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INTRODUCTION:
Latin America in the Global Sixties

An important shift is under way in the scholarship on Latin America during the Cold War. This special issue on the Global Sixties presents many of the leading academic voices of that historiographical movement. In part, today's shift is influenced by a new generation of historians unencumbered by the ideological baggage carried by those who witnessed and participated in the political struggles and artistic exuberance of the 1960s as they occurred. With this shift, we are finally reaching a point where more *historia* than *memoria* is being written. Without question, the numerous memoir-based narratives written by participants have helped to inform our understanding of the epoch, providing rich primary-source narratives of personal recollection and witness.[1] The new historical investigations build on these memoirs, yet are firmly grounded in archival research. In turn, this archival research has fleshed out old historical questions and brought to the forefront many new ones. The results have often been fundamentally revisionist interpretations of the prevailing assumptions of the period.

This shift, however, is also being shaped by a bold reconceptualization of the period itself. We are witnessing, in Thomas Bender's terms, an expanding of the frame,[2] one that is influencing studies of the Cold War era across regional special-

I am very grateful to the numerous individuals who have read and provided insightful commentaries on earlier drafts of this introduction, including Robert Chase, Terri Gordon-Zolov, Robert Holden, Matthew Rothwell, members of the editorial board of *The Americas,* and the contributors to this special issue. An early impetus for this collection dates to a 2010 Latin American Studies Association panel, "Discursos transnacionales y nueva izquierda a fines de los 60" organized by Aldo Marchesi and Vania Markarian; I am especially indebted to the many engaging conversations I have had over the past years with Vania and Aldo on this topic.

1. There are numerous examples of memoir-based histories and each country has its own repertoire. Some of the more notable memoirs that have been translated into English include Alberto Ulloa Bornemann, *Surviving Mexico's Dirty War: A Political Prisoner's Memoir*, Arthur Schmidt and Aurora Camacho de Schmidt, eds. and trans. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 2007); María Eugenia Vásquez Perdomo (foreword by Arthur Schmidt), *My Life as a Revolutionary: Reflections of a Former Guerrillera*, Lorena Terando, trans. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 2005); Alma Guillermoprieto, *Dancing with Cuba: A Memoir of the Revolution*, Esther Allen, trans. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004); and Caetano Veloso, *Tropical Truth: A Story of Music & Revolution in Brazil*, Isabel de Sena, trans., Barbara Einzig, ed. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2002).

2. Thomas Bender, "Introduction: Historians, the Nation, and the Plenitude of Narratives" in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age,* Thomas Bender, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 10.

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izations. This broadening of the conceptual frame is firmly grounded in a transnationalist approach to thinking about the time period and is reflected in the emergent historiographical designation itself: Global Sixties.[3] At the same time, the term reflects a growing and fruitful dialogue between historians of the two historiographical currents that constitute the building blocks of this new designation.

The first current is that of "Cold War Studies," which, following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the opening of Communist Party archives in the 1990s, embarked on "global" approaches to the Cold War.[4] These new works assumed a global frame of reference, while seeking to integrate more traditional questions of diplomacy and geopolitical strategizing with social, economic, intellectual, and, to a lesser extent, cultural history. Significantly, they sought to understand the motivating forces and historical impact of the Cold War as a "global war," one that addressed the logic of superpower interventions on one hand, and Third World revolutionary movements on the other, as interdependent and interlocking aspects of a larger global phenomenon. In seeking to make sense of the superpower collaboration that culminated (counter-intuitively) in the process of détente, Jeremi Suri writes: "Understanding moments of global conjuncture such as the 1960s requires an international history that treats power as both *multicultural* and *multidimensional.*"[5]

Concurrent with this "globalizing" of Cold War Studies was the evolution of a second historiographical current: 1960s Studies. New approaches to untangling the origins, composition, and trajectory of the New Left in the United States led to a widening of conceptual interpretations of U.S. radicalism, in part by bringing to light the interconnections between different social movements. This led to Van Gosse's useful proposal that the New Left constituted a "movement of movements," one which linked social mobilizations across the political-cultural spectrum under an overarching rubric of "New Left" constellations.[6] In itself, this was an important widening of the frame of analysis, but equally significant were new pursuits of the transnational connections and impact of New Left social actors, ideological forces, and the cultural imaginary. By the start of the twenty-first century, U.S. and European research into the

3. The earliest citation I have found for the phrasing is from Hans Righart, "Moderate Versions of the 'Global Sixties': A Comparison of Great Britain and the Netherlands," *Journal of Area Studies* 6:13 (1998), pp. 82–96. In 2011 Duke University Press added the series term "Global Sixties" to its catalog, reflecting the broader acceptance of the designation in recent years.

