyst for La Violencia (the violence), a civil war-like conflict that saw many peasants join armed resistance groups to protect themselves against state police and military violence. This class-based conflict ultimately ended up "pitting landlords against peasants".

Towards the conflict's end, some insurgent groups refused to disarm. This led the newly formed National Front government to launch counterinsurgency operations.

This government was composed of a united ruling and elite class that emerged from the conclusion of La Violencia.

These counterinsurgency initiatives received support and legitimisation from foreign powers, including the US which invested in Colombian agricultural production for its own economic benefits and to counteract the spread of socialism in a Cold War context. The Colombian government established

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***"These illustrations are a striking depiction of the beneficiaries and the victims of INCORA's corruption and bias"***

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INCORA in 1961 with the passage of the Agrarian Social Reform Law. INCORA was created to ease and mediate the conflicts between the latifundia and minifundia, and worked to create policies for agrarian land reform. However, INCORA's programs focused primarily on areas occupied by guerrilla groups. As Thomson continues, "Support for production growth and

productivity improvements through rural infrastructural projects, credit programmes and technical aid also tended to favor commercial estates over smallholders (...) The agrarian reform programme was clearly aimed at containing what counterinsurgency doctrines refer to as 'growing pains' (...) i.e. conflicts arising as part of the development process itself, but evidently not at promoting a genuine transformation of unequal rural structures." (Thomson et al.,2011).

Here, increased production in the form of foreign investment in larger commercially-owned farms ended up being the priority. Thomson (2011) adds, "The competing interests of the peasantry and the landed elite materialized as a result of the development of capitalism and the commercialization of agriculture as the country became more deeply assimilated into world markets" (p.321)

As a result, ANUC was founded by President Carlos Lleras Restrepo "in order to fight the political power the latifundios held" and to work "as an organizational platform so that peasants could channel agrarian struggles through political structures"(p. 17). ANUC disbanded in 1973 after years of peasant-organized invasions of haciendas (large farms) and the general ineffectiveness in... ►►

...bringing about real change for peasant farmers.

### Poster analysis

Although ANUC may not have succeeded in bringing about change for peasant farmers, it played a role in providing an education for peasants and farmers on workers' rights, as evidenced in the pamphlet.

The front cover of the pamphlet features an outline of Colombia being carved up and taken over by various characters, which represent the diverse domestic and foreign actors who benefited from INCORA's actions and policies. This is showcased by different caricature representations, including businessmen, foreign powers and wealthy farmers.

These illustrations paint a simple, yet striking depiction of the beneficiaries and the victims of INCORA's corruption and bias that favored latifundia landowners.

Notably, there are a number of different representations of businessmen in this poster, while the other characters represent further emerging beneficiaries of INCORA's corruption. The organization prioritized pre-established landowners, depicted in this poster as the individuals dressed in high quality attire who are taking land for themselves, suggesting that corruption was a large part of INCORA's operation.

The illustrations include clear representations of how the US influenced INCORA's priorities. This is evidenced by the 'USA' sign and the stereotypical representation of American capitalism as Uncle Sam in his characteristic top hat holding money behind his back. It is worth noting that this character is not actively participating in the carving up of Colombian land but rather, he is looking on with a sly smile and stroking his chin. This depiction could represent the influence of organizations like the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, all of which provided Colombia with developmental aid throughout the 1960s under the pretext of fighting the spread of socialism in Latin America. However, this aid was given under the condition that funding would go towards more commercially developed farms that had capacity and resources to mass produce goods. Soon, the Colombian political leadership's priority became trade with foreign markets, rather than supporting the national peasant farmers.

The poster itself vividly highlights the consequences and failures of INCORA in protecting local independent farmers and, consequently adding to land inequality

issues. This is conveyed by the farmer character off to the right side, who represents the Colombian community of peasant farmers left to look on as their land is taken away and they are taken advantage of by the powerful elite.

### Relevance to the modern day

As of today, Colombia lacks a serious administrative body responsible for managing the land inventory. True ownership of Colombia's vast swaths of land is unknown, leaving the ownership of vast amounts of land in a state of ambiguity and confusion. This was the responsibility of INCORA but in the end, the organization was unable to fulfill its duties. While some efforts have been made towards redressing this issue, there is still work to be done in approaching the longstanding issue in order to ensure fair and transparent distribution of land resources in Colombia. ●

# CAMILO TORRES: THE MARTYR OF LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Marrying his Christian faith with the fight for socio-economic justice, Torres emerged as an inspiring symbol of Colombian left-wing activism – becoming, in time, a symbol of religion’s responsibility to preserve equality.

*Jason Clerico-Pharaoh*

*Jornada Camilo Torres - Latin American Continental Students Organisation – OCLAE S.H.L.*


**F** February 15th, 1966, Colombia: Camilo Torres (1929–1966) – a Catholic priest, sociologist, and guerrilla fighter – dies while participating in an ambush on a military convoy planned

by the Marxist guerrilla group Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army – ELN). Thus was born a martyr of the ELN, and of the wider left-wing guerrilla movement in Latin America. The man became a symbol of liberation theology, known for his declaration that

“if Jesus were alive today, He would be a guerrillero”. This poster pays homage to Camilo Torres, depicting a drawing of a black Christian cross, one arm of which is depicted as a gun, suggesting that the fight for freedom is rooted in Christianity. According to the Hoover Institution, this poster was produced around the 1970s–1980s, a period when civil wars and communist revolutions erupted across Latin America.

The poster was published by the Organizacion Continental Latinoamericana de

Estudiantes (Latin American Continental Students Organization – OCLAE). OCLAE was founded in Cuba in 1966, encompassing left-wing national student organisations across Latin America.

While training as a priest at the Conciliar Seminary of Bogotá, Camilo Torres engaged in social activities within the local community of displaced rural populations. After pursuing a degree in sociology at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, Torres’ studies of Colombian society... 



...slowly led him to firmer political engagement. While teaching sociology at the National University of Colombia, he developed close ties with several student and political movements, eventually founding his own organisation, El Frente Unido (The United Front) in 1964.

In this political climate, Torres advocated for social, agrarian, and political reform; he denounced the bi-partisan exclusionary democracy dominated by the Conservative and Liberal parties known as the El Frente Nacional (The National Front) and spoke out against social injustices and oppression of the poor.

In the foreground, filled with light, sunflowers and other types of bloom full of life stand against a black background that echoes the bombs in the upper right of the poster. At the same level, these bombs seem to be targeted at the flowers, moving towards them. The flowers and the bombs feature centrally across the whole poster.

He soon became affiliated with the far left, seeking to reconcile Marxism and Christianity. He admired the Marxist-Leninist movements for their concern of social justice and believed that Marxist humanism was a product of Christian humanism, with Marxist principles derived from Christianity itself. Torres had even come to respect the Soviet Union's rapid economic development since 1917 through economic planning and state

control of the means of production; it remains unclear whether he was aware of the human cost of this development, including the millions killed under the rule of Joseph Stalin, and the chaos and contradictions that arose. Torres was persuaded that the socioeconomic struggle was a fight that Christians (and Jews) had been engaged in for centuries. He is regarded as a precursor of liberation theology, a Christian theology that emphasises the emancipation of the oppressed as a moral reaction to social inequities and poverty.

