UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Transnational Youth:
The Federation of Uruguayan University Students in the Early Cold War, 1941-1958

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Megan C. Strom

Committee in charge:

Professor Michael Monteón, Chair
Professor Christine Hunefeldt
Professor Everard Meade
Professor Nancy Postero
Professor Eric Van Young

2015

The Dissertation of Megan C. Strom is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2015

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my Mom, for her continual love, support, strength, and wisdom, and for being my first and most consistent teacher of social justice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIA	Central Intelligence Agency, United States
CLAE	Congreso LatinoAmericano de Estudiantes (Congress of Latin American Students)
COSEC	Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students
OCLAE	Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes (Organization of Continental Latin American and Caribbean Students)
FEUU	Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay (Federation of Uruguayan University Students)
FEP	Federación de Estudiantes Paraguayos (Federation of Paraguayan Students)
FUA	Federación de Universitarios del Argentina (Federation of Argentinean University Students)
ISC	International Student Committee
SIE	Servicio de Inteligencia y Enlace, Uruguay (Intelligence and Liaison Service)
UdelaR	Universidad de la República, Uruguay (University of the Republic)
UIE	Unión Internacional de Estudiantes (International Union of Students)
UNE	Unión Nacional de Estudiantes, Brazil (National Union of Students)
USNSA	United States National Student Association
WAY	World Assembly of Youth
WFDY	World Federation of Democratic Youth

LIST OF IMAGES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the course of this project I have received support from a number of different places. At the University of California, San Diego, I am grateful to the Department of History as well as the Division of Arts and Humanities, the Institute for International, Comparative, and Area Studies (IICAS), and the Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies (CILAS), all of which helped fund research and travel to conferences in Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and the United States. I am also grateful to Patricia Vargas and the Fulbright Institute of International Education (IIE) for making possible a nine-month residence in Montevideo, during which I conducted the bulk of my archival research for this dissertation. Thanks also to the numerous conferences that have made it possible for me to workshop various pieces of this project as it developed, including the De-Centering the Cold War conference at the University of Arizona, the Jornadas de Investigación at the Archivo General de la Universidad de la República in Montevideo, the Empire and Solidarities Conference at the University of New Orleans, and the American Historical Association. A very special thanks to the Rocky Mountain Council on Latin American Studies (RMCLAS), for serving as a consistent, welcoming, and vibrant space for intellectual exchanges amongst a wide range of scholars. I am grateful for the feedback and friendships with colleagues developed therein, especially to Tony Rosenthal and Steven Hyland, both of whom encouraged this project since its inception and whose enthusiasm made the journey much more enjoyable than it otherwise would have been. Thanks also to Julie Maiorana for first introducing me to RMCLAS.

I am deeply indebted to those in Uruguay who supported the research and evolution of this project and helped make my time there so enjoyable. Many thanks to Vania Markarian for her feedback, and to all the staff at the Archivo General de la Universidad de la República in helping me navigate sources. My profound thanks to Silvana Rodriguez for her kindness and tremendous help in the FEUU archive at the Unidad Polifuncional Popular de la Universidad in the Facultad de Humanidades de Ciencia y Educación, also at the Universidad de la República. Many thanks are due to Professors Aldo Marchesi and Rodolfo Porrini, for serving as official sponsors for the Fulbright fellowship, for providing invaluable feedback and guidance at crucial moments in the research process, and for their continuing support during the writing process. My deep gratitude also goes to all the former student activists who shared their stories and time with me, and to Jorge Machado, who helped coordinate many of the contacts. Although this dissertation does not do justice to any of the individual stories, each interview helped contribute an important piece to understanding the FEUU's collective identity. A special thanks also to Mark and Dolores Van Aken, for supporting my project and generously sharing their fond memories and contacts in Uruguay, as well as their research materials from the 1960s that went into the writing of *Los Militantes*.

Many thanks to those who helped make Montevideo feel like a second home, including Cliff Sutton, Lylieth Varela, Albita Fros and the Rehavita women, Allister Manson, and Alejandra Montero. A very special thanks to Kate Ivancic, whose fabulous cooking, quick wit, and great sense of adventure made us fast friends, and to

Lorena Cejas, who shared her home, family, and friends with me, with lots of good times along the way. My very deep thanks to Gonzalo Regules Siles and the entire Regules Siles family, for so warmly opening their homes and hearts to me, especially on Sundays to meriendar. I always looked forward to our visits and am eternally grateful to you for being my family in Uruguay – los quiero mucho: Gonzalo Regules Da Costa, Ana María Siles Ormachea; Hernán Regules Siles, Verónica Rosa Casco, Facu Regules Casco, Tintín Regules Casco; Yandira Regules Siles, Anibel Cuchman Oucharenko, Nico Cuchman Regules, Mechi Cuchman Regules; and to the extended family, who also welcomed me with open arms. A very special thanks to Ana María Siles Ormachea, who shared precious stories about her childhood and her father, and made personal introductions that helped secure numerous oral history interviews for this project. My deepest thanks and gratitude go to Gonzalo Regules Siles, whose companionship, great analytical mind, and belief in me and my project were combined with much needed laughs and excursions, helping support and sustain me during my research and beyond - nuestro tiempo juntitos, jugando con los sobrinos y conversando sobre *La Mañana Siguiente*, Uruguay, y tu abuelo, siempre estarán en mi corazón.

My deep thanks to my many colleagues and friends at UCSD. Thanks to CILAS for bringing together an amazing cohort of women scholars, many of whom have remained dear friends and colleagues to this day and continue to be tremendous sources of wisdom, strength, and laughter: Meredith Cabell, Elizabeth DiGirolamo, Jade Power, and Annalise Romoser. Many thanks also to the Dimensions Of Culture writing program at Thurgood Marshall College, both staff and colleagues, for

providing employment, friendship, and intellectual growth over the last five years. Thanks to Jorge Mariscal, Jeff Gagnon, and Sue Hawkinson for making the program run and letting me be a part of it, and to my many colleagues from Anthropology, Sociology, Literature, Visual Arts, Communications, History, and Ethnic Studies, for feedback and friendships over the years, and for making DOC a pleasant place to work. Special thanks in this last year to Jess Novak, Mayra Avitia, Alina Mendes, Davorn Sisath, Christina Green, Lisa Ho, James Davenport, Megan Horton, and Violeta Sánchez for so freely sharing their support, solidarity, and friendship.

Many thanks to the History department, for facilitating rewarding intellectual exchange in courses and seminars over the years. In addition to my Latin American coursework, I greatly benefited from the dissertation writing seminars led by Stanley Chodorow, and the advice and support of professors Luis Álvarez, Danny Widener, Mark Hendrickson, Pamela Radcliff, and Mark Hanna. A special thanks to Dana Velasco Murillo for her invaluable support and pep talks in the writing process. Many thanks also to my peers in the History department and the Latin American field group, especially Bob Long, Ryan Reft, Matt Crotty, Julie Maiorana, Sara Sanders, Ricardo Kerguelen, Chris Wisniewski, Ricardo Fagoaga, Miguel La Serna, Jed Mularski, Zach Brittsan, Jesús Perez, Bárbara Zepeda, James Shrader, Mike Lettieri, Laura Guttierrez, Jorge Leal, Mayra Avitia, Alina Mendez, Rosana Womack, James Deavenport, Gerardo Ríos, Ulices Peña, Jonathan Abreu, Luis Sánchez, and Troy Araiza Kokinis. A very special thanks to Andrea Davis and Anne Schenderlein, for being great colleagues and friends throughout, and to my fabulous cohort: Hanni Jalil, who despite

some technicalities has always felt like a part of our cohort in both scholarly endeavors and warmth of spirit; the late Emily Montgomery, who left us far too soon but whose bright mind and zest for life lives on in her children and those of us who were lucky enough to have known her; and to my tremendous colleague, compañera, and dear friend, Nancy Egan, whose intellectual abilities and politics are matched only by her kindness, strength, and hilarity - may we have many more years of scholarly discussions, social theory debates, silly laughter, and rolling around in the good stuff.

Tremendous thanks to my entire dissertation committee, Everard Meade, Christine Hunefeldt, Nancy Postero, and Eric Van Young, all of whom made coursework and the process of writing this dissertation both intellectually rigorous and supportive - I could not have asked for a better set of mentors. I am deeply indebted to them all for their feedback, kindness, and support at every stage. My very deepest thanks goes to the chair of my committee and my advisor of over ten years, Michael Monteón, for supporting me through the M.A. in Latin American Studies and then again as a doctoral student in History, providing invaluable intellectual guidance, incredibly thorough edits, and unwavering kindness and support over the years.

My gratitude also goes to my many dear friends in the Bay Area, San Diego, and beyond, for supporting me throughout, and for providing breaks from my work when I needed it most. Many thanks to my Davis crew in San Diego, who so quickly helped me feel at home when I first arrived and have remained a touchstone for my life here, and to Emily Nolan and Lisa Nowell for being such consistent anchors in the Bay Area and for coming to visit me in Uruguay. Thanks also to Annalise Romoser,

for Southern Cone adventures that helped establish my roots in Montevideo, and for sharing her infectious enthusiasm for all things, including my project. Thanks are also due to Bob Johnson, whose insight and dissertation pep talks in this last year were greatly appreciated, and to the staff at Caffe Calabria and Twiggs for making writing at a café feel like a family experience. My deepest thanks and tremendous gratitude to the Power(s) behind this project, for being a constant source of support and strength throughout: to Ben Power, for his many years of enduring friendship, relentless puns, stern pep talks, and meticulous edits in the eleventh hour of this dissertation; and to Jade Power Sotomayor and José I. Fusté, mi familia en San Diego, dear friends and colleagues of so many years who continue to nourish me with meals, music, laughter, family, and feedback. I am so grateful for your love and support at every turn, and for bringing bomba and all your communities into my life – may we continue to make memories for many more years to come.

My final thanks go to my family for their continual love and support. Many thanks to my extended family, the Kellihers and the Kriegers, my many aunts, uncles, and cousins who supported me along the way; to my grandparents, Margaret and James Kelliher, who always encouraged my endeavors and instilled a family commitment to social justice that has been passed down through the generations, a legacy that continues to shine despite their absence; to my other extended family, Ron, Laurie, Ben, and Andrew Nardinelli, and Sandra Robins, for always supporting me and being there for my entire family, in good times and bad. My deep thanks to my brothers, Carl and David Strom, for keeping me grounded, caring for me, and

believing in me the whole way; to the memory of my late father, Charles H. Strom, who passed away at the beginning of this academic journey, but who remains with me in so many ways, especially in sense of humor and his love for history; and to my mother, Margaret Strom, to whom this dissertation is dedicated and whose superhuman strength and love I am eternally grateful for.

VITA

2001 Bachelor of Arts, History, University of California, Davis

2006 Master of Arts, Latin American Studies, University of California, San Diego

2015 Doctor of Philosophy, History, University of California, San Diego

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Transnational Youth:
The Federation of Uruguayan University Students in the Early Cold War, 1941-1958

by

Megan C. Strom

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, San Diego 2015

Professor Michael Monteón, Chair

In the 1940s and 50s, the Federation of Uruguayan University Students (*Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay*, FEUU) advocated for

university reforms based on the social mission (*la misión social*), a philosophy that argued for the benefits of the university to be extended to the community as a way of improving society. During these years, the FEUU also spoke out on international politics and built alliances with workers and other students around the world. Based on a firm anti-imperialist stance, the FEUU also joined leftist intellectuals in Uruguay in developing the Third Way (*Tercerismo*), a position that critiqued both capitalism and communism as polarizing binaries of the Cold War. As a result of its activism and political agenda, the FEUU faced backlash from the United States and Uruguayan governments, as well as the mainstream press in Uruguay. By examining FEUU publications and archival records, as well as select material from the mainstream press and government archives, this dissertation explores the FEUU's public persona during the 1940s and 50s in four thematic chapters: 1) transnational student networks, 2) student-worker alliances, 3) conflicts with the state(s), and 4) relationships with the mainstream and leftist presses. Through these different themes, this project demonstrates that the FEUU built and maintained a consistent collective identity during the 1940s and 50s, one that was deeply affected by both domestic and global politics and saw the university, and students in particular, as an important social force, capable of improving society. By exploring important pieces of the FEUU's identity and public voice during these years, this dissertation broadens our understanding of student politics and transnational student activism in Latin America before the more tumultuous 1960s.

Introduction

In January 2013, the *Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay* (Federation of Uruguayan University Students, FEUU) sent a representative to Ecuador to lend its support to the Luluncoto 10, a group of ten university students who had been arrested the year before while planning a peaceful protest. Despite a lack of evidence that these Ecuadorian students had broken any laws, they were detained for several months before being convicted of attempted terrorism and sentenced to one year in prison.[1] By January 2013, many of the students had won their release, but two still remained in police custody. Student groups around the world protested their continued imprisonment and sent delegates to Ecuador to demand their release.[2] Among them was Martín Randall, Secretary of International Relations and an engineering student at the University of the Republic in Montevideo who had traveled to Ecuador to declare the Federation's solidarity with the detained students. In an interview with *EcuadorLibre Red Agencia*, Randall asserted that the FEUU had always maintained relationships with other student movements and that it stood in solidarity with Ecuadorian students, and in defense of their right to protest in a democratic society.[3] He explained that Uruguayan students' own struggles with repression in the past, both under dictatorship and democracy, fueled the FEUU's

[1] "Ecuador: Courts Stalling on Protestor Appeals", *Human Rights Watch*, July 21, 2015.
[2] "Los 10 de Luluncoto llaman la atención extranjera", *Pais*, 28 de enero, 2013.
[3] "Martin Randall, Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios de Uruguay", https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4REvlsnolGg, *EcuadorLibreRed Agencia de Noticias*, January 21, 2013.

commitment to defend the human rights of others, of activists and non-activists alike, all over the world.[4] Elaborating on this stance, Randall referenced the historical roots of the Federation, noting the FEUU's 83 year-old institutional commitment to respecting and defending human rights.[5]

Although the FEUU of the 1940s and 50s did not often use the terms "human rights" to define its activism, Randall's invocation of the Federation's long-term international solidarity with students across Latin America draws a clear thread between the FEUU's current transnational activism and that of the 1940s and 50s, one of the key issues that I explore in this dissertation. As a whole, my project examines student activism in the FEUU during the Early Cold War by highlighting four overlapping themes, each of which could easily be expanded into stand-alone projects: transnational student networks, worker solidarities, conflicts with the state, and relationships with the mainstream and leftist press. This period and these themes are worthy of study for the activism and ideologies developed therein, as a lens for exploring the widespread effects of the Cold War, and because this history helps explain the context of student activism and the Left in Uruguay in the years and decades that follow.

My methodology focuses on the voice of the FEUU as an organization during the 1940s and 50s, drawing on student publications, internal reports, and oral histories to paint a picture of the Federation's public identity and some of its top priorities. My project is most concerned with identifying how the FEUU saw itself and how it

---

[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

projected that identity. Because of this approach, stories and voices of individual students surface only in select moments in this project. By focusing primarily on the collective will of the FEUU, on its platforms, priorities, and public voice as an institution, this project helps lay the groundwork for future explorations.

In addition to highlighting a significant period of student activism that has previously gone understudied, this project also serves as an examination of the Early Cold War, the geo-politics of which greatly influenced the FEUU's identity and ideologies in the 1940s and 50s. Though Uruguay was not a central player in the most intense ideological battles between capitalism and communism during these years (as was the case in parts of Central America and the Caribbean), Cold War tensions were deeply embedded in the political identity of this Uruguayan student organization. Likewise, the Early Cold War climate of the 1940s and 50s had a major impact on the way student politics were read by both government forces and the mainstream press. My approach in treating this as a Cold War history joins other recent studies in a move to de-center Cold War studies by exploring the local, social, and cultural struggles of those outside the traditional binaries. Scholars of Latin America have been adopting this approach for a number of years now. I characterize my project as having an Early Cold War periodization with a focus on the years 1941 to 1958. This is a slightly earlier time period than those who would categorize the Cold War as starting only after World War II ends. My periodization begins earlier because, as I show in Chapter Two, it is actually before the War ends that the FEUU establish the roots of a stance of distinct political neutrality which would become a defining feature of the

organization's identity throughout the 1950s.

TRANSNATIONAL STUDENT SOLIDARITIES

This dissertation shows that the FEUU was building transnational solidarities with students around the world in the 1940s and 50s, considerably before the more well-known years of student activism in the 1960s, and in particular, 1968. The FEUU forged these relationships over a number of different issues, including the defense of fellow students against political repression (similar to the Ecuadorian example referenced above) and the highlighting of university concerns, especially debates about the role of students in the university and in society at large. Although Uruguay joined many other places around the world in marking 1968 as a pivotal year of heightened student activism and transnational connections, my work argues that students were participating in important transnational exchanges with students around the world for many years before this. In fact, this dissertation suggests that the FEUU's established transnational networks in the1940s and 50s that helped cement the idea of transnational exchange and solidarity as a core component of the Federation's identity, a feature that lasted into the 1960s and beyond. In this respect, Uruguay as a national culture more closely mirrored feelings and changes in Western Europe during this period, rather than those in the United States. While the '50s are often seen as a period of relative quiescence on campuses in the U.S., a response to postwar prosperity, the era roiled young people in Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. All of these influences were important in shaping college student culture in

Uruguay. Surrounded by political upheavals throughout Latin America, the FEUU's attention to international issues and transnational activism is hardly surprising.

STUDENT-WORKER SOLIDARITIES

The FEUU also built cross-class alliances by developing solidarities with workers at home and abroad, which was another pattern found in Europe. This activism was rooted in the Federation's commitment to the idea of the university as a motor for social change, and its work to extend the benefits of the university into the community as part of *la misión social* ("the social mission"). The FEUU supported workers by publicizing labor union complaints, joining strikes for better wages and working conditions, and donating funds. The workers reciprocated in kind, supporting the FEUU's efforts to gain university reforms. Indeed, workers and labor unions were key to swaying public opinion in favor of university reforms and this campaign achieved legislative success 1958.

FEUU, THE URUGUAYAN LEFT AND *TERCERISMO*

The FEUU was also an important part of the Uruguayan left in the 1950s but remains an understudied one. As my project shows, the FEUU developed close ties with leftist intellectuals on a number of issues, most notably the development and popularization of *Tercerismo* ("The Third Way"), a philosophy that advocated for an anti-imperialist social order that was neither capitalist nor communist. This idea of a path that was neither allied with U.S. capitalism nor Soviet communism reflected an

urgent agenda found in Western Europe, hammered as it had been by the devastation and moral disasters of World War II. The platform was both national and international in its call to create a society that would better meet the needs of the entire population and put an end to all wars and repression. As detailed in Chapter Two, the FEUU publicized explanations of *Tercerismo* in its publications and participated in debates with other students and intellectuals about the platform, proving to be an important part of leftist activism and intellectual life in Uruguay.