4. See in particular John L. Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003); and Odd Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

5. Suri, *Power and Protest*, pp. 262–263. Emphasis is in original.

6. Van Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretative History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), p. 5.

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1960s had moved far beyond the "nation" as a singular frame of reference.[7] First introduced by Arthur Marwick, the term "long 1960s" also came into use as a means of periodizing the epoch, one that acknowledged the artificial limitations of considering the 1960s as limited to a particular decade (that is, 1960 through 1969) while simultaneously allowing for historians to rethink the significance of critical junctures that bookend the era in local terms.[8]

Latin American historiography on the 1960s similarly underwent an important process of revisionism. On one hand, new research intersected with and lent support to highly visible projects of "truth and reconciliation" undertaken in most countries and that reflected a wider pursuit of the "recuperation of memory." These projects aimed to bring justice and accountability to the victims of state-sponsored violence, and in many instances the research they generated helped to map out larger questions concerning the rise of state-sponsored violence and its impact on everyday life.[9] Nevertheless, by its very nature this historical research focused on questions of political mobilization, state-sponsored violence, and the actions of insurgency and counterinsurgency organizations. Culture was more often a backdrop for the discussion of political violence than a site of investigation in its own right. At the same time, a new emphasis was placed on unearthing the roots of anticommunist discourse and mobilization, and by extension the readiness of various sectors of the public to embrace the backlash produced by explicitly socialist policies in countries such as Cuba and Chile.[10] Indeed, this subject would become recognized as a significantly under-researched area of investigation.

Already, a parallel effort to engage Cold War Studies from a Latin American perspective was under way. An important turning point was the groundbreak-

7. An important early example of pursuing a transnationalist frame is Van Gosse, *Where the Boys Are: Cuba, Cold War America and the Making of a New Left* (London: Verso, 1996). Two foundational texts are Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); and Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (London: Verso, 2006).

8. Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958–c.1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 7.

9. See for example Patrice J. McSherry, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005); Steve J. Stern's trilogy *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006); *Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973–1988* (2006); and *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989–2006* (2010). On the role of transnational solidarity and Latin American exiles, see James N. Green, *We Cannot Remain Silent: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010); Jessica Stites Mor, ed., *Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013); and Vania Markarian, *Left in Transformation: Uruguayan Exiles and the Latin American Human Rights Network, 1967–1984* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

10. Margaret Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende, 1964–1973* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

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ing collection *In From the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War* (2008), which helped to expand the parameters of Cold War Studies—by that time already undergoing a transition toward viewing the Cold War in global terms—as it made a forceful case for Latin American agency (and by extension, that of the Third World) within that historiography. As Gilbert Joseph argued in his introduction to the collection, the Cold War "cannot be reduced in its origins or development to notions of geopolitics and strategy."[11] Indeed, the Cold War was grafted upon preexisting and often ideologically fraught social and political projects of nation-building in Latin America. "The result," Joseph writes, "was an 'international civil war' that not only pitted the United States against the Soviet Union and 'capitalism' against 'Communism' but, at the national and grassroots levels, opposed different views of the shape that social citizenship would take."[12]

An especially significant trend within this new research has been the emergence of studies that focus on the cultural side of the 1960s. Shaped in large part by the disciplines of cultural and literary studies and by ethnomusicology, new works have explored questions of aesthetics and consumptive practices, as well as the role of literature, theater, film, and the politics of musical performance and listening among youth of the 1960s.[13] In many instances, these works have sought to make sense of cultural and social movements that were previously