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***“If Jesus were alive today, He would be a guerrillero”***

**- Camilo Torres**

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Key theologians include priest Gustavo Gutiérrez, Leonardo Boff, and Jesuits Juan Luis Segundo and Jon Sobrino. By giving a voice and sense of empowerment to the impoverished, liberation theology held the Church accountable for the welfare of the lower class, recognising the essential role of social justice in Christian teachings. This movement challenged the power structures of Latin America society and

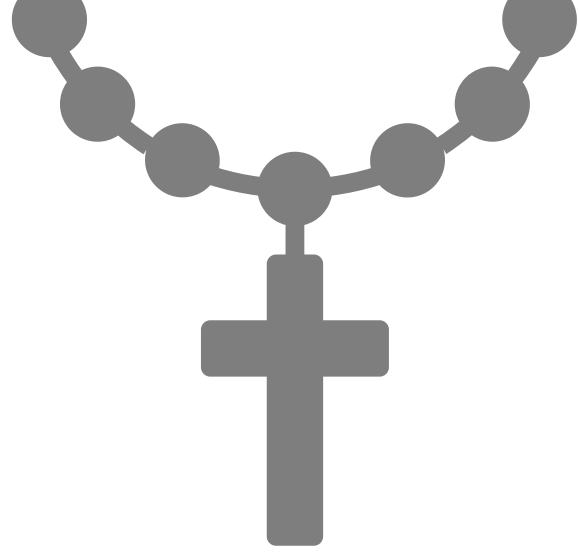
demonstrated that religion could be a powerful tool for promoting highly politicised campaigns.

A self-described progressive Catholic, Torres opposed the Catholic Church's ecclesiastical hierarchy, given that the Church in Colombia had been historically one of the most conservative and reactionary in Latin America. Despite Cardinal Luis Concha Córdoba's admiration for Torres as a sociologist, the Cardinal pressured him on numerous occasions not to enter politics. Cardinal Concha argued that clergymen had to remain apolitical, and that the Church condemned atheistic communism associated with Marxism.

Despite the Cardinal's offers for him to continue teaching sociology, Torres' commitment to politics resulted in his departure from the clergy. Seeing revolution as a Christian obligation, Torres decided to join the ELN in 1966. The ELN is still operating today, classified as a terrorist organisation by several countries including Venezuela, the European Union, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States, due to its involvement in illegal activities such as kidnappings, extortions and attacks on infrastructures. Since 2002, there have been attempts at peace talks between the ELN...

...and the Colombian government. In 2016, the Colombian National Army was instructed to find and exhume the remains of Camilo Torres as a gesture towards accelerating these peace talks.

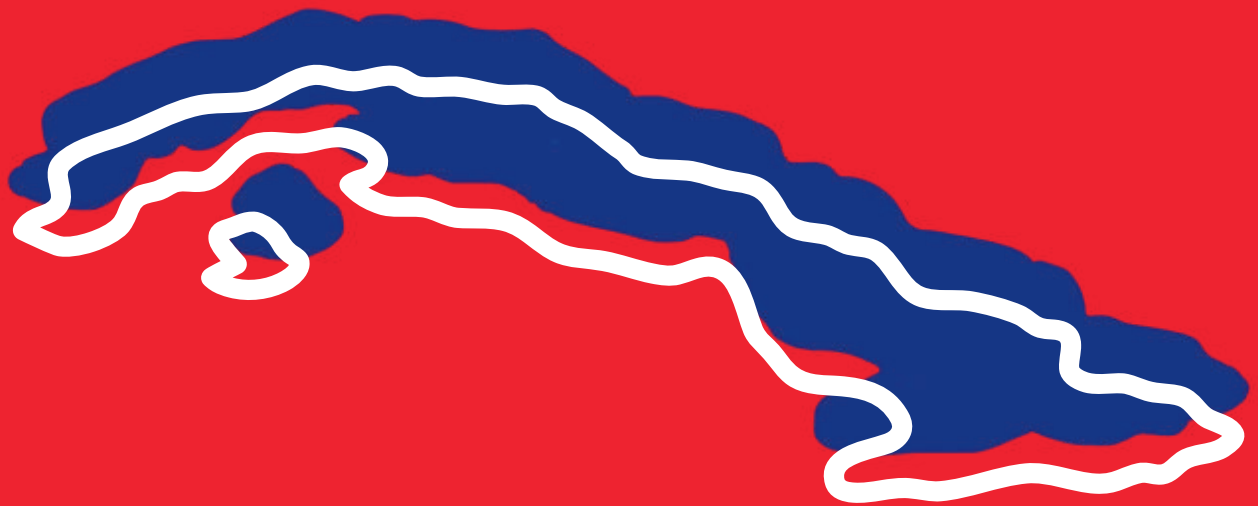
While the outcome of these efforts remains uncertain, the impact of Torres' advocacy and activism remains indelible. His firm belief in the role that religion could play in bridging socio-economic divides positioned him as an iconoclast to the state as well as the Catholic Church of Colombia, a jarring juxtaposition that is highlighted in the chosen poster. Yet, these beliefs were instrumental in challenging the hegemonic forces at play in Colombia in the 1960s, and continued making waves across Latin America in the following decades. ●





# CUBA

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# HONECKER AND CASTRO'S ALLIANCE

The importance of Honecker's state visit to Cuba in 1974 for solidarity and cooperation amongst socialist nations.

*Gloria Teichmann*

*Two peoples called upon to struggle together.*

*S.H.L - EC 320 PAM/2/24*

**T** East German leader Erich Honecker's state visit to Cuba in February 1974 was a significant event in the context of Latin America's political landscape. At the time, the region was experiencing a wave

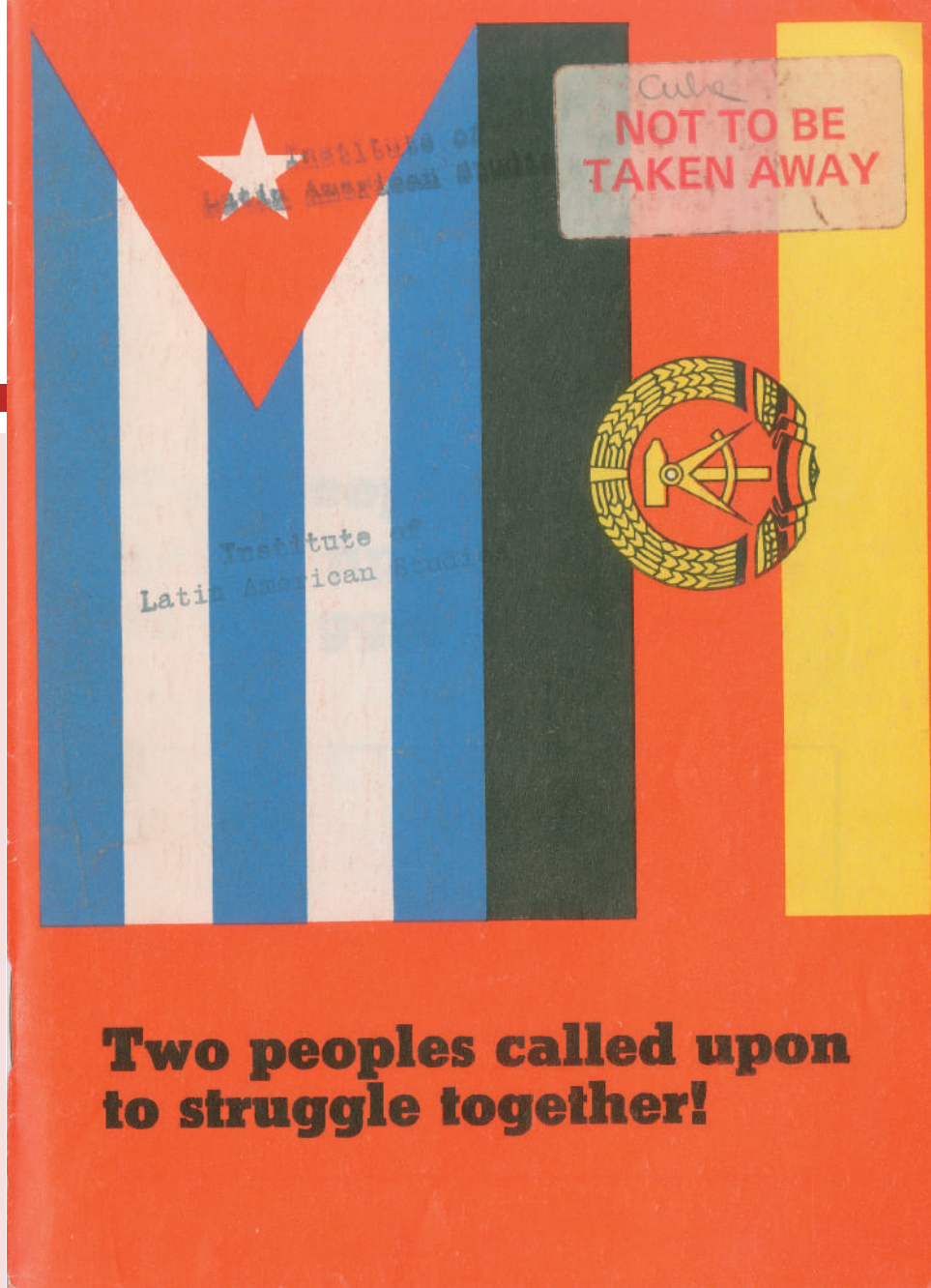
of social and political movements that sought to create more egalitarian societies through socialist or communist policies. Honecker's visit reinforced the strong relationship between Cuba and East Germany, two countries that were committed to socialism and had long-standing

