

gray shore, they could see the white foam of the breaking rollers, and the gray rocks below but there was no sign of motorboat or of any human being. We may as well stay right on the beach.

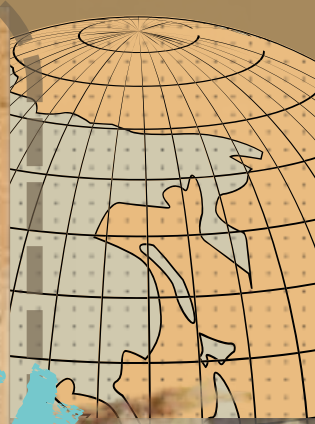
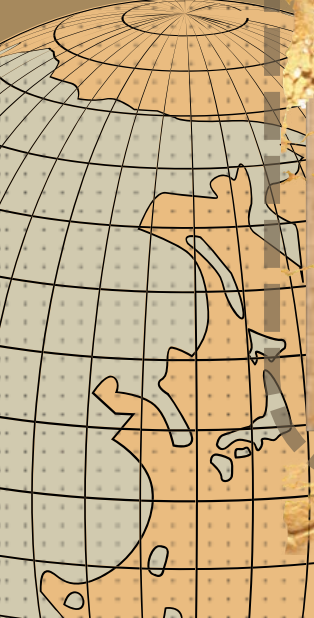


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Thinking Inside The Box: Revolutions of Latin America

The Exhibition Catalogue



**“A people who love
liberty will always be
free.”**

-

Simon Bolivar



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Sometimes a revolution starts with people “Thinking Inside the Box”.

It is common to say that if we want to change the course of something, we need to ‘think outside the box’. This metaphor has been tirelessly repeated as a motivation to promote and provoke some radical change, some revolution.

However, sometimes a revolution starts with people “thinking inside the box’. And here I am literally speaking, considering what this catalogue and exhibition represent. They are a result of an exercise of looking at boxes, at archival boxes.

Thinking Inside the Box is a critical pedagogical framework that nurtures the co-creation of knowledge by connecting students with archival materials. This project was started a few years ago by Dr Anna Grimaldi and me. It is a student-led project based on a collection of Latin American Political Pamphlets, at the Special Collections Latin American Political Pamphlets archive at Senate House Library, University of London, under the care of Julio Cazzasa. It started with an academic seminar and later developed into a broader project involving students as practitioners of their own learning experience.

The project consisted of having students volunteer to participate in a series of workshops and preparatory sessions before visiting the archive and exploring its contents. Each student then chose an item to curate for a collaboratively organised exhibition. With the guidance of academic staff involved in the project, students then applied historical and archival research methods to explore their chosen piece, prepare a caption, and produce a reflective essay based on their experience. Simultaneously, students and staff worked collaboratively to stage the physical and digital exhibition, design a visual identity, engage with various audiences through social media and a website, run events, and produce a catalogue, among other things.

Thinking Inside the Box is inspired by Paulo Freire’s pedagogy of the oppressed, understood here as a decolonial approach to education. In this approach, learners and teachers are involved in a process of mutual “conscientisation”, through the co-creation of the learning process. This approach recognises – and indeed mobilises – students’ and teachers’

positionalities and worldviews as fundamental aspects of the creation of new knowledge. Thus, rather than ‘teaching’ students about the contents of the archives and interpretations thereof, the project promoted students’ interaction with them by using the cultural artifacts and the worldviews they represent to question our perceptions of and actions in the world today.

This year the project is in its third edition and has as its theme the concept of ‘Revolutions’ in Latin America and how they are expressed at the Special Collections Latin American Political Pamphlets archive at Senate House Library. Again, students have been invited to collectively engage in the process of production of the exhibition, this catalogue, and the other activities involved with the project.

According to Paulo Freire, “(...) a revolution is achieved with neither verbalism nor activism, but rather with praxis, that is, with reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed.”[1] (2005, pp 125-6). The exercise of performing the posters and pamphlets of the collection was revolutionary because exactly reflection and action were required from each of the participants. What we see in this catalogue is not only

descriptions of posters but exercises of dialogue that require the authors to question their worldview, express their interpretations, and also propose questions to the audience.

Students didn’t receive a ‘script’ about what they should or not explore in their interpretations of the material. As we intend to experiment with a revolutionary approach to education, we were very aware of Freire’s recommendation: “Manipulation, sloganizing, ‘depositing’, regimentation, and prescription cannot be components of revolutionary praxis, precisely because they are components of the praxis of domination.” (2005, p126). Dealing with pamphlets and posters with a clear political orientation and communication objectives, students engaged critically with their chosen artifact, not merely ‘accepting’ their messages, but scrutinizing their revolutionary content.

We believe that this experience of ‘thinking inside the box’ provokes in everyone involved in the project - including you, our reader - the sense of being part of a revolutionary dialogue, because “sooner or later, a true revolution must initiate a courageous dialogue with the people. Its very legitimacy lies in that dialogue.” (Freire, 2005, p. 128).

This project would be not possible without the participation and contribution of several actors and sponsors, all of them acknowledged in these pages. But the most important of them are the students engaged in the project this year. They dedicated an immense amount of work to making this dialogue a reality. They have been truly revolutionaries. They went beyond their boundaries, exploring a world – Latin America – not familiar to many of them, and experiencing the difficult combination of reflection and action. I don't have enough words to thank them, to congratulate them, to express how much I am proud of them, and to measure how much they have taught me during the exercise of reenacting these posters. They remind me of the power of dialogue for humanization.

I finish with another Freire quotation that summarizes well the reasons why we engage in projects like Thinking Inside the Box, a project of dialogue and transformation:

“The dialogue which is radically necessary to revolution corresponds to another radical need: that of women and men as beings who cannot be truly human apart from communication, for they are essentially communicative creatures. To impede communication is to reduce men to the status of “things” – and this is a job for oppressors, not for revolutionaries.” (2005, p 129).

Vinicius Mariano de Carvalho

London, May 2024

[1] Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of Oppressed*. (Trad. Myra Bergman Ramos). Continuum: New York, 2005.

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**“The revolution is not
an apple that falls
when it is ripe. You
have to make it fall.”**

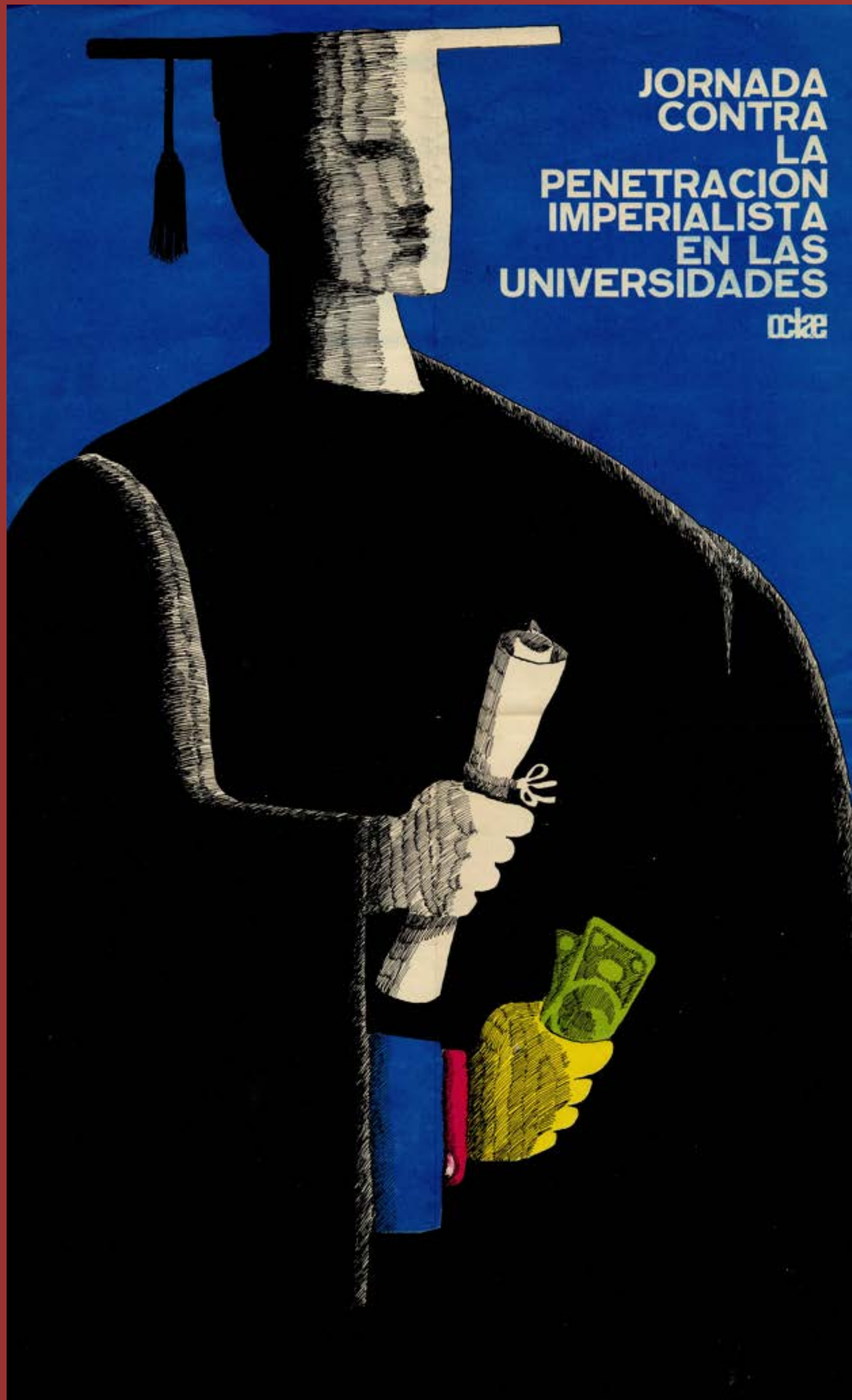
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Che Guevara



Cuba





SHL: B320_PAM_3_02-001

Jornada Contra La Penetracion Imperialista En Las Universidades

By Muzna Alhaj

Jornada contra la penetracion imperialista en las universidades or The Day Against Imperialist Penetration in Universities is the title of this political poster produced by the Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes // Continental Latin American and Caribbean Student Organization (OCLAE). Founded in 1966, OCLAE headquarters are in Cuba, and the organisation remains active. The organisation is a platform that advocates free access to education, ending illiteracy, and curriculum decolonisation.

Produced around 1975 in Cuba, the title of this poster is an anti-imperialistic outcry in the face of foreign interference in Latin American Education. It shows a student dressed in a graduation cap and gown, holding a diploma; from the gown's sleeve emerges another yellow hand below the graduate hand, dressed in red and blue, clutching dollar bills. The hand is dressed in the colours of the American flag, lifting the dollar bills upward, which, according to the poster's title, implies US interference in education in Latin America through the provision of funds and scholarships.

The poster could also be interpreted as the US offering money to newly graduated students to attract talent instead of leaving them to stay and build their own countries. Imperialism contributes to higher numbers of immigrants due to the exploitation of vast regions in Latin America. Several countries, particularly small nations in Africa, the Caribbean, and Central America, have lost over 30% of their population with higher education due to migration. More than 70% of software programmers employed by the U.S. company Microsoft Corporation are from India and Latin America. Accordingly, a country like the US is responsible for causing a “brain drain” in the aforementioned countries.

Despite the different interpretations, the poster holds the central theme of a series of posters produced by OCLAE in the sixties and seventies to convey the activities of the member students' bodies of OCLAE, who resisted imperialist approaches towards education in Latin America.



SHL: B320_PAM_3_02-002

The Education Revolution - Fighting Foreign Imperialist Ideas in the Education System

By Philipp Antony

Death to the oppressive regime of imperialist education! - that seems to be the central message transmitted from this political poster distributed by the “Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes” (OCLAE), the Continental Latin American and Caribbean Student Organization.

The organisation was formed in 1966 and is, at its roots, a platform to promote student voices, representing 38 student organisations in 24 countries of the American continent. As of today, the organisation has more than 100 million members. Put simply, OCLAE are defenders of – and advocates for – freedom and democracy in education. Increasing literacy rates and access to free education, decolonising curriculums and hierarchies, and establishing a foundation of solidarity between autonomous student bodies are some of the ways they work indefinitely towards these goals.

Likely produced in late-sixties Cuba, where the OCLAE was originally founded, this poster visually represents their mission, honing in on the student-led effort to eradicate imperialism from Latin American curriculums. Against a black background covering the majority of the simplistic poster sits a monochrome, black-and-white skull wearing what appears to be a mortarboard. The cord of the mortarboard shows elements of the United States flag, incorporating the colors blue, red, and white. Most notably, from the unnatural-looking eyes of the skull, the word “CIA” shines in piercing red.

The uncomfortable view of the skull, which seems almost internally infected by the presence of red letters, can be quite obviously deducted as a symbolism to portray the “presencia imperialista” (“imperialist presence”) as a parasite and foreign body in the Latin American education system that robs the essence and, shown by the image of the skull, also the humanity of education

I would encourage you to reflect on your own feelings, facing the direct frontal view of the uncanny “educational skull” and the piercing watch of its unnatural eyes, infected with the imperialist ideas of a foreign intelligence organisation. This poster and similar ones would have likely been put up across Latin American and Caribbean countries through national members of OCLAE, who would have displayed them in universities, street corners, and other public spaces. State-sponsored posters were distinct in style and often had the function of educating the masses. They did this through visual media as well as short, ideologically fused taglines to communicate 1959’s founding revolutionary goals, such as eradicating illiteracy in the country.

I am certain that you, as a participant in our exhibition, have been affected in some way, shape, or form by the wave of industrial strike action in recent months and years if you have been living here in the UK. In this context, the poster’s ability to empower everyday struggles and the people’s ability to shape their future becomes increasingly relevant. In looking at the multitudes of ways in which Latin American student bodies collectivized this struggle for change in the past, we can uncover ideas, both big and small, with the potential to inspire us in the present.



SHL: B320_PAM_3_02-003

Day Against Imperialist Penetration in the Universities

By Matthew Bye

This poster was created by the Organización Continental Latinoamericana de Estudiantes (OCLAE), a student organisation founded in 1966 in Havana, Cuba at the IV Latin American Student Congress to unite Latin American university students in the fight against imperialism and promote educational reform. The poster's bold design and powerful symbolism encapsulate OCLAE's mission and the spirit of student resistance during the turbulent 1960s.

The central image features a bald eagle, symbolic of the United States, adorned with red, white, blue, and stars and stripes of the national flag. This visual allegory conveys a powerful message of anti-imperialism, depicting the 'bird of prey' of the United States perched atop a classical temple, a motif representing wisdom, knowledge, and democracy.

By positioning the bald eagle atop the temple, the poster conveys a message of dominance and intrusion, suggesting that U.S. influence is overshadowing or taking control of places of education, as the blue field of stars on the bald eagle's head remains fully visible

representing the outward-facing ideology, values, and image of democracy and progress that the U.S. prominently projected to justify its imperialistic actions. The prominence of the blue and the stars could suggest the pervasiveness of this facade, which the student movement sought to challenge and dismantle. In contrast to the bald eagle's head, its body is depicted with darkened plumage that seeps down to the talons, casting an unnatural cloak that only partially covers the 'Star Spangled Banner' while revealing glimpses of darkened, blood-red splotches underneath. This juxtaposition serves to project a more ominous aspect of U.S. imperialism, hinting at the hidden violence and oppression that lies beneath the surface of the nation's outwardly benevolent appearance.

The temple's design, which the eagle dominates, is also a direct representation of the architectural style of the University of Havana's main building at "La Colina Universitaria" or University Hill, which was constructed in 1902, the same year Cuba gained its independence.

The neoclassical style, characterised by its columns, pediments, and other elements inspired by classical Greek and Roman architecture, was likely chosen to symbolise Cuba's entry into the modern world and its break from the colonial past. This architectural choice was part of a wider movement across Latin America, reflecting not only Cuba's but also the region's pursuit of progress and alignment with Enlightenment principles post-independence.

"Jornada Contra La Penetracion Imperialista En Las Universidades," or "Day Against Imperialist Penetration in the Universities," underscored OCLAE's primary goal of resisting foreign influence and intervention in Latin American higher education. By calling attention to the "penetration" of imperialism, the poster suggests that foreign powers are actively seeking to undermine and control universities, thus highlighting the urgent need for student mobilisation. The "Jornada" or "Day" was specific to "Junio 15" (June 15th), which OCLAE would have likely used to mobilise students across Cuba and the wider Latin-American region to rally against the imperial influences that were 'penetrating' the institutions.

This date, "Junio 15," is cleverly incorporated into the poster's design, forming the line of the rope that leads to the noose around the eagle's neck. The noose itself is a powerful visual metaphor, suggesting that this day of mobilisation and resistance would metaphorically strangle U.S. interventionism and imperialism in Latin American universities.

Cuba, in particular, is known for its rich tradition of political poster art, which flourished following the Cuban Revolution in 1959. The Cuban poster art movement was characterised by the use of bold, graphic styles and powerful visual allegories to convey political messages. Leading into 1966, Havana, which not only saw the IV Latin American Student Congress, resulting in the formation of OCLAE, but also the more prominent Tricontinental Conference and the creation of Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (OSPAAAL), unifying voices from Asia, Africa, and Latin America in anti-imperialist solidarity.

As the political landscape evolved following the revolution, OSPAAAL began to place more emphasis on violence in revolutionary liberation struggles, reflected in the increasingly direct and confrontational visuals of posters from the late 1960s and early 1970s, portraying imperialist forces as oppressive and exploitative.

The allegory of the 'bird of prey', similar to the one in this poster, was used by OSPAAAL in 1971, superimposing President Richard Nixon's head on an eagle "Tearing the Heart out of Indochina", such imagery reflected the broader sentiment of defiance against U.S. ideological and cultural infiltration, subverting symbols central to the United States, such as the Bald Eagle or Uncle Sam, a distinctive theme of revolutionary propaganda during the period.

Finally, the poster's artistic style diverges from socialist realism's idealised, heroic figures and uplifting themes, instead expressing anger, resistance, and violence. It exemplifies how Cuban artists avoided Soviet socialist realism, prioritising content over individual recognition, with the collective struggle and artists' idealistic commitment imbuing the artwork with enduring power and resonance. Although the artist of this particular poster is unknown, OCLAE's artists included the likes of René Mederos Pazos (the creator of "Nixon Tearing the Heart out of Indochina" for OSPAAAL), Alfredo Rostgaard, and Félix Beltrán, whose works often "inspired international variants".



1966 poster reads, "One million women in production signifies one billion pesos in created value." —Fidel

the individual's home to find out what the problem is and see if any further help can be given.

Although this practical help is very important, and indeed necessary if women are to participate fully in society, there is still the problem of men's attitudes towards women. This is dealt with in a typically Cuban way. If this discriminatory attitude is displayed overtly in a factory, the local Union representative who is responsible for worker relations will discuss it with the offender. If this does not work, an assembly of the whole factory will be called to discuss the problem, and, if they think it necessary, to impose some sanction on the individual. There is also evidently a law against staring at women in the street — and one to say that women should not be provocative either!

Family Code — A Revolutionary feminist law

More fundamental, though, in helping to change people's attitudes, is the Family Code, which is currently being discussed by organisations like the

FMC. Recommendations for amendments to the code will be considered before it finally becomes law. These discussions are not carried on by a small committee of delegates, but by everyone, at the local level, in CDR's for instance, and of course in bus queues and on street-corners as well.

The most radical provision of the Family Code is that in a household where the wife is working, her husband should take responsibility for half the housework and caring for the children. There has been a lot of muttering about this particular clause among men, and obviously it will serve mainly in an educational role at first. Human relationships, after all, are far more complex than the law suggests. It is perhaps significant, though, that when in a group, a CDR meeting for instance, the men did accept the justice of this particular law.

There have also been other attempts at educating people about the role of women. While we were in Cuba there was a very good documentary film, showing the various occupations which women are now employed in. There was a very dry comment from one woman, who runs a small dairy farm as well as having ten children. Before, her husband had run the farm but she had ended up doing all the work, so it was not really much different now, she said. She was a large and very capable-looking woman, so I believed her. One of the more unusual occupations, to Western eyes, was a woman crane-driver. She, too, looked steady and

capable as she guided the huge blocks of concrete into position. She felt that the rest of the workers on the site, all men, had been a bit hesitant about her at first, but they all accepted her now, and the men agreed, but looked a bit sheepish about it.

Another very imaginative way of getting the message across, was an exhibition in Havana. This stayed open until fairly late at night, which is sensible. Rather than having a series of show-cases showing the products women had produced in the factories, we saw groups of women actually making jewellery or pottery. Women work in the laboratories connected to the sugar mills, and we could look through a microscope at a cross-section of cane. Women were also involved in occupations as diverse as spaghetti-packing, weaving, computers and dress-making, and we saw examples of all of these.

Women in Cuba are not, of course, exploited by advertising as they are here. In some jobs also they are obviously treated as people; the air hostesses on Cubana airlines were the only ones I have ever seen who were not servile towards passengers. But it is only fifteen years since the revolution, and machismo is still there. One way out of the situation for many women is divorce, and the divorce rate is very high. The other way is economic independence, and this is where the main hope for liberation lies. ■

**Committee for the Defence of the Revolution.*



lowly position. The development of the country needs as many people as possible to be engaged in work, whether in the fields or the factories, and so great efforts have been made to integrate women into the national work force.

This trend was given its first impetus by the national mobilisation over the Bay of Pigs affair, when women took over many of the jobs men had been doing, while they were away. The literacy campaign in 1961, when thousands of young people went out into the rural and mountainous regions of the country to teach

people to read and write, also created a precedent. Many families were unwilling to let their daughters leave home and go out into the country alone. They were convinced their daughters would come back pregnant (and in some cases they were right!) and Fidel made a speech reassuring people that there would be no immorality.

One of the initial problems was the very low level of education of women in Cuba. Staying at home to look after the younger children and help in the house had been considered more important than schooling. After the literacy campaign night classes were set up

for women to provide a basic education. Although many women in the older age-groups still do not have a very high level of formal education, the student population in Cuba is now about 50% female, and this aspect of discrimination has been virtually eradicated.

The most important organisation for the development of women is the FMC (Federation of Cuban Women) which now has nearly two million members. This is about 70% of all women over the age of fourteen years. (In Cuba a girl's fifteenth birthday is marked by a huge celebration, similar to the kind we used to have here for twenty-first birthdays, with all the relations and neighbours invited. After this, a girl is considered to be an adult and therefore eligible to join organisations like the FMC). The FMC works at a local level, each group covering a few streets, and is involved in running courses for women to give them a higher level of education, organising help at the local health clinics, working with juvenile delinquents (for which they receive special training) and, most importantly, helping to recruit women into the work force.

Machismo male chauvinism

There are still some husbands who will not allow their wives to work, but nowadays the problems are more likely to be that they have children at home, or cannot cope with the housework and cooking as well as a job. In order to ease these problems, *Circulos Infantiles* daycare centres, have been set up. At the moment there are 640 of them throughout the country, catering for 53,361 children, but there is still a long waiting list and there are plans to build more of them. They cater for children from forty-five days to six years, and are open for very long hours; 6 am until 7 pm, to allow for women working different shifts.

Attempts have been made to help women in other ways also: some factories have organised a laundry service, and arrangements have been made so that working women do not have to queue for food in the shops. For other goods, such as clothes, there are special days when only working women can shop, which again saves time for them. If, despite all this help, women still have to be away from work, an FMC representative will come round to

Women of the revolution or the revolution of women?

By Agne Rekeyte

When one thinks about the revolution in Cuba, the images of Fidel Castro appear in the mind. Rarely would we ever think about the faces of women in the revolution automatically, without the insinuation to pay attention to that. This, however, would be a distorted image as women were active participants in the Cuban revolution. This is not only true in traditional gender roles, as one might assume. The Cuban revolution could, in some ways, be seen as the revolution of women, too.

While Fidel was considered the face of the Cuban revolution, with almost half of Cuba's population at the time being women, they had to be incorporated into the movement. The poster above highlighting women workers in the Cuban economy speaks precisely to that. Women became involved in the workforce directly and, in this way, have started leaving the traditional gender roles of stay-at-home carers to establish themselves as a crucial part of the workforce in the country.

Changes in the workforce through the revolution also meant improvements to women's rights and representation. Laws establishing the equal status of women in society eventually followed, reaffirming that women and men are equals, including within the family and home settings, meaning domestic work has been established not only as the women's responsibility.

The Cuban revolution also meant that women were becoming a vital part of the military side, not only in the workspaces. Women fighters were directly involved in the revolution – from the Moncada Barracks assault, considered the start of the Cuban revolution, to the Mariana Grajales Women's Platoon, which acted as the personal bodyguard unit to Castro. The image of the woman fighter with the gun, sitting in front of the women's shop, contrasts the traditional gender norms of femininity and the military in one. It shows well the changing Cuban society.

From this, one might say that the Cuban revolution could have been considered as the revolution of women too – challenging traditional gender norms and fighting for equality within the socialist revolution, which claimed everyone to be equal, regardless of gender.

However, the women's reality of the Cuban revolution can also be too idealised. While it did start some essential changes in Cuban society, as Castro claimed it to be the 'revolution within the revolution', it was not as glorious as portrayed. Women were still subjected to discrimination within revolutionary groups, often confined to traditional roles, such as cooking and nursing. Some research says that women comprised 5% to 15 % of the armed movement. Similarly, even though some women occupied leadership positions, Cuban society did not let go of its core of machismo so quickly. Women were and are still expected to carry the double burden of domestic housework and full-time work and are a minority in political leadership positions. Therefore, while women in the Cuban revolution laid the foundations and started a women's revolution in some ways, the women's revolution is a continuing struggle for gender equality up to this day in Cuban society.

Bolivia



REVOLUCION

ORGANO CENTRAL DEL MOVIMIENTO POPULAR DE LIBERACION NACIONAL

Bolivia Enero 1980

Precio 5.- \$b.

No. 7

... las huellas sangrientas de noviembre,
la luctuosa resistencia entre insultos,
escupitajos y pedradas,
el retroceso humillante de los tanques
ante la grandeza de la inmolación colectiva
por la libertad;



todos estos sentimientos
y hechos son el prólogo de
sangre de la imponente tragedia

de la lucha que ha empezado
a desatarse, que no se detendrá.

¿Seremos las víctimas
de los acontecimientos
que se avecinan, de los días que vendrán,
o seremos sus protagonistas
y actores capaces de responder a la
fuerza con la fuerza y a las armas con
las armas?..

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“REVOLUCION”

By Maria Theodorou

The whole poster echoes the principle message of “Revolution”. It does so, in a multimodal way. Firstly, the title “REVOLUCION”, is positioned on the top of the image and in the center, in a big size font and red color, so that it is the first element that the audience is expected to notice. Then the red color, the color of blood, fight, and revolution, plays a primordial role in the poster; it occupies not only the most important word of, the title but also the first half of the image; making sure that it will captivate the eyes of the audience and give them the stimulus to continue reading until the end. Also, in the symbolic sphere, revolution is graphically illustrated with the lifted hands in the air; a typical symbol of resistance. Finally, the accompanying text

The overall impression that the poster creates is one of tension but also balance. This is achieved through the visual organization of the layout in two axes; a horizontal and a vertical that come to antithesis to each other but at the same time organize the poster visually,

and thus catch the eye of the audience while guiding their “reading: of the poster. The horizontal axis separates the poster via colors in the fields of red, the color of blood, resistance, revolution, and black, the color of the working class in the mines. The vertical axis is created by separating the poster in the fields of image versus text.

The image brings back the theme of the working class in another method this time; symbolism. The image used depicts three workers with their hands raised in the air yelling. The motto accompanying the text is “Venceremos” and what is interesting is the size of the raised hands along with their details. Decoding these symbols, the three men represent the labor class, which holds a leading part in the revolution. The workers shout something that shows their anger with their current situation but also their will to raise their voices against this situation. The raised hands, a typical symbol of the revolution are slightly bigger than the rest of the bodies to catch the attention but also to take the distinct identity of “symbols”.

On top of that, there is a big detail in illustrating the muscles of the hands, a sign of force but also very characteristic of the working class. Finally, the motto “*Venceremos*” (=we will win) expresses their determination and their belief that the cause of their fight is just; simultaneously though, it constitutes a message of empowerment and inspiration.

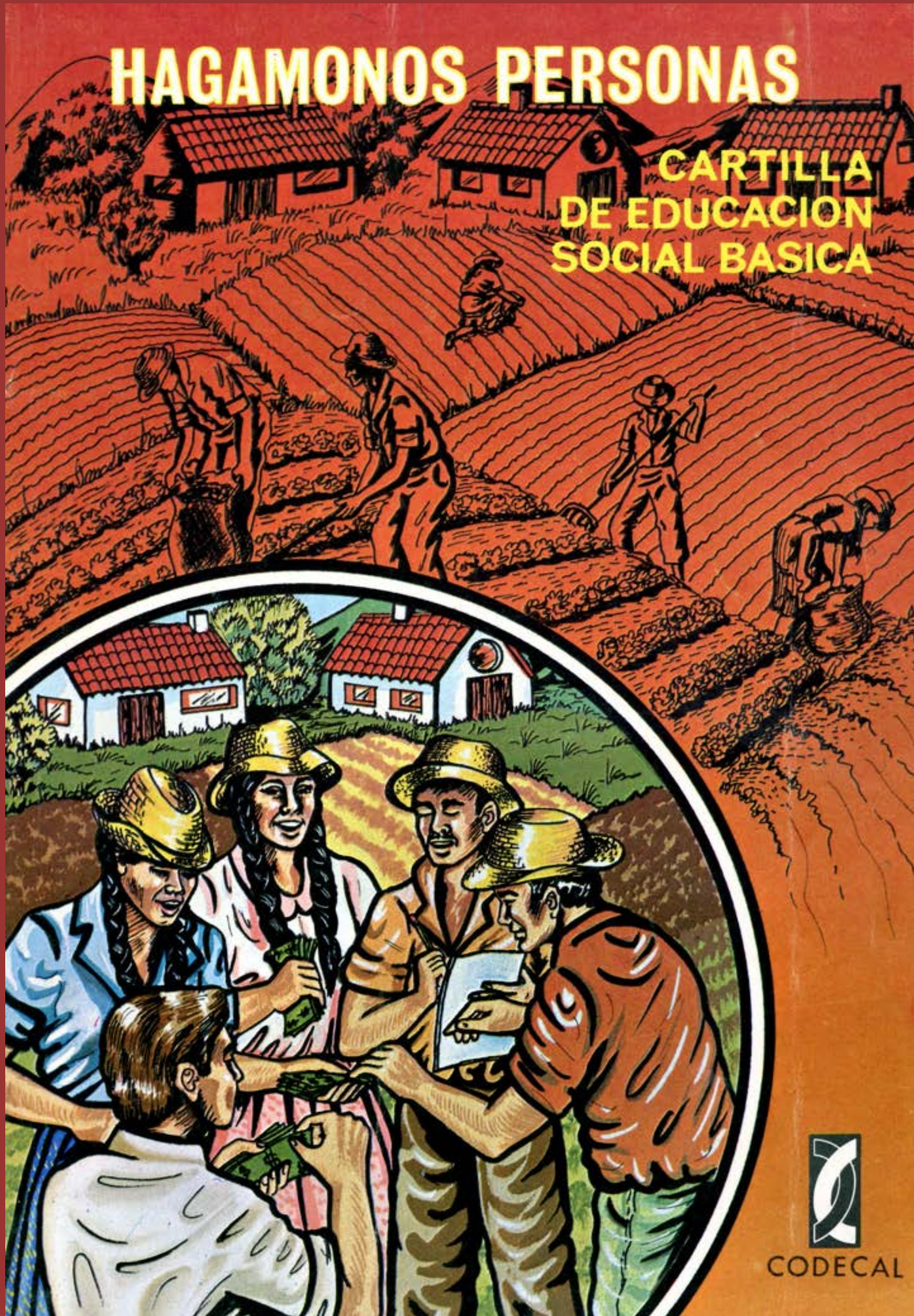
The text of the poster uses strongly emotional language to evoke powerful memories and encourage reaction; “*mournful resistance*”, “*insults*”, “*spitting*”, “*humiliating retreat*”, “*grandeur of collective arson*”, and “*imposing tragedy*”. It is organized around the antithesis of “Us vs. them” in a way that the identity of “We” is connected with the “victors” and the identity of “Them” is connected with the “losers”; this is why the antithesis of “grandeur of the collective arson” versus “the humiliating retreat of the tanks” is deployed. The text closes with a rhetorical question as a call to action but also as a final impression of inspiration and empowerment; “*Are we going to be the victims of the forthcoming events or the protagonists of them, ready to answer to violence with force and to arms with arms?*”

Colombia



HAGAMONOS PERSONAS

CARTILLA DE EDUCACION SOCIAL BASICA



SHL: H320_PAM_2_01-001

CODECAL COLOMBIA – Hágamonos

Personas

By Tomás Arvelo Delgado

This CODECAL poster is central to the understanding of the political forms of communication in Colombia during the 70s and captures the essence of Colombia's agrarian reform movement through its complex visual narrative and the poignant phrase, "*Hágamonos personas*" as part of its *cartilla de educación social* (which were the political pamphlets distributed by the organization directly to the farmers to teach new forms of social action, collectiveness, and organization). Moreover, the association behind the pamphlet, CODECAL, is a fantastic example of the role that the Latin America Liberation Theology played within the revolutionary movements at the time.

Christian Liberation Theology's impact on this discourse cannot be overstated. Figures like Gustavo Gutiérrez, Leonardo Boff, and Camilo Torres Restrepo articulated a vision of Christianity that was deeply embedded in the struggles of the Latin American poor and disenfranchised, especially around issues like agrarian reform. By framing the issue within the context of

Christian duty and moral obligation, the movement garnered wider support, transcending traditional political divides and appealing to a broader segment of the population. This approach helped to situate the struggle for land rights within a larger narrative of liberation and redemption, not just for the rural poor of Colombia but for society.

In addition, at the time there was an increase in the Christian institutions that were especially and directly dedicated to experimenting with and spreading new modes of communication, and several of them, including CODECAL, emerged around 1973, such as the Social Communication Center Jesús María Pellín in Venezuela, CLAVE in Mexico, Sono-Viso in Peru, and the Don Bosco Center in Paraguay.

Regarding the content of the poster itself, it must be stated that it integrates two distinct images within its fabric, each telling a part of the story of agrarian reform and the pursuit of social justice that was embedded at the core of the agrarian revolutionary movements disseminated in Latin America.

On one side, the striking image set against a red gradient background with black lines evokes the raw intensity of agricultural labor. This depiction of farmers working the fields under the harsh sun symbolizes the foundational role of peasant labor in the Colombian economy and the intrinsic connection between the people and their land. The use of red not only signifies the struggle and bloodshed often associated with land disputes but also represents the passion and determination of the rural communities fighting for their rights.

Contrastingly, the other image bursts with the vibrant reality of rural Colombia, featuring two women and one man, emblematic of Colombian farmers, engaged in a transaction with two other men. This interaction likely represents the economic aspects of the agrarian reform process, perhaps a depiction of land redistribution negotiations or the financial support mechanisms put in place to facilitate the reform. The presence of money-changing hands underlines the tangible outcomes of the movement, highlighting both the empowerment and the challenges faced by the peasant communities.

Central America



**Forum der Solidarität
mit Zentralamerika**

**Forum de Solidarité
avec l'Amérique Centrale**

Bern/Berne, 14./15. Jan./janv. 1983



**Für das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker Zentralamerikas
Pour le droit à l'autodétermination des peuples d'Amérique Centrale
Gegen die Intervention der USA Contre l'intervention US**

SHL: E320_PAM_1_32-001

The Public Diplomacy Battle Over Central America

By Jiaying Qian

This pamphlet is about the Forum of Solidarity with Central America, held in Bern, Switzerland on the 14th and 15th of January in 1983. At the bottom of the cover, two phrases are written in both German and French: 'For the right to self-determination of the peoples of Central America' and 'Against the intervention of the USA'. If we move our sights from the text to the image, we can see that this image combines three elements: the Swiss flag, the map of part of Central America, and the American flag. It sends a message that Switzerland would support Central America to break the handcuffs from the U.S..

How did Central America relate to the U.S. and Europe around 1980? Spotighting on Nicaragua, after the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) overthrew the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship in 1979, the U.S. believed that Central America would become more unstable. As the backyard of the U.S., the expansion of communism in Central America is perceived by the U.S. as a national security threat:

'The specter of Marxist-Leninist controlled governments in Central America with ideological and political loyalties to Cuba and the Soviet Union poses a direct challenge to which we must respond.' Therefore, as a response, the Reagan administration developed a public diplomacy strategy for Central America in 1983, targeting groups in Europe including the media, government and political party leaders, and labour and religious organizations, intending to shape a threatening image of the FSLN and a freedom-fighter image of the Nicaraguan opposition in the minds of the European public, thus being able to gain the support of European democracies for isolating Central America.

In response to the U.S. public diplomacy in Europe, the FSLN also intensified propaganda in Europe to arouse sympathy for Nicaragua among the European public. The Forum of Solidarity with Central America held in Switzerland is one of the cases. By inviting groups including Central American exiles in Switzerland, political parties, and trade unions,

as well as religious organizations, the Forum aimed to inform a wider European audience about the situation in Central America, to demonstrate Switzerland's support and solidarity with Central America, and to influence the U.S. to end its military support for El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, as well as its intervention and economic sanctions against Nicaragua.

The public diplomacy rivalry between the Reagan administration and FSLN reached a turning point in 1985. The New York Times published a report by Reed Brody, a former New York State Assistant Attorney General, on the indiscriminate killing of civilians by the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan opposition. Public opinion thus began to resist the U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. The Reagan administration felt pressured by public opinion and therefore turned to secret channels to keep funding the Nicaraguan opposition, but these secret operations were then uncovered by the media as well. The U.S. public diplomacy activities in Europe terminated in 1987 as the special commission of inquiry set up by the House of Representatives and Senate reported that these activities were suspected of several scandals including illegal propaganda, covert operations, and misappropriation of funds. By this time, Central America gradually achieved some progress in freeing itself from the U.S. intervention.

Venezuela



PROGRAM OF ACTION

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SHL: V320_PAM_1_34-001

Argentina

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Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT)
Revolutionary Workers' Party



Political-military leadership of
Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP)
Peoples' Revolutionary Army

N 320 PAM/6/04

The National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Workers' Party

By Rayhana Begum

The first of these two political pamphlets had been produced by the National Liberation Front of Venezuela (F. L. N.)/ The Armed Forces of National Liberation FALN, and the second by the Revolutionary Workers' Party (PRT)/ Peoples' Revolution Army (ERP). The FALN was a guerilla group and a 'paramilitary subsidiary' of the F. L.N., as stated by the Central Intelligence Agency. The FALN had supported Fidel Castro and opposed President Rómulo Betancourt and Raúl Leoni. There had been military uprisings that occurred in the year 1962, based on Betancourt's opposition to Castro. This pamphlet was most likely created in 1963, as it refers to removing a 'dictatorship' five years prior. In 1958, General Marcos Pérez Jiménez had been removed from power.

In 1963, an election took place in which Raúl Leoni had won. Regarding the ERP, an uprising by students and workers as a consequence of Juan Carlos Onganía's regime had taken place, also known as 'The "Cordobazo",' as T. C. Wright points out.

As a consequence of the uprising, a 'powerful guerilla movement' had taken place, according to Wright. One of the most significant guerilla groups that had come into existence was the ERP. The ERP was a Trotskyist and Guevarist group, under the leadership of Mario Roberto Santucho, as Wright points out. The ERP was also a part of the PRT as its armed wing, as stated in the pamphlet. It is worth noting that in 1976, there was a military coup that led to former President of Argentina Isabel Martínez de Perón. Both pamphlets are very interesting to look at closely. Commonalities between Latin American revolutionary groups can be seen upon turning to the pamphlets.

Both pamphlets deliver an ultimatum of death or liberation for their country – the Venezuelan pamphlet states "To Make the Country Free Or Die for Venezuela" whilst the Argentinian pamphlet reads "VICTORY OR DEATH FOR ARGENTINA". This is further highlighted as both Argentinian and Venezuelan pamphlets incorporate colours that are a part of their country's flag –

the F. L. N. pamphlet uses the colour red and the Argentinian pamphlet uses blue and white. Both organizations use the colour red, symbolic of passion, anger, and bloodshed, highlighting how much the beliefs of the organizations mean to the individuals involved and their countries. This sense of unity and the need to be united is mirrored in the slogan of the groups and the illustration on the front cover of the Venezuelan pamphlet, which can be seen by the handholding of people from various walks of life. It is worth noting that both pamphlets include a red star. It is also worth noting the use of a woman at the front of the illustration, perhaps to reiterate how the F. L. N. stands for everyone who is Venezuelan, regardless of age, gender, and background. This idea is also expressed in the pamphlet.

Furthermore, this pamphlet highlights that although the F. L. N opposes North American 'investors', they are 'friends' of North Americans, and 'differentiate with absolute clarity the North American People from the Yankee monopolies and warmakers who exploit and dominate them as well as [Venezuelans].' Furthermore, the Argentinian pamphlet also highlights the view of the group.

The PRT/ERP pamphlet expresses how it views the world as divided into capitalism/imperialism and socialism when it states: 'The Central Committee of the PRT in March 1976, characterized the actual world situation as consisting of two well-defined fields: an Imperialist-Capitalist field with the North American monopolies at its head, and the Working Class field, with the Socialist camp, the International Labour Movement and the National Liberation Movements'.

The division of the blue and white across the pamphlet could also be a reflection and communication of this ideology. This pamphlet also gives a clear indication of the beliefs of various Latin American Revolutionary organizations. This is seen where the pamphlet states that alongside the National Liberation Army of Bolivia, the Movement of Revolutionary Left of Chile, and the National Liberation Movement of Uruguay, '[They] believe that the revolutionary movement in Latin America has two currents: one, the Revolutionary Organisations born after the Cuban Revolution, and the other, the traditional one of the Latin American Communist Parties.

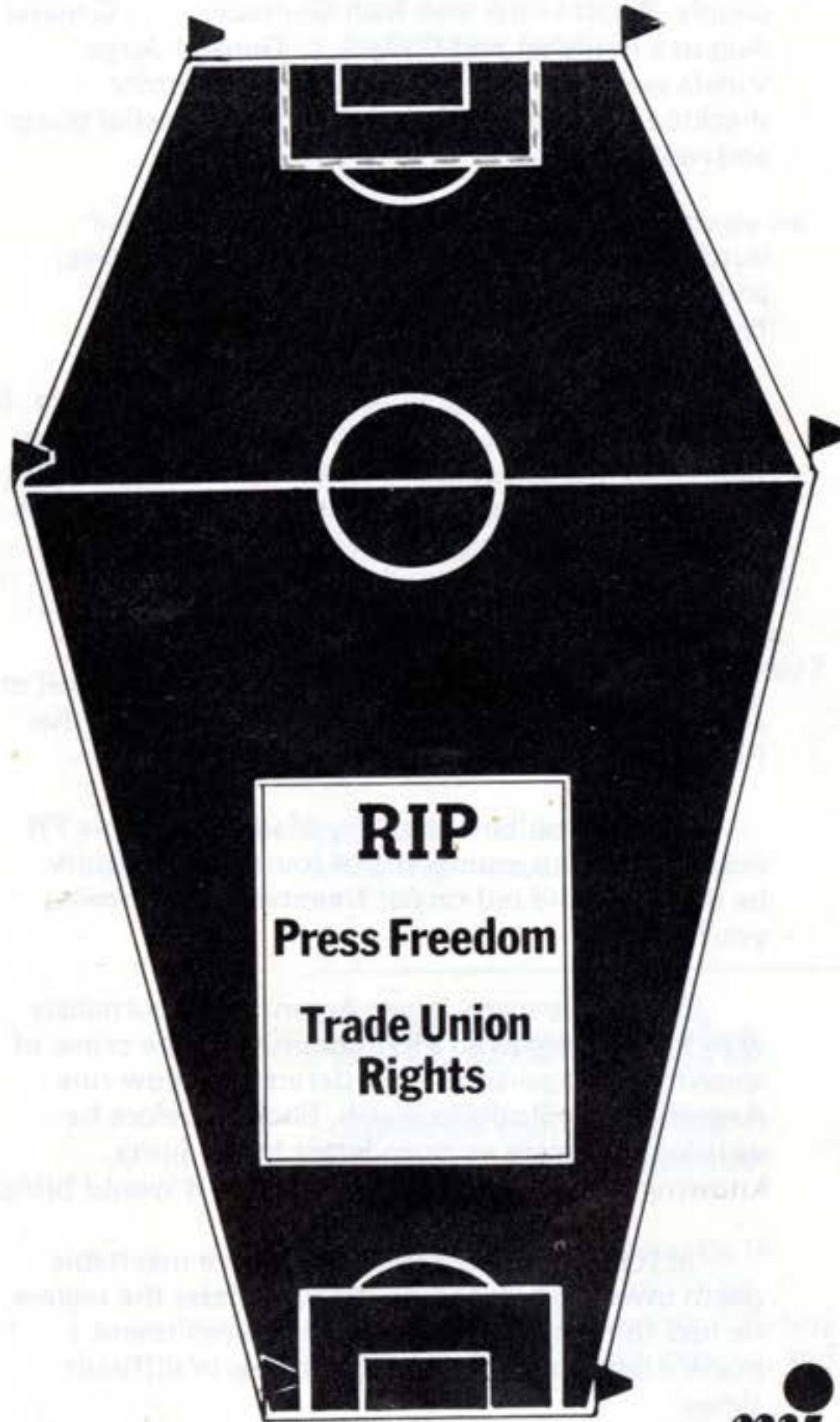
The Cuban Revolution has proved that it is possible to advance toward the convergence of these two currents. We wish to achieve this same convergence for the rest of the Latin American Revolution.'

Overall, these two posters are very insightful in gaining insight into the ideologies and shared techniques of Latin American Revolutionary organizations.

Argentina



ARGENTINA: A JOURNALIST'S GUIDE



N 320 PAM/3/05

SHL: N320_PAM_3_05-001

Argentina: A Journalist's Guide

By Alice Pottier

This flyer was created by the National Union of Journalists, an Irish and British organization defending journalism, for the World Cup of 1978. Taking the form of a help guide for journalists to survive the sports event, the flyer uses irony and sarcasm to denounce the military dictatorship, which had begun two years before on the 24th of March when the Junta seized power. The leaflet cover represents a football field, except it does not have its traditional form. Instead, it represents a coffin. As we could expect on a coffin, there is a plaque with written "RIP" however, instead of the name of the the deceased, it is followed by "Press Freedom Trade Union Rights".

There are several parts inside the leaflet. The first one is called "*Bear Witness*" describing the political situation in Argentina at the time. The second one "*The Fact*" recaps what happened since the coup, detailing how "the press and trade union have [...] been of course singled out for special attention".

"*The missing, feared dead*" details, in a similar way to an obituary, the characteristics of some of the journalists feared dead, the day they disappeared, and the newspaper they worked for. "*How to say it in Spanish*" is undoubtedly the part with the darkest sarcasm. Just as a tourist guide would do, it provides a few sentences "which are indispensable for journalists covering the Argentinian scene". Such sentences are "*dejen de torturarme, por favor (please stop torturing me)*" and "*¿cuantos sindicalistas estan planeando torturar hoy? (how many trade unionist are you planning to torture today)?*".

The last one "*Stories worth pursuing*" questions several suspicious choices made by the Junta, as well as events worth investigating, such as the people meeting on the Plaza de Mayo. It is a reference to *Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* a human rights association of mothers who were protesting to get back alive at first their "disappeared children", then later to obtain information about their body's whereabouts and the responsible of their death.

Finally, “*a final word of warning: don’t look subversive*” conclude the flyer.

During the dictatorship, most of the mainstream media collaborated with the regime whether it was under threat or with a desire to “not disturb the social structure” and any references to disappearances were completely prohibited. It is estimated that at least 84 journalists lost their lives during this time. While the freedom of the press is nowadays recognized as critical to ensuring democracy, journalists today still face threats. *Reporters Without Borders* estimates that “the environment is bad in seven out of ten countries” for journalists.

Francisco Ferrara

**Qué
son las
LIGAS
AGRARIAS**

**Historia y documentos
de las organizaciones
campesinas del
Nordeste argentino**



siglo veintiuno argentina editores sa

N 320 Pam 649

The origin of revolutions – Spark from the working class

By Reti Tauts

When examining the history of revolutions, one notices a common thread – revolutions predominantly start from the blind spots of our society. Those who are overlooked, underrepresented, or scrutinized. This pamphlet is an advertisement for Francisco Ferrara's book "Qué son las ligas agrarias: Historia y documentos de las organizaciones campesinas del Nordeste argentino" ("What are the agrarian leagues: The history and documents of the peasant organizations of North East Argentina").

Published in 1973, the monograph documents the historical development of agricultural movements and unions in North East Argentina using testimonies, fliers, newspapers, archival material, interviews, illustrations, and documents while simultaneously reflecting on the activities and values of various organizations and movements. It describes how the dissatisfaction of a group of farmers snowballed into a large-scale farmers' movement encompassing five provinces and thousands of families.

The novel specifically highlights the differences between movements and reflects on the necessity of violence as a political tool in bottom-up emancipation movements. Aiming to document and synthesize the rise and intricacies of the agricultural emancipation movement, the book serves as a vessel to introduce and explain the grievances and realities of the agricultural sector to a wider audience – aiming to generate sympathy and awareness and scrutinize the asymmetrical relationship between the wealthy upper class of landowners and farmers.

Since their creation in 1970, the Agrarian Leagues have brought together over 45,000 farming families in the northeast of Argentina, demonstrating the gradual rise of working-class political force. The movement brought together rural farmers who felt exploited by the industry-focused economic model that favoured cheap large-scale agriculture, leaving independent and small farmers unable to earn a living.

The movement was characterized by people's overwhelming demand for social emancipation – for equal economic rights, equality, personal freedoms, and liberation from oppression exercised by land owners through land reform. The movement also marked one of the first instances in Argentinian history where women were allowed to participate in a social movement – advocating for social justice and women's rights.

While the movement mirrors various other socialist and communist movements of the 20th century, the leaders of *ligas agrarias* as well as Ferrara have made a conscious effort to distance themselves from the communist label, opting for the striking purple colour instead of the red and avoiding traditionally communist symbolic such as the sickle and hammer or a raised fist of the workers. This decision showcases the farmers' desire to carve out their own political path instead of aligning with the Peronist left against the governing Argentinian Armed Forces. Their decision to remain relatively independent from other popular political and emancipation movements could also be influenced by the presidency of

Alejandro Agustín Lanusse ended the proscription of Peronism, creating a political opening and making room for democratic debate.

Ferrara's book as well as this pamphlet highlight the importance of unity and determination when fighting against oppression and for personal freedom. *Ligas agrarias* managed to not only form a united apolitical front among farmers of various scales across 5 northern Argentinian provinces but also make their demands known on a national scale. While the turbulent political climate prevented the movement from expanding during the latter half of the 1970s, it has left a significant mark on the democracy and human rights development movement of Argentina.

**“We don’t forget. We
don’t forgive. We are
still resisting,”**

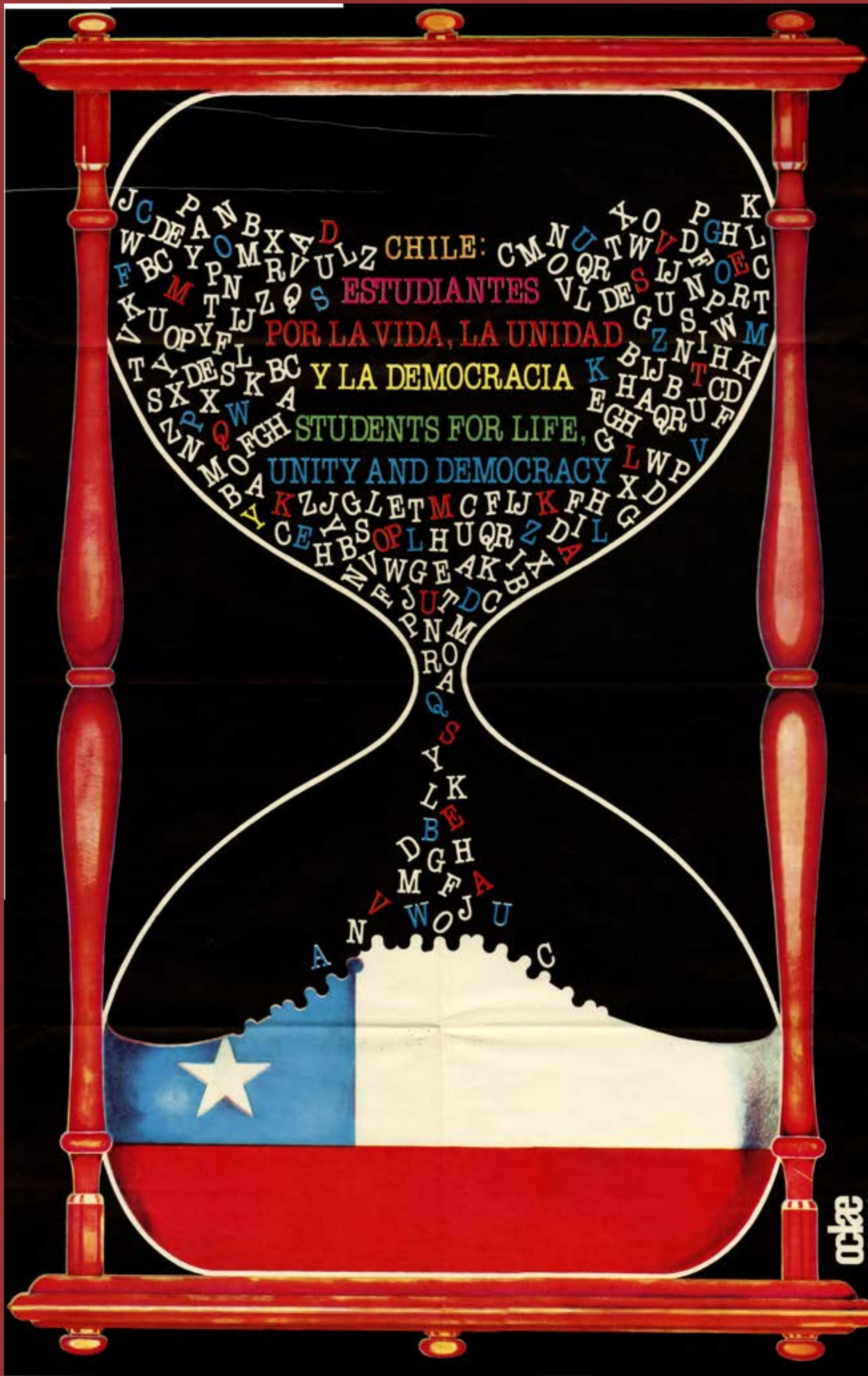
-

Madres de Plaza de Mayo



Chile





SHL: B320_PAM_2_08-001

Life, Unity, and Democracy

By Molly Callaghan

Chilean democracy took a sharp turn in the early 70's following the overthrowing of Salvador Allende, the Chilean President from 1970 to 1973. Allende was a self-proclaimed Marxist who represented the Popular Social Party. His government sought to restructure Chilean society in alignment with national proprieties and end foreign control of the economy.

Given its involvement in the Chilean economy, the United States did not wish to see an Allende presidency during the 1970 election. In turn, the US government used covert funds in efforts to prevent Allende's win. Ultimately, their efforts failed, and Allende was elected president. However, the United States remained opposed to Allende's socialist leadership, spending \$8 million on covert action over the next three years to obstruct his governing. Their tactics included stifling loans and, most importantly, monetarily supporting a faction of the Chilean military that had supported a militant coup against the Allende government.

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean military launched a coup and took control of the government. Allende's socialist government was replaced by a dictatorship led by General Augusto Pinochet. The military junta was opposed to the proceeding government's priorities and sought to reform the country's ideologies and objectives. Pinochet's leadership suppressed dissent by outlawing political parties, and all forms of media and securing compliance through violence.

The absence of a democratic society had a detrimental impact on the Chilean education system. The higher education curriculum was redeveloped to adhere to Pinochet's suppressive regime. This included the cutting of multiple programs, implementing standardized testing and tuition, and the suppression of student revolt. In opposition to the regime, the Latin American and Caribbean Continental Organization of Students (OCLAE) created the above poster.

OCLAE is an organization that represents over 35 student federations from 23 countries in the Americas and has been fighting for the rights of students since its conception in 1966. The organization was one of the largest groups to take a stand against the Pinochet regime.

The poster displays both visual and textual elements that support their stance.

“Life, Unity, and Democracy” were OCLAE’s core values in the fight against oppression. The vibrant colours used to depict this message highlight the importance of these three aspects.

Additionally, the inclusion of both English and Spanish texts reaffirms OCLAE’s commitment to international student unity, despite America’s involvement in the coup.

Visually, the focus on the Chilean flag and the use of its colours throughout the poster reaffirms Chilean pride despite its authoritarian leadership. Further, the use of letters that fall into the puzzle pieces of the flags symbolizes a deeper meaning. OCLAE depicts that education, as represented by the letters/puzzle pieces, is an integral part of the Chilean identity



Chilean tapestry is entitled *Misery*. These homeless people have to sleep in the streets.

WHY CHILE?

SHL: M320_PAM_1_08-001

Why Chile?

By Mertcan Togrul

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean military led by General Augusto Pinochet overthrew President Salvador Allende and his government. Allende died during the coup, and Pinochet emerged as the leader of the military junta that assumed control of the country. In the aftermath of the coup, Pinochet consolidated his power, dissolved the Congress, banned political parties, and initiated a period of military dictatorship that lasted until 1990.

Pinochet's economic policies transformed Chile's economy by promoting free-market principles and deregulation. While these policies led to periods of economic growth, they also contributed to increased inequality, social polarization, and the erosion of social welfare programs. Under his dictatorship human rights abuses escalated, and many women, often relatives of those who had disappeared, been killed, or imprisoned by the regime, started creating arpilleras as a form of resistance.

Arpilleras, made by the arpilleristas, are intricate textile tapestries made from burlap and filled with detailed scenes made from scraps of fabric. These textile artworks served as a form of protest and documentation of the human rights abuses, disappearances, and hardships experienced by their communities under the oppressive regime.

These tapestries played a crucial role in raising international awareness about the human rights violations occurring in Chile. They were exhibited in galleries, museums, and human rights events around the world, serving as a reminder of the suffering endured by the Chilean people and a call to action for justice and democracy.

Utilizing an arpillera design, this poster aims to raise awareness about the social and economic realities of the Chilean people under the dictatorship. The poster design depicts the poor living conditions of Chilean people and the misery within the society. |

In the poster, we see homeless Chilean people, who are gathered around a fire in the street with their pets, and their facial expressions, along with the expression of the moon, show how “Chilean tapestry is entitled misery.”

**“When dictatorship is a
fact, revolution
becomes a right”**

—

Victor Hugo



Acknowledgements

Sponsors

Department of War Studies, King's College London
Senate House Library

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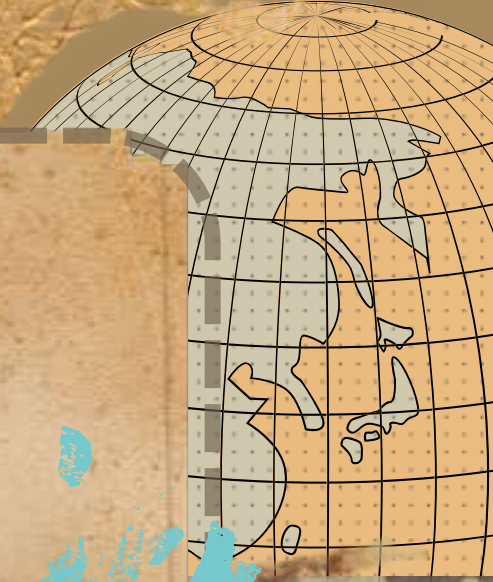
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Jiaying Qian





...near...
...mo... the roar
...the cont...
...they get a... safely...
...gray shore... they could see the white foam of
...the breaking rollers, and the gray rocks below
...but there was no sign of motorboat or of any
...La nan being.
...We may as well stay right on the beach...



...mo Tij
...Asoy^o Ea
...bunale, d

