

Index

- Agosti, Orlando, 162
- Aguirre Cerdá, Pedro, 136
- Aldrichi, Clara, 115, 117
- Alessandri, Arturo, 132
- Alessandri Rodríguez, Jorge, 135–7
- Alfonsín, Raúl, 230
- Algeria, 168
- Allende, Salvador, 82, 102, 105, 131–2, 135, 139, 142, 150, 154, 171, 197, 223
 - government, 137–45
 - opposition to, 143
 - US role in the overthrow of, 226
- Alliance for Progress, 8, 56, 114
- Álvarez, Gregorio, 125
- Amnesty International, 128
- anarchist, 133
- anti-communism, 24
- anti-modernism, 25
- Aramburu, Pedro Eugenio, 170
- Árbenz, Jacobo, 6, 197–8
- Arce, Liber, 118
- Argentina, 113, 123, 147, 217, 219–21
 - 1966 coup – 220, *see Argentine Revolution*
 - 1976 coup, 17, 21
 - before the 1976 coup, 225
 - Argentine Revolution (1966–73), 156, 161, 170–1, 218
 - Christian and Western civilization, 167
 - Dirty War, 223
 - Ezeiza massacre, 157, 172
 - National Reorganization Process, 167–8
 - objective of the military regime, 228
- Operation Independence, 162
- Peronist government (1973–6), 222
- Rodrigazo, 174
- state terrorism, 170
- subversion, 170
- terrorism, 170
- theory of the two demons, 118
- US role in the 1976 coup, 226
- Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (Triple A), 165–6
- Argentine Rural Society, 173
- Arguedas, Antonio, 65
- Ascochinga
 - city of, 166
- authoritarianism, 9
- autocratic reformism, 93
- Balbín, Ricardo, 175
- Banzer, Hugo, 163, 221
- Barrientos, René, 51, 53, 57–60, 62, 64–5, 221
- Batlle, Jorge, 124–5
- Belaúnde Terry, Fernando, 68
- Benedetti, Mario, 126
- Black, Eli, 108
- Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR), 185
- Bolivia, 163, 216, 220, 222
 - 1964 coup, 18–19, 47–67, 221
 - before the 1964 coup, 223
 - military, 223
 - mine workers, 223
 - popular insurgency, 224
 - US influence in, 218
 - US role in 1964 coup, 227