I argue that throughout all this activism on its various fronts, the FEUU came to have a strong institutional identity in the 1940s and 50s, developing and maintaining a consistent ideology over the span of two decades and across many cohorts of student activists. This ideology hinged on the Federation's political independence, maintaining itself apart from the traditional political parties of the *Colorados* and the *Blancos* in Uruguay but also keeping its distance from the official Communist and Socialist parties on the left. The FEUU's identity was also rooted in anti-imperialism and a fierce commitment the university as a force for positive social change that could improve the community and society as a whole. While the high turnover of students makes stability in any student movement exceptionally challenging, the Federation's identity as an organization maintained remarkable consistency during this time, speaking to its strong institutional and political identity which remained popular enough to result in the election of like-minded leaders as student representatives year upon year.

Finally, I argue that understanding the FEUU of the 1940s and 50s will inform narratives about student activism in the 1960s and beyond. As were so many other student organizations around the world, the FEUU was dramatically affected by the upsurge of student activism in the 1960s, marked most significantly by the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and its fallout, and later with widespread student unrest in 1968. Much of the literature that exists on student movements, in Uruguay and elsewhere, is focused on this tumultuous period. These works offer important insight into the ways that social, cultural, and political interests collided in the 1960s. In Uruguay, these studies help explain in particular the tensions and conflicts in the years leading up to military dictatorship in 1973.

Considering these larger political and social upheavals, it is understandable that this decade has received so much scholarly attention both broadly and in Uruguayan historiography. Unfortunately, most of these studies offer only scant information on student activism in the preceding years, and such a tight focus on the 1960s has created a significant historiographical gap that obscures student activism prior, suggesting, if only by omission, that it was either absent or unimportant. However, as sketched out above and more fully explored in the chapters that follow, core elements of the FEUU's institutional identity were solidified in the 1940s and 50s. These carried through to the following decade and beyond, forming the context in which (and out of which) the celebrated 1960s student activism took place.

By examining how the FEUU built its identity as an institution in the 1940s and 40s, then, I hope to fill an important gap in the historiography on student

movements and the Left in Uruguay. Mark Van Aken's book *Los Militantes* remains the seminal text on the FEUU in Uruguay, based on research conducted by the author during the early 1960s that traces the history of student activism and the growth of the FEUU from the late nineteenth century through 1966.[6] Van Aken's text provides an extensive account of the development of student activism in the years before the FEUU came into existence in 1929, as well as a detailed description of the university. After 1929, Van Aken traces the logistics and organization of the FEUU, its relationship with the different *facultades*, the revival of the university reform movement in the 1950s, and the rise and fall of Tercerismo in the 1950s and 60s. The rest of the book (almost two thirds) is devoted to the FEUU in the 1960s, including the effects of the Cuban Revolution, information he was able to gather from first-hand observations and interviews with students while in Montevideo from 1963 to 1964. Except for the chapter on Tercerismo, therefore, the 1940s and 50s are not given much attention. Given the size and scope of his work, this is an understandable but still regrettable gap. Likewise, with a mostly domestic focus, Van Aken's text highlights only a few instances of transnational exchange and activism, something that former FEUU activists from the 1950s and 60s have asserted was an important part of the organization that deserves more attention.[7] My dissertation seeks to address both of these gaps.

---

[6] Though one of the most referenced works on the student movement in Uruguay, the book is currently out of print. Van Aken, Mark. *Los militantes: Una historia del movimiento estudiantil universitario desde sus origenes hasta 1966.* Montevideo: Fundación de Cultura Universitaria, 1990.

[7] Alfredo Errandonea says this explicitly in his preface to *Los Militantes*, XI-XXIV.

I also set out to enrich our understanding of global student activism during the Early Cold War. My project joins others in taking a closer look at student activism in the 1940s and 50s. In Uruguay, these include Vania Markarian's study on youth culture in the 1950s in "Al ritmo del reloj: Adolescentes uruguayos de los años cincuenta" and Fernando Aparicio, Roberto Garcia, and Mercedes Terra's study of anti-communist and anti-student campaigns in Uruguay from 1947 to 1961, titled *Espionaje y política*.[8] Additional projects just published in 2015 offer important additions to our understanding of Uruguayan student activism in the 1940s and 50s, such as former FEUU militant Francisco Sanguiñedo's recent collaboration with the University of the Republic to publish a collection of FEUU documents spanning the 20th century, including some of the Federation's positions on World War II and Tercerismo referenced in this dissertation.[9] From the perspective of the United States, Karen Paget's *Patriotic Betrayal* documents the Central Intelligence Agency's infiltration of international student organizations and exchanges in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s.[10]

---

[8] Aparicio, Fernando, Roberto García, and Mercedes Terra. *Espionaje y política: guerra fría, inteligencia policial, y anti-comunismo en el sur de América Latina, 1947-1961.* Montevideo: Ediciones B, 2013; Markarian, Vania. "Al ritmo del reloj: Adolescentes uruguayos de los años cincuenta", en Barrán, José Pedro, Gerardo Caetano y Teresa Porzecanski (compiladores), *Historias de la vida privada en el Uruguay, Tomo III: Individuo y soledades (1920-1990)*, Montevideo: Editorial Taurus, 1998, pp. 238-265.

[9] Sanguiñedo, Francisco. *La FEUU ayer y hoy: 70 años de documentos del Movimiento Estudiantil Uruguayo*. Montevideo: Universidad de la República, 2015.

[10] Paget, Karen M. *Patriotic Betrayal: The Inside Story of the CIA's Secret Campaign to Enroll American Students in the Crusade Against Communism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.

This project also joins other studies that are re-framing the narrative about Latin American student activism in the 1960s by looking more broadly at the decade and at youth culture as antecedents and consequences of 1968. This is seen in Eric Zolov's study of Mexican youth in *Refried Elvis* and Vania Markarian's focus on Uruguayan youth in *El 68 Uruguayo*, both of which trace the impact of transnational influences on youth culture in the late 1960s.[11] Victoria Langland's *Speaking of Flowers* and Jamie Pensado's *Rebel Mexico* dig even deeper into the past to trace the history and development of student organizations in Brazil and Mexico respectively, expanding narratives about 1968 into an approach that takes into account the "long sixties".[12] Similarly, I explore the ways that the activism of the prior decades was both meaningful and important in its time and also key to establishing a legacy of student activism that laid the groundwork for the 1960s.

Uruguayan students were well educated, among the most astute in the Spanish-speaking world. They lived in a small country and so were little noticed in the global press. But, following the observations of Angel Rama in his classic *La ciudad letrada*, they were the future of Uruguay – its *letrados* – who would teach, write its poetry and novels, build its infrastructure, and heal its sick. As part of its educated elite, living in the center of its capital and attending the nation's only university, they

---

[11] Eric Zolov. *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counter-Culture.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999; Vania Markarian. *El 68 uruguayo: El movimiento estudiantil entre molotovs y música beat*. Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2012.

[12] Langland, Victoria. *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in military Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013; Pensado, Jaime. *Rebel Mexico: Student Unrest and Authoritarian Political Culture During the Long Sixties.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

felt entitled to intervene into the political and economic conversation, to be part of its national public space. They thought this particularly because they believed their country had serious, structural difficulties with political leaders wrong in their intellectual and historical assumptions at every turn. Those very same political leaders often treated the student activists as inappropriate and outrageous. This dissertation explores these conflicts and tensions as the FEUU sought to define itself and the student body it represented as a worthy and valuable collective voice, in Uruguay and beyond.

Chapter 1

Background and Introduction to the FEUU

This chapter lays out the basic background information that frames the 1940s and 50s focus of my dissertation, providing an overall description of the *Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay* (Federation of Uruguayan University Students, FEUU), as well as a brief introduction to the University of the Republic. This chapter also includes information on the historical context of both the city of Montevideo and the national politics of Uruguay. A brief discussion of the years that follow, the 1960s and 70s, can be found in the conclusion of the dissertation.

URUGUAY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF THE REPUBLIC

In a small country of roughly 70,000 square miles (about the same size as the state of Washington), Uruguay is historically understood a buffer state, virtually invented by British power in the early nineteenth century between rivals Argentina and Brazil. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the small nation sandwiched between two giants grew to have a public space that resembled the history of its neighbors, with a burgeoning capital that housed one third of the country's population at the turn of the century and was dependent on the price of agricultural

exports.[13] By the 1940s and 50s, Montevideo was home to half of the country's population. The city had been made over by a flood of over 600,000 immigrants to the country from Italy and Spain, paralleling migrations in Argentina and southeastern Brazil.[14] Despite this growing urban population, the country remained based on an agrarian economy, the export of grains and beef to Europe – again, paralleling the much larger pattern of Argentina.

The history of the University of the Republic in the twentieth century is closely linked to these shifts in population growth and, most closely, to the the Presidency of José Batlle y Ordóñez, who used his second term in office (1911-1915) to implement reforms that established Uruguay as the first social-welfare state in Latin America. Batlle, a member of the liberal, urban *Colorado* party, made a deal with his arch enemies, the agrarian and more conservative *Blancos*. His reforms would prevail in Montevideo and some small cities throughout the country, while Blanco landowners would continue to control the countryside. Nonetheless, the political class remained sharply divided and this often led to personal violence – Batlle even killed an opponent in a duel after he left office. What is more, as happened everywhere with early industrialization, strong class animosity remained cemented in Montevideo – the nation's industrial as well as commercial center. It was into this less than halcyon scene that the University of the Republic emerged as a public force.

---

[13] Sánchez-Albornoz, N. "The Population of Latin America, 1850-1930" in Leslie Bethell (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 121-151, 122.

[14] Sánchez Alonso, Blanca. "The Other Europeans: Immigration into Latin America and the International Labour Market (1870-1930)." *Revista de Historia Económica*, 25 (2007), pp 395-426, 399.

Batlle's sweeping reforms came at a moment when the national economy was booming. He sought to address the large inequalities that remained in the country, with widespread poverty in both the rural and urban sectors, hoping to ameliorate poverty through state-sponsored programs and an improved educational system that would lay the foundation for improved living conditions and prosperity in future generations. The reforms became known as *Batllismo*, an approach that combined economic nationalism and socialism in an effort to protect and grow Uruguayan society.[15] Some of the most notable reforms included unemployment compensation, a retirement pension system, labor laws that established an eight-hour work day and protected workers from dangerous working conditions, and the legal right to divorce for women.

Batllismo also emphasized the importance of education and the separation of church and state, mandating that all Uruguayan public schools be religion and tuition-free at every level: primary school, secondary school, and the university. Although the University of the Republic was founded more than fifty years prior, on 18 July 1849, it was Batllismo that encouraged the growth of the university in the twentieth century. The nation's only university, Montevideo's Universidad de la República (University of the Republic, UdelaR) was the crowning jewel of Uruguay's educational system. The majority of politicians, academics, working professionals in Uruguay were once students at UdelaR. As the nation's only university at the time,

---

[15] Van Aken, Mark J. "The Radicalization of the Uruguayan Student Movement", *The Americas*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (July 1976), 113.

the University of the Republic enjoyed a position of great prestige and influence. It represented the nation's future and potential. Following Batlle's reforms, the public agreed that university education should be free and accessible for all Uruguayans, but a number of flaws remained. Though university students at UdelaR attended the University for free, the need for many young adults to help support the family meant that opportunities to attend university full time (or at all) were limited to the middle and upper classes. The university was still out of reach for the working class and most portions of the lower middle class. In addition, those who lived outside of Montevideo also found it difficult to afford the cost of room and board away from their families.[16]

The academic school year at UdelaR ran from March to November, with 15-day vacations in July, April, and September.[17] All courses were taught in Spanish and the *facultade*s (what in the U.S. we might call "colleges" or "schools") were spread throughout Montevideo. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were nine different facultades: Agronomy, Architecture, Chemistry, Dentistry, Economic Science, Engineering, Law, Math, Medicine, and Veterinary Medicine.[18] Each had its own library containing specialized literature and its own student association that advocated for student concerns.

---

[16] As seen in the Centro Ariel in the section that follows, students in the medical school were well aware of these barriers, and had ideas about how to use their privileged position to distribute the benefits of the university to the rest of society.
[17] In the 1940s and 50s, there were no summer school sessions. Ibid.
[18] By 1946, the list of facultades had expanded to include the Facultdad of Humanities and Science.

EARLY STUDENT ACTIVISM IN URUGUAY

In the late 19th century, before Batlle's presidency, the University of the Republic had been renovated, in a top-down process that explicitly excluded student participation.[19] Frustrated at their exclusion, students at both the national and facultad levels worked to organize themselves over the years and advocated for students to have a voice in university decisions. Early attempts at a national student federation, the *Federación de Estudiantes Uruguayos* (Federation of Uruguayan Students, F.E.U.), lasted almost 20 years, from 1898-1917. Despite these efforts, most Uruguayan student organizations remained confined to their different facultades and were mostly focused on the concerns of its particular students, with little activism that addressed all university students, and even less so concerns outside the university.[20]

In 1917, a group of medical students sought to change this by forming the *Centro Ariel* (Ariel Center) in 1917, named after Uruguayan essayist José Enrique Rodó's internationally acclaimed *Ariel*.[21] The founders believed that the university's primary role should be to serve the public and help improve society at large, a mission that was both harmonious with Batlle's initial reforms and heavily influenced by the ongoing calls of their international peers to reform universities throughout the

---

[19] Congress authorized the reforms with the passage of the Organic Act on July 14, 1885. Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 19.
[20] Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 81.
[21] The students emphasized (and some say, misinterpreted) the regional identity and anti-imperialism components of Rodó's writing, using the organization as a platform to increase the reach of the University into the community and uplift society through education, outreach, art, and culture. Mark Van Aken. "Rodo, *Ariel,* and Student Militants of Uruguay", in *Homage to Irving A. Leonard: essays on Hispanic art, history, and literature*. Edited by Raquel Chang-Rodríguez and Donald A. Yates. Ann Arbor: Latin American Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1977, 153-160.

Americas.[22] The so-called "*misión social"* (social mission) was at the core of the Ariel Center's activism and emphasized the need to extend the benefits of the university into the community as a way of improving society. Throughout the 1920s, the leaders of the Ariel Center continued to push for changes in their facultad and took the lead in agitating for larger, university-wide reforms.[23] This activism was not only confined to Uruguay. To bolster their platform, student leaders pointed to the recent success of the reform movements in Córdoba and their like-minded peers from Argentina, Chile, and Peru, including the famous Victor Haya de la Torre.[24] As part of their reform activism, the Ariel Center pushed for programs that would enact the social mission more directly. Their University Extension efforts in the 1920s sought to do exactly that, creating programs for students to volunteer their medical services to the poor.[25]

THE FOUNDING OF THE FEUU

In 1929 – a little more than ten years after the Ariel Center was founded and the same year the world plunged into the financial crisis of the Great Depression – the next generation of Uruguayan students pushed the Ariel Center's ideological platform even more to the left, arguing that the university needed a massive overhaul if it was

[22] For more on the roots of the university reform movement in Latin America see Mark J. Van Aken, "University Reform before Córdoba" in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Aug. 1971), pp. 447-4632.
[23] Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 82-84.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.

truly going to serve the needs of the population.[26] Frustrated by their lack of bargaining power as individual facultades but encouraged by recent shows of solidarity, medical and law students combined forces to create a national organization of students that would bring the different *facultades* together to reform the university, broaden the social mission, and build coalitions with students throughout Uruguay. The *Federación de Estudiantes Universiarios del Uruguay* (Federation of Uruguayan University Students, FEUU) argued that "the fundamental problems of the University could not be solved without a radical transformation of society," and that the education system was merely a symptom of larger societal problems.[27]

The FEUU's founding principles also included a commitment to complete political autonomy from the two traditional political parties, the Colorados and the Blancos. This stance was born not of apathy but rather of deep conviction: FEUU members worried that overt political connections between students and political parties would compromise the integrity of the student organization and threaten the ideals of university autonomy they were fighting so hard to achieve. The FEUU proudly and purposefully maintained this political autonomy over the years, though their most contested relationship would be with the Blanco party and its affiliates. The Colorado party remained the party of Batlle and represented an urban, liberal, social democrat-style politics. The Blanco party, in contrast, represented the rural elite and a more conservative stance to social issues. As illustrated in Chapter Four and Five of

[26] Van Aken, "Radicalization of the Uruguayan Student Movement", 114.
[27] Ibid.

this dissertation, the FEUU's tensions with the government and the mainstream press in Uruguay was also deeply tied to its stance as a politically independent organization.

Though the FEUU's leftist leadership did not represent the political opinion of all students at UdelaR, the FEUU were nevertheless the largest and most influential organization at the University.[28] As a representative body, the FEUU worked to address a variety of student concerns from all the different academic disciplines at the University.[29] The organization's governing body was known as the *Consejo Federal* (Federal Council), represented by two delegates who were elected by their peers from each facultad, in addition to representatives from select organizations of secondary school students from Montevideo and the interior who were preparing to join the university in the near future.[30] Each Centro contributed dues to the Federation, funds that accounted for more than half of the FEUU's income.[31] The Consejo Federal held weekly meetings and regular public forums to coordinate university extension plans,

---

[28] Errandonea contends that there was only a small minority of conservative students that ran in the elections to see who would represent each facultad in the Consejo Federal of the FEUU. He further explains that there was not much opposition or even "non-support" of the FEUU as a whole, insisting instead that the majority of the university student body participated in the FEUU actions and agreed with their progressive politics. Ibid.

[29] Former FEUU militant Alfredo Errandonea argued years later that the FEUU's highly democratic, bottom-up organization was the most advanced in Latin America at the time and was key to the group's successes and longevity. Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, XII.

[30] There were delegates from three different secondary school groupings in Montevideo (*Preparatorios*, *Liceo Nocturno*, and *Liceo No. 5*). Though the FEUU was certainly very Montevideo-centric (as was the UdelaR and national politics as a whole), student leaders also accomodated secondary students living outside of Montevideo, collectively represented by the *Federación de Estudiantes del Interior* (FEI).

[31] The other half came from sales of Federation's newspaper *Jornada,* and the University itself. Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 134.

campaign for university reform, debate the FEUU's platform and stance on current events, and address other student concerns with the university.[32]

1930S GABRIEL TERRA DICTATORSHIP

The FEUU was still a young organization when Dr. Gabriel Terra was elected President in 1931. On the heels of an economic crisis in Uruguay, Terra's first two years in office were marked by a steady decline in civil liberties. On March 31, 1933 he suspended Congress and censored the press in a police-backed auto-*golpe de estado*. Later that same year, the FEUU initiated a new era of student activism and public discourse in Uruguay, publishing their first edition of the student newspaper *Jornada.* The first issue (November 1933) boldly denounced President Terra's authoritarian tactics.[33] Terra intensified his rule the following year, eliminating all checks and balances between government branches, abolishing the constitution, and holding sham elections to maintain the presidency for a second consecutive term (prohibited under Uruguay's constitution). For the next four years, the FEUU was subdued by government restrictions but retained a public presence with sporadic publications of *Jornada* in 1934, 1935, and 1936. The military dictatorship officially ended in 1938 when Alfredo Baldomir was elected President, bringing with him a

---

[32] Van Aken, *Los militantes*, XII.
[33] "Capitalismo, Fascismo y Guerra" and "La Dictadura y los Trabajadores," *Jornada,* November 1933. Unidad Polifuncional de Problemas Universitarias (hereafter UPPU), Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación (hereafter FHCE), Universidad de la República, Montevideo, Uruguay.

transition back to more democratic practices. As censorship and repression lifted in Uruguay, student activism increased.[34]

The FEUU of the early 1940s emerged re-energized, proclaiming more fiercely than ever that the university should be committed to improving society and safeguarding democracy. Although the FEUU saw Baldomir as a step in the right direction towards a return to full democracy, the students were still critical of the president, especially because of his participation in the previous government's un-democratic and repressive rule. The FEUU's position was fueled not only by the fact that Baldomir had worked under Terra, but also because he had played an instrumental role in securing the 1933 *golpe de estado* that shifted Terra's rule from democracy to dictatorship.[35] Because of this, the FEUU worried that Baldomir's presidency could easily lead back to dictatorship. Recalling the recent past of Terra in the 1930s as well as the growth of student-based solidarities against dictatorships throughout Latin America (explored in more detail in Chapter Two), the idea of another breach in democracy at home was unacceptable.

