

**Session 13: Bureaucratic Authoritarianism in Chile and Elsewhere**

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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

- 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
  - Militaries told they are in a desperate battle with Communism and subversion
  - Liberal democracy allows subversion
  - 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
  - Democracy valued for its own sake
  - Violent revolution out, reformism in
  - These trends less clear where BA not experienced (Mexico)