- Bolivian Mine Workers' Federation, 52–3
- Bolsonaro, Jair, 23, 45, 231–2
- Bonamín, Victorio, 175
- Bonilla, Oscar, 149
- Bordaberry, Juan María, 17, 111, 120, 124–5, 127, 129, 163, 223
- Boric, Gabriel, 232
- Brazil, 113, 147, 163, 168, 217, 220
 1964 coup, 17, 19, 25–6, 44, 46, 115, 122
 Brazilian military, 219
 Christian conservatism, 36–44
 consequences of military régime, 229
 dictatorship, 31–6
 First Republic, 224
 intrusion of the military into political life, 224
 middle-class women, 223
 objective of the military régime, 228
 opposition to and support for 1964 coup, 31
 right-wing anxieties about immorality, 218
 role of civilians, 223
 victims of 1964 coup, 30
- Broquetas, Magdalena, 115
- Buenos Aires
 - city of, 160, 172
 - English invasions to, 161
- Busch, Germán, 48
- Caetano, Gerardo, 115
- Cafiero, Antonio, 175
- campesino movement, 93, 99
- Cámpora, Héctor, 156–7, 163–4, 172
- Capellini, Jesús, 161–2
- Carassai, Sebastián, 218, 225
- Carter, Jimmy, 158–60, 206
 - administration, 160, 219
 - human rights policy, 12
- Casa Rosada, 176
- Castillo Armas, Carlos, 6, 198
- Castro, Fidel, 7, 79, 140
- Castro, Raúl, 160
- Catholic Church
 - Argentina, 167, 175
 - Catholic Action, 171
 - conservatives within, 36
 - divisions within, 12
 - Populorum Progressio* (1967), 75
 - Second Vatican Council, 13
 - support for land reform, 93, 109
 - support for peasant movement, 99
- Uruguay, 113
- Catholicism
 - progressive, 40, 100
- Central America, 11
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 29, 47, 55, 58, 60, 66
- Centro Nacional de Inteligencia, 149
- Chaco War, 48
- Chicago Boys' economic model, 220
- Chile, 113, 158, 168–9, 171, 217, 219–21
 - 1973 coup, 20–1
 - before the 1973 coup, 223
 - Bosses' Strike, 141–4, 146
 - Caravan of Death, 149
 - "Ley de Control de Armas," 150
 - March of the Empty Pots, 141, 144
 - middle-class women, 223
 - objective of the military régime, 228
 - overthrow of Salvador Allende – see Salvador Allende
 - Patria y Libertad, 140
 - Pinochet's fingerprints, 231
 - Plan Z, 150
 - role of civilians, 223
 - tomas*, 139
- Chilean road to socialism, 139
- Christi, Esteban, 125
- Christian Democratic Party, 145, 149
 - Chile, 134
- Christian Democrats, 125
- Christianity
 - conservatism, 36–44
 - Evangelical Right, 25, 36
 - identity, 23
 - Pentecostal, 205
 - progressive, 38
- Cochabamba, 53, 57, 64
 - province of, 57
- Cold War, 5–12, 67
 - Argentina, 160
 - in Bolivia, 49
 - Chile anti-communism, 146
 - coups d'état, 222
 - as culture war, 28
 - golpismo, 66
 - rhetoric, 150
 - role of anti-communism, 226
 - Uruguay, 111
 - US foreign policy towards, 219
 - Coleman, Kevin, 218, 226
 - Colombia
 - National Front (1958–74), 229

- Colorado Party, 112, 114, 116, 119–20, 125, 127
 communism, 48
 Bolivian Communist Party, 49, 61–2
 Chilean Communist Party, 131, 133, 135–6
 concerns regarding, 221
 labor leaders, 62
 perceived threat, 23
 trade union leaders, 63
 Uruguayan Communist Party, 115, 121, 123, 125
 Comunidades de Población en Resistencia (CPR), 210
 conservative military officers
 Peru, 77
 Contreras, Manuel, 149
 Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT), 117, 122, 125, 127–8
 Córdoba
 province of, 166
 counterinsurgency, 210
 coup d'état
 conservative, 91
 definition, 1
 developmentalist, 17
 objectives of, 16–19
 proximity to elections, 95
 reformist, 5, 85, 88–107
 repressive, 5, 16–17
 role of the US, 19, 29
 victims of the 1964 coup in Brazil, 30
 victims of the Ríos Montt regime in Guatemala, 210
 Cowan, Benjamin, 218, 231
 Cruz, Ramón Ernesto, 88, 96
 Cuba, 62
 Cuban path to socialism, 132
 Cuban Revolution, 7–8, 54, 145
 impact in Chile, 134, 137
 impact in the region, 113
 influence in the region, 220
 Cuthbert, Sofía, 149
 D'Aubuisson, Roberto, 193
 de Castro, Sergio, 153
 death squad
 Uruguay, 121
 Demasi, Carlos, 118
 democratic road to socialism, 131
 Derian, Patricia, 159, 169
 developmental nationalism, 220
 dictatorship
 Brazil, 31–6
 Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA), 149
Ditadura Envergonhada (“the ashamed dictatorship”), 219
 Doctrine of National Security, 9, 199
 Duarte, José Napoleon, 181
 economic underpinnings, 2–3
 economy
 under Velasco in Peru, 83
 Ecuador, 123
 Ecumenical Movement for Human Rights (MEDH), 169
 Edwards, Agustín, 150
 Egypt, 51
 Eisenhower, Dwight, 49
 Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres (Guerrilla Army of the Poor, EGP), 199
El Caudillo magazine, 165
El Mercurio newspaper, 150
 El Salvador, 216, 221, 224, 230
 1979 coup, 18, 22
 Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR), 185
 colonels' coup, 222
 Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional, FMLN), 181, 193
 Frente de Acción Popular Unificada (FAPU), 185
 Fuerzas Populares de Liberación Farabundo Martí (FPL), 185
 Junta Revolucionaria de Gobierno (JRG), 177, 184
 La Proclama, 185
 labor mobilization, 218
 Ligas Populares (LP-28), 186
 Movimiento de la Juventud Militar (MJM), 183
 National Guard, 179, 181
 National Republican Alliance (ARENA), 193
 Partido Comunista Salvadoreño (PCS), 185
 Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN), 181
 Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC), 184
 popular insurgency, 224
 Private Enterprise Association (Asociación Nacional de la Empresa Privada, ANEP), 191

- El Salvador (cont.)
 - progressive junior officers, 182
 - Resistencia Nacional (RN), 185
 - Salvadoran Armed Forces (Fuerza Armada de El Salvador, FAES), 179
 - Salvadoran Right and the military, 190
 - US on 1979 coup, 227
 - US role in the coup, 189
- elections, 95, 202
- Ellacuría, Ignacio, 182, 185
- Erro, Enrique, 126
- Eva Perón
 - foundation, 163
- Evangelical Right — *see* Christianity
- Fanini, Nilson, 42–4
- fascism, 48
- Ferreira Aldunate, Blanco, 128–9
- Ferreira Aldunate, Wilson, 120
- Field, Thomas, 215–16, 218, 221, 223
- Figueiredo, João, 42
- financial crisis of 1929, 3
- Ford, Gerald, 158
- Fox, Edward, 57, 60, 64
- Francesc, Antonio, 125
- Frei Montalva, Eduardo, 134–5, 139, 145, 151
- French military, 168
- Frente Amplio, 120, 128–9
- Frente de Acción Popular, 136
- Fresno, Ana María, 149
- Friedman, Milton, 153
- Frigerio, Rogelio, 175
- Frondizi, Arturo, 171, 175
- Fujimori, Alberto, 230
- Garrard, Virginia, 225
- Garrastazu Medici, Emilio, 163
- Gaspari, Elio, 219
- General Confederation of Labor (CGT), 172, 174
- Gente* magazine, 173
- Germany, 226
- Gestido, Óscar, 116
- Goldwater, Barry, 54
- Goulart, João, 19, 26, 223
- Gould, Jeffrey, 216, 218
- Great Depression, 48, 153
- Grove, Marmaduke, 135
- Guatemala
 - 1954 coup, 6–7
- 1982 coup, 18, 205
- Asociación de Estudiantes Universarios (AEU), 200
- Comité de Unidad Campesina (CUC), 201
- Comunidades de Población en Resistencia (CPR), 210
- counterinsurgency, 210
- earthquake of 1976, 202
- guerrillas, 209
- incorporation of indigenous into the Left, 201
- Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN), 198
- political violence, 210
- racism and Indigenous movements, 225
- Spanish embassy burning, 204
- US Evangelicals, 206–7
- US policy toward regime of Ríos Montt, 207
- US support for regime of Ríos Montt, 211
- guerra revolucionária*, 27
- Guerrero, 229
- guerrilla insurgencies, 11
 - El Salvador, 196
 - Guatemala, 199, 209
 - Peru, 71
- Guevara, Ernesto “Che,” 7, 11
- Gutiérrez, Jaime Abdul, 184
- Guzzetti, César Augusto, 159
- Harberger, Arnold, 153
- Harmer, Tanya, 140
- Harris, Franklyn Allen “Tex,” 159
- Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl, 72
- Henderson, Douglas, 55, 57–9
- Hexter, J. H., 215
- Hill, Robert, 157–60
- Honduran Council of Private Enterprise (COHEP), 106
- Honduras, 221, 226
 - 1954 banana workers’ strike, 218
 - 1972 coup, 16, 20
 - 1972 coup and Decree 8, 103–5
 - agrarian reform, 221
 - autocratic reformism, 93
 - “bananagate” bribery scandal, 107
 - Bilateral Treaty of Military Assistance, 90
 - campesino movement, 93, 99
 - “el aval” (the guarantor), 99
 - Federation of Ranchers and Agriculturalists of Honduras (FENAGH), 94

Index

275

- labor movement, 90
- land reform, 105
- military as the “social conscience” of the nation, 101
- National Association of Honduran Peasants (ANACH), 107
- National Development Plan (Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, PND), 106
- National Unity Government, 97
- Pact of National Unity, 95
- rise of autonomous military, 90
- Soccer War, 93
- Talanquera Massacre, 99
- US role in 1972 coup, 226
- Human rights organizations
 - Argentina, 170
- Hungary
 - authoritarianism, 222
- Hunter, Hawker, 147
- Ibáñez, Carlos, 136
- Iglesias, Mariana, 114
- import substitution industrialization (ISI), 3, 84
- Peru, 71
- India
 - authoritarianism, 222
- indigenous politics, 201
- Indochina, 168
- Indonesia, 51
- Institute for Research and Social Studies (IPES), 27
- Inter-American Bank, 50
- Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
 - Argentina, 160
- Internal Security Council
 - Argentina, 166
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 49, 114, 116, 159, 175, 220, 230
- Israel, 169
- Ivanissevich, Oscar, 164
- Jackson, Geoffrey, 120
- Johnson, Lyndon, 57, 64, 219, 226
 - administration, 58
- junta militar*
 - Argentina, 167–8
- Junta Revolucionaria de Gobierno (JRG), 177, 184
- Kahn, Heriberto, 173
- Kast, José Antonio, 232
- Kennedy, John F., 51, 66, 92
 - Alliance for Progress, 8, 50, 54
- Kierszenbaum, Leandro, 114
- Kissinger, Henry, 145–7, 159, 219
- Klarén, Peter, 218
- Klubock, Thomas, 133
- Korean War, 48
- La Opinion* newspaper, 173
- La Paz, 65
- labor movement, 48
- Lacerda, Carlos, 31
- land distribution, 88
- land reform, 88
 - Catholic support for, 109
 - Honduras, 105
 - Peru, 71, 77
- Lanusse, Agustín, 171
- Lastiri, Raúl, 163, 165
- Latin America
 - “pink tide,” 231
 - political instability, 220
 - transitions to civilian rule, 229
- Latin American Studies Association (LASA), 165
- Lechín, Juan, 49, 65
- Leigh, Gustavo, 144, 147, 151
- Leighton, Bernardo, 149
- Leloir, Luis, 171
- Letelier, Orlando, 149
- Lima, 65
- Lonquimay state, 133
- López Arellano, Osvaldo, 16, 88, 93, 221
- López Rega, José, 164–5, 174–5
- Lucas García, Romeo, 203
- Luder, Ítalo, 166
- Lula da Silva, Luis Ignacio, 23
- Mallon, Florencia, 154
- Mann, Thomas, 58
- Mapuche areas, 133
- Marcha* magazine, 123
- Markarian, Vania, 118, 216, 224
- Martínez, María Estela (Isabel), 157, 160–6, 174–6, 223
- Martínez, Tomás Eloy, 170
- Marxism, 34, 123
 - Argentina, 170–1
- Massera, Emilio, 162, 165

- Mayorga Quirós, Román, 184
 McCarthyism, 48
 Mendoza, César, 147
 Merino, José Toribio, 147
 methodology, 1
 Mexico, 164, 229
 Michelini, Zelmar, 125–6, 129
 military institutions, 8–11
 professionalization, 8
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 Uruguay, 118
 Mitrione, Dan, 120
 moderate military officers
 Peru, 77
 modernizing conservatism, 24
 Moffit, Ronni, 149
 Molina, Arturo Armando, 181
 Montoneros, 170, 172–3
 “Montonero provinces,” 164
 moralism, 23–46
 as countersubversion, 25
 sexuality, 39
 Moscow, 66
 Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, 160
 Mourão Filho, Olímpio, 30
 Movement of Priests for the Third World,
 171
 Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria
 (MIR), 138, 151
 Movimiento de la Juventud Militar (MJM),
 183
 Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-
 Tupamaros (MLN-T), 117–18, 120,
 122, 124–5, 127, 223–4
 Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario
 (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement,
 MNR), 48–61, 66
 opposition to, 61
 repression, 63
 trade union leaders, 63
 Mussolini, Benito, 48

 National Party, 112, 114–16, 120, 128–9
 National War College (ESG), 27
 nationalization of foreign property
 Peru, 77
 neoliberal economic policies, 220
Never Again report, 170
 Nixon, Richard, 81, 147, 158, 219
 North American School for the Caribbean,
 168

 O'Donnell, Guillermo, 8, 113
 Operation Condor, 147, 149
 Organización Latinoamericana de
 Solidaridad (OLAS), 116
 Ottalagano, Alberto, 164
 Ovando, Alfredo, 60, 64–5

 Pacheco Areco, Jorge, 111, 116–17, 120–1
 Panama, 123
 Pando
 city of, 118
 Panizza, Francisco, 119
Panorama magazine, 170
 Paraguay, 147, 163
 Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN), 181
 Patria y Libertad, 145
 Paz Estenssoro, Víctor, 18, 48–9, 51–2, 54–6,
 59–60, 62–4, 66, 216, 222–3, 226
 elections, 53
 overthrow of, 60
 secret police (*Control Político*), 55
 People's Revolutionary Army (Ejército
 Revolucionario del Pueblo, ERP), 162,
 170
 Permanent Assembly for Human Rights,
 169
 Permanent Assembly of Business Union
 Entities, 175
 Perón, Juan Domingo, 48, 156–7, 161–4,
 166, 172, 174
 Peronism, 170
 left wing, 171
 Peronist government (1973–6), 163, 169
 “social pact,” 157, 174
 Peru, 123, 216–17, 220–1
 1968 coup, 16, 20
 Acción Popular, 73
 agrarian reform, 221
 Alianza Popular Revolucionaria
 Americana (APRA), 70, 218
 Centro de Altos Estudios Militares
 (CAEM), 73
 composition of the military, 70
 conservative military officers, 77
 cultural nationalism, 80
 economic and ethnic divide, 69
 economy under Velasco, 83
 expropriation of the International
 Petroleum Company, 82
 Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas
 Armadas, 68

- International Petroleum Company (IPC), 72
 land reform, 77
 land tenure system, 71
 moderate military officers, 77
 nationalization of foreign property, 77
 Plan Inca, 75–7
 progressive junior officers plan 1968
 coup, 75
 radical junior officers, 77
 radical reform and its opponents, 77–81
 relations with Soviet Union, 82
 relations with US, 81
 Velasco overthrown in a coup, 85
 Pinochet, Augusto, 16, 86, 132, 146–7, 152,
 155, 163, 220, 229
 anti-communism rhetoric, 152
 awarded by the Peronist government, 166
 Plan Cóndor, 10
 political violence
 Guatemala, 210
 Portales, Diego, 154
 Prats, Carlos, 149
 prompt security measures (PSM), 114,
 116–17
 Quechua, 80
 Quijano, Carlos, 123, 126
 radical junior officers
 Peru, 77
 Radical Party, 131
 Ranquil state, 133
 Reagan, Ronald, 206, 230
 administration, 129
 interventionism, 12
 support for Ríos Montt, 22
 research questions, 1
Revolución Restauradora (Restorative Revolution), 47
 Revolutionary Nationalist Movement –, 51,
 see Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario
 Rico, Álvaro, 113, 118
 Rico, Martín, 165
 Ríos Montt, Efraim, 197, 202, 205
 overthrown in 1983, 212
 Robertson, Pat, 207
 Roca, Julio A., 167
 Rodrigo, Celestino, 174
 Rogers, William, 159
 Romano, Antonio, 118
 Romero, Carlos Humberto, 222
 Romero, Oscar, 182, 185, 193
 Rousseff, Dilma, 231
 Rucci, José Ignacio, 172
 Russia
 authoritarianism, 222
 Santa Cruz
 guerrillas, 63
 Santiago de Chile, 134, 139, 155
 demonstrations, 141
 Sapelli, Jorge, 128
 Schneider, René, 146
 School of the Americas, 9–10, 168, 221
 Segnafreddo, Sonia, 28
 Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), 230
 Seregni, Líber, 119–20, 122, 126
 Siracusa, Ernest, 129
 social property area, 139
 Socialist Party, 126, 133
 Chile, 131, 136, 138
 Uruguay, 116
 Southern Cone
 consequences of military regime, 229
 Special Group for Counterinsurgency (CI), 55
 state information secretariat
 Argentina, 165
 state of internal war, 122
 State Security Law, 122
 Stephansky, Ben, 55
 Stern, Steve, 149
 Sternfield, Larry, 55
 Stroessner, Alfredo, 163
 Suárez Mason, Carlos, 161
 Talanquera Massacre, 99
 Third Worldism, 48
 Timerman, Jacobo, 173
 Tinsman, Heidi, 137
 Tohá, José, 141
 Tomic, Radomiro, 135
 Toro, David, 48
 Triangular Plan, 50, 52
 Trías, Vivian, 122
 Trotskyism, 48–9, 62
 trade union leaders, 52, 63
 Truman, Harry, 48
 Trumper, Camilo, 220, 228
 Tucumán, 162, 166
 Turkey
 authoritarianism, 222

- Unidad Popular, 120, 131, 136–8, 141, 143, 148, 154, 223
United Fruit Company, 90, 107, 198
United Nations, 169
 Argentina, 169
United Nations Refugee Agency, 169
United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 50–2, 56
University of Buenos Aires, 164
Uruguay, 147, 158, 163, 216–17, 220, 224
 1973 coup, 17, 20
 before 1973 coup, 223
 civilian collaboration, 223
 democratic path to dictatorship, 216
 “internal war,” 223
 objective of the military regime, 228
Uruguayan Communist Party, 117
US, 7
 on 1979 coup in El Salvador, 189
 conservative Evangelicals support for
 Guatemalan coup, 206–7
 embassy in Bolivia, 54
 embassy in Chile, 140
 influence in the region, 226
interference in Latin America, 216
relations with Paz Estenssoro, 49
relations with Peru, 81
support for 1964 coup in Brazil, 29
US Department of State, 115, 117, 129
 Argentina, 159
USSR, 7
 invasion of Afghanistan, 160
 relations with Argentina, 170
 relations with Peru, 82
Valparaiso
 port of, 147
Vasconcellos, Amílcar, 127
Velasco Alvarado, Juan, 16, 68, 73–5, 122, 125
Videla, Jorge Rafael, 86, 159–60, 162, 167, 169
Vietnam, 134
 Vietnamese refugees, 169
Vietnam War, 158
Villarroel, Gualberto, 48
Villeda Morales, Ramón, 91–2, 109
Vrana, Heather, 216, 218
Washington, 66
Watergate, 158
Western Europe, 228
Winn, Peter, 147, 155
World Bank, 230
World War II, 48, 227