As a reaction to the previous years of dictatorship, the FEUU grew increasingly bold in their anti-imperialist and anti-dictator stance in the 1940s, a position that prompted students to continue speaking out against undemocratic rulers at home and around the world. The FEUU linked concerns about domestic conditions in Uruguay to events in the international arena, most notably World War II (explored

---

[34] Van Aken attributes the FEUU's rise in student activism in the 1930s to negative experiences with the Terra dictatorship and the international crises of the Great Depression and the Spanish Civil War. Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 138.

[35] Not to mention the fact that Terra and Baldomir were also brothers-in-law!

in more detail in Chapters Two and Three of this dissertation). Though the FEUU was founded on the ideals of university reform and the social mission, much of their activity in the 1940s focused on international affairs and transnational activism. This came at a cost: the FEUU made little tangible progress on the issue of university reform in the 1940s.[36] The Federation did, however, use the expertise of each *facultad* to expand the university extension programs and speak out about national and international problems. Examples of this include offering medical services to underserved populations (Medicine), improving latrine access in poor neighborhoods (Architecture), and holding public seminars (Economics, etc.).[37] The FEUU also supported strikes organized by student centers in the different facultades, helping bring about small changes for students while establishing the FEUU as the voice of the student body and setting the stage for the larger university reform campaign that followed in the 1950s.

Though Uruguay's economy had supported a growing middle class in the first part of the century, a precipitous drop in demand for the country's exports in the early 1950s pummeled this "Switzerland of South America" into a deep economic slump as demand for the country's chief exports of wool and cattle products dropped following the end of World War II and the Korean War. This economic decline slowed development and sharpened social problems, undercutting the social welfare network that had long underpinned Uruguayan nationalism. Intellectuals (writers, journalists, and students alike) critiqued the country's struggles and brainstormed possible

[36] Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 107.
[37] Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 142.

solutions. Writers like Mario Benedetti even linked the economic decline to political corruption and a moral critique of the country's middle class.[38] The FEUU also shared their concerns, both as job seekers in a weakened domestic economy and as political activists. It was in this decade that the FEUU developed a pronounced public presence by lobbying for university reform legislation, speaking out about workers issues, and participating in debates about both national and international politics.

DEMOGRAPHICS AND STATISTICS

By the 1950s, the population in Uruguay had doubled to two million, one half of which lived in Montevideo. National census data and university statistics are extremely limited for this era, with only three national censuses on record with detailed demographics before 1963 (1852, 1860, and 1908).[39] The best available data on University demographics for the period of study in this dissertation comes from the Departamento de Estadística de la Universidad de la República, most notably in reports from 1953 and 1960. The 1953 report lists a total enrollment of 11,369 students at the UdelaR that year, 68 percent of which were men (7,738 men and 3,631

[38] Marchesi, Aldo. "Revolution Beyond the Sierra Maestra: The Tupamaros and the Development of a Repertoire of Dissent in the Southern Cone," in *The Americas*, 70:3 (January 2014), 523-553, 537; Referring to Mario Benedetti's *El país de la cola de paja*. Montevideo: ARCA, 1966.

[39] The growth of the urban population, public education spending, and university enrollments in Uruguay were only tracked nationally starting in the late 1960s. This is true of both the Oxford Latin American Economic History Database (hereafter MOxLAD) and the Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (hereafter INE).

women).[40] Out of the 11,369 students, a little over seven percent were listed as foreign (876 total: 664 men and 212 women).[41] With a mostly white population Uruguay did not have the same racial and class divides as in other parts of Latin America. Eighty-eight percent of the population identified as white, the majority of whom had Spanish or Italian heritage. The indigenous Charrua population was almost completely decimated in the 18th century, leaving less than one percent of the population who identified as indigenous and only four percent who were of African descent. The most popular *facultad* at the University in 1953 was the law school with approximately 2,800 students, followed by the school of medicine with 1,800 students. The remaining eight facultades made up the rest of the student body, with men outnumbering women in every field.

The 1953 report also confirms that the University of the Republic remained free, with just one mandatory expense incurred by students: a small fee due upon graduation.[42] The only other university costs were room and board, course materials, and books (though textbooks could be consulted for free at each facultad library).[43] A large number of students lived at home until they graduated. The major exception to this rule was students from the Interior of the country, who either lived with relatives or grouped together and shared rented rooms in local *pensiones*.

---

[40] Boletín Informativo y Estadistico publicado por el Departamento de Estadística de la Universidad de la República, 1953. UPPU, FHCE.
[41] Ibid; Boletín Informativo y Estadistico publicado por el Departamento de Estadistica de la Universidad de la Republica, Censos Estadísticas, 1916-68, UPPU, FHCE.
[42] The fee varied, depending on the facultad.
[43] Boletín Informativo y Estadistico publicado por el Departamento de Estadística de la Universidad de la República, 1953. UPPU, FHCE.

The 1960 UdelaR census reported some slight shifts, with an overall increase in enrollments to 15,320 students, 59 percent male and 41 percent female.[44] Despite these growing numbers of female students at the university, the FEUU was generally a "masculine world", with men dominating the leadership roles at both the national and facultad level (with the exception of the Nursing and Social Assistance school that was mostly made up of female students).[45] By 1963, the population in Montevideo reached 1,202,757 (out of a national total of 2,595,510); almost half of the country was living in the capital.[46]

MONTEVIDEO: A COSMOPOLITAN CAPITAL

Montevideo was not only the political capital of the nation, but also the center of social, cultural, intellectual, and economic life for a heavily urbanized population.

[44] At the time of this writing in 2015, enrollment numbers at UdelaR had topped 108,000. Fuente: Cooperación Técnicos OPP/BID en base a información aportada por los Censos Universitarios. 1960, 1968, 1988 y 1999, INE.

[45] Scholars like Van Aken attributed this gender imbalance in the FEUU to a belief that female students were indifferent towards student politics. This claim, however, seems to have been procured without any substantial confirmation from female students themselves (at least none that were cited or referenced in Van Aken's text). Though my present work does not have ample evidence to refute or challenge this claim, it is a topic I am interested in exploring in future research. When the topic came up in oral history interviews with former FEUU militants, many respondents (all of whom were male) reported that although there were not many women in leadership, there were indeed female students at the FEUU's open sessions in the 1950s and that they also actively participated in university extension programs, debates, marches, and other actions organized by the FEUU. Some interviewees also noted that by the 1960s there were far more women involved in student activism and leadership ranks, both at the university and secondary school levels. Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 118; Various interviews with the author, Montevideo, Uruguay.

[46] Campiglia, Néstor, "Montevideo: Poblacion y trabajo" In *Montevideo...* v.7, Edited by Daniel Aljanati, Mario Benedetti and Walter Perdomo. Montevideo: Impreso en Impresora Rex, 1971, 2.

As the largest city in a small country, Montevideo became a magnet for foreign immigration and general urbanizations trends common throughout Latin America. As the economy declined in the 1950s and small sheep farmers could no longer sustain themselves in the countryside, many rural Uruguayans migrated to Montevideo, making the city home to nearly half of the population. Montevideo was also a safe-haven for political exiles during the 1940s and 50s, especially those on the left. Exiles in Montevideo enjoyed the relative openness to political debate in the city's thriving café culture. The U.S. also took note: CIA agent Philip Agee later described the city as "extremely politically permissive".[47]

Despite economic fluctuations, Montevideo maintained a highly literate and engaged public, creating an environment similar to the salon culture famously described by Jürgen Habermas in his analysis of 18th century London's bourgeois society.[48] But unlike Habermas' case study, Montevideo's public sphere was not confined to elite cafés and salons. Modest cafés, bars, and bookstores lining 18 de Julio served as the main thoroughfare along with businesses, schools, cafés, theaters, shops, and transportation. Cafés and bars along this main street played host to spirited debates and discussions amongst Uruguayan intellectuals, writers, labor activists, political exiles, and students.[49] With the Facultad of Law located on the city's main

---

[47] Ibid, 535.
[48] Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989.
[49] Marchesi, Aldo. "Revolution Beyond the Sierra Maestra: The Tupamaros and the Development of a Repertoire of Dissent in the Southern Cone," in *The Americas*, 70:3 (January 2014), 523-553. Though still a symbolic thoroughfare and the preferred site

street, Avenida 18 de Julio, the University of the Republic had a substantial physical presence in the capital city of Montevideo. Sitting alongside the National Library on the major thoroughfare of the city, just a few blocks away from the Legislative Palace, the University and its students were well situated to petition and influence the government as well as the general population.

JORNADA: THE FEUU'S OFFICIAL VOICE

The FEUU employed a number of different strategies to insert themselves into public discourse in Montevideo. Student strikes and public demonstrations were effective only if people talked about them. Thus, the FEUU used *Jornada* to publicize their activities to other students and build support with the public. *Jornada* highlighted national and international news and elaborated on the goals of the FEUU, concerns of the student body as a whole, and specific updates about activism and strategies for change in different facultades at the university. Many of the facultades already had an established practice of producing their own newspapers.[50] The FEUU did not seek to directly compete with these. Instead, *Jornada* was seen as a way to stake out the position of the student body as a whole, though in practice it often meant

---

for political protests, 18 de Julio is no longer the center of the city's intellectual or cultural life, as activity has gradually expanded throughout the city via suburban sprawl and many of the former cafés and movie houses that used to line the street have closed.

[50] *Revista del Centro de Derecho* (RCED) and *Revista jurídica* (RJ) from the Law School, and *El Estudiante Libre* from the School of Medicine were some of the most prominent. Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 304-305.

the position of the FEUU leadership, stances that did not always match up with student leaders from all the individual facultades.[51]

In addition to *Jornada*, the FEUU also published pamphlets, flyers, and manifestos to publicize their platform and rally support for their goals. The FEUU saw itself as the University's most important political voice and often diverged from the opinions and actions of select facultades, something that politically protected their own agendas. [52] *Jornada* was the "official voice" of the FEUU, edited by a collective of student representatives appointed by the Consejo Federal.[53] From 1933 to 1936, *Jornada* did not identify the name of a single editor of their publication, noting only that the newspaper was an "organ of the FEUU." Starting in 1938, however, the newspaper began to list the name of a *Redactor Responsable* (Editor in Chief) for each issue, as well as what appears to be his home address. Ten years later, in 1949, the newspaper began to include the names of additional students on the editing team, often accompanied by the title *Comité de Redacción* (Editing Committee). In 1953, this title was changed to *Director* (Director) and remained so into the 1960s.

Jornada went through different spurts of activity throughout the 1940s and 50s, varying from weekly to monthly editions, and some years only one or two

---

[51] These discrepancies between the FEUU and the facultades, while worhty of further study, are not addressed in detail in this dissertation.

[52] For example, Van Aken notes a declaration by the Centro de Derecho in the 1940s that supported the English and French forces fighting against the Nazis, but that the FEUU leadership did not support or endorse this statement as their own in the pages of *Jornada*, opting instead to take a neutral stance on the war because of their more vehement anti-imperialist, anti-dictator stance. Ibid.

[53] Boletín Informativo y Estadistico publicado por el Departamento de Estadística de la Universidad de la República, 1953. UPPU, FHCE.

editions. This sporadic publication schedule was also dotted with entire years, sometimes multiple years in a row, where it appears there were no publications at all.[54] These absences sometimes occurred during periods of heavy censorship and repression under the dictatorship of Gabriel Terra in the 1930s, as well as other, less-easily explained moments throughout the 1940s and 50s.[55] Furthermore, the format of the editorial staff and the numbering system underwent periodic changes (with an absence of numbering at times) as did the FEUU's publication office, moving locations every few years.

Despite the irregularity in its publication schedule and frequent changes to its editorial staff, *Jornada* managed to maintain a consistency in its content over the course of its first thirty years (1933-1963). These issues are quite common in social movements, especially one whose base is made up of students and thus have a relatively short amount of time as members. The thinking behind the scenes for some of these moments is preserved in the archive. Unlike traditional newspapers, *Jornada* did not usually list authors for each article. In fact, with the exception of the editor(s), individual students were rarely mentioned by name in *Jornada*. As the voice of the Federation, *Jornada*'s authorial voice was presented as a collective one, speaking for the organization and implying that it represented the concerns of the university student body as a whole.

---

[55] See Table 1. Though the archive yields some information about these shifts, I have not yet ascertained answers to what are perhaps the most pressing questions: Why was Jornada absent these years? How could the official newspaper of the FEUU go silent and still maintain integrity? Was this a sign of disorganization? Did this affect their public image? These are all questions I would like to explore in future research.

Throughout the 1940s and 50s, the FEUU maintained a fairly consistent political stance, with shifts in emphasis and priorities linked largely to international events. These shifts are explored in more depth in the thematic chapters that follow, but in general, the 1940s are deeply concerned with the return to democratic rule in Uruguay and the international crisis of World War II. In the 1950s, the FEUU is characterized by two main focuses: Tercerismo and the campaign for university reform. In addition, the 1950s are also a period of great growth for the FEUU's position on student-worker solidarities as well as the importance of fostering transnational student networks. These shifts are not easily connected to individual editors of *Jornada*, since the editors change frequently but the political stance of the paper maintains a fairly consistent stance throughout. This, it must be noted, is a major accomplishment for a student movement to maintain a consistent voice for over twenty years. As mentioned in the introduction, the contemporary FEUU maintains many of the central values of its historical predecessor and thus supports the idea of thinking about the FEUU as an institution, rather than focusing on individual student leaders.

For select moments in the 1950s, the Federation's concerns and strategies for its publications are revealed in the archives, such as the Consejo Federal's creation of an Executive Press Office that coincided with an experiment to produce weekly editions of Jornada in 1953. The FEUU announced its plan to experiment with weekly issues in its own September 10, 1953 issue of *Jornada*, explaining that the Federation was exploring ways to provide a more regular production of news for students that

was "independent of political and commercial interests" and that accurately reflected the concerns of all the Centros together.[56] Ulises Graceras served as the Director/Editor for this effort towards the end of the school year in 1953, publishing seven editions of *Jornada* in as many weeks.[57] In 1954, the Consejo Federal's Press Office issued a report on the experiment, declaring it one of the most important tasks the Federation had undertaken to date.[58] The report argued that these weekly editions of *Jornada* had increased student interest in the Federation's activities and that a robust, consistent publication was key to defending itself against the mainstream press.[59]

TRIBUNA UNIVERSITARIA

In November 1955, the FEUU published the inaugural edition of *Tribuna Universitaria,* intended to serve as an additional news source for student concerns outside of the University. The journal was aimed mostly at the university student population and sold for a nominal fee (UY$0.50 for University affiliates and UY$1 for the general public). According to Carlos de Mattos, one of the founding editors, the

[56] Experiencia: Dos Meses de Jornada Semanal", *Jornada*, 10 de Setiembre, 1953, UPPU, FHCE.
[57] Weekly *Jornada* publications under Director Ulises Graceras: 10 de Setiembre, 1953, 17 de Setiembre de 1953, 24 de Setiembre de 1953, 1 de Octubre de 1953, 8 de Octubre de 1953; 15 de Octubre de 1953; 23 de Octubre de 1953. UPPU, FHCE.
[58] "Informe Sobre la Aparición Semanal de Jornada", Consejo Federal Ejecutivo de Prensa, 1954, UPPU, FHCE.
[59] Ibid. Records of circulation numbers and profits from sales of the paper would be useful here, but I was not able to ascertain them for this project.

goal was to publish the journal twice a year, one volume per academic semester.[60] As it turned out, the publication schedule also proved to be sporadic, though not quite as bad as *Jornada*. In all, the FEUU produced just eleven volumes of *Tribuna Universitaria* during its eight-year run from 1955 to 1963. Although a small sample size as compared to the longer run and more numerous editions of *Jornada*, the eleven volumes of *Tribuna Universitaria* offer an important window into the concerns and priorities of the FEUU in the late 1950s and early 1960s (the final edition of the journal was published in1963). While *Jornada* consisted of mostly short articles without an author byline, *Tribuna Universitaria* featured essays ranging in length from eight to twenty pages, and written by a variety of student and non-student contributors. These essays investigated the links between Uruguayan students and broader concerns more thoroughly, exploring themes about imperialism, social justice, economic inequality, and political freedom. Topics also included imperialism and student struggles throughout Latin America, pedagogical analyses of the University system in Uruguay, and reports on labor conditions in Uruguay.

In May 1957, the FEUU's Department of Publications reported an update on *Tribuna Universitaria* so far.[61] The report first lamented the previously sporadic publication schedule of *Jornada*, but then clarified that *Tribuna Universitaria* was not meant to replace *Jornada* but was simply an additional news source to "complement" existing FEUU publications.

---

[60] Carlos de Mattos, interview with the author, Santiago de Chile, Chile, 2013.
[61] Informe del Departamento de Publicaciones, sobre la edición de "TRIBUNA UNIVERSITARIA", FEUU, Marzo de 1957, UPPU, FHCE.