11. Gilbert Joseph, "What We Now Know and Should Know: Bringing Latin America More Meaningfully into Cold War Studies," in *In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War,* Gilbert Joseph and Daniela Spenser, eds. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008), p. 11. This collection was based on a conference held in Mexico City in 2002 and initially published in a Spanish-language edited volume, Daniela Spenser, ed., *Espejos de la Guerra Fría: México, América Central y el Caribe* (Mexico: CIESAS/Angel Porrua, 2004). In important ways, *In from the Cold* built upon the epistemological framework established in an earlier, groundbreaking collection edited by Gilbert Joseph, Catherine LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore: *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998). An important difference was that *In From the Cold* assessed the impact of the Cold War on Latin America from more of a global (versus U.S.) perspective. Notably absent from *In From the Cold* was examination of the Sino-Soviet conflict and the Chinese Cultural Revolution, a topic broached only by Daniela Spenser in this collection.

12. Joseph and Spenser, *In from the Cold*, p. 4. A foundational text that established this paradigm, and one implicitly referenced here by Joseph, is Greg Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). See also the later edited collaboration between Joseph and Grandin, *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America's Long Cold War* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010). A recent important contribution to this literature is Tanya Harmer, *Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

13. Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Christopher Dunn, *Brutality Garden: Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Robin Moore, *Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba* (Berkeley: University of California, 2006); Valeria Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina: Culture, Politics, and Sexuality from Perón to Videla* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, forthcoming 2014); Diana Sorensen, *A Turbulent Decade Remembered: Scenes from the Latin American Sixties* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007); and Claudia Gilman, *Entre la pluma y el fusil: debates y dilemas del escritor revolucionario en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2002).

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viewed as marginal (or antithetical) to the "heroic" events of the time. As Vania Markarian (a contributor to this special issue) has noted, the "repoliticization" of culture itself reflected—and at the same time crystallized—a split between historians of an earlier generation and those who came of age after the 1960s. For Markarian and, indeed, all of the contributors to this special issue, this new generation proposes to expand the narrower notion of the "political" to include the terrain of culture and everyday life, carefully seeking to map out and make sense of the complex ideological threads that bind "culture" and "politics" together in this period. In turn, this has led to a reexamination of the multivalent meanings of "revolutionary politics" and a broadening of the conceptual framework of the "New Left"; both areas have long been dominated in the historiography by ideologically driven assumptions rather than historically grounded investigation.[14] Markarian thus speaks of the need to "bring in culture, in the broadest sense" as a means of radically transforming our interpretations of a period in Latin American history that has remained "overly politicized and overly ideological" (*sobrepolitizado y sobreideologizado*).[15]

A four-day conference at Queen's University in Ontario, Canada, in June 2007 sought to bridge these two emergent historiographical streams—Cold War Studies and 1960s Studies—and in doing so helped give rise to the circulation of the term "Global Sixties." The conference brought together a wide range of scholars and activists to address questions of the 1960s in the context of "global consciousness." The resulting collected volume, *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness*, aimed to decenter the Sixties by asking, "What does the global sixties look and sound like" from a non-U.S. and non-European perspective?[16] The volume included several essays on Latin America and perhaps for the first time brought discussion of the "Latin American 1960s" into direct dialogue with writing on other Third World nations and beyond.

By the end of the decade, global approaches to the 1960s, and especially considerations of "Global 1968," were proliferating. A new epistemological frame had been established, one that was explicitly transnational and which sought to

14. For an early effort to push the conceptual definition of the "New Left" in Latin America, see Eric Zolov, "Expanding Our Conceptual Horizons: The Shift from an Old to a New Left in Latin America," *A Contracorriente* 5:2 (Winter 2008), pp. 47–73. Two recent and pathbreaking contributions are Victoria Langland, *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2013) and Jaime Pensado, *Rebel Mexico: Student Unrest and Authoritarian Political Culture During the Long Sixties* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2013).

15. Vania Markarian, "Distancia y compromiso: algunas reflexiones desde el caso uruguayo," presentation at the Taller de Historia Intelectual, Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, Buenos Aires, November 15, 2012.

16. Karen Dubinsky, Catherine Krull, Susan Lord, Sean Mills, and Scott Rutherford, eds., *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009), p. 3.

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engage "from the periphery" questions about Cold War geopolitics, political ideologies, consumptive practices, and aesthetics in an effort to better grasp the historical complexities that made the 1960s era a critical juncture.[17] Significantly, the Third World was taken as a progenitor of change, rather than as simply the historical backdrop against which "the sixties" transpired. As a recent collection makes clear, "a truly global analysis of [the 1960s] is impossible without an in-depth and prolonged conversation about the Third World."[18]

To propose a definition, the Global Sixties reflects a new conceptual approach to understanding local change within a transnational framework, one constituted by multiple crosscurrents of geopolitical, ideological, cultural, and economic forces. Such forces produced a simultaneity of "like" responses across disparate geographical contexts, suggesting interlocking causes. For Latin Americanists, the historiographical transformation under way is reflected in a new approach whose interpretations move beyond viewing Latin America in the "long sixties" through the lens of imperialism and anti-imperialist struggle—a narrative overwhelmingly shaped by a presumption of U.S. hegemony—and toward a more complex understanding of Latin America as an incubator *for* and a progenitor *of* the imagery, actors, ideas, and soundscapes that constituted a "Global Sixties."

The way in which we should understand the present use of the term "Global Sixties," however, is as an overarching rubric, a historical designation that indicates an explicit contribution to ongoing investigations into a global and much expanded knowledge of the period. In many instances, it may be possible to locate a work within this emergent historiography without the author neces-

17. See the 2009 two-part forum on "The International 1968" in *American Historical Review* 114:2 and 114:3. Recent monographs include *The Third World in the Global 1960s*, Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013); Matthew D. Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries: The Chinese Revolution in Latin America* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Richard Wolin, *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012); Quinn Slobodian, *Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012); and Andrew Ivaska, *Cultured States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar Es Salaam* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011). See also Timothy Scot Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Anti-Authoritarian Revolt, 1962-1978* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010); Martin Klimke, *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2008); and Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). For a refreshingly critical synthesis see Gerard DeGroot, *The Sixties Unplugged: A Kaleidoscopic History of a Disorderly Decade* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008). Early efforts at a global approach to 1968 include George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston: South End Press, 1999); *1968: The World Transformed*, Carol Fink, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker, eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Immanuel Wallerstein and Sharon Zukin, "1968: Revolution in the World System: Theses and Queries," *Theory and Society* 18:4 (July 1989), pp. 431–449.

18. Christiansen and Scarlett, *Third World in the Global 1960s*, p. 16.

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sarily having done so him or herself, as occurs with various contributors to this special issue. The designation thus reflects a broad historiographical field in the making, one whose thematic scope and methodological approach are potentially vast and encompassing of various disciplinary fields increasingly in dialogue with one another. The "Global Sixties," in other words, can incorporate many things, though certain transcendent themes stand out.

CONNECTING THEMES OF THE GLOBAL CONSCIOUSNESS

For one, Global Sixties historiography incorporates an understanding of the Cold War that moves beyond the logic of geopolitical expansionism to recognize the ways in which capitalism and communism competed as ideological *projects,* and not simply as projections of power. As Westad cogently argues, Washington and Moscow were "[l]ocked into conflict over the very concept of European modernity" and thus sought to "change the world in order to prove the universal applicability of their [respective] ideologies."[19] Indeed, the rise of the Non-Aligned Movement (to which Cuba officially subscribed) reflected a prerogative recognized and taken hold of by Third World nations: to fashion individualized approaches to nationalist development by selectively incorporating aspects of those competing global ideologies.

Ultimately, Cold War geopolitics narrowed the parameters and transfigured the outcomes of these attempts at sovereign assertions of national development. Despite its members' early efforts to transcend the extended reach of the Cold War, by the mid 1960s the nations calling themselves members of the Non-Aligned Movement were no longer able to escape the vortex of geopolitical realities that swirled around them. Nonetheless, it is essential to recognize how the embrace or rejection of such ideologies, and the range of nuanced responses in between, reflected the deeply politicized role of the state in the modernization process, the conflicted subjectivities of the individual in relationship to the nation-state as a collectivity, and the role of art and cultural production in that wider project of nation-building.

A second characteristic of Global Sixties research is the necessity to unravel the complexities of ideological struggle within the left itself. At one level, this struggle is reflected in the designated shift from an "Old Left" to a "New Left" that transpired in the context of the Cuban Revolution, though it is by no means reducible to that singular event. Indeed, the transition from an "Old Left" to a "New Left"—never absolute, to be sure—reflected a complicated intertwining of global currents, at once ideological, cultural, and geopoliti-

19. Westad, *Global Cold War*, p. 4.

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cal.[20] An emergent New Left placed a renewed emphasis on armed struggle and in doing so posed a direct challenge to the more established communist and socialist parties whose origins predated the Cold War itself. Armed struggle in the Latin American context clearly had deep historical resonance, even though the concept of the *foco* with its strategic emphasis on a decentralization of military strategy was something of a novelty.

Central to this examination of the New Left is recognition of the impact of the Chinese Revolution on ideological debates. Although China's foreign policy reach was limited, especially in comparison with that of the Soviet Union, the influence of China's critique of Soviet revolutionary positions was significant. As Matthew Rothwell argues, Maoist ideas played a key role in the mobilization and fragmentation of the left in Latin America. Beginning in the late 1950s, numerous activists, politicians, and intellectuals traveled to China, often meeting directly with Chairman Mao, and in turn worked to "domesticate Chinese ideas."[21] Cuba's own contribution to this ideological critique of Soviet Marxism was similarly profound, as was the critique of the reemergent Trotskyists, who had initially found common cause with Cuba's independent brand of Marxism. In turn, the fierce competition for ideological hegemony among Cuba, the Soviet Union, China, and international Trotskyism shaped in significant ways the fractiousness on the left that so profoundly characterized this period.[22]

A third theme we find in Global Sixties historiography is the trope of "national liberation," which gave rise to the rhetorical power of the Third World as a new post-colonial force.[23] This is especially true with regard to recent scholarship on the Black Power movement in the United States, which has moved away from a U.S.-centric approach toward an exploration of how Maoism, the Cuban Revolution and other Third World intellectual, political, and cultural currents shaped the sentiments, strategies, and tactics of black activists at home.[24] More broadly speaking, the empowerment of the Third World itself served as a wedge, driving competition not only between the Soviet Union and

20. Jeffrey Gould, "Solidarity Under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968," *American Historical Review* 114:2 (April 2009), pp. 348–375; Zolov, "Expanding our Conceptual Horizons."

21. Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries*, p. 6.

22. See Belden Fields, *Trotskyism and Maoism: Theory and Practice in France and the United States* (New York: Autonomedia, 1988).

23. Christoph Kalter, "A Shared Space of Imagination, Communication, and Action: Perspectives on the History of the 'Third World'" in *Third World in the Global 1960s*, Christiansen and Scarlett, pp. 28–29.

24. Among a vast historiography, see for example Cynthia Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006); Besenia Rodríguez, "'De la Esclavitud Yanqui a la Libertad Cubana': U.S. Black Radicals, the Cuban Revolution, and the Formation of a Tricontinental Ideology," *Radical History Review* 92 (Spring 2005), pp. 62–87; and Robin D. C. Kelley and Betsy Esch, "Black Like Mao: Red China and Black Revolution," *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 1 (Fall 1999), pp. 6–41.

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the United States/Western Europe, but also between the Soviet Union and China. For the Latin American left, the pursuit of "national liberation" required rupturing the compact of a U.S.-guided Pan Americanism and the determined reorientation of that compact toward principles that were both Pan Latin American and Third World-oriented. The symbol of complete "national liberation" was of course Cuba, which early on declared itself the "first liberated territory in Latin America." Significantly, the rhetoric of national liberation was totalizing and, in its more radical forms, envisioned the absolute recuperation of national resources, the elimination of a national oligarchy, complete sovereignty in international relations, and the forging of a "national consciousness." The latter, which in Cuba was articulated as the construction of the "New Man" (and in China as "Destroying the Four Olds"), required the purging not only of bourgeois desires but of "non-national" ones as well. The result was a complicated process of repression by and within the left of all forms of cultural hybridity. Indeed, fierce debates within the left often arose in response to, and were in turn shaped by, engagement with cultural and ideological currents considered "external" to the Latin American context.[25]

Integral to understanding the complex divisions within the left is a fourth theme, namely, the relationship between politics and the global counterculture. As Jeremi Suri rightly argues, the 1960s produced an "international language of dissent"[26] linked to the transnational circulation (and appropriation) of common written texts, film, graphic arts, music, and individuals. Thus one must accommodate the ideological impact of C. Wright Mills (whose lectures at Mexico's National University in 1960 played an important role in shaping student protest culture there, for example) at the same time that we acknowledge the transnational influences of countercultural trends in music, art, and fashion.[27] Indeed, every country in Latin America had its own nascent countercultural movement grounded in an original rock movement scene.[28] These movements were by no means "external" to the debates occurring on the left. On the contrary, they were intertwined with those debates, while also serving as refuge for those "on the left" for whom the fierce ethical issues of armed struggle and social action were too much to bear—or of less interest than wrestling with patriarchal familial restraints and individualist spiritual pursuits.

25. Jean Franco, *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin America in the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002); Robin Moore, *Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba* (Berkeley: University of California, 2006). The Four Olds during the Cultural Revolution in China were Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits, and Old Ideas.

26. Suri, *Power and Protest*, p. 3. Suri uses this term somewhat narrowly, applying it only to written texts, but the concept itself is quite useful.

27. For Mills in Mexico, see Pensado, *Rebel Mexico*, p. 164.

28. Deborah Pacini Hernández, Héctor Fernández L'Hoeste, and Eric Zolov, eds., *Rockin' Las Américas: The Global Politics of Rock in Latin/o America* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Pittsburgh University Press, 2004).

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Central to this politics of culture was the presumption that youth—middle- and upper-class youth, to be sure—constituted a revolutionary vanguard. This construction was true not only in the literal sense of their being potential actors in the cause of armed struggle, but in a broader sense as well. Youth were consumers of material goods and as such were central to the modernization policies and strategies of governments across the region. In short, youth were in a position to disrupt these modernization projects while at the same time, and paradoxically, they provided a key economic rationale for undertaking them at all.[29] Moreover, young people's consumption—of music, film, clothing, literature—meshed inextricably with the shaping of new social identities, which in turn led to challenges to an established patriarchal order within the family and, by extension, in the streets.

A fifth theme is the impact of liberation theology and the broad decentralization of religious practices that transpired as a result. Vatican II (1962–1965) set in motion a profound theological discussion concerning the relationship between spiritual belief and material conditions, a discussion whose impact went well beyond the confines of the Catholic Church hierarchy. This discussion led to the questioning of traditional Church practices, doctrine, and official religious institutions. In certain instances, the line between Marxist revolutionary theory and Catholic liberation theology dissolved.[30] Arguably, these debates also helped usher in a broad secularization of religious practices overall, as reflected in the rise in the 1970s of "alternative spiritualities" linked with Eastern religious practices and a turn inward toward indigenous and African-centered belief systems.[31]

Finally, the historiography of the Global Sixties must move beyond the internal debates and practices of the left to examine the debates and practices on the right as well. Too much of an earlier literature focused on a rigid dichotomization of "right" and "left," one that posited the left as the "rational actor" whose presumed progressiveness was widely supported across the populace. Any critical repudiation of the left's agenda—in its radical instances or in its more reformist ones—was assumed to be linked to the advocacy of a right-

29. Ibid., see Introduction.

30. The most famous of these instances was Camilo Torres Restrepo, the Catholic priest who joined one of Colombia's main guerrilla movements and was killed in action in 1966. His famous quote, "If Jesus were alive today, He would be a *guerrillero*" was a theme subsequently disseminated by the Cuban artist Alfredo Rostgaard through his poster print *Christ Armed* (1969). See "Chesucristo: The Christification of Che," in *Che Guevara: Icon, Myth, and Message,* David Kunzle, ed. (Los Angeles: University of California-Los Angeles, Fowler/Center for the Study of Political Graphics, 1997), pp. 78–87.

31. Patrick Barr-Melej, "Siloísmo and the Self in Allende's Chile: Youth, 'Total Revolution,' and the Roots of the Humanist Movement," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86:4 (November 2006), pp. 747–784. This is an underexplored area of potential research.

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wing agenda, influenced if not directly shaped by Washington and the (ever-present) bogey-man, the CIA. New research however, aims to take more seriously the profoundly anticommunist attitudes found among Latin Americans across socioeconomic categories. These attitudes for the period of our concern are rooted in conservative responses to efforts by a secularizing state to restrain the reach of Church authority, as well as to memories of the political radicalization under earlier populist projects.[32] At the same time, right-wing responses to the mobilization of the left in the wake of the Cuban Revolution (in particular) reflected a genuine concern with the destabilization of patriarchal authority within the home and in society more broadly. Such destabilization was brought home to the conservative sectors not only in challenges to traditional gender norms but in the iconoclastic and irreverent aesthetic and moral practices celebrated by the countercultural elements of the New Left. In short, without understanding the response of the right to left-wing mobilization—militarily, ideologically, culturally—we will continue to interpret the 1960s as a dichotomy between a "heroic" Left and a "traitorous" Right.[33]

RESEARCH AGENDAS WITH A GLOBAL APPROACH

Each of the six articles included in this special issue addresses one or more of the themes noted above, while situating its analysis clearly within a transnational perspective that is at the heart of the Global Sixties paradigm. While these articles cannot be considered exhaustive of the current state of the field, they are an excellent reflection of the new research agendas and methodological approaches brought most recently to studies of the 1960s from a Latin American perspective. A particular strength of this special issue is that it places countries with significant countercultural movements, such as Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Uruguay, in dialogue with one another. At the same time, it brings to light the presence of countercultural practices relating to consumer behavior and associated social distinctions in places such as El Salvador, which have not previously been discussed in the literature. Regrettably, other countries with vibrant countercultural scenes, such as Chile and Peru, are not represented here. Nor is there an article focusing explicitly on Cuba, though each contribution, and that by Aldo Marchesi in particular, discusses the importance of Cuba in the shaping and contestation of the Global Sixties themes outlined above.

32. See Greg Grandin and Gilbert Joseph, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America's Long Cold War* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010). A recent dissertation by Luis Hernán Avila reflects the first systematic attempt to address the transnational networks of the Latin American right during the Cold War and to link these networks to local anticommunist expression. See "Anti-communism, Political Violence and the Internal Enemy in Cold War Latin America: Transnational and Comparative Perspectives from Argentina, Colombia, and Mexico (1950–1974)," (Ph.D. dissertation in progress, New School for Social Research).

33. See Hal Brands, *Latin America's Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

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The special issue leads off with Vania Markarian's article on the organizing strategies of the Communist Party in Uruguay, which reveals a fascinating instance in which the "Old Left" pinned its strategy for staying relevant during the ideologically fractious period of the 1960s on reaching out to middle-class youth immersed in the countercultural sensibilities of the era. Markarian reveals the complex dance that took place, discursively and in terms of organizing practices, between a Communist Party closely aligned with the Soviet Union and the social actors who were directly engaged in the promotion of rock music and related countercultural activities. Next, Valeria Manzano superbly complements Markarian's discussion of cultural politics in Uruguay by revisiting the history of *rock nacional* in Argentina. Her article revolves around a central question that she poses early on, "How did rock, as cultural politics, interact with revolutionary politics?" In answering this question, she weaves a complex and compelling narrative that examines the ways in which the "progressive" nature of rock was suffused with a patriarchal and homophobic politics that coincided, paradoxically, with the military regime's own defense of "familial stability" as a counterweight to the disruptive forces of capitalist modernization. Manzano thus problematizes *rock nacional*'s potential as a movement of liberation that stood in opposition to military culture, and at the same time revealed the porous and oftentimes shifting boundaries that characterized a "disciplined" revolutionary left immersed in a context of countercultural, "undisciplined" expression.

The next article, by Christopher Dunn, focuses on "dropping out" in Brazil and thus nicely dialogues with both Markarian's discussion of the tension between a radical political project and youth counterculture in Uruguay and Manzano's analysis of how rock music itself was embedded in capitalist forms of production, circulation, and consumption in Argentina. In his examination of the *desbunde*, a Brazilian neologism for the hippie movement, Dunn argues that the counterculture inspired alternative forms of personal liberation, such as rejection of middle-class social conventions and the adoption of an itinerant lifestyle. At the same time, however, *desbunde* was also widely consumed as fashion and thus bore out a correlation to the capitalist-modernization project of the military regime. Countercultural practices thus considered might be said to reflect an alternative, perhaps "safer," form of dissent against the military regime, but were at the same time, as Dunn concludes, "deeply enmeshed in the expanding consumer society fostered by the regime."

Moving northward, Joaquín Chávez brings into discussion the transformative impact of the Second Vatican Council on progressive Catholic youth in El Salvador. Chávez focuses in particular on the Salvadoran Catholic University Action (ACUS) organization to show how youth at the University of El Salvador strug-

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gled over the meanings of shifting Church doctrine, living through the changing social milieu and the desire for individual liberation on one hand, and cultural change and revolutionary politics on the other. In turn, Chávez provides a revisionist interpretation of the rise of the Christian Democratic Party and the insurgent guerrilla movements that split off from that reformist effort; he does so through an analysis of the changing subjectivity of the youth actors themselves. By drawing on their Catholic backgrounds, urban members of ACUS and its sister organization, Catholic Student Youth (JEC), successfully forged a strategic alliance with various peasant movements, an alliance that helped sustain nearly two decades of revolutionary struggle against the government.

Next, Jaime Pensado's groundbreaking work on Mexican conservatism at the National University (UNAM) provides a much-needed corrective to the emphasis on left-wing politics during this period, reminding us that the 1960s were as much about right-wing mobilization as that of the left. In his focus on the ultra-rightist student organization MURO, Pensado reveals the ways in which the emergence of new consumer practices based on personal choice and the simultaneous and widespread dissemination of pro-revolutionary positions, ranging from support for the Cuban revolution to the impact of liberation theology, contributed to a sudden destabilization of the Catholic values which had formed the bedrock of middle-class social beliefs. As in the United States and elsewhere during the Global Sixties, not all youth flocked to the left; many, perhaps more than current scholarship has yet to acknowledge, held steadfast to earlier values, a position that in turn became radicalized in the context of political polarization.[34]

The special issue concludes by returning to the South, once more to Uruguay, which, as Aldo Marchesi demonstrates, became a vibrant meeting ground for left-wing exiles from across the Southern Cone. Through the mid 1960s, Uruguay's resilient democratic culture provided a haven for open debate about revolutionary tactics and strategy, as other countries—notably, Brazil and Argentina—succumbed to the repression of right-wing military authoritarianism. For the New Left actors who congregated in Montevideo's numerous cafes and bookstores and expressed themselves through influential left-wing publications such as *Marcha*, the prevailing question concerned the applicability of Che Guevara's rural-based *foco* theory to Latin America. How could countries that lacked a "Sierra Maestra" implement a successful revolutionary strategy? Uruguay's answer to this question was the creation of the Tupamaros

34. For the United States, see for example John A. Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997); and Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001).

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National Liberation Movement. Marchesi shows how the group's "heterodox methods" provided a new "repertoire of dissent" that challenged the strategic orthodoxy emanating from Cuba and appealed to other revolutionary groups in the region.

Our intention is that this special issue helps to solidify a historiographical shift in the making. Historians and other scholars of Latin America have a crucial role to play in contributing to a wider set of debates about the Global Sixties, a discussion that has until recently taken place mostly among U.S. and European scholars. At the same time that the research scope of the Global Sixties widens, a new historiography focusing on the "Global Seventies" is already under way.[35] Yet something suggests to me that the phrase "Global Sixties" will ultimately retain sole claim to this sort of historiographical label. Clearly, every period is both "long" and "global." The sixties, however, left an especially profound mark on our (global) consciousness and during the intervening decades has continued to shape the nature of our political discourse and policy debates.[36] In that sense, perhaps a key reason that "Global Sixties" has the intellectual cachet it now claims is that it works as a readily identifiable shorthand to signify a period of rupture in the world's sociopolitical and cultural fabric. It is thus a resonant metaphor that aims to capture an elusive sense of where "we" once stood and the distances we have traveled since then.

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35. Thomas Borstelmann, *The 1970s: A New Global History from Civil Rights to Economic Inequality* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013); Gerard DeGroot, *The Seventies Unplugged: A Kaleidoscopic Look at a Violent Decade* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2011). For Latin America, the new work by Louise Walker would also fit into this historiography: *Waking from the Dream: Mexico's Middle Classes after 1968* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2013).

36. This is a vast topic, but for one set of perspectives see the arguments proposed in Dubinksky et al., eds., *New World Coming*.

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