ties to the Soviet Union.

His host, Fidel Castro, was an essential figure in the Latin American political landscape: his leadership of the Cuban Revolution had had a profound impact on the region. Under his command, Cuba became a leading voice in the socialist movement, and the country played a critical role in supporting other socialist and communist movements throughout Latin America.

Honecker was a prominent East German figure, and so this visit became a stepstone moment in the history of the relationship between the two

countries. Honecker's visit clearly demonstrated the strength of the alliance between both nations. His speeches alongside Fidel Castro underscored the two countries' commitment to promoting socialist principles and resisting external aggression. A strong commitment to socialism marked Honecker's leadership of East Germany, and consequently this visit highlighted the importance of international solidarity among socialist... ►►



**Two peoples called upon  
to struggle together!**

...countries from every region of the globe.

Castro's commitment to the relationship with East Germany was also important, as it was a key source of economic and military aid during the revolution's early years. East Germany provided Cuba with significant economic aid and helped train Cuban military forces, allowing the country to resist external pressures and threats from the United States.

Castro's speeches during Honecker's visit highlighted the importance of international solidarity and cooperation among socialist countries. He emphasised the need for socialist countries to work together to promote their shared ideals and resist external aggression, which was particularly relevant given the continued hostility of the United States towards Cuba embodied in a highly restrictive and extensive blockade of the island's exports.

Furthermore, Castro's leadership of the Cuban Revolution inspired other leftist movements throughout Latin America, many of which sought to emulate the Cuban model of socialist uprising. The Cuban Revolution also symbolised resistance against American imperialism, which was seen by castristas (Castro's followers) as a major threat to Latin American sovereignty and self-determination.

### **Together on stage**

During the visit, Honecker

delivered a speech alongside Cuban leader Fidel Castro titled "Two peoples called upon to struggle together." The speech emphasised the shared experiences of Cuba and East Germany in confronting imperialism and promoting socialism and the importance of international solidarity and cooperation between socialist countries. This speech was significant because it underscored the two countries' strong relationship and shared commitment to promoting socialist principles.

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***“The nature of this visit underscores the importance of international solidarity and cooperation among socialist countries, which was particularly significant in the context of Latin America's political landscape at the time”***

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The speeches of Castro and Honecker during the visit highlighted the similarities between their countries and the importance of their relationship. Castro praised East Germany's economic achievements and commitment to socialism, while Honecker praised Cuba's leadership in the socialist movement and underscored the need for socialist countries to work together.

They both spoke of the necessity to resist external pressures to abandon socialist principles, and the importance of international solidarity.

The relationship between Cuba and East Germany was established shortly after the Cuban Revolution in 1959, and it was strengthened by their shared ties to the Soviet Union. This alliance allowed Cuba and East Germany to resist external pressures and promote their socialist ideals, even in the face of significant opposition from the United States and other Western powers.

Honecker's visit came at a time when many countries in Latin America were grappling with economic instability, social inequality, and political repression. The speeches delivered by Castro and Honecker during the visit demonstrated the continued strength of the relationship between Cuba and East Germany and their shared commitment to promoting socialism and resisting external aggression. The speeches also underscored the importance of international solidarity and cooperation among socialist countries facing external pressures.

Therefore, it makes sense that this pamphlet cover depicts the flags of both countries side by side, onto the international colour of socialist and communist movements. ►►

The red amalgamates into both flags, without any border separating them from their background. At the bottom, Honnecker's words in bold font complete the call to stand together.

The relationship between Cuba and East Germany was a powerful example of the potential for socialist cooperation and resistance, even in the face of significant external pressures. ●

*Cuban head of state Fidel Castro and GDR head of state Erich Honecker visit Cuartel Moncada, a former barracks and cultural place of the Cuban revolution, in Santiago de Cuba on the 22nd of February in 1974.*



*Credits: Bridgeman Images*



# THE POWER OF WORDS AND ACTIONS: DECENTRALISED UNITY IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDENT ORGANISATIONS

"In a time of crisis, the peoples of the world must rush to get to know each other." - Jose Marti

*Daniel Spill*

*Concurso literario OCLAE 1969  
S.H.L - B320 PAM/posters*

**T**his poster – through its emphasis on the potent interdependence of words and actions in fuelling social change – provides insight into the decentralised unity of Latin American

identity, which encompasses distinct experiences of similar issues and cultural ties among Latin American countries.

The Organización Continental Latino Americana de Estudiantes (OCLAE) – a student union founded in Cuba in 1966 but representing various other

student groups from across Latin America – created this poster to advertise their 1969 literary competition for students. The poster was printed on thin and inexpensive paper, suggesting that it was mass-produced for widespread distribution. Its large font and striking imagery would have made it suitable for prominent display on walls and pillars in universities, allowing it to effectively reach its intended audience.

The top right of the poster features a quote from poet José Martí, Cuba's national hero. In English, the quote reads

y es que en América  
está ya en flor la gente nueva,  
que pide peso a la prosa  
y condición al verso,  
y quiere trabajo y realidad  
en la política  
y en la literatura

*José Martí*

concurso literario oclae 1969



“And it is because in America is already blooming the new generation, who is asking for weight in prose and quality in poetry and wants action and truth in politics and in literature.” This quote originates from a eulogy that Martí wrote for Julian del Casal, a contemporary Cuban poet who was a precursor to Modernismo. In the eulogy, he praised del Casal for inspiring a radical and popular approach to literature.

The image on the poster depicts the barrel of... ▶▶▶

...a gun emerging from the pages of a book, conveying how words (in this case the eulogy by Martí, and by extension, his contribution to Modernismo) give rise to actions (in this case, OCLAE's activism). The monochromatic tone of the image adds a sense of solemnity to the poster; the dark shading of the gun and the book's text match the severity of the words and actions that they represent, despite the book's white pages giving it an ostensibly innocent appearance. The symbolic conflation of words and actions reaffirms Martí's quote; the poster's purpose as an advertisement for a literary competition further highlights the significance of words as well as actions in promoting social change.

Modernismo was a literary movement that emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, predominantly in Latin America. It resisted the prevailing literary naturalism and conformity that characterised Western Society. Leading by example, one of Modernismo's key proponents, José Martí briefly lived in Mexico and Guatemala, and later represented Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina as a consul while living in New York; despite his tireless commitment to Cuban independence, he was also involved in promoting the interests of other Latin American countries.

OCLAE invokes Martí and his ideals using the Cuban identity

as an inclusive umbrella to represent all Latin American students. This link between Martí's words and OCLAE's actions, further points to the necessity of viewing words and actions as part of a continuum of political activism. The image on the poster, with the gun emerging from the book, would have been particularly provocative to Latin American students at the time, given the prevalence of military coups and violence in the region during the 1960s.

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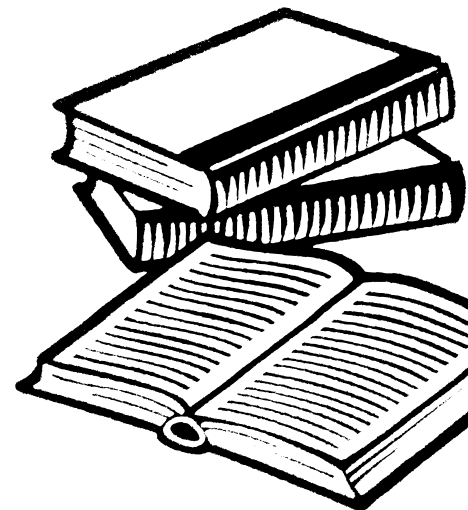
**"The poster's purpose as an advertisement for a literary competition further highlights the significance of words as well as actions in promoting social change."**

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The use of language by those in power was often driven by the objective to justify their brutality, and the image suggests a call to action; conversely, those oppressed – such as students – often had little recourse to counter this violence except with their words.

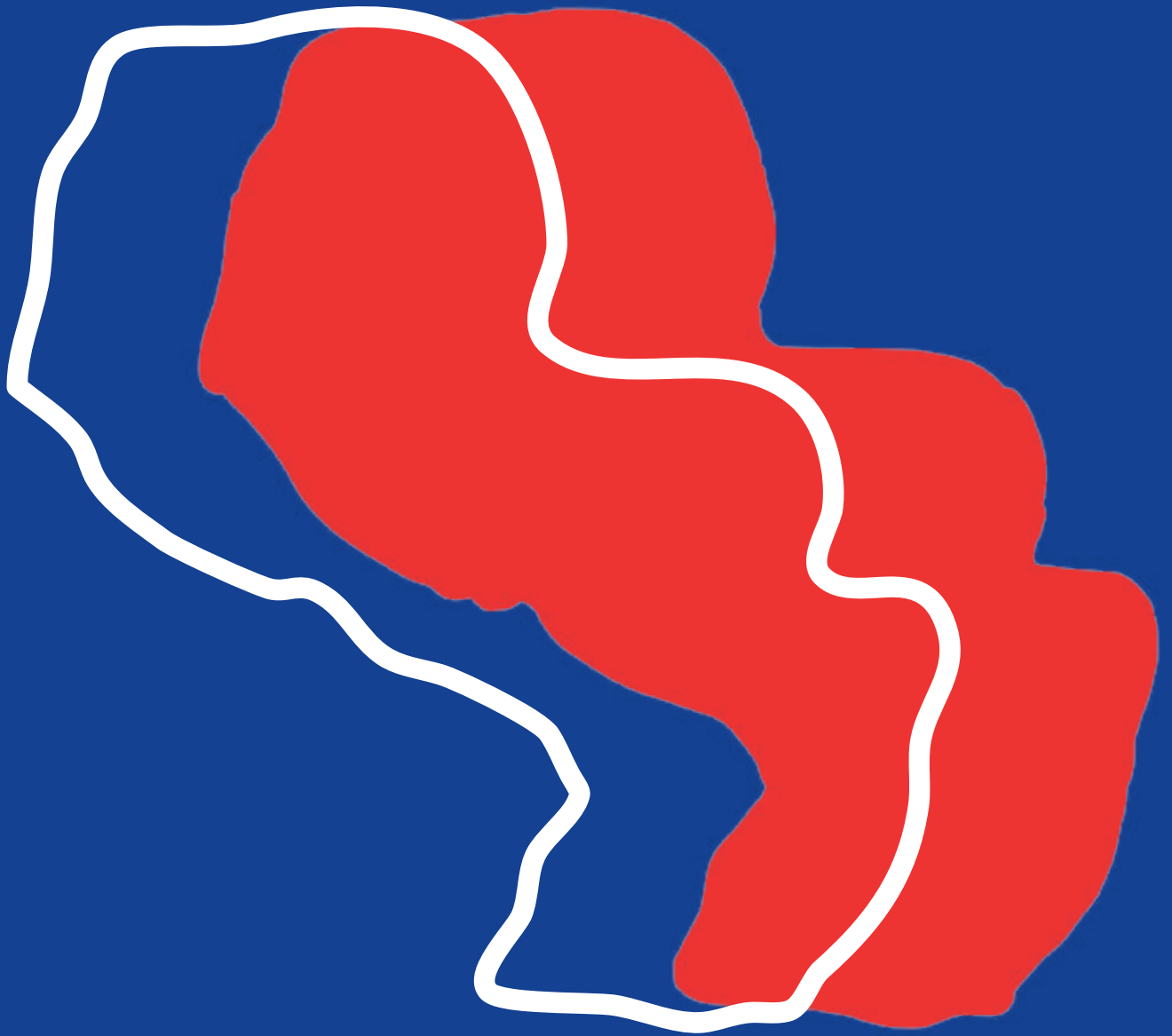
Despite these constraints, the poster appears to encourage students to reclaim their political power by promoting a politically charged literary competition. This solemn optimism underscores the

linkage of words with actions as being a critical component of protecting democratic values. In 1970s Latin America, words of solidarity kept intact the spirit of those fighting oppressive regimes across state borders; in the present day, they inspire students like ourselves to find new ways to keep the memory of those struggles alive. My participation in Thinking Inside The Box:1973 has been one such action, inspired by such words as seen on the poster. The act of interpretation and revival, in this manner, become yet another way in which the ideals encapsulated within the Latin American identity are explored, revered and reinforced. ●



# PARAGUAY

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# REBUILDING FROM THE ASHES

Dr Joel Holden Filártiga dedicated his life to fighting against the Paraguayan legal system and institutionalized torture. His was the story of the resilience of hope.

## Siddhanti Meshram

*Regresarán Un Dia... (III) - Joel Filártiga.*  
S.H.L

**T**his extract, taken from the book *Ceniza Redimida* (Redeemed ashes) by Hérib Campos Cervera, is a poem highlighting how being hopeful and resilient can help one overcome even

the toughest times of life. Its main idea centers on the notion that we can rebuild our lives from ashes with hope, resilience, and the will to recover.

The illustration in the poster was created by Dr. Joel Holden Filártiga Ferreira, a Paraguayan doctor and human rights

activist who fought a lifelong struggle for justice after his 17-year old son was murdered in 1976, during the Dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner.

### Dr Joel's story

Dr. Joel met Alfredo Stroessner in 1954, when he took power in Paraguay. Stroessner was an army officer who became a dictator and served as the President of Paraguay from 1954 to 1989. During his reign, Stroessner exercised strict control over the media and political opposition, and his regime was responsible for widespread human rights

violations. Additionally, his administration was charged with corruption, drug trafficking and various other illegal activities. Despite these charges, Stroessner always retained the support of the military, remaining in power for over three decades. Eventually, he was overthrown in a coup led by a former military ally in 1989. When Dr. Joel met Stroessner at a party in 1954, he received advice from Stroessner that he would never forget, although he would never abide by it. ➡➡





Stroessner told him; “there are only three things in life that are worthwhile: Power, Money, and Pleasure.”