> The state of our student press is without a doubt rather poor. Almost all of the centers have magazines, very luxurious in some cases, usually technical, with little or no concern for unions and public interest issues. A few mimeographed union newsletters and exceptionally printed newspapers complement that picture. All of this is governed by a general basic characteristic: irregularity.
>
> In the FEUU, the picture shows similar characteristics. After the failed experience of weekly editions of "Jornada", the Federation's newspaper appeared an average of 1-2 times per year. Communication between the Federation and the student body - never very rich - has been virtually nonexistent in the past two years. The lack of interest by our own student leaders speaks not only the irregularity in the appearance of "Jornada", but also the fact that throughout the current year it has been impossible to find a student to take the post of Secretary of Press.
>
> TRIBUNA UNIVERSITARIA did not emerge to fill the void left by the absence or irregularity of "Jornada", but to complement its mission. It was thought, and was approved by the Federal Council, to be a serious publication that will calmly document and study issues of general interest and provide the tools for discussion and development of these issues.[62]

---

[62] Original Spanish text: El panorama de nuestra prensa estudiantil es sin ningún lugar a dudas bastante pobre. Casi todos los centros poseen revistas, muy lujosas en algunos casos, generalmente técnicas, con poca o ninguna preocupación por los problemas gremiales y de interés general. Algún boletín gremial mimeografiado, excepcionalmente algún periódico impreso, complementan ese panorama. Todo ello regido por una característica básica general: la irregularidad. En FEUU el panorama presenta caracteres similares. Luego de la fallida experiencia de "Jornada" semanal, el periódico de la Federación ha aparecido a un promedio de 1 a 2 por año. La comunicación entre la Federación y la masa estudiantil, - por otra parta nunca muy rica, - ha sido en los dos últimos años, prácticamente inexistente. El desinterés de nuestros dirigentes estudiantiles por su prensa lo prueba no sólo la irregularidad en la aparición de "Jornada", sino también el hecho de que en todo el actual ejercicio haya sido imposible encontrar un estudiante en la disposición de ocupar el cargo de Secretario de Prensa. TRIBUNA UNIVERSITARIA no surgió para llenar el vacío dejado por la inexistencia o irregularidad de "Jornada", sino para complementar [sic] su misión. Se pensó, y así fue aprobado en su oportunidad por el Consejo Federal, en una publicación seria, que estudiara serena y documentadamente problemas de interés general [sic] y que aportara elementos para la discusión y la formación en dichos problemas. Informe del Departamento de Publicaciones, sobre la edición de "TRIBUNA UNIVERSITARIA", FEUU, Marzo de 1957, UPPU, FHCE.

Clearly frustrated with the state of FEUU publications, *Jornada* soon thereafter resumed more regular production, with Editors Hugo Dibarboune and Ulises Graceras taking the helm in 1958, and followed by Roberto Oliver and Ulises Graceras in 1959.

Despite irregularity, there was a remarkable consistency to *Jornada*'s publications throughout the 1940s and 50s. The overall format of the paper remained consistent as a multi-page newspaper committed to the political agenda of the FEUU, focused on explaining the Federation's position on university issues, reporting on campaigns, strikes, and protests, documenting frustrations with the mainstream press, and reporting on both domestic and international politics. The longest breaks in publication can be attributed to government censorship and repression, first in the 1930s, under Gabriel Terra's dictatorship, and later in the 1960s under Pacheco and the subsequent dictatorship of the 1970s and 80s.

In May 1957, UdelaR's Rector created the Commission of Publications of the University to monitor and systematize university publications, coinciding with the development of a new university-wide publication titled *Gaceta de la Universidadid* that would be made available to students free of charge (in contrast to the 2-10 cent charge for editions of *Jornada*).[63] Founding members included two professors, five students, and two advisors that met every Tuesday at 9:30pm.[64] *Gaceta* of the late

---

[63] The FEUU's Department of Publications, however, reported that the Commission was without an office for the entire first year, creating a major obstacle to productivity. FEUU Departmento de Publicaciones, 1957-64, UPPU, FHCE.

[64] The Commission was finally appointed an office space in the basement of Lavalleja 1843, inconveniently located some 25 kilometers away from the majority of the University facultades and described as a "dimly lit workspace with poor circulation." Professors: Prof. Adj. Dr. José B. Gomensoro, Prof. Esc.. Fernando Miranda;

1950s functioned much like University student newspapers do today: mainly covering university-based news, events, and sports.

UNIVERSITY REFORM

In one of the more celebrated success of the student movement in Uruguay, the FEUU finally won a hard-fought battle for university reform in 1958. It had renewed efforts to pursue university reforms at the beginning of the 1950s, coinciding with the re-writing of national constitution. The FEUU submitted the initial proposal to the University Council in 1953. Much of this proposal was rejected, including the FEUU's efforts to gain a voice for workers and union, as well as calls for equal representation for professors, students, and alumni. After compromising on these issues, the final draft of the bill was submitted to Congress, but thereafter voting was delayed for over eighteen months. The FEUU rallied to win public support for the bill, using strikes and demonstrations with great success. In 1958, Congress approved the law.[65] Thus began the era of the "New University", one in which the FEUU, now more than ever, saw itself as having made key contributions to the university and society at large with the drafting and revising the 1958 reforms.[66]

Students: José Jorge Martínez, Carlos A. De Mattos, Heber Raviolo, Francisco Sanguiñedo, Juan Diuk; Advisors: Dr. Carlos Martínez Moreno and Mr. Arturo Sergio Visca, FEUU Departmento de Publicaciones, 1957-64, UPPU, FHCE.

[65] Ibid, 28.

[66] Although the FEUU of the 1950s lamented the addition of liberal phrases like "freedom" and "human rights", as added by politicians before signing the bill into law, these concepts are now widely embraced by the FEUU today. Ibid, 28.

Table 1: Uruguay, Exports and Imports, 1900-1985, MOxLAD

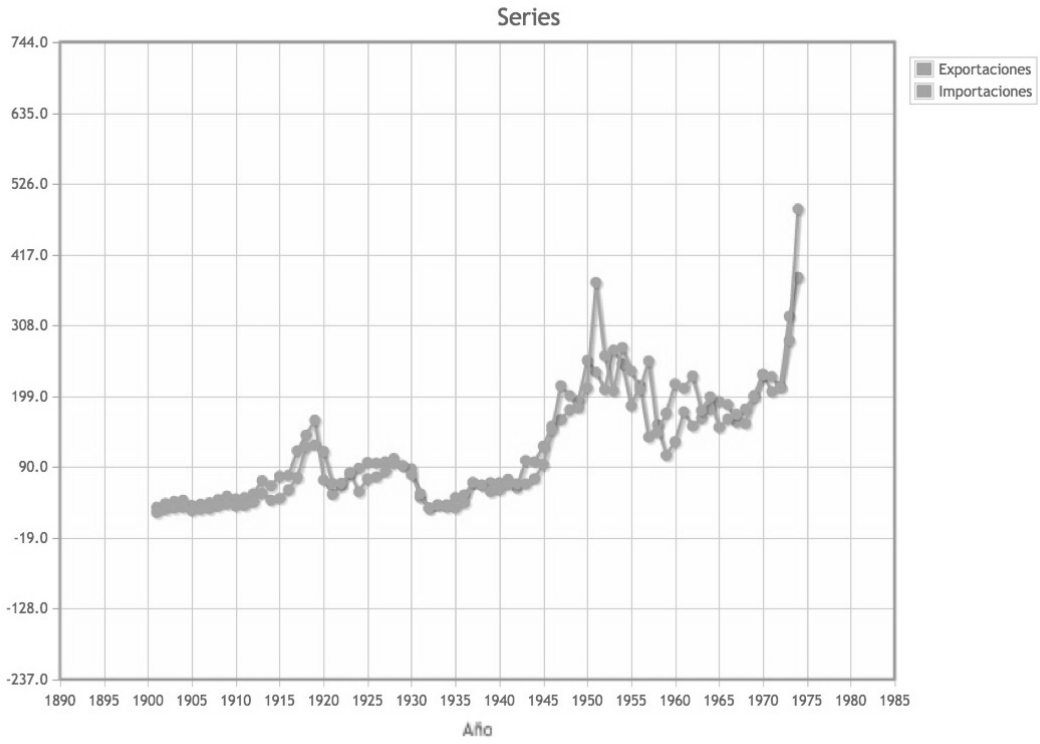


Table 2: Uruguay, Imports and Exports, 1929-1968, MOxLAD

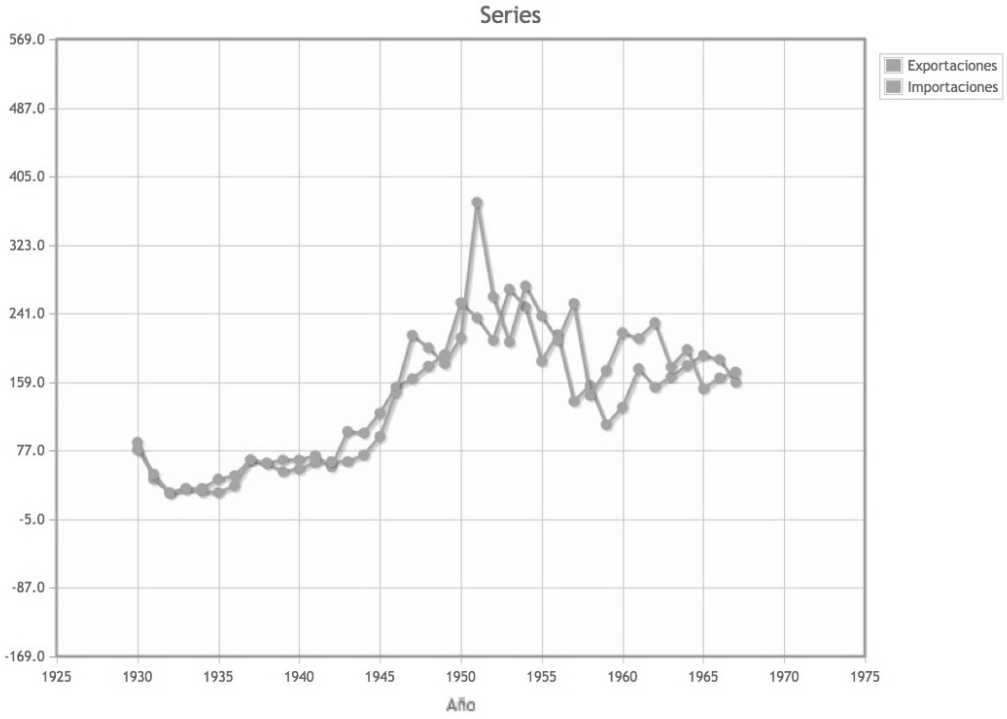


Table 3: Uruguay, Population and Demographics Chart, 1930-1970, MOxLAD

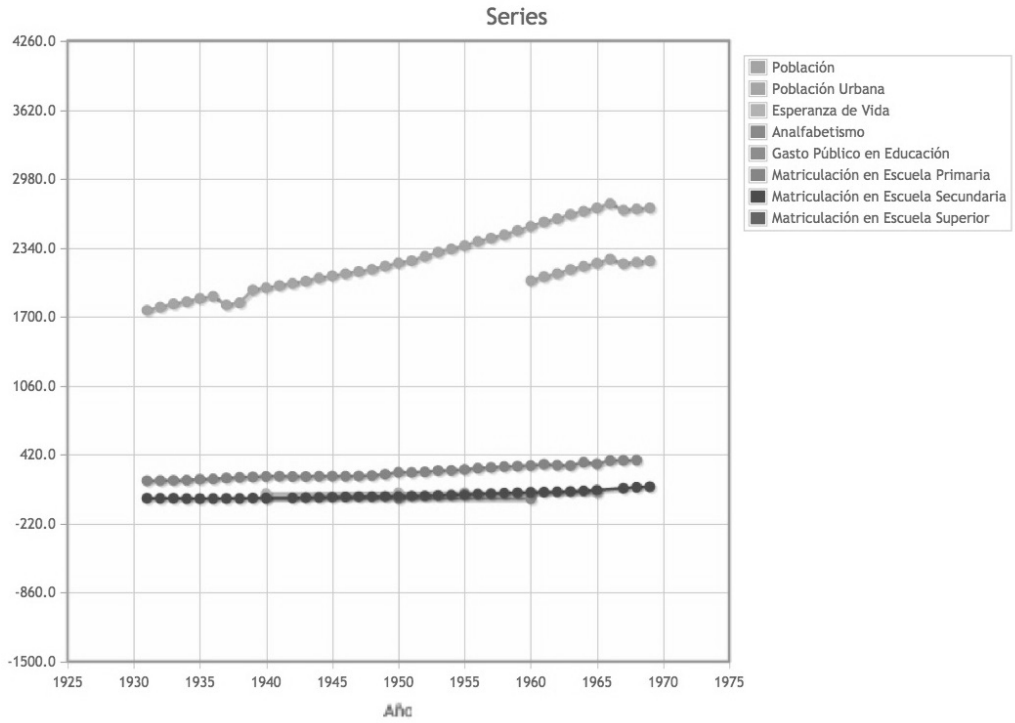


Table 4: Uruguay, School enrollments, 1900-1985, MOxLAD

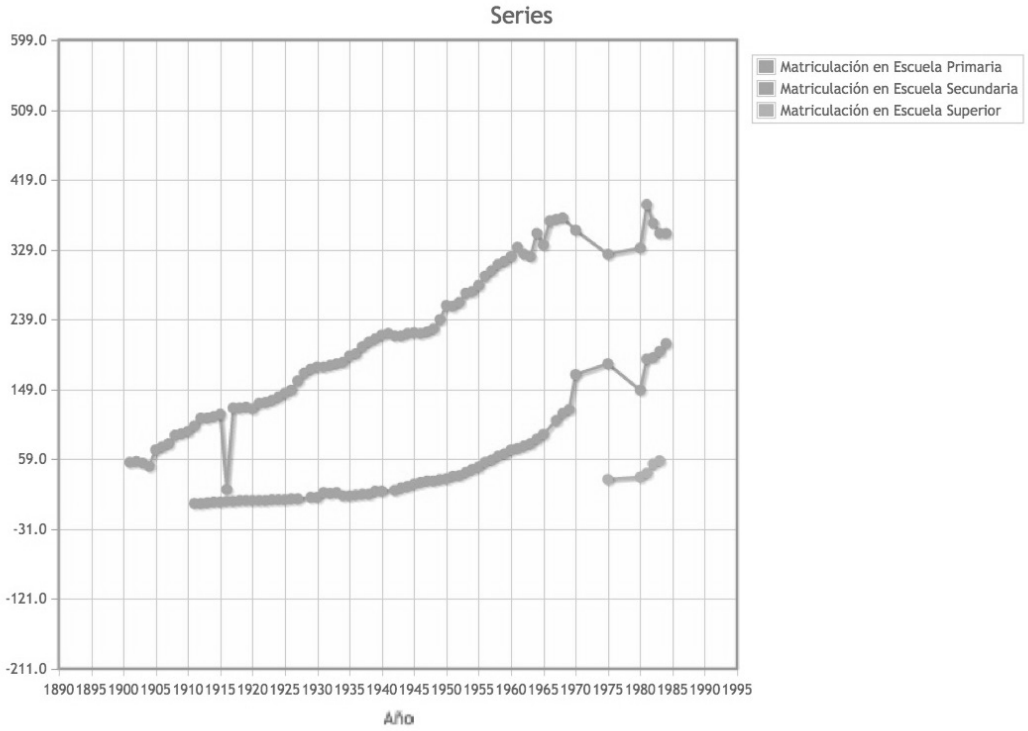


Table 5: Uruguay, Population and Education, 1900-1985, MOxLAD

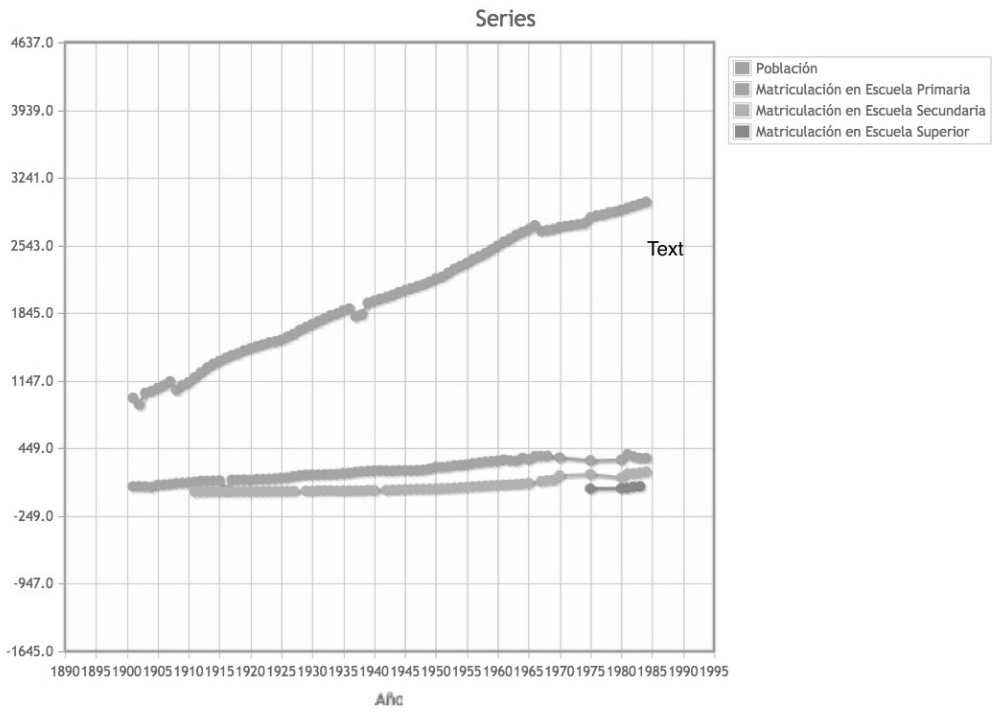


Table 6: *Jornada* publications and editors, 1933-1960

Date **Año** **Epoca** **No.**	**Redactor Responsable (RR) / Director** *** RR Dirección** **Dirigentes de Redacción**	**Redactores Adicionales**	**Dirección de Redacción**
1933 – 1 edición			
Nov 1933 Año 1 No. 1	Organo de la FEUU	–	18 de Julio 1313
1934 – 6 ediciones			
Enero 1934 Año 1 No. 2	Organo de la FEUU	–	18 de Julio 1313
Marzo 1934 Año 1 No. 3	Organo de la FEUU	–	18 de Julio 1313
Julio 1934 Año II No. 4	Organo de la FEUU	–	18 de Julio 1313
Agosto 1934 Año II No. 5	Organo de la FEUU	–	18 de Julio 1313
25 Agosto 1934 Año II No. 6	Organo de la FEUU	–	–
Nov. 1934 Año II No. 7	Organo de la FEUU	–	18 de Julio 1313
1935 – 1 edición			
Marzo 1935 Año III No. 1	FEUU	–	–
1936 – 2 ediciones			
Marzo 1936 –	FEUU	–	–
Junio 1936 Año IV No. 6	FEUU	–	–

Table 6: *Jornada* publications and editors, 1933-1960, cont'd

Date **Año** **Epoca** **No.**	**Redactor Responsable (RR) / Director** *** RR Dirección** **Dirigentes de Redacción**	**Redactores Adicionales**	**Dirección de Redacción**
1938 – 1 edición			
Set. 1938 Epoca IV	Washington Viñoles (RR) * Miguel del Corro 1435	–	San José 1068
1939 – 1 edición			
Junio 1939 Época V	Washington Viñoles (RR) * Miguel del Corro 1435	–	San José 1068
1941 – 6 ediciones			
Abril 1941 Epoca VI No. 1	Luis Villemur Tríay (RR) * Sucre 1143	O.J. Maggiolo Campos M. Rovira	San José 1068
1 Julio 1941 Epoca VI Boletin Especial	Luis Villemur Tríay (RR) * Sucre 1143	Juan José Martinotti Julio Herrera Vargas Ruben Correa Elio G. Austt (h.)	San José 1068
11 Julio 1941 Epoca VI No. 2	Luis Villemur Tríay (RR) * Sucre 1143	Helvecio Tabarez Ruben Correa Juan J. Martinotti Amilcar Vasconcellos Elio García Austt (h.) Elrain Rebollo Rivera Martorell	San José 1068
Julio 1941 Época VI Boletín Especial	Luis Villemur Tríay (RR) * Sucre 1143	Juan José Martinotti Julio Herrera Vargas Ruben Correa Elio G. Austt	San José 1068
23 Julio 1941 Época VI No. 3	–	–	–
Agosto 1941 Época VI No. 4	Luis Villemur Tríay (RR) * Sucre 1143	Ruben Correa Julio Herrera Vargas Rivera Martorell Helvecio Tabárez Juan J. Martinotti Elio García Austt (hijo Efraín Rebollo	San José 1068

