The 1960s and 1970s are the era of coups in Latin America
  • At least 12 cases
  • Other trends

Military intervention is not that hard to explain
  o Pretty common in Latin America before (e.g., 1930s)

Until 1960, coups are really personalistic coups
  • Often a junior officer, even a NCO (e.g., Batista)
  • Often tries to portray himself as a civilian; puts on tie
  • Military as an institution does not govern
  • Limited ideological rationale
  • Old-style strongman emerges
  • Examples: Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Paraguay, Cuba pre-Castro, etc.

Big change in 1960s
  • New style of rule
  • Military-as-institution takes power; remain in uniform
  • Senior officers, not colonels or non-coms lead
  • Often through collective rule rather than personalistic
  • Much longer period of rule; no sunset
  • Pro-business economic policies (though usually NOT neoliberal)
  • Anti-Communist, anti-Left
  • Much harsher, often very brutal
  • You saw what happened in Chile
  • Another example: Brazil
Example: Brazil
- 1964 coup overthrow
- Constitution suspended *sine die*
- new rules of game
- no timetable for elections return to civilian rule, or need for traditional forms of legitimization (because “the revolution legitimizes itself”)
- collective military rule

**Handout: Military Rule in Brazil**

A series of similar coups follow

**Handout: Overt Military Interventions in Latin America**

Repression quite intense

**Handout: Repression under Military Regimes in the Southern Cone**

Why is there a new type of intervention
- Cuban Revolution and fear of Communism
  - 1956, small band of Cuban exiles and some other LAns (like Che Guevara) led by Fidel Castro, invade Cuba on a boat; most killed; nine survive
  - Gradually build up insurgency in Cuban countryside
  - 1959, Castro takes power
  - Ripple of fear
- Social challenge, Vatican II, erosion of legitimacy of traditional regimes
- leftist mobilization
- Cuban Revolution (1959) and Cuban Missile Crisis (1961)
- Vatican II (1961), erosion of legitimacy of traditional dictatorships, and leftist mobilization
- U.S. Alliance for Progress,
  - Program started by JFK
  - support for Christian Democracy in partisan sphere
  - especially after Kennedy killed, support for military as an institution; substantial training at School of the Americas in Panama
On element of training stands out: National Security Doctrines
  o Militaries told they are in a desperate battle with Communism and subversion
  o Liberal democracy allows subversion
  o This is particularly important in understanding what regime TAKES OVER, as opposed to why democracy BREAKS DOWN

The effects of BA in Latin America
  • Strong militaries with histories of political involvement, even after democratization
  • As we’ll see in Chile, these only gradually weaken over time
  • Discrediting of military rule at mass level among most of population;
    mismanagement of economy in most countries (Chile something of an exception)
  • New social movements, though most subsequently demobilized
  • Transformation of Left in areas where BA was experienced
    o Democracy valued for its own sake
    o Violent revolution out, reformism in
    o These trends less clear where BA not experienced (Mexico)