Dr. Joel started his medicine practice in a town called Ybycui, 60 miles southeast of Asunción. Apart from being a full-time doctor, he also pursued his passion for the arts. He painted and drew everyday scenes with critical strokes, depicting his dissatisfaction with the establishment. These paintings feature visible representations of prevailing injustice, such as ragged children being beaten by clubs, misshapen characters in uniform feeding on humans, and desperate women attempting to protect their babies from the bloody claws of iron-armored humanoids. He also painted rustic wagons, rural ranches, and ripe crops, as well as female faces with soft features and languid looks.

One of Dr. Joel’s most famous posters, which emerged as a symbol of hope, was created after his 17-year-old son, Joelito, was abducted, tortured and murdered to extract information about his father by Stroessner’s men. The authorities falsely claimed that the teenager had been killed in a crime of passion, sparking Dr Joel’s lifelong battle for justice. After a long and difficult battle with the legal system, the US court passed a judgment in favor of Filártiga and he was

awarded compensation. However, while the compensation may have provided some measure of justice, it could never make up for the devastating loss of their teenage son, Joelito.

### Poster analysis

The illustration in this poster portrays Dr Joel’s pain, and remains one of his most poignant works. Titled “The Martyred Son”, it depicts the emotions of a grieving father who has lost his son. It portrays a man who is seeing suffering.

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**“Because the faith that does not give up is not defeated; nor the love that defends the joy of its little lamp behind a man’s chest” - Hérib Campos Cervera (quoted on the poster)**

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The violence painted inside his head speaks to the surroundings in which he grew up, which were the same circumstances under which he lost his teenage son. The bombs exploding in the background, the nail struck to the head, and the knife piercing the neck all symbolise the extreme brutality that took Joelito’s life, while the tears streaming down the father’s

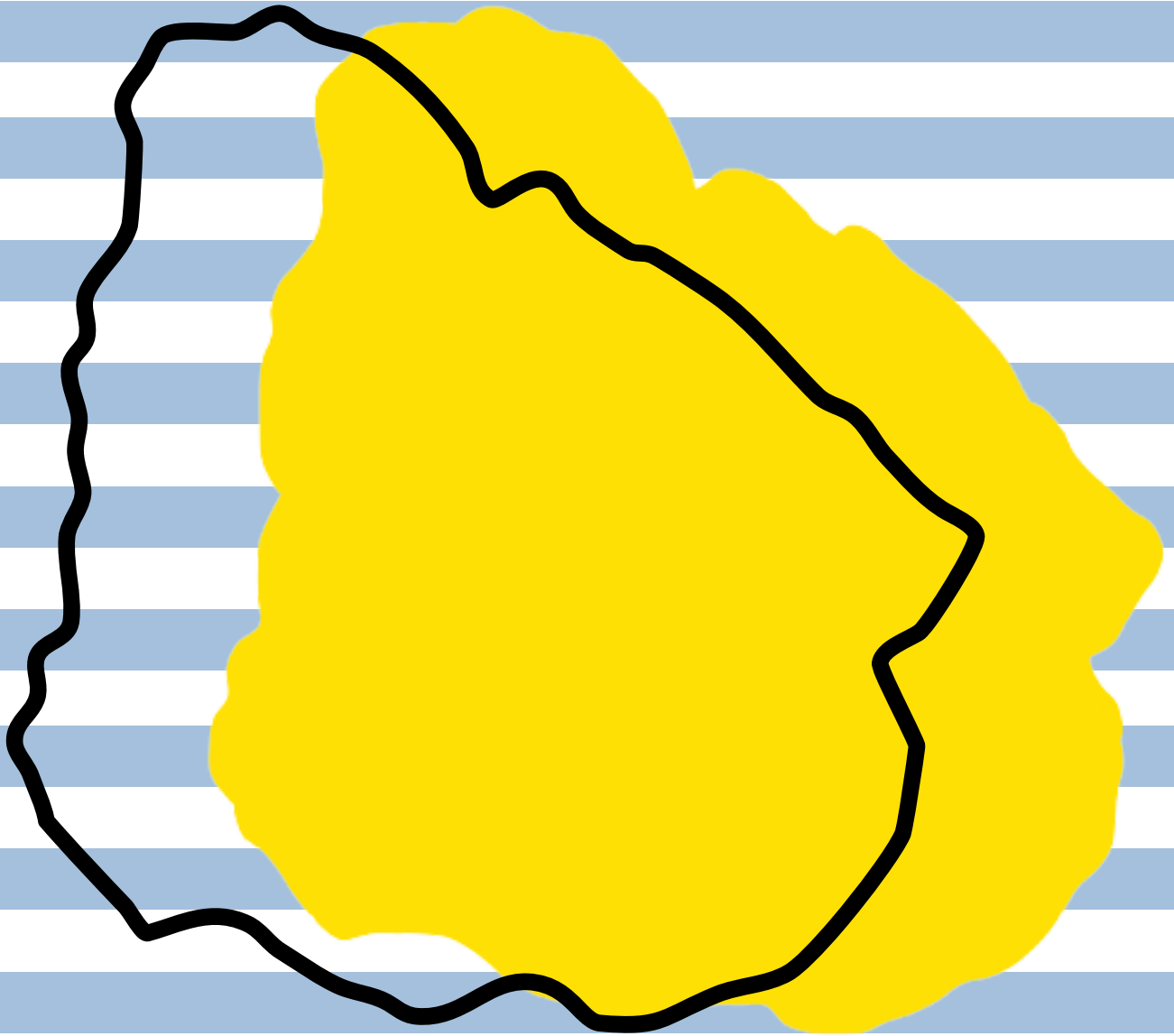
face capture his intense sorrow.

By contrast, the landscape outside, which merges with the human sketch, appears barren and desolate. It suggests that the pain and grief the father suffers from extends beyond his personal loss and afflicts the world around him. The violence that claimed his son is thus shown. Combined with the injustice his family suffered, this poster speaks volumes about the incompetence and inadequacies of Paraguay’s legal system.

The poem *Regresarán un Día* (They will return one day) by Campos Cervera embodies the spirit of resilience and hope during adversity. It reminds the reader that even in the darkest of moments, there’s always light at the end of the tunnel. It inspires us to be hopeful during tough times. This sentiment is mirrored in the illustration by Dr. Joel, who never gave up the fight for justice for his son, despite the long and arduous battle against an unjust system. The combination of Campos Cervera's poetry and Dr. Joel's perseverance serves as a powerful reminder that hope and resilience can overcome even the most daunting challenges in life. ●

# URUGUAY

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# URUGUAY'S DARK DICTATORSHIP

The country holds one of the highest rates of human rights violation of the continent. With a firm grip on freedom of speech, the dictatorship saw solidarity come from abroad.

*Mathilde Benguigui*

*Libertad para los presos políticos.  
S.H.L -B320 PAM*

**D**uring the 1970s, the Latin American Continental Students Organization (OCLAE) released a poster that aimed to expose and condemn the atrocities perpetrated by the military regime

against those who spoke out against it. The poster was a response to the fact that Uruguay's political military regime did not respect human rights and systematically tortured its prisoners. The second smallest country in Latin America, Uruguay has one of the

darkest histories when it comes to its dictatorship, which lasted from 1973 to 1985. It has the highest rate of torture and kidnapping across the continent, with one political prisoner for every 450 inhabitants; this means that around 6,000 people were imprisoned, including 67 children, in a country with less than 3 million inhabitants.

Prior to the dictatorship, Uruguay was considered as a model to follow for its democratic tradition. However, in 1973, the institutional life of Uruguay was interrupted by a

military coup d'état. The military regime's priority was the extermination of the opponents of the regime. No limits were imposed on the military in the pursuit of this goal, which explains the record of human rights violations committed during the dictatorship. The Latin American Continental Students Organization (OCLAE) created this poster to show support for the Uruguayan people and denounce the use of torture. The OCLAE is an independent, non-governmental and...▶▶▶

**LIBERTAD  
PARA LOS  
PRESOS POLITICOS**

JORNADA DE SOLIDARIDAD CON  
EL PUEBLO DE URUGUAY

OCLAE

(foto dada a conocer por la resistencia uruguaya, tomada en uno de los centros de tortura de la dictadura.)



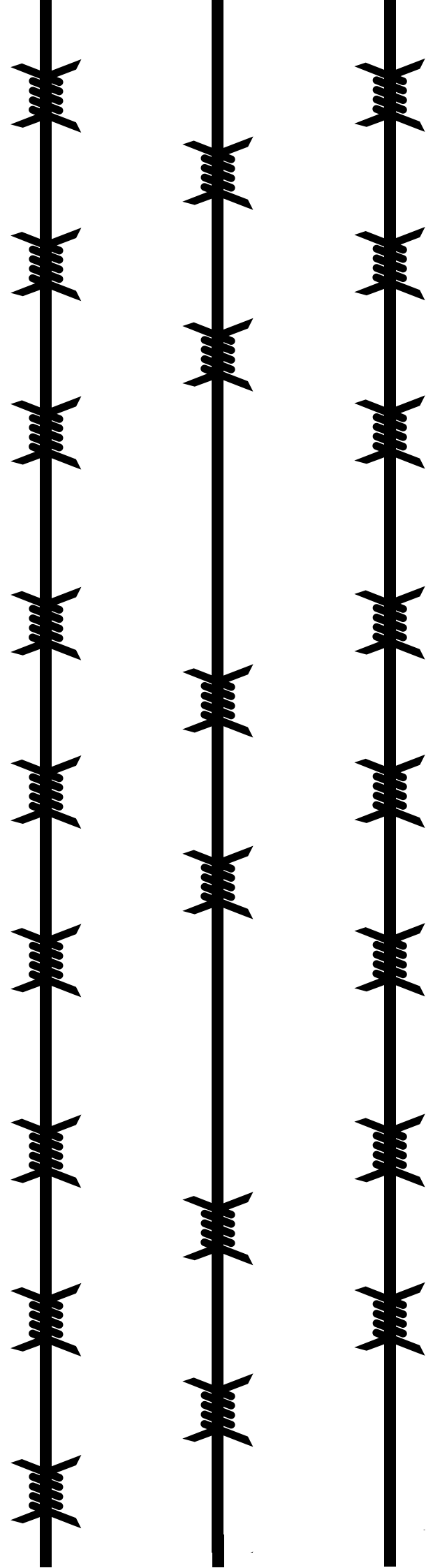
...representative organization of federations and student unions in Latin America. At the time, OCLAE was dedicated to educational objectives, emerging as one of the sectors fighting the dictatorial and pro-imperialist regimes throughout the continent. This poster was a way for the OCLAE to communicate their support to Uruguayan people, in addition to dedicating a day of solidarity with those affected. The poster called for freedom for the thousands of political prisoners who were confined in torture centers. The image used in the poster was taken by the Uruguayan resistance in one of the dictatorship's torture centers.

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***'The dictatorship was a "monster" unto which one dreams of extirpating an eye or an arm' - interview with an unnamed university scholar with direct experience of the regime.'***

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It was this oppressive regime that this poster denounced. Resistance to the dictatorship was met with severe punishment at the time; today, people continue to fight for the memory of those who disappeared or died during the military regime. This picture sheds light on the reality experienced by many Uruguayans during what they refer to as the "terrorist government regime". ●



# ELSEWHERE

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# FLOWER POWER

The contrasting symbols of flowers and bullets reveal the transcontinental tensions simmering in the 1960s – and people's desire to move past them, and the bloody legacy of the Vietnam War, for good.

*Shauna Amsellem*

*Cesen las violaciones. Exigimos el cumplimiento de los acuerdos de Paris – Modesto Braulio. S.H.L.*

This poster was designed by Braulio Modesto and published in 1974 by the Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes (OCLAE), a student

organisation that sought to promote unity and solidarity among students in Latin America and the Caribbean. It was a transnational public space where solidarity against dictatorships was expressed and anti-imperialist positions were developed. As the poster was

published by the OCLAE, it was most likely aimed at students and young people in the region who were active in the organisation and the broader anti-war movement. The message of the poster could also have resonated with a wider audience, who was opposed to the war and who sought to raise awareness about the human cost of conflict.

This poster symbolises in one image the anti-imperialism promoted by the OCLAE against the Vietnam war and the peoples subjected to the

U.S. hand. Inspired and certainly influenced by the victory of the Cuban revolution and the international context of the Cold War, the student activists present at the CLAE (the OCLAE activists' congress) in Havana follow Che Guevara's instruction "to create two, three, several Vietnams" in order to confront intransigent imperialism. The struggle must be relentless. Despite the distance, Vietnam and Latin America are fighting a common enemy: North American cultural... ►►



...and political imperialism. In fact, some events in Latin America mirrored the struggle in Vietnam: in 1973, General Augusto Pinochet led a military coup against the democratically-elected government of Chilean socialist President Salvador Allende. The U.S. government supported Pinochet's regime, which was responsible for the deaths and disappearances of thousands of Chileans. This event mirrored the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, where the U.S. government supported anti-communist regimes in South Vietnam.

### **Flower symbolism**

In the foreground, filled with light, sunflowers and other types of bloom full of life stand against a black background that echoes the bombs in the upper right of the poster. At the same level, these bombs seem to be targeted at the flowers, moving towards them. The flowers and the bombs feature centrally across the whole poster.

Sunflowers are versatile, in the sense that they can be used to convey a range of meanings and emotions: they are associated with warmth, happiness, positivity, loyalty and longevity. The contrasting symbols of the flower and the bomb convey a powerful message about the destructive nature of war and the need for peace.

The flower is a well-known

symbol of peace and love, while the bomb represents destruction and violence. By placing these two symbols side by side, the poster suggests a stark contrast between the beauty and fragility of life and the brutality of war. During the 1960s, flowers became a symbol of the love and peace movement that emerged in the U.S. as a response to the Vietnam War and social unrest. This "flower power" era was characterised by a rejection of mainstream values and a

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***"Despite the distance, Vietnam and Latin America were fighting a common enemy: North American cultural and political imperialism"***

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celebration of peace, love, and freedom. Flowers have also been used throughout history to convey different meanings: in Western culture, different flowers have been associated with different emotions and occasions. One compelling example is the flower offerings to military police in Washington in 1967. This event took place during a protest against the Vietnam War, when

demonstrators attempted to place flowers into the barrels of the rifles held by the military police.

The image of a young woman placing a flower into the barrel of a soldier's gun became an iconic symbol of the anti-war movement and the power of nonviolent resistance. This use of flowers as symbols of peace and love reflected a broader cultural shift towards rejecting violence and promoting social change through peaceful means. Today, flowers continue to be used to convey emotions and messages, and their significance remains an important part of our cultural heritage.

**The importance of international law**

The poster features the message "exigimos el cumplimiento de los acuerdos de París" ("we demand compliance with the Paris agreements"), written in bold letters above the image. This powerful message refers to the Paris Peace Accords, which were signed on January 27, 1973, to end the Vietnam War. The poster's demand is significant because it highlights the frustration and disappointment of the anti-war movement in Latin America and the Caribbean regarding the lack of progress in ending the Vietnam War. Despite the signing of the Paris Peace Accords, which were... 

...supposed to bring an end to the war, the conflict continued to drag on for several more years. The demand suggests that the signatories of the agreement, including the U.S., were not living up to their commitments to end the war. In the end, this anti-Vietnam war OCLAE poster, published in 1974, is an important artefact of the anti-war movement in Latin America and the Caribbean. It reflects the frustration and anger of many people in the region who were opposed to the Vietnam War and demanded an end to the conflict.. It is a poignant reminder of the cost of war and the urgent need for peace. The poster's message remains relevant in the present day, as it highlights the need for peaceful resolution to conflicts and the importance of upholding international agreements and commitments towards achieving lasting peace. ●





# THIRD-WORLDISM IN LATIN AMERICA & THE VIETNAM METAPHOR

JORNADA CONTINENTAL DE APOYO A VIETNAM, CAMBODIA Y LAOS 15 AL 21 DE OCTUBRE **oclæ**

This article deals with solidarity and identification with Southeast Asia Wars, both as symbol of 'Third-worldism' and anti-US rallying point.

*Mercedes Osuna Vergara*

*Nixon, Cambodia & Ho Chi Minh - Latin American Continental Students Organization - OCLAE  
S.H.L*



**J**uxtaposing a poster celebrating the world-renowned Marxist figure of Ho Chi Minh with another poster that literally demonizes American President Richard Nixon, we gain insight into the politics and history of Thirdworldist solidarity during the Cold War and Latin America's unique role in this activism.

## **The expansion of the Third World into Latin America**

The existence of a global anti-imperial project had its

inception long ago. Liberation and anti-colonial movements have existed for as long as colonialism itself. In the context of the Cold War, this resistance was shaped in specific political, strategic, and aesthetic ways that related to the international relations between 1945 and 1991. This is how the term 'Third World' came to be.

During the Cold War, the Third World evolved to include Africa, Asia and Latin America in a shared political project aimed at asserting political national sovereignty and socio-economic independence,

or re-asserting them in some cases. This claim to agency and willingness to shape the international order after their own image was shocking to the international community, and challenged the presumed bipolarity of the Cold War. Thus, the Third World was not only a geographical term, but also a quasi-ideological approach to world politics. It englobed a wide range of initiatives embraced by different groups of state and non-state actors, including but not limited to ... ►►

...the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77. One of the most important of these initiatives to understand these two posters is Tricontinentalism.

The inclusion of Latin America into the Third World project was never intuitive. Indeed, Latin American nations were not considered at all in the early discussions and meetings of Third World forums, on the grounds that Latin American nations had already been decolonized and therefore their participation was deemed unnecessary. Nevertheless, Latin American actors and organizations asserted their right to join, pointing to shared challenges of development, economic instability and unequal power relations with multinational corporations and financially powerful governments from the Global North. This was often articulated with clear anti-American undertones, which are evident in the Nixon poster.

The 1959 Cuban Revolution was key in convincing previously skeptical audiences throughout the globe that Latin America belonged in the Third World project, and that its unique perspective could benefit everyone.

Fidel Castro's revolutionary Cuba became the first Latin American country to become part of the Third World project in the early 1960s.

His larger-than-life personality and long speeches quickly established him as a Thirdworldist figurehead. The tipping point was in 1966, when Havana hosted the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL).

This conference formally marked Latin America's inclusion into the Third World project, and became known as la Tricontinental after the Third World concept that brought all three continents together,

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***“When the day of victory comes, our people will reconstruct the country better [than ever], and will make it greater and more beautiful” - Ho Chi Minh (quoted in the poster)***


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Tricontinentalism. Che Guevara's famous call for “two, three, many Vietnams” during the OSPAAAL conference marked the beginning of the identification between the Vietnam War and the struggles faced by other Third-World-identified nations and would-be nations. Guevara recognised the common features between Cuba and Vietnam, including

the predominantly rural-organized militias and the crucial role of the guerrilla fighter.

### **The Vietnam metaphor and its relevance for Latin America**

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Vietnam metaphor was omnipresent in Third World activism, and it is within this context that these two posters were produced. This often consisted simply of a rhetorical exercise where intellectuals and students drew parallels between their own communities' struggle for liberation and the Vietnamese case. The widespread admiration for Vietnam, particularly for Ho Chi Minh's figure is evident in the second poster.

He is portrayed stenciled against a colorful background of flowers, symbolising peaceful intentions if not the utopian desire to build paradise on earth. This admiration shows that the Vietnam metaphor was a powerful tool, which could help many other liberation movements and guerrilla groups gather support and legitimacy for their own agendas. One of the most famous expressions of this was by Chilean poet and Nobel prize winner Pablo Neruda. When discussing the challenges faced by Salvador Allende's... 

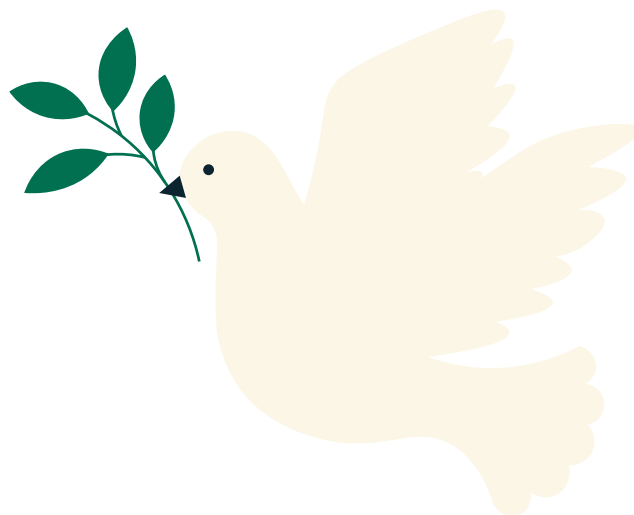
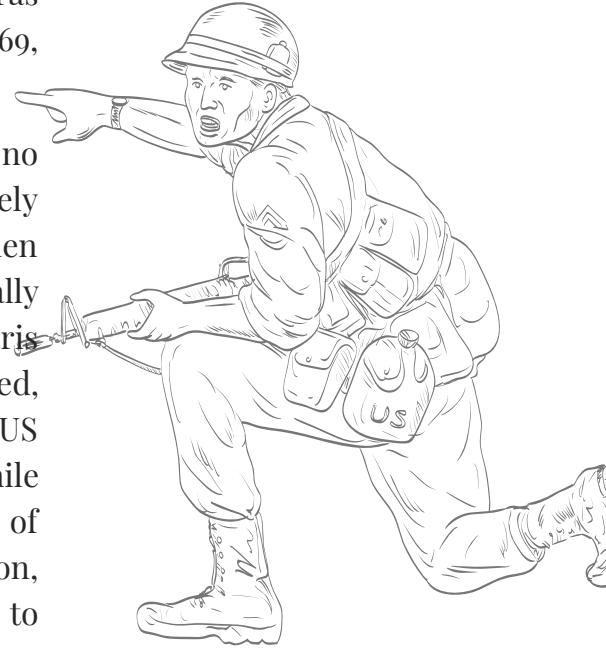
...socialist government as it attempted to navigate an antagonistic international community and a US-led economic boycott, Neruda talked of Chile as el Vietnam silencioso (the silent Vietnam).

Once again, the common anti-American sentiment and disdain for the US capacity to exercise checkbook diplomacy was not lost on anyone. The poster depicts Nixon as thinking with relish about the bombings committed in his country's name. Meanwhile, the real black-and-white image of a Southeast Asian battleground imposed on Nixon, as well as the block contrasting colours used for Nixon's face, are in stark contrast to the dreamy, colorful haze that surrounds Ho Chi Minh.

The solidarity expressed towards the Vietnamese struggle was not only employed instrumentally to draw attention to other anti-imperialist organizations. On some occasions, it was also out of a genuine concern for the future of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. These two posters were designed with jornadas solidarias (solidarity days) in mind, where students and other groups would raise money and organize conferences to raise awareness and assist their comrades in Southeast Asia. Chile was the only country in the American continent to have a North Vietnamese

Information Bureau, and Cuba produced short films about the progress of the Vietnam war, including a mini-biopic of Ho Chi Minh that premiered on his 79th birthday, aptly titled *Setenta y nueve primaveras* (Seventy-nine springs) (1969, Santiago Álvarez).

Although these posters have no dates, they were most likely created between 1966 (when Tricontinentalism formally began) and 1973 (when the Paris Peace Accords were signed, marking the end of US involvement in Vietnam). While the images and depictions of the two leaders, Ho and Nixon, may seem outdated today to some, the fact that these posters have no dates speaks to their timelessness. The messages conveyed by these posters about solidarity, the polarization and fragmentation of political discourse during times of instability and war, and the importance of rallying against a common enemy, still resonate with us today. ●

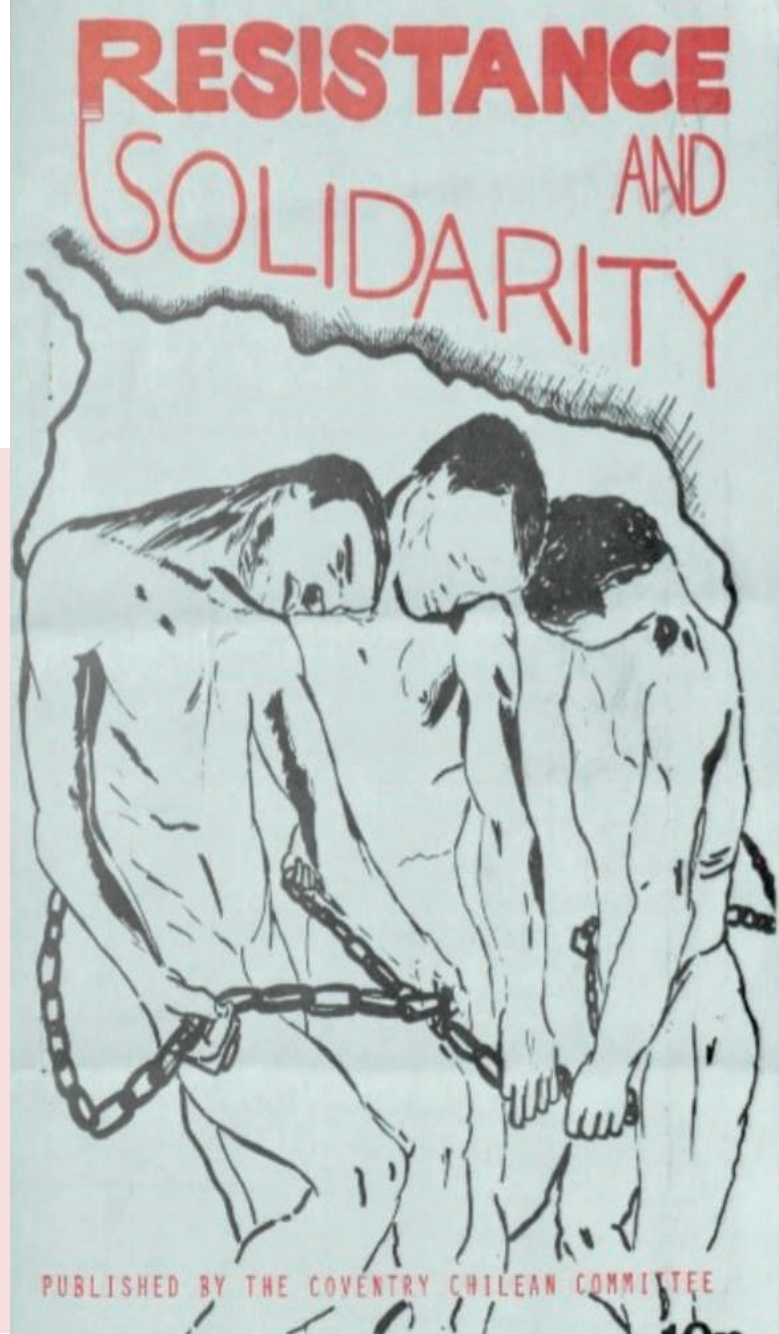


# CHILEAN REFUGEES IN BRITAIN: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AUTHORITARIANISM FROM ABROAD

This magazine, curated by Chilean exiles in the UK, was used as a form of resistance against the dictatorship that had displaced them away from home.

*Ella Sweeting*

*Resistance and solidarity.  
S.H.L - M320 PAM/15/13*



**T**his poster relates to the Chile Solidarity Campaign across Britain during the 1970s and 1980s. The Campaign was formed in September 1973 following the coup where General Augusto Pinochet's

military Junta overthrew Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government. The Junta was responsible for the torture, execution and forced disappearances of nearly 40,000 people; almost three thousand Chilean refugees came to the U.K. fleeing from the violence and

oppression they faced at home. This British campaign sought to accomplish its purpose through Labour and trade union movements, lobbying the U.K. government directly via letter, postcard and telegram campaigns, as well as sending petitions and delegations to the Foreign Office and both British and Chilean embassies.

The magazine this poster is from was named 'Resistance and Solidarity', and published by The Coventry Chilean Committee in May 1977. This magazine was made to educate and inform the people of Coventry, particularly those

involved in solidarity movements. The magazine's title resonates with the united international fraternity and resistance that Chilean and British people shared against the dictatorship. The Committee was created by Chilean refugees in Coventry to denounce the military junta, develop a solidarity campaign and help in their nation's struggle against the dictatorship. Accordingly, the magazine was structured to tell the story behind Chile's repressive regime...▶▶▶

...teaching readers about the different tactics used to hide crimes, and informing Coventry's working class about how they can approach and participate in the Campaign to support the struggle against the dictatorship.

## Visuals

The magazine cover portrays three individuals chained to an outline of Chile's borders. It illustrates the Chilean people's struggle against the violent dictatorship that restricted their free will. The three individuals are depicted as being wrapped together by a long chain which restricts their movement; the chain itself is representation of the limits to their liberty and freedom that so many Latin American people experienced during this time. However, the image does not only mirror their repression – it also points to the fight that Latin Americans waged against tyranny, as the individuals in the poster appear to pull at and fight their chains.

Overall, this poster is a metaphorical representation of the emotional and physical oppression that Latin Americans, with emphasis on Chileans, faced under authoritarianism in the 1970s and 1980s. Its use by the Coventry Chilean Committee illustrates the perception of human rights violations in Latin America by those most moved to fight against these injustices,

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**"The image does not only mirror the repression of Chilean people – it also points to the fight they waged against tyranny."**

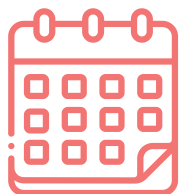
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while also underscoring how political art did not need to be elaborate or overwrought to have strong and lasting impact. ●



# SIDE EVENTS

What is happening besides the exhibition?



**APRIL 2023**



- **17 APRIL - KCL EXHIBITION LAUNCH**
- **18 APRIL - LEEDS EXHIBITION LAUNCH**
- **20 APRIL - GUEST LECTURE - PROF. RODRIGO PATTO SÁ MOTTE**
- **21 APRIL - KING'S BRAZIL ENSEMBLE PERFORMS CARLOS MEJIA GODOY**

*And more to come...*

# BEHIND THE SCENES

Looking into the archives of the Senate House Library...



... Learning more about the historical and artistic context of Latin American resistance groups in the 1970s...

... Launching a film screening and other fun side events related to the exhibition theme!





# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## Colleges and Universities

**University of London**  
King's College London  
London School of Economics  
Queen Mary University of London  
School of Advanced Studies  
- Senate House  
**University of Leeds**  
**University of Liverpool**

## Embassies

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Embassy of Brazil  
Embassy of Chile  
Embassy of Uruguay

## Archives

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