Table 6: *Jornada* publications and editors, 1933-1960, cont'd

Date **Año** **Epoca** **No.**	**Redactor Responsable (RR) / Director** *** RR Dirección** **Dirigentes de Redacción**	**Redactores Adicionales**	**Dirección de Redacción**
1942 – 2 ediciones			
Marzo 1942 Época VI No. 6	Luis Villemur Tríay (RR) * Sucre 1143 Efraín Rebollo Ruben Correa	Helvecio Tabárez Juan J. Martinotti Rivera Martorell Julio Herrera Vargas Elio García Austt (h.)	San José 1068
Agosto 1942 Época VI No. 7	Efrain Rebollo (RR) * Paysandú 1565 Rubén Correa Juan José Martinotti	Helvecio Tabárez Elio Garcia Austt Rivera Martorell Luis Dubra Alfredo Keuyllan Administrator: A. Orozco	San José 1068
1944 – 1 edición			
Julio 1944 Época VII No. 8	Rubén Correa (RR) - 18 de Octubre 3403 Hugo Trimble Ariel Arsuaga		San José 1068
1949 – 2 ediciones			
Junio 1949 –	Teófilo A. Collazo Souto (RR) * 18 de Julio 1929, Ap. 2	Comité de redacción: Conrado Petit Miguel Angel Bordoli Efraín Margolis	–
Oct. 1949 –	Julio Rodríguez * Larrañaga 1383	Comisión de redacción: Julio Rodriguez Jorge Hernandez German Rama E. Guillermo O. Inzaurralde	Yí 1637

Table 6: *Jornada* publications and editors, 1933-1960, cont'd

Date **Año** **Epoca** **No.**	**Redactor Responsable (RR) / Director** *** RR Dirección** **Dirigentes de Redacción**	**Redactores Adicionales**	**Dirección de Redacción**
1950 – 5 ediciones			
Marzo 1950	Teófilo A. Collazo Souto (RR) * Oficial 3.0 4558	Comité de redacción: Teófilo A. Collazo Claude Galland Eduardo Bello Efraín Margolis Wolf Gutfreind Omar Perruni Juan Piñeyro Carlos M. Gutiérrez	Yí 1830
Oct. 1950	Efrain Margolis (RR) * Maldonado 867	Wolf Gutfreind Carlos M. Guitiérrez Danilo Lopez Efraín Margolis Julio Rodriguez J.C. Williman	Yí 1830
10 Oct. 1950	–	–	–
1 Nov. 1950	Efrain Margolis (RR) * Maldonado 867	Comisión Redactora permanente Consejo Federal de la FEUU	Yí 1830
10 Nov. 1950	–	–	–

Table 6: *Jornada* publications and editors, 1933-1960, cont'd

Date **Año** **Epoca** **No.**	**Redactor Responsable (RR) / Director** *** RR Dirección** **Dirigentes de Redacción**	**Redactores Adicionales**	**Dirección de Redacción**
1951 – 5 ediciones			
Mayo 1951	Efrain Margolis (RR) * Evo de Medina 1503, Ap. 4	Comisión Redactora permanente Consejo Federal de la FEUU Administrador: Henry Alonzo	Yí 1830
Agosto 1951	Carlos Pommerenck (RR) * R. Massini 2497, Ap. 4	Administrador: Henry Alonzo	–
Set. 1951 Número Especial	Carlos Pommerenck (RR) * R. Massini 2497, Ap. 4	Comité de Huelga	–
Oct. 1951 Número Especial	Carlos Pommerenck (RR) * R. Massini 2497, Ap. 4	Comité de Huelga	San José 1068
Nov. 1951 Número Ordinario	Carlos Pommerenck (RR) - R. Massini 2497, Ap. 4	Consejo Federal de FEUU	Isla de Flores 1580
1952 – 1 edición			
Agosto 1952	Saúl Cogan (RR) * Ciudadela 1269 Sergio Deus	José Claudio Williman Victorio Casartelli Mario Gulart Conrado Petit	Andes 1273

Table 6: *Jornada* publications and editors, 1933-1960, cont'd

Date **Año** **Epoca** **No.**	**Redactor Responsable (RR) / Director** *** RR Dirección** **Dirigentes de Redacción**	**Redactores Adicionales**	**Dirección de Redacción**
1953 – 9 ediciones			
13 Mayo 1953 Número Especial	Saúl Cogan (RR) * Ciudadela 1269	–	Andes 1273
26 Junio 1953 –	Saúl Cogan (RR) * Ciudadela 1269	–	Andes 1273
10 Set. 1953 Epoca IV No. 100	Ulises Graceras (Director)	Consejo Federal Ejecutivo de Prensa Admin: Jose Jorge Martinez	Andes 1273
17 Set. 1953 Epoca IV No. 101	Ulises Graceras (Director)	Consejo Federal Ejecutivo de Prensa Admin: Jose Jorge Martinez	Andes 1273
24 Set. 1953 Epoca IV No. 102	Ulises Graceras (Director)	Consejo Federal Ejecutivo de Prensa Admin: Jose Jorge Martinez	Andes 1273
1 Oct. 1953 Epoca IV No. 103	Ulises Graceras (Director)	Consejo Federal Ejecutivo de Prensa Admin: Jose Jorge Martinez	Andes 1273
8 Oct. 1953 Epoca IV No. 104	Ulises Graceras (Director)	Consejo Federal Ejecutivo de Prensa Admin: Jose Jorge Martinez	Andes 1273
15 Oct. 1953 Epoca IV No. 105	Ulises Graceras (Director)	Consejo Federal Ejecutivo de Prensa Admin: Jose Jorge Martinez	Andes 1273
23 Oct. 1953 Epoca IV No. 106	Ulises Graceras (Director)	Consejo Federal Ejecutivo de Prensa Admin: Jose Jorge Martinez	Andes 1273

Table 6: *Jornada* publications and editors, 1933-1960, cont'd

Date **Año** **Epoca** **No.**	**Redactor Responsable (RR) / Director** *** RR Dirección** **Dirigentes de Redacción**	**Redactores Adicionales**	**Dirección de Redacción**
1955 – 3 ediciones			
20 Abril 1955 Epoca V No. 107	Conrado M. Hoffman (Director)	Secretario de FEUU	Uruguay 1933
12 Agosto 1955 Año XXII Epoca V No. 108	Tabaré González Vázquez (Director)	–	Uruguay 1933
7 Oct. 1955 Número Especial	–	–	–
1956 – 2 ediciones			
17 Mayo 1956 Año XXIII No. 109	–	–	–
11 Oct. 1956 Año XXIII No. 110	–	–	–

Table 6: *Jornada* publications and editors, 1933-1960, cont'd

Date **Año** **Epoca** **No.**	**Redactor Responsable (RR) / Director** *** RR Dirección** **Dirigentes de Redacción**	**Redactores Adicionales**	**Dirección de Redacción**
1958 – 7 ediciones			
Junio 1958 Año XXV No. 111	Mario Wschebor (RR)	Comisión de Prensa y Propaganda de FEUU: Mario Wschebor Arturo Navarro Alfredo Errandonea	Uruguay 1933
Set. 1958 Año XXV No. 112 Número Especial	Mario Wschebor (RR)	Comité Federal de Lucha por la Ley Orgánica	–
Set. 1958 Año XXV No. 113 Número Especial	Hugo Dibarboure (RR)	Comité de la Huelga	–
23 Set. 1958 Año XXV No. 114	Hugo Dibarboure (RR)	Comité de la Huelga	–
4 Oct. 1958 –	Hugo Dibarboure (RR)	Comité de la Huelga	Uruguay 1933
14 Oct. 1958 Número Especial	Ulises Graceras (Director)	Administradores: Tabaré Gonzalez y Francisco Sanguinedo Sec. de Redacción: Roberto Oliver	Uruguay 1933
18 Oct. 1958 Número Especial	Ulises Graceras (Director)	Administradores: Tabaré Gonzalez y Francisco Sanguinedo Sec. de Redacción: Roberto Oliver	Uruguay 1933

Table 6: *Jornada* publications and editors, 1933-1960, cont'd

Date **Año** **Epoca** **No.**	**Redactor Responsable (RR) / Director** *** RR Dirección** **Dirigentes de Redacción**	**Redactores Adicionales**	**Dirección de Redacción**
1959 – 4 ediciones			
8 Abril 1959 Año XVIII No. 111	–	–	–
29 Abril 1959 Año XVIII No. 113	Roberto Oliver (Director) Ulises Graceras (Director)	Sec. de Redacción: Milton F. Garcia Administrador: Angel Gines	18 de Julio 2195
13 Mayo 1959 Año XVIII No. 114	–	–	–
22 Julio 1959 Año XVIII No. 115	Roberto Oliver (Director) Ulises Graceras (Director)	Sec. de Redacción: Milton F. Garcia	Uruguay 1933
1960 – 6 ediciones			
2 Marzo 1960 No. 116	Secretariado de la FEUU	–	Uruguay 1933
15 Marzo 1960 No. 117 Número Especial	Secretariado de la FEUU	–	–
4 Oct. 1960 No. 118	–	–	–
10 Oct. 1960 No. 119 Número Especial	–	–	–
18 Oct. 1960 Boletínes	–	–	–
26 Oct. 1960 No. 121	–	Secretario de la Prensa de FEUU	–

Chapter 2

Panorama Estudiantil: Building Transnational Solidarities in the Early Cold War

The roots of the Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay (Federation of Uruguayan University Students, FEUU) and transnational student collaborations in the 1940s and 50s date back to the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1908, Uruguayan university students hosted the first International American Student Congress, a meeting that brought together 113 delegates from seven countries in South America (with four more represented by proxy).[67] This conference marked an important moment in the development of Pan-American student solidarities as well as the beginnings of the university reform movement in Latin America.[68] It was also at this conference that delegates from the Chilean student federation popularized the concept of *la misión social* ("the social mission"), a belief that the university should actively work to give back to the community and extend the benefits of higher education into all reaches of society (an important feature of FEUU activism that I explore at more length in the following chapter).[69] Over the next twenty years, the International American Student Congress met nine more times: 1910 Buenos

[67] Attendees included students from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Proxies represented students from Cuba, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Honduras. Messages of sympathy and support were also sent from three universities in the United States. Mark Van Aken. "University Reform Before Córdoba." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* Vol. 51, No. 3 (1971): 447–62, 454.
[68] The movement's most famous historical marker occurred ten years later in 1918 in Córdoba, Argentina when students there won university autonomy. Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

Aires, Argentina; 1912 Lima, Peru; 1919 Lima, Peru; 1920 Santiago de Chile, Chile; 1921 D.F., México, 1922 Santiago de Chile, Chile; 1923 La Habana, Cuba; 1924 Bogotá, Colombia; 1926 Lima, Peru; 1929 D.F., México; 1931 D.F., México; 1937 Santiago de Chile, Chile; and1943 Santiago de Chile, Chile.[70] Although many of these congresses occurred before the FEUU's official founding in 1929, this history speaks to the early transnational activity of Latin American students, and marks a legacy of Uruguayan students participating in international exchanges with their Latin American peers.

WORLD WAR II

By the 1940s, the FEUU had become increasingly vocal about fighting dictatorship and authoritarian rule. They connected the recent experience of dictatorship in Uruguay with events in the international arena, expressing outrage at repressive governments around the world and offered support and safe-haven for students fleeing in exile.[71] This transnational activism coincided with a staunch anti-imperialist stance that blamed *yanqui* interventions for many of the problems in Latin

[70] "Congreso Latinoamericano de Estudiantes", *Tribuna Universitaria*, No. 1, 1955, accedida August 15, 2014, Publicaciones Periódicas del Uruguay, http://www.periodicas.edu.uy.

[71] The persecution of students in Spain drew particular interest in Uruguay, as the FEUU was outraged that the majority of the "democratic" governments in Europe continued to accept and validate General Francisco Franco's dictatorial reign in Spain. As a result, the FEUU warmly welcomed the growing community of exiled Spanish students in Uruguay. Mariano Arana, interview with the author, Montevideo, Uruguay, 2012.

America. This stance played an important role in the FEUU's approach to Pan-American student activism and led it to take a neutral position on World War II.

Since the FEUU was staunchly opposed to the dictatorial regimes of both Adolf Hitler in Germany and Benito Mussolini in Italy, an anti-Axis position on World War II may have seemed obvious. However, these same students were hesitant to throw their support to the Allied countries of England, France, and the United States, who had their own empires. In evaluating the two sides of the war, the FEUU described Hitler and Nazism as the worst force in the world, but argued that *yanqui* imperialism was a close second, especially with regards to U.S. interferences in Latin America.[72] The Federation was critical of the capitalist and imperialist structure that fueled the Allied forces, arguing that the war was exploiting the working class under the guise of maintaining peace.[73] Ultimately, the FEUU was concerned that regardless of who won the war, the aftermath would only produce more wars and perpetuate the very problems that had caused the war in the first place.[74] Following this logic, the FEUU refused to support either the Allied or the Axis forces.[75]

In 1943, the FEUU's neutral position on World War II became a point of contention with their international peers. Just as heads of state in Latin America were

---

[72] Van Aken, *Los militantes, 147.*
[73] The FEUU's relationship with workers is explored in Chapter Three of this dissertation.
[74] Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 152-54.
[75] The FEUU's anti-dictatorship and anti-totalitarian positions would prove to have some serious discrepancies in later years with the development of Tercerismo, supporting a variety of leaders that rejected capitalism and Stalinist-communism, but were also totalitarian in nature. Josip Broz Tito from Yugoslavia and Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt are two such examples.

being pressured by the United States to publicly align with the Allied forces in World War II, student federations throughout the region were also encouraged to issue formal statements of their support.[76] Although most heads of state in the region were refusing to officially engage in the war, many student federations were in favor of taking a stance on the issue. Beyond their individual federations, many students hoped to strengthen the impact of their declarations by issuing a joint statement with their peers from other Latin American countries. Student leaders from throughout the region discussed the matter at the thirteenth meeting of the *Congreso Internacional de Estudiantes Americanos* (International American Student Congress) in Santiago, Chile. Resolute in their position on the war, FEUU delegates pushed the Congress to issue a statement that denounced both Nazism and imperialism, and therefore refusing to take sides in the war. The FEUU argued that its position was part of a larger anti-imperialist platform that all their regional peers should support. As Latin Americans, the FEUU argued, they were all deeply affected by imperialist powers, especially the United States. Much to the FEUU's dismay, the majority of the federations rejected this idea and voted in favor of issuing a statement declaring support for the Allied forces. FEUU leaders abandoned the meeting in protest, accompanied by their Argentine counterparts from the Federation of Argentine University Students (FUA)

[76] Like many other Latin American nations, the Uruguayan government maintained a neutral stance for much of World War II. Eventually, like so many of their peers, they capitulated. On February 15, 1945, Uruguay officially joined the Allied forces and sent a small number of forces to support the French effort, just months before the war officially ended September 2, 1945.

and a delegation of students from Paraguay.[77]

This incident demonstrates that to these student federations, anti-imperialists trumped "liberalism" as a moral cause; a united stance against the United States mattered more than procedural democracy. This incident also illustrates the strong solidarities and ideological platforms shared by student federations in Uruguay, Argentina, and Paraguay during the 1940s (though it is unclear whether the delegates from Argentina and Paraguay were acting out of regional solidarity, shared ideology, or both).[78] What is clear, however, is that this Southern Cone solidarity (better stated in this instance as "Rioplatense" solidarity) was the reflection of years of close contact and collaboration, as students in all three countries had supported each other and worked together on issues of university reform.[79]

After returning home, the FEUU reported on its frustrations with the 1943 Congress in *Jornada*, with an article sarcastically titled "The honorable conference in Chile." It denounced the actions of the 1943 Congress in Chile as a form of "false Pan-Americanism," arguing that the students who were willing to support the United States and the Allied forces in World War II were ignoring the historical and

---

[77] Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 155-57.
[78] The decision of the Argentine delegation to join the Uruguayan students in walking out of the Congress meeting is understood here as reported by the FEUU themselves.
[79] In November 1933, for example, the FEUU published an anti-war statement issued by the National Convention of Students in Argentina. The statement argued that capitalism, fascism, and war were all inextricably linked, and that students had to unite in their fight against them. This re-publication was one of the FEUU's earliest acts of transnational solidarity, supporting their Argentine peers and their call for international cooperation with fellow student federations throughout Latin America and around the world. "Capitalismo, Fascismo y Guerra", *Jornada*, Noviembre 1933, UPPU, FHCE.

contemporary aggressions of these same U.S. forces against several Latin American countries.[80] The Federation further argued that the Student Congress' refusal to denounce dictatorial rule in Argentina, Paraguay, Peru, and Brazil was even more hypocritical, claiming that it was extremely problematic for student federations to claim to be anti-Nazi while simultaneously tolerating totalitarian governments within Latin America.[81] Furthermore, the article suggested that many of the federations at the 1943 Congress were selected by government officials and thus acted in ways that reflected the positions of their respective governments instead of advocating in the best interest of students.[82]

In an article in the same *Jornada* issue, "Together with the oppressed, against the exploiters," the FEUU leaders elaborated on their reasons for not supporting either side in World War II, proclaiming that their official position was to hope that the Axis forces were defeated but without the Allied forces 'winning' the war.[83] In other words, the students repeated the position they had presented at the 1943 Congress and clarified that they were staunchly anti-Nazi and wanted to defeat fascism, but not to benefit capitalist imperialism.

---

[80] "La Jornada Honrosa Chile", *Jornada*, July 1944, UPPU, FHCE.
[81] Ibid
[82] Ibid
[83] "Junto a los oprimidos, contra los explotadores", *Jornada,* July 1944, UPPU, FHCE. This statement was closely linked to their May Day statement, declaring a united front against imperialism and pledging student solidarity with workers around the world. This stance on World War II and the rationale that supported it would also form the base of the later *Tercerismo* platform as declared by the FEUU in 1950, a pre-cursor to the more well-known Non-Aligned Movement that got its start in the 1950s and 60s.

Despite criticism from other student federations at the Congress, and later from the mainstream press in Uruguay, the FEUU maintained this neutral stance throughout the war.[84] Student leaders explained that they were not willing to sell out the principles of the Uruguayan people by aligning themselves with the United States and refused to accept the idea that they should support the lesser evil of American imperialism in the fight against Nazi Germany. As part of this stance, the FEUU also opposed all elements of U.S. imperialism in the country, including foreign loans and attempts to build U.S. military bases on Uruguayan soil.[85]

The FEUU continued this practice of outspoken internationalism throughout the 1940s, expressing outrage at repressive governments and offering support to exiled and repressed students around the world. The FEUU denounced the acceptance of Franco in Spain by the majority of the "democratic" governments in Europe and the Federation actively supported a growing community of exiled, anti-fascist Spanish students in Uruguay.[86] The FEUU also continued to show concern for their neighbors in Argentina, with reports about student struggles becoming a frequent feature during the increasingly repressive measures of Juan Perón's government during the late 1940s and into the 1950s. The FEUU joined the Federation of Argentine University Students (FUA) and the Federation of Students at the University of Buenos Aires (FUBA) in decrying Perón's repeated infringements on the political autonomy of Argentine

---

[84] The FEUU regularly faced criticism from the press for their stance on World War II, arguing that they were taking a dangerous position by not supporting the Allied forces. For more on this see the chapter on Students and the Press in this dissertation.
[85] Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 155-57.
[86] Mariano Arana, interview with the author, Montevideo, Uruguay, 2012.

universities.[87] As with the 1943 Congress, the solidarity between these Rioplatense federations was not only a product of their geographic proximity, but part also of a shared vision for regional solidarities and anti-imperialist platforms, connections that were strengthened as exiled Argentinean students sought safe-haven in Montevideo.[88]

LATE 1940S

Despite their disappointment at the 1943 Congress, the FEUU continued to participate in student-based congresses throughout the 1940s.[89] Student conferences became very popular in Europe during the late 1940s, a direct product of the Cold War. Many of these conferences took shape following the end of the war in 1945 and took a clear stance on one side or the other of the capitalist/communist binary.[90] Though the FEUU had been increasingly vocal in their anti-imperialism activism and support of students around the world in the 1940s, it took the polarizing pressures of

---

[87] "La universidad Argentina avasallada por la dictadura", *Jornada*, 1 July 1944, UPPU, FHCE.

[88] Montevideo was a safe-haven for political exiles in the 1940s and 50s, especially those on the left. Marchesi, "Revolution beyond the Sierra Maestra", 535.

[89] Although there were other iterations of Latin American university congresses throughout the twentieth century, most of them were organized by (and for) the formal institution of the university. For example, the Congress of Latin American Universities and the Latin American Conference of University Extension and Cultural Exchange were organized and attended by institutional officials from different Latin American universities, but had very little focus on student politics or goals. Instead, these gatherings promoted formal institutional exchanges and worked to cement ties with international organizations like UNESCO and OAS.

[90] Although outside the scope of this paper, tracing the wider history of regional (including the Southern Cone, South America, Latin America, and the Americas as a whole) and international student congresses would make for an important historical inquiry, examining how Cold War tensions played out amongst students around the world and helping explain the various forms of student activism, solidarity-building, and alternative political platforms that flourished in this polarized climate.

World War II and the Cold War to transform their international awareness into a more coherent platform that encouraged the growth and expansion of transnational student solidarities.

The FEUU continued to network with student organizations around the world during the late 1940s and early 1950s, attending international student meetings sponsored by the anti-fascist (but also pro-communist) International Union of Students (IUS) based in Prague, as well as meetings of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), an organization formed in London in 1945 by youth from the allied countries committed to fighting fascism during WWII.[91] The FEUU also attended conferences hosted by the World Assembly of Youth (WAY), a non-communist organization formed in London in 1949 that promoted student activism and global understanding with cooperation from larger international bodies like the United Nations. The FEUU also attended meetings of the International Student Conference (ISC), organized by the Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students (COSEC) based in Denmark.[92] Though the FEUU made connections with many students in these exchanges, they were more cautious in their allegiance with the openly communist student groups and conferences.

---

[91] The WFDY founding members splintered shortly after the organization's founding and the headquarters moved to Budapest, Hungary. Thereafter, the organization was seen as being controlled by communist forces. The WFDY continues to exist today, hosting regular festivals for youth and students known the World Festival for Youth and Students. I happened upon one in Venezuela in 2006 and attended as an observer.

[92] Amongst other lasting legacies, COSEC created the International Student Identification Card (ISIC) in 1953 to promote international exchange. For more details on this and the different international student organizations based in Europe during the Cold War, see Joël Kotek, *Students and the Cold War*. (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996).

THE KOREAN WAR, TERCERISMO, AND TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM

At the same time that the FEUU's international student activism was increasing, its leadership was also continuing to develop a strong political platform. The Korean War presented another opportunity to speak out against imperialism and communism. The FEUU strongly opposed U.S. intervention in Korea but it was also critical of the Communists. Though the FEUU joined the majority of the Uruguayan public in opposing U.S. intervention in Korea, they did not share all of the same reasons. Students worried that any formal pacts with the U.S. would be a dangerous affiliation and that Uruguay should be careful in brokering any close relationship with such a prominent Cold War power.[93] Though crucial to supporting Uruguay's economy through wool exports to U.S. troops during the early 1950s, the Uruguayan public tended to agree with this but shied away from the FEUU cries of *yanqui* imperialism.

Thus, with a long history of anti-communist and anti-imperialist activism, the FEUU prepared a statement with a familiar neutral stance. To fully explain its position and highlight their argument about the risks of supporting the United States in this war, students dedicated the entire May 13, 1950 edition of *Jornada* to denouncing the imperialist practices of the United States and warning that Uruguay should be very careful in brokering close relationships with this Cold War power.[94] Wool exports to

---

[93] "El tratado de comercio y amistad uruguayo-estadounidense", *Jornada*, March 1950, UPPU, FHCE.
[94] Ibid.

U.S. troops during the early 1950s raised Uruguay's national income, but the Uruguayan public shared much if not all of the FEUU's critique of U.S. intervention in Korea.[95]

Later that same year, in October 1950 the FEUU published its first official declaration of *Tercerismo*. "Our Third Position" criticized the current "warmongering" propaganda of the Korean War and challenged the idea that democracy perfectly solved all social ills.[96] The FEUU further critiqued the political climate in Montevideo, the ideological battles waged in WWII, and declared that the triumph of the Allied forces in WW II was now being altered to engage the world in an attack on Stalinist Communism for the benefit of capitalist imperialism. Far from defending Communism, the students were arguing instead that the world had simply moved from one war of imperialists to another.[97] Part of a larger movement comprised of students and leftist intellectuals in Uruguay (and discussed at more length in the following chapter), there was no strict framework for what this "third option" might look like, but instead the suggestion of finding another option, of moving away from the binary of capitalism or communism.

---

[95] As with World War II, the mainstream press openly criticized the FEUU for their neutral stance on both World War II and the Korean War, arguing that the students' so-called "neutral opposition" was actually a failure to take a position on international problems. Students rejected this assertion and began to realize the need to label their movement more definitively. Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 156.

[96] "Nuestra Tercera Posición", *Jornada*, October 1950. UPPU, FHCE.

[97] Though they did not qualify in economic terms how the Soviet Union was "imperialist " even though they did not have a capitalist economy, the FEUU argued that the Soviet Union's foreign domination of European satellite countries and thus, their role in pushing the world towards a third global war, was evidence enough of their "imperialist" qualities.

The FEUU's Tercerismo platform was structured in such a way that it could be attractive to students from a variety of different political persuasions, ranging from anarchists to supporters of Uruguay's traditional political parties. [98] The FEUU connected the *Tercerismo* movement to the University-based *misión social* and international student activism in its statements against political totalitarianism, imperialism, and wars of any kind, defending "the people" as the ultimate, universal victims and advocating pacifism through neutrality.[99] They reiterated that the University should be at the service of the community and also made up of them. Thus, these students declared their desire to live in a democracy "not at the service of one class or group, but rather of the people", further declaring, "[w]ithout justice and freedom, there is no democracy."[100] The FEUU also declared a desire not to be part of the propaganda machines of capitalism and communism -- to be Tercerista was to exercise one's free thought and concern for justice in working towards a new reality. The FEUU contended that reporting on the realities of the world would convince people that the only real option was to create an alternative system.[101]

Following this thinking, the FEUU framed instances of student repression around the world as proof that the current system was insufficient. The Federation argued that the United Nations (UN) was only representative of governments and not

---

[98] For more on *Tercerismo*, see Aldo Solari's *El tercerismo en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: Arca, 1965, and Eduardo Rey Tristán's *La izquierda revolucionaria uruguaya, 1955-1973*, Madrid: CSIC; Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 2005.
[99] "Nuestra Tercera Posición", *Jornada*, October 1950, UPPU, FHCE.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

the populations themselves, a fact that was especially detrimental to students and workers. The FEUU declared Tercerismo was "an enormous hope for justice and liberty" for the "free determination" of the people around the world.[102] With a strategy that encouraged international awareness and consciousness-raising, the FEUU hoped to convince others to adopt a shared ideological stance. The FEUU were also quick to point out that *Tercerismo* was distinct from Juan Perón's more state-centered Third Way/*justicialismo* platform, even though both rejected a bilateral world. The students were counting on popular mobilizations within nations and colonies to end oppression, whereas Perón was positioning his administration as dominated by neither the First World (the US and its allies) nor the Second (the Soviet Union and its sphere of control).

DEVELOPING A POST-WAR AGENDA

Amidst an increasingly tense global climate and with their newly established Tercerismo stance, the FEUU eagerly embraced revitalized efforts at growing Pan-American student activism in the 1950s. In 1952, FEUU delegates traveled to Rio de Janeiro to attend the inaugural meeting of the Congress of Inter-American Students. Their hopes were quickly dashed as it became clear that the right-wing leadership of the Brazilian National Student Union (UNE) who organized the Congress did not share the same political leanings of the more leftist FEUU.[103] The Uruguayan federation complained that the meeting in Brazil was organized with an agenda that

[102] Ibid.
[103] Langland, *Speaking of Flowers*, 54.

was opposed by many of the student federations in attendance.[104] Because of this, the FEUU argued, the 1952 Congress pushed Latin American student federations even farther apart than they were before.

Following its disappointment in Brazil, the FEUU became even more committed to developing regional solidarities with their peers, fostering international awareness by reporting on student activism and struggles in *Jornada* with a new section called "Students in the World".[105] Debuting on 26 June 1953, "Students in the World" reported on student movements and events throughout the Americas, Europe, Africa, and Asia in one to three sentences. While student struggles in neighboring Argentina continued to hold a prominent place in the FEUU newspaper, with longer and more regular articles, "Students in the World" gave voice to student activism from other parts of Latin America, as well as more geographically distant locales like Japan, Germany, South Africa, Vienna, Scotland, Sweden, China and the United States.

Later that same year, the FEUU made a more explicit case for why Uruguayan university students should maintain regular contact with students in Europe. "Meaning and Importance of international student exchange: A FEUU Commission Studies the Problem" encouraged Uruguayan students to visit Europe and proclaimed their commitment to increasing international student exchanges.[106] The FEUU argued that these exchanges would contribute to the FEUU's larger goals while also building

---

[104] "Congreso Latinoamericano de Estudiantes," *Jornada*, 20 April 1955, UPPU, FHCE.
[105] "Estudiantes en el mundo", *Jornada*, 26 June 1953, UPPU, FHCE.
[106] "Significado y Trascendencia del Intercambio Estudiantil Internacional - una comisión de FEUU Estudia el Problema," *Jornada*, 24 Septiembre 1953, UPPU, FHCE.

bonds with students around the world. They argued that Uruguayan students should work to emulate what students in Europe had already accomplished - a vast network of student exchanges throughout the continent and around the world. The FEUU explained that these exchanges were an essential part of fostering a better world:

> We should promote, as mentioned paragraphs earlier, a mutual understanding of students and youth in the world, using travel to foment personal relationships as a base of future friendships between communities…. In Europe, student exchange is one of the most important ways that educational institutions achieve international understanding.[107]

By explaining the success of the European model, the FEUU sought to convince its members that emulating this model was a worthwhile use of the Federation's resources, financial and otherwise. They pointed to a brochure hoping that "student unionism" would grow stronger with better contacts across the Atlantic.[108] The article further detailed how many European student federations had designated special offices dedicated to these international exchanges, helping to secure discounts on flights, hotels, and low cost home-stay accommodations.

The FEUU also pointed out that the majority of the student body at the University of the Republic had very little experience traveling outside the country; if nothing else, the FEUU was clearly looking to break out of a provincial isolation and

---

[107] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "Debemos propulsar, como decíamos párrafos antes, un mutuo conocimiento de estudiantes y jóvenes en general del mundo para lo cual es importante viajar y trabar la relación personal, base de amistad futura, entre pueblos... En Europa, uno de los medios más importantes de las instituciones dedicadas a la educación para la comprensión internacional, es el intercambio estudiantil."

[108] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "Recordamos un folleto de la Unión Nacional fundamenta el sindicalismo estudiantil en base a actividades prácticas que benefician directa y personalmente a cada estudiante. Dentro de esa definición, lógicamente, tuvo un lugar destacado la obtención de facilidades para viajes."

interact with different cultures. There were no specifics on who would pay for this travel, but one can assume that the students hoped their own government would help support these travels, offering unique travel opportunities to its leaders while also making the case that it would improve the attitudes and opportunities of the entire student body.

> [T]he object of such cooperation should naturally be to stimulate the development of friendship among students worldwide, facilitating the free exchange of ideas and personal contacts not only between the official representatives of the students, but also with the widest possible base. The fundamental goal would be the creation of practical activities such as tourist or work camps, international seminars, etc.[109]

Driving the FEUU's point home about the benefits and importance of international exchange with Europe, the center-pages of this 1953 edition were devoted to student activism in Europe, including the third installment in a series written by FEUU militant Mario Gulart titled "The Possibilities of the European Student Movement." Gulart explained that before the 1940s, student exchanges in Europe were quite rare, but that the international crisis of World War II had encouraged new exchanges and a need to find different ways to think about the future. The European youth, Gulart reported, "live much more intensely than us, and with a greater sense of anguish, all the tremendous problems that confront our generation,"

---

[109] "Estudiantes en el Mundo," *Jornada*, 24 September 1953, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "Dice la misma, que el objeto de la tal cooperación debe ser naturalmente al estimular el desarrollo de la amistad entre los estudiantes del mundo entero, facilitando el libre cambio de ideas y contactos personales no solamente entre los representantes oficiales de los estudiantes, sino sobre las bases más amplias posibles. La condición fundamental sería la creación de vastos campos de actividades prácticas comprendiendo campos turísticos o de trabajo, seminarios internacionales, etc."

explaining how the rise of communism in Europe had pushed student groups there to re-define their agendas to include issues of national and international politics, traditionally seen as outside the realm of student activism.[110] Using the European story of political fractures and the dangers of a communist takeover of the International Union of Students (IUS) as a warning, Gulart made a strong case for increasing the FEUU's role in the IUS and also made a case for creating a more effective international exchange between students in Europe and Latin America. The FEUU had sent delegates to the association's recent conference in Copenhagen. At the end of the conference, the third official meeting of the International Student Conference (ISC), the FEUU was asked to write a report on the role of students in society for the next congress.[111] Gulart explained that this responsibility was an important honor not just for the conference delegates and the FEUU, but also for the entire Uruguayan student population. The FEUU had also recently decided to create a commission devoted to improving international student exchanges.

Meanwhile, in 1954 the FEUU continued to follow international events beyond the student sphere. The 1954 overthrow of leftist President Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala, for example, garnered so much attention and anti-U.S. sentiment that the FEUU dedicated the entire August edition of *Jornada* to the topic.[112]

---

[110] "Las Posibilidades del Movimiento Estudiantil Europeo," *Jornada*, 24 September 1953, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "La juventud europea...vive mucho más intensamente que nosotros, y con una sensación de angustia mayor, toda la tremenda problemática que a nuestra generación toca hacer frente."
[111] *El papel del estudiante en la sociedad,* FEUU, 1958, UPPU, FHCE.
[112] *Jornada*, August 14 1954, UPPU, FHCE.

THE SOUTHERN CONE AND THE FIRST CONGRESS OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDENTS (CLAE)

In December 1954, committed to creating a progressive regional student alliance, the FEUU invited like-minded peers from Argentina and Paraguay to discuss the possibilities for a new Latin American Student conference. The FEUU welcomed delegates from the *Federación Universitaria Argentina* (Federation of Argentine University Students, FUA) and the recently formed *Federación Universitaria de Paraguay* (Federation of Paraguayan University Students, FUP) to a meeting in Montevideo. This group of student federations from the Southern Cone agreed that they shared the goals of strengthening solidarities and support amongst Latin American students. They created an office of information in Montevideo that would gather and distribute updates on students from all over Latin America to help students learn about each other's struggles and coordinate responses, including statements of solidarity and offering political exile to students as needed. Thus, beyond the awareness of their peers' struggles, these Southern Cone students sought to play an integral role in strengthening transnational student networks to protect the rights and welfare of students and societies throughout Latin America. The coalition sent out the following invitation to student federations throughout Latin America:

> Student representatives from Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina, we believe we share an aspiration in common with the rest of our Latin American peers, to know each other more closely, to study our realities and to make contact between our organizations. The enormous distances between our countries, and the dictatorial regimes that subjugate many of them - among other reasons - prevent this aspiration from becoming concrete. Decades ago we knew each other better.

> Today, we sometimes don't even have the addresses of Federations in neighboring countries. Accepting this poor reality, and unwilling to mask it, we undertake the task to summon a meeting of representatives of the Latin American federations aimed at taking the first steps to a closer relationship between the students of our countries. The doctrinal aspirations of the inviting university federations – Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina - are wide, but we bestow upon this Congress a modest task. It is essential that we speak, to inform each other about the general situation of each country, before arguing about it, and before issuing statements requiring or attempting to impose our way of thinking, to make space for getting to know each other and create mutual understanding. Latin America in this regard lags behind, not only as compared to more developed continents, but also with regard to areas that are just moving into the global political arena, such as Asia and Africa…[113]

To further clarify any possible confusion about the purpose and format of the proposed 1955 Congress, the organizing federations explicitly stated their intentions:

> …[T] he fundamental purpose of the Congress would be to:
> a) achieve mutual understanding of the National Student Federations of Latin America b) study the social, economic and political conditions

---

[113] "Congreso Latinoamericano de Estudiantes," *Jornada*, 20 April 1955, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "Los representantes estudiantiles del Paraguay, Uruguay, y Argentina, creemos que es una aspiración que compartimos en común con el resto de los compañeros latinoamericanos, conocernos de cerca, estudiar nuestras realidades y tomar contacto entre nuestras organizaciones. Las enormes distancias que separan nuestros países y los regímenes dictatoriales que sojuzgan a muchos de ellos - entre otras razones - impiden que esta aspiración se concrete. Hace décadas atrás nos conocíamos mejor. Hoy no poseemos, a veces, ni siquiera las direcciones de las Federaciones de países vecinos. Aceptando esta realidad tan pobre y sin deseos de disimularla, es que emprendemos la tarea de citar a una reunión de representantes de las federaciones latinoamericanos tendiente a iniciar los primeros pasos de una mayor aproximación de los estudiantes de nuestros países. Las aspiraciones doctrinarias de las federaciones universitarias invitantes - Paraguay, Uruguay, y Argentina - son amplias, pero otorgamos a este congreso una tarea si se quiere modesta. Es preciso hablar, informarse de la situación general de cada país, antes de polemizar saber, y antes de emitir declaraciones que obliguen o antes de tratar de imponer nuestra manera de pensar, dar lugar al mutuo conocerse y comprenderse. Latinoamérica en este aspecto está en atraso no sólo con respecto a los continentes más desarrollados, sino con respecto a áreas que recién avanzan al escenario político mundial, como Asia y África…"

> of the Latin American republics and their relationships with their respective universities, and c) explore the possibilities for international university student collaboration in Latin America.[114]

The fact that these three student federations from Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina were working collectively to create a Latin American student congress demonstrates the steady development of regional student solidarities in the Southern Cone and Latin America more broadly during the 1950s.

In June 1955, the planning and preparation paid off as Montevideo played host to 36 delegates from 13 countries at the first official meeting of the *Congreso Latino-Americano de Estudiantes* (Congress of Latin American Students, CLAE).[115] At the beginning of the ten-day conference, each federation presented a prepared statement to the Congress that characterized the students, the university, and society in their respective countries. A number of statements emphatically declared a commitment to a growing Latin American student solidarity and many of the student delegates saw themselves playing a crucial role in improving Latin American societies. In Jorge Arellano's opening remarks to the congress, for example, the Ecuadorian delegate

---

[114] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "…serían fines fundamentales del Congreso: a) lograr un conocimiento recíproco de las Federaciones Nacionales de Latino-América; b) estudiar las condiciones sociales, económicas y políticas de las repúblicas latinoamericanas y su relación con sus respectivas Universidades, y c) estudiar las posibilidades de colaboración internacional estudiantil universitaria en América Latina."

[115] Student federations represented the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panamá, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Delegate observers from Brazil, Chile, and Mexico were also present. "Resoluciones del Congreso Latinoamericano de Estudiantes de Montevideo", Congreso Latino-Americano de Estudiantes, 1955, UPPU, FHCE.

emphasized the importance of safeguarding the civil liberties of students and universities in Latin America:

> The question of civil liberties should be a primary concern of this Congress. No student problem, no specific demand for Education Reform or material benefits is separate from this great problem. At a time when university autonomy is being violated in many countries and when the rulers want to have control of this great Latin American conquest that is autonomy, the students, along with teachers and the people should leave to defend it, maintain it, or regain it.[116]

In addition to framing university autonomy as an issue that should be central to public concern, Arellano further argued that solidarity amongst Latin American students could play a key role in developing a larger international student movement.

> A united Latin America can improve international relations between students. We can be an important factor that forces other student organizations to put aside their differences and agree on the problems that unite us, and help improve the conditions in which many students live in many countries.[117]

The students were committed to the idea of connecting as students, to sharing their concerns and ideas about how to improve the university experience, how to support their international peers in struggles for autonomy and student voice in university administration, all the while growing the idea of the university as a force for positive

---

[116] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "La cuestión de las libertades públicas creemos debe ser una preocupación principal de este Congreso. Ningún problema estudiantil, ninguna demanda concreta por la Reforma de la Educación o por beneficios materiales, están separados de este gran problema. En momentos en que la Autonomía Universitaria es violada en diversos países y en que se quiere poner en manos de los gobernantes esa gran conquista Latinoamericana que es la autonomía, los estudiantes, junto a profesores y pueblos debemos salir a defenderla, mantenerla o reconquistarla."

[117] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "Latinoamérica unida puede servir mejor a las relaciones internacionales entre estudiantes. Podemos ser un importantísimo factor - que contribuye u obligue a que otras organizaciones estudiantiles, dejen a un lado sus diferencias, se pongan de acuerdo con los problemas que los unen y contribuyan a mejorar las condiciones en que viven los estudiantes en muchos países."

social change. Although some might argue that they were too focused on issues outside of the university classroom and should have been more focused on scholarly exchanges, it is clear that the FEUU and its peers in Paraguay and Argentina felt differently. Indeed, it was the FEUU's belief that students should be a central component of public discourse that pushed them to build transnational solidarities. The Federation was committed to imagining the university as an institution that was larger than the courses and exams it housed, and that it was up to the students themselves to open up a dialogue about social issues.

Domingo Carlevaro, a FEUU delegate and one of the founding CLAE organizers, echoed these sentiments by reiterating that CLAE organizers had sought to promote Latin American student solidarity for exactly these reasons. He shared his hope that the 1955 CLAE would, at the very least, serve as proof to future students that those in the past knew the great importance of building solidarity and were doing their best to create and maintain it. With a nod towards past and present regional solidarities and the great possibilities of transnational student activism, Carlevaro further explained to attendees that the CLAE's opening date of 15 June was purposely selected to coincide with the thirty-seventh anniversary of the 1918 Córdoba strike that led to Argentina's historic university reforms.[118]

CLAE I highlighted a number of student problems of universal concern to the various student federations in attendance, including university reform, university autonomy, the importance of free education, and the need for popular universities and

[118] Ibid

literacy campaigns for general populations. Delegates collectively noted the important role of international student networks in achieving their individual federation goals, while also emphasizing the different ways that student solidarities could be used to improve the quality of life for students around the world. Of particular interest in this regard was the decision not to create a special office that would be responsible for distributing news about student groups in Latin America. Instead, the Congress attendees decided to rotate this responsibility amongst participating federations, designating a single federation to be in charge of receiving and distributing information for the period in between Congresses.[119] This strategy emphasized the need of every student federation to facilitate the information-gathering process by sending regular updates and reports to the designated federation. These actions, the Congress further resolved, would help publicize expressions of solidarity for students fighting against dictatorship and those living in exile, thereby strengthening Latin America's international student alliances and networks.

In recalling the overall tone and resolutions of the conference, the FEUU's report on this inaugural meeting of the CLAE highlighted the importance of growing Latin American students' international awareness and helping to create multiple solidarities: a Latin American student solidarity front, a "developing world" solidarity with students in Africa and Asia, and the growth of a global student voice.[120] As part

[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.

of the CLAE I resolutions, the participating student federations aimed to hold regular meetings of the CLAE in the years that followed.[121]

As the 1950s progressed, the FEUU continued to promote the development of international ties. A key example of the FEUU's many international influences (and their European gaze), was the 1955 translation and reprinting of French historian Maurice Baumont's *La Faillite de la paix*: *1918-1939*.[122] This selection of *The Fracture of Peace*, as translated by FEUU member and Architecture student Mariano Arana, was distributed as a stand-alone publication. Baumont's social, cultural, political, and economic history of the interwar period emphasized the importance of global solidarities and the unavoidable interconnectedness of the world's communities. The international community, Baumont argued, could not be divorced from domestic politics. Further, he argued that fascism and communism were much more similar than they were different and cautioned of the dangers of both. The piece was clearly aligned with the FEUU's wider goals and ideologies of the 1950s and helped reinforce the FEUU's *Tercerismo* framework (discussed in more detail in Chapter Two of this dissertation). This re-publication of Baumont's work can thus be seen both as a confirmation of the FEUU's ideological stance as well as an effort to

---

[121] This goal was realized in 1957 with CLAE II in La Plata, Argentina and in 1959 with CLAE III in Caracas, Venezuela. The FEUU did not recognize this as an official CLAE meeting, claiming it was a sham orchestrated by the U.S. government to fracture and infiltrate the student movement in Latin America. According to student militants, the real CLAE IV took place in 1966 in La Habana, Cuba, the same year that the organization officially changed it's name to *Organización Continental Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Estudiantes* (Organization of Continental Latin American and Caribbean Students, OCLAE).

[122] "El Fracaso de la paz," Centro de Estudiantes de Arquitectura, Oficina del libro, Publicación No. 2, 1955. UPPU, FHCE.

continue developing the consciousness of the Uruguayan student body by exposing them to international scholarship.

Later that same year, the FEUU introduced yet another tool in their consciousness-raising efforts. The second issue of *Tribuna Universitaria* in 1956 added a section titled "*Panorama Estudiantil"* ("Student Panorama") that featured updates from students around the world. Similar to *Jornada*'s "Students in the World" section, "Student Panorama" publicized student issues and struggles from around the world, including Latin America, Europe, Africa, and the United States. The number of communiqués varied from one edition to the next, averaging four to five reports from different student organizations. Significantly longer than the one to three sentence summaries of *Jornada*'s "Students in the World", "Student Panorama" posts were one to three pages long, and often the direct re-printing of manifestos from student federations. As a testament to the FEUU's commitment to a broad international scope, the 1956 edition of "*Panorama Estudiantil*" highlighted student activities from nearby Southern Cone countries like Paraguay, but also from more distant places like Panamá, Spain, and Algeria.

Although the FEUU was experiencing its own internal struggles with publication schedules in the 1950s, *Tribuna Universitaria* continued to produce stories that addressed "issues of general interest" for the student body, including stories about Latin American student activism and news from student federations in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Similar to the 1940s, Argentina's student struggles under Perón were closely monitored, followed by increasingly troubling reports of academic censorship

and repression in Paraguay under General Alfredo Stroessner's regime. The era immediately following WW II had seemed to open public space in Latin America, including within universities, for a discussion of the future. By the mid-1950s, that space was closing. Other topics of interest included electoral fraud and student repression in Guatemala following the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz and political corruption in Panamá. These Latin American updates were joined by examples from Europe including Franco's continued repression of Spanish students and reports on the lead up to the Polish October in 1956. In Africa, the FEUU highlighted anti-colonial struggles in Algeria, student efforts to fight racial apartheid in South Africa, and celebratory updates from the student contingent of the Sudanese independence movement. In Asia, the focus was on anti-nuclear student activism in Japan following the use of atomic bombs in World War II. The United States also had a few mentions, most notably a bulletin on the struggles of racial integration at universities in the South. With so many of these issues taking place far away from home, the FEUU's main method of support was to publicize the students' issues and communicate to its peers that the Federation stood with them in solidarity.[123]

Reports like those mentioned in these examples continued to grace the pages of *Tribuna Universitaria* until its final printing in 1962. "Student Panorama" was a key example of the FEUU's efforts to make reporting on international student activism a

[123] Although this may seem insignificant, student activists across generations have commented that following moments of great struggle and repression, receiving notes of support from fellow students around the world can bring comfort and solace. Benjamin Arditti, a student activist in Paraguay during the 1980s, confirmed this sentiment in 2013 during in an informal interview with the author in La Jolla, CA.

regular part of Uruguayan student discourse, a practice that sought to raise the consciousness of the student body and build momentum for bringing about larger social changes in Uruguay and beyond.

THE ROLE OF THE STUDENT IN SOCIETY

The mid-1950s was also a crucial period in which the FEUU redefined their goals as students and members of the educated class. Fascism, in the formal sense, had ended and so the students had to adjust to a rapidly changing international environment in which European empires were in their death throes while authoritarian regimes were finding new footholds in Latin America. While publicizing news from students around the world for their Uruguayan readership, the FEUU also continued to grow solidarities and promote international understanding by participating in student congresses throughout Europe. At the conclusion of the third meeting of the ISC in 1953 Copenhagen, the FEUU had been asked to write a report on the role of students in society.[124] The report was to be presented a year later in 1954 at the fourth ISC meeting in Istanbul.[125] Despite a two-year delay, the ISC warmly received the FEUU's contributions when they finally submitted their report in 1956. Titled "The Role of the Student in Society," the FEUU report emphasized the need for accurately defining and understanding just what it meant to be a "student." Their definition

---

[124] *El papel del estudiante en la sociedad,* FEUU, 1958, UPPU, FHCE.
[125] The FEUU actually completed the task for the sixth CIE conference in 1956 Ceylán.

included a distinct class and generational lens, stating very clearly that the majority of university students around the world were youth who belonged to the middle or upper class, thus holding a privileged position in relationship to the rest of society.[126] As such, the report argued, students had a moral obligation to use their position to improve society:

> The student, in effect, as a member of society in which he exists, cannot remain indifferent to attempts to undermine justice and freedom, without betraying himself and impeding "the development of a trade union consciousness that seeks general interests."[127]

The FEUU further argued that students should assert a more active role in society, aligning themselves with the working class to combat the colonial and imperial power structures that dominated the world and perpetuated inequalities. Among the concrete suggestions, the report advocated for university reform, the defense of university autonomy, and growing international student solidarities.

Meanwhile, the FEUU's relationship with their Paraguayan neighbors to the north also continued to grow. By the late 1950s there were enough Paraguayan students fleeing the dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner (1954-89) who were living as exiles in Montevideo and Buenos Aires that they had formed their own organizations and collaborated with the FUA and the FEUU on strategies for resistance and public

---

[126] Ibid.

[127] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "El estudiante, en efecto, como miembro de la sociedad en que actúa, no puede permanecer indiferente frente a cualquier intento que vaya en desmedro de la justicia y la libertad, sin traicionarse a sí mismo y sin impedir "el desarrollo de una conciencia sindical que busque el interés general"."

awareness campaigns.[128] The FEUU stood in solidarity with the Paraguayan students and spoke out against Stroessner's repression of students and university officials by traveling to Paraguay to document conditions, publicizing Paraguayan student manifestos and statements, and offering monetary and logistical support to the exiled Paraguayan students living and studying in the region.

CONCLUSION

The FEUU's transnational student activism was built on the group's founding commitment to the social mission of the university and a growing anti-imperialist and anti-dictator stance. A mix of positive and negative experiences at international student congresses in the 1940s and 50s played an important role in pushing the federation to increase their transnational activism and Latin American student solidarities. The FEUU worked to grow these transnational ties in their publications by providing regular updates on the activities of students from throughout Latin America and around the world. While the FEUU paid a lot of attention to student concerns within Latin America, especially their Southern Cone neighbors in Argentina and Paraguay, these Uruguayan students were also deeply invested in developments outside of the region. With a particular affinity for Europe, the FEUU maintained a global gaze that showcased a diverse array of issues and geographies and reports. By

[128] The organizations based in Montevideo and Buenos Aires respectively were the Centro de Estudiantes Universitarios Paraguayos en el Uruguay (CEUPU) and the Centro de Estudiantes Paraguayos en la Argentina (CEPA). "Congreso de estudiantes paraguayos en el extranjero", FEUU, Secretario de Asuntos Politico-Sociales, 15 October 1960, UPPU, FHCE, Universidad de la República, Montevideo, Uruguay.

simultaneously pursuing these two avenues of transnational activism, the FEUU made international student concerns and activism a regular part of student discourse in the 1940s and 50s. This model prioritized students as instrumental to the transformation of society at-large, in both the domestic and global sense. Ultimately, the FEUU hoped that these practices would raise the consciousness of the student body and help foment social change in Uruguay and beyond.

I argue that the FEUU's transnational activism was part of an effort to re-imagine and re-define the position of youth and students in society as members of a larger global student public, and that the FEUU used solidarity as a tool for creating a positive feedback loop to support their efforts to foment positive social change. They saw themselves as important participants in public discourse both at home and abroad and wanted to be treated as full members of a broader global public sphere. The FEUU's transnational awareness and activism was further validated as they watched how students around the world were often the first group to be silenced or persecuted for political or ideological differences. This knowledge served to reinforce their position that students should be at the forefront of social reform. The FEUU's transnational activism was part of a feedback loop that served to simultaneously conscientize the student activists, similar to the Paulo Freire's stance in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, while also reinforcing the idea that international solidarities were crucial for achieving the ultimate end-goal of improving society.[129]

[129] Freire, Paolo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.

Chapter 3

The FEUU and *la misión social*: Worker Solidarity and Tercerismo

While it was building transnational student networks during the 1940s and 50s, the *Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay* (FEUU) also weighed in on domestic social, economic, and political issues, doing so in three important and interrelated ways. It proudly proclaimed its commitment to improving society as part of *la misión social (*the social mission)—part of a wider university reform movement that sought to extend the benefits of the university into the community. The outreach demanded by l*a misión social* prompted the students to expand their relationships with workers, by which they were further radicalized, and the Federation subsequently became outspoken on labor issues. Finally, deeply influenced by the growing tensions of the Cold War, the FEUU collaborated with leftist intellectuals to develop and popularize *Tercerismo* (the Third Way), a multi-pronged critique of free market capitalism, Stalinist communism, and imperialism.

The domestic and international activism of the FEUU thus became intertwined during the 1940s and 1950s, merging *la misión social* with a wider socio-political critique that led them to envision possibilities for a new kind of society. Although the FEUU does not make the link between *la misión social* and worker activism explicit in every moment of student-worker solidarity, nor in its statements about *Tercerismo*, there is a continuous and shared emphasis in all three of these stages about how students (and the university as an institution) should work to improve society. The

language in these three distinct but related positions is very similar. Rather than address *la misión social* in great detail, this chapter looks at the FEUU's trajectory from *la misión social* to student-worker solidarity, and later to *Tercerismo* and university reform. Each of the aforementioned elements informed the others. For example, as the FEUU saw it, workers were central to *Tercerismo*, serving both as a source of inspiration and as examples of the community that stood to benefit the most from a shift in the social order. This chapter examines the FEUU's adoption of these ideas, and their intertwining in the organization's political stance and activism, particularly highlighting the central position of *la misión social* in the Federation's efforts to build relationships with workers and its contributions to *Tercerismo* as a political platform.

La Misión Social

The concept of *la misión social* was popularized in 1908 at the First International Congress of American Students, at the behest of Chilean students who brought the platform to the Congress in Montevideo (as discussed in the previous chapter). At this Congress, students from across Latin America agreed with the Chilean students that universities should help improve society by extending the benefits of higher education into the community and by building stronger relationships

with the working class.[130] In the 1920s, a small group of medical and law students in Uruguay worked to enact this concept through the Ariel Center, a precursor to the FEUU, forming coalitions with unions and creating programs to bring medical services to underserved populations.[131] This emphasis on *la misión social* later became a key component of the FEUU's founding statement in 1929 and remained central to the Federation's identity during the 1940s and 50s.

In Chile, meanwhile, *la misión social* involved several related elements in social uplift that later became a platform for social justice, leading people into the Socialist Party of the 1930s. Reformers were disgusted with the working class' living conditions and demanded that the overcrowding and fetid conditions created by few sources of water and few toilets be changed. They also correctly related labor problems to poor wages and dangerous working conditions – the latter were often as important or more important than wages. Finally, they campaigned for an effort of moral and social hygiene, an effort to address venereal disease, the high infant mortality rate, alcoholism, and the general low level of cultural awareness among the working poor. Behind this deeply reformist attitude lay an implied threat that with change, the country itself would sink further into degradation – that such changes were part of social progress – and that it might sink into revolution.

---

[130] Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre became of the most famous advocates for *la misión social*, starting *Universidades Populares* for workers in his native Peru, and later founding the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA).
[131] Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 142.

In Uruguay, as discussed in Chapter 1, the steady growth of the middle class in the first half of the twentieth century meant that by the 1940s the class divide in the country was not nearly as stark as in other parts of Latin America, creating a different social dynamic than its peers in Chile who had turned *la misión social* into a political organizing tool. Along with this growth of middle class society, Battllismo, President José Battlle y Ordóñez's social program (and political philosophy), had created an expectation that the state would take care of every sector of the population: students, workers, and the elderly included. Nevertheless, the university itself remained a privileged space that was accessible only to those who could afford to forgo full time employment in order to attend classes. This meant that University of the Republic was comprised of mostly middle and upper-middle class white male students, and that even through the university population in Uruguay more accurately reflected the country's population than many other universities in Latin America, it was still out of reach for many. To address this problem, the FEUU advocated the importance of *la misión social* to share the benefits of the university with the entire community. They sought to achieve this in many ways, including by collaborating with workers and labor unions to secure fair wages and working conditions. The FEUU saw all of this as steps towards the larger goal of improving society.

THE FEUU'S EARLY STUDENT-WORKER SOLIDARITY

As early as 1934, the FEUU was publicizing news about worker struggles in its

newspaper *Jornada* and linking it to *la misión social* of the university.[132] Though the Federation was particularly invested in building alliances with workers in Uruguay, its activism was not confined to national borders, and it also published statements about the importance of solidarity between students and workers around the world.[133] As President Gabriel Terra steadily increased censorship and repressive measures against activists on the left in the 1930s, however, such messages became infrequent, as *Jornada* publications became more sporadic and the limited editions that did make it to press mostly focused on decrying the dictatorship.[134]

But in the late 1930s and early 1940s, with the transition back to democracy underway, the FEUU renewed its public commitment to workers and their struggles, both at home and abroad.[135] This support for workers was reciprocated, as unions issued statements of support for student struggles, attended student demonstrations,

---

[132] "La función social de la Universidad", *Jornada*, Julio de 1934; "Los compañeros de Medicina se solidarizan con los obreros gráficos", *Jornada*, Agosto 25 de 1934, UPPU, FHCE.
[133] "Solidaridad internacional de estudiantes y obreros", *Jornada*, Agosto 25 de 1934, UPPU, FHCE.
[134] "Capitalismo, Fascismo y Guerra", "La Dictadura y los Trabajadores," *Jornada,* November 1933; "Dictaduras y democracia", "La dictadura frente la Universidad", *Jornada*, January 1934; "Abajo La Intervención!", "La doble censura", *Jornada,* March 1934; "La intervención de la Universidad", "Los estudiantes y la Dictadura", "Así surgió Hitler", *Jornada,* July 1934; "La dictadura, la Oposición y los Estudiantes", "Censura, presidio, deportación:", "Bajo la bota militar", "Universidad y Poder", "El fracaso de las negociaciones anglo uruguayas", "Manifiesto de la Federación", "Acción Estudiantil", *Jornada,* August 1934; "Dos años de dictadura", *Jornada*, Marzo de 1935; "La Universidad Frente a la Dictadura", "Tres Años de Dictadura", "A los Estudiantes y al Pueblo, FEUU", "Luchemos Por La Libertad de H.P. Agosti", *Jornada,* Marzo de 1936; "El Peligro Fascista", "La Amenaza de Otra Intervención," *Jornada,* Junio de 1936, UPPU, FHCE.
[135] "Obreros y estudiantes se unen", *Jornada*, Junio de 1939; "La Dignísima actitud del pueblo de Durazno", *Jornada*, Julio de 1941; "La FEUU Apoya a los Obreros de la Kasdorf en Huelga", *Jornada*, Julio 23 de 1941; UPPU, FHCE.

and as in the case of the Newspaper Vendor's Union in 1942, sent donations to support the FEUU.[136] As students continued to build alliances with workers during the 1940s, the Federation merged its already strong anti-imperialist stance with a growing international consciousness that would continue to make workers and their struggles an important part of the FEUU platform throughout the 1940s and 50s.

WORLD WAR II + MAY DAY

As the 1940s progressed, the FEUU's political engagement broadened further and its leadership merged the Federation's commitment to workers with an increasingly radical position on international politics. Though not officially affiliated with any political party in Uruguay, the leaders of the FEUU in the mid-1940s self-identified as anarchist and Trotskyite.[137] In 1944, these students lobbied members of the FEUU's governing body, the Consejo Federal, to issue a solidarity statement in honor of international workers day, May 1. Some of the more moderate and conservative members of the leadership (as well as many of the Communist students) raised objections to publishing the proposed statement, expressing concern that the statement contained too much radical language and would politicize the Federation. Despite these objections, the more anarchist and Trotskyite leaders won out.[138] The statement declared solidarity with workers of the world and pledged support in the fight to create a better society, while also highlighting the inherent flaws and

[136] "Los canillitas con los estudiantes", *Jornada*, Agosto de 1942, UPPU, FHCE.
[137] Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 142; Van Aken, "The Radicalization of the Uruguayan Student Movement", 115.
[138] Ibid.

inequalities of the capitalist system. The statement further warned that communism, totalitarianism, and imperialism were also detrimental to the populations who lived under them.[139]

> We students are with the workers of the world, trusting in them to generate a freer and more righteous humanity, raising the consciousness of the national proletariat in the struggle for fundamental rights. WE FIGHT TOGETHER.[140]

By speaking for the whole student body in this manifesto, the FEUU leadership helped shape a public narrative about "student opinion" with regards to workers, simultaneously asserting the Federation's message as representative of the entire student population and also declaring that students were connected to important issues beyond the confines of the university.

In the same 1944 edition of *Jornada*, the FEUU dedicated eight further articles to worker-related causes and to clarifying the Federation's political position.[141] Together, these pieces defended the right of workers to strike, drew parallels between the repression of workers and students, and connected the Federation's allegiance with workers to the global context of World War II. "Together With The Oppressed,

---

[139] Ibid.

[140] "El Estudiantado a los Trabajadores," *Jornada*, July 1944, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "Los estudiantes estamos junto a los trabajadores del mundo, confiando en su rol generador de una nueva humanidad más libre y justiciera, planteando a la conciencia del proletariado nacional, su posición de lucha por reivindicaciones fundamentales. LUCHEMOS UNIDOS."

[141] "Junto con los Oprimidos, Contra los Explotadores", "En Democrático Pronuniciamento, el Estudiantado Apoya el Manifiesto Lanzado el 1.o de Mayo", "La F.E.U.U. y el Movimiento Obrero", "Las represiones al movimiento Obrero y Estudiantil", "Quienes nos Apoyan", "El Derecho a la Huelga", "Clara Posición Antifascista", "Nuestro Trostkysmo", "Los Stalinistas", *Jornada*, Julio de 1944, UPPU, FHCE.

Against The Exploiters," for example, explained the FEUU's reasons for not supporting either side in the war by identifying both sides as imperialists. The FEUU critiqued the basic capitalist structure at the root of World War II and argued that the "oppressed" (i.e. the working class) on both sides would continue to be exploited under the guise of "maintaining peace" and that whoever was the winner of the conflict would continue to suppress workers and unions for years to come.[142]

As these examples highlight, the FEUU was increasingly vocal about the plight of workers in the years leading up to its 1950 *Tercerismo* declaration. Many of the Federation's publications made reference to workers struggles in conjunction with the evils of imperialism, showing that domestic and international issues were becoming increasingly intertwined in the student movement. Though initially intending to share the resources of the university with the community to help improve society (a top-down approach), the students were deeply impacted by their experiences and their politics reflected this.[143] By connecting with workers and their struggles first hand, students were making connections between poverty and the wider structural forces of capitalist society, at home and abroad.

---

[142] This was the same position that FEUU delegates had stood their ground on at the 1943 American Student Congress in Chile, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Van Aken, *Los Militantes,* 152-54.

[143] As Mark Van Aken notes, "[t]he inevitable effect of the collaboration with leaders in the workers movement and parties on the left was the radicalization of student opinion." Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, pg 143. Original Spanish text: "Al asumir la FEUU esta "misión social", condujo al movimiento estudiantil una relación estrecha con los sindicatos obreros y otras organizaciones proletarias. El efecto inevitable de esa colaboración con los dirigentes obreros y los partidos de izquierda fue la radicalización de la opinión estudiantil."

Simultaneously, the FEUU was also speaking out against other political and economic systems that oppressed communities around the world, classifying fascism, totalitarianism, communism, as well as capitalism, as systems that were detrimental to the many people who lived under them. It was this combination of community-based critique and international activism that led the FEUU to adopt a controversial neutral opposition stance on World War II and later helped develop the Tercerismo platform.

The FEUU's student-worker relationship continued to grow in the late 1940s, with advocacy and support flowing to and from both sides. One of the FEUU's most high profile *misión social* campaigns advocated for direct university authority over Hospital de las Clínicas as a way for the university and its medical students to be directly linked to helping the community. Much of this information was directed to the student *centro* in the faculty of medicine and passed on to the FEUU. True to their predecessors in the Ariel Center, the *centro* in the medical school was so committed to *la misión social* and student-worker solidarities that it had an entire committee dedicated to the cause: The Committee of Trade Union Affairs of the Association of Medical Students.[144] An article in the June 1949 edition of *Jornada* titled "Worker Support to the Student Movement" relayed information from the Committee, reporting that medical students had visited a number of different workers unions to discuss the importance of the hospital being managed by the medical school directly, instead of subject to the whims of politicians and the government.[145] The FEUU supported the

[144] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "La Comisión de Asuntos Sindicales de la Asociación de Estudiantes de Medicina."
[145] "Apoyo obrero a la lucha estudiantil", *Jornada*, Junio de 1949, UPPU, FHCE.

Committee's position on the matter and reported in the article that letters from workers supporting the hospital project (and related university autonomy movement) had poured in from a number of unions in Uruguay, including bankers, bus drivers, dock workers, and cinematographers.[146] The message sent by the Union of Cinematographic Employees in Uruguay clearly endorsed this issue as part of the FEUU's larger fight for university autonomy: "Hospital services in political hands means the perpetuation of a despicable state, against which we must do everything possible to prevent."[147] The National Bus Workers Organization reiterated the FEUU's *misión social* stance, framing the issue as a concern for the welfare of *el pueblo*: "At the same time, we extend our ardent fraternal greetings to the concern of this Institution in defense of the health of the people ..."[148]

1950 TERCERISMO EMERGES

Though the FEUU was increasingly vocal in its support for workers and anti-imperialism politics during the 1940s, it was the polarizing pressures of the ensuing Cold War that transformed their "neutral position" against World War II into the more

---

[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "'Los servicios hospitalarios en manos políticas significan la perpetuación de un estado de cosas repudiable, contra el cual debemos hacer lo posible por reaccionar.' - De la Unión de Empleados Cinematográficos del Uruguay."
[148] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "'A la vez, hacemos llegar nuestro fervoroso saludo fraternal por la inquietud de esa Institución en defensa de la salud del pueblo…' - De la Organización Obrera Nacional del Omnibus."

formal *Tercera Posición* (Third Position). Simply stated, *Tercerismo* was dedicated to ideas about alternative social orders outside of capitalism and communism. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Federation joined a broader movement on the left in creating *Tercerismo* (The Third Way) as a response to the increasingly polar binaries of the Cold War. *Tercerismo* was the product of a Uruguayan-based transnational leftist coalition of intellectuals, activists, and students. For the FEUU, *Tercerismo* was a natural outgrowth of *la misión social*, an ideological stance that expanded a concern for the well being of society.

The FEUU's article "Nuestra Tercera Posición" ("Our Third Position") declared its position on behalf of *el pueblo*– the people, the workers –, issuing an unequivocal statement against political totalitarianism, imperialism, and wars of any kind. It argued that the societal systems in place did not serve the population as a whole and that the FEUU sought a system of democracy that was "not at the service of one class or group, but rather of the people," declaring, "[w]ithout justice and freedom, there is no democracy."[149] The FEUU explained that *Tercerismo* was "an enormous hope for justice and liberty" for the "free determination" of the people around the world. It also reiterated that the University should be at the service of the community and also made up of them.[150]

By its very name, *Tercerismo* suggested a rejection of the Cold War binary and the creation of a different economic, social, and political structure. *Tercerismo* supporters claimed that capitalism was insufficient, reproducing economic inequalities

[149] "Nuestra Tercera Posición", *Jornada*, October 1950, UPPU, FHCE.
[150] Ibid.

and focusing on the success of the individual to the detriment of the community. While much of this anti-capitalist critique was aimed at the United States, there was also an element of self-reflection that emphasized the shortcomings of the Uruguayan state. If countries like theirs with historically strong economies, responsible social programs, and politically stable democracies were experiencing stark inequalities, the capitalist system was clearly not providing the great quality of life it was supposed to. But, they argued, communism did not hold the answer either. While the idea of a communal, classless system without wage labor spoke to the failures of capitalism, *Terceristas* argued that the realities of communism fell short on providing for all of society as well. The examples of Stalin era repressions, widespread hunger, and forced labor in the Soviet Union were proof that the communist model did not improve the quality of life for the majority as it had claimed.

Although the adoption of *Tercerismo* was a declaration that resonated strongly and subsequently informed the FEUU's approach to activism, the Federation did not dwell on its theory in print. In fact, this was part of the FEUU's official *Tercerismo* stance. Rather than publishing numerous articles directly promoting their *Tercerismo* stance (after the issue of Jornada which initially addressed it, of course), the Federation declared that it would continue to focus on the problems of the working class.[151] Publicizing local labor struggles and working conditions throughout the country and around the world, they argued, would naturally lead people to support Tercerismo and the search for a new system. Though actively promoting *Tercerismo*

[151] Ibid.

in its stance on domestic and international issues, the FEUU kept its pledge not to propagandize the platform in its publications. Instead, the Federation ran stories that supported *Tercerismo* without explicitly naming it. Many of these stories highlighted worker struggles and student-worker solidarity in Uruguay.[152] When *Tercerismo* was named, as happened more frequently in *Jornada* publications in 1953, the articles declared an intention to clarify misunderstandings or to announce public debates about *Tercerismo* as a platform.[153] Most of these instances were during the FEUU's two-month experiment of publishing weekly editions of Jornada, which resulted in much more frequent editions than in years past.[154] During these two months the FEUU's commitment to workers remained strong, with frequent headlines that celebrated student-worker solidarity and participating in coalition strikes alongside workers.[155]

The FEUU's focus on increasing student-worker allegiances took shape in the same October 1950 edition of *Jornada* in which it announced its Third Way position.

---

[152] "Unidad Obrero Estudiantil", *Jornada*, Marzo de 1950; "El Movimiento de los Estudiantes Industriales", *Jornada*, Setiembre de 1951; "La Universidad, el Pueblo, y los Políticos", "Nuestra Lucha Ante el afán de Confundir nuestro movimiento", *Jornada*, Octubre de 1951; "Por la Libertad Sindical" Triunfo del Proletariado", *Jornada*, Noviembre de 1951; "Proseguimos La Huelga", *Jornada*, 2.o Quincena de Octubre de 1951, UPPU, FHCE.

[153] "Nuestra Tercera posición "ayuda reciproca", "Aclarando posiciones: Nuestra lucha contra el comunismo", *Jornada*, Agosto de 1952; "Ciclo de conferencias y debates sobre Tercera posición", *Jornada*, 10 de Setiembre de 1953; "Debates sobre Tercera posición", *Jornada*, 1 de Octubre de 1953; "Exitos comienzos de los debates", *Jornada*, 8 de Octubre de 1953 "Participan distintas tendencias en el ciclo sobre 3a. posición", Curso exitoso reviste el ciclo de debates de FEUU",; "La coexistencia pacifica y la Tercera posición", *Jornada*, 1960, UPPU, FHCE.

[154] For more on this two-month experiment with weekly editions of *Jornada*, published under the direction of Ulises Graceras, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

[155] "Exitosamente se cumplió el paro Obrero-Estudiantil", "Anteayer hubo paro general estudiantil", "Vibrante Demostración Solidaria", *Jornada*, 17 de Setiembre de 1953, UPPU, FHCE.

The article titled "About Worker Problems" clearly connected *la misión social*, workers, and *Tercerismo* in the Federation's vision for social change:

> An important element of the 3rd position of the FEUU… is the student attitude about worker problems. Solidarity with the dispossessed classes of our society, the object of capitalist exploitation, has been the traditional slogan of the student movement, as clearly established by the cry of the university reform, Córdoba 1918. Therefore, in the face of conflicts between capital and labor the FEUU has been together with the labor unions fighting for economic demands and improvements in working conditions.[156]

Another article in the issue further illustrated the link between *Tercerismo* and student-worker solidarity, arguing for an increase in transnational activism. Penned by representatives from the student center at the medical school, "Medicina ante el problema de Corea" ("Medicine in the face of the problem of Korea") took an anti-imperialist stance against the Korean War, decrying both the capitalist and communist forces. In it, the students declared a commitment to *la misión social* and allegiance with workers around the world:

> The Association of Medical Students reaffirms its social political position. The repudiation of these two imperialist powers should be kept intact. Korea's struggle merely notes the justness of our position: a people wrapped in a bloody fight for reasons completely unrelated to their interests; their men needlessly bleeding for a war that they neither wanted nor provoked and which, win one side or the other, all they will get is slavery, hunger and subhuman status… Our mission is not on the

---

[156] "Sobre Problemas Obreros," *Jornada,* October 1950. UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "Como elemento importante dentro de la 3a posición de la F.E.U.U., a que se hace referencia en forma más extensa en la primera página de JORNADA, está la actitud estudiantil ante los problemas obreros. La solidaridad con las clases desposeídas de nuestra sociedad, objeto de la explotación capitalista, ha sido la tradicional consigna del movimiento estudiantil, ya claramente establecida por el grito de la Reforma Universitaria, Córdoba 1918. Por eso, ante los conflictos entre capital y trabajo ha estado la FEUU junto a los sindicatos obreros que luchan por reivindicaciones económicas y mejoras en las condiciones de trabajo."

> side of the Americans nor of the Russians but on the side of the people, of all people, which ultimately are one: our mission is on the side of the workers and our ideal is on the side of social revolution.[157]

Indeed, the FEUU's *Tercerismo* stance by definition implied a robust anti-communist position, in balance to its anti-capitalist one, and it was careful to maintain this position publicly and to avoid being too closely associated with avowedly communist organizations. The Federation worked to forge most of its student-worker alliances with labor unions that were not directly affiliated with the Communist party.[158] It also publicly expressed concern that communist activists were trying to infiltrate the FEUU leadership to advance the goals of the Soviet Union instead of remaining dedicated to Uruguay and democracy.[159]

In 1951, the FEUU was also fighting its own battles against government intervention in the universities. Politicians were pushing for constitutional reforms that would limit the autonomy of the university by appointing a committee of representatives from both parties to run the university. The FEUU called for a general strike in September of that year and were successful both in drawing support from

---

[157] "Medicina ante el problema de Corea", *Jornada,* October 1950. UPPU, FHCE, Universidad de la República, Uruguay. Original Spanish text: "La Asociación de Estudiantes de Medicina refirma su posición político social. El repudio a los dos imperialismos debe mantenerse íntegramente. La lucha de Corea no hace más que señalar lo justo de nuestra posición: un pueblo envuelto en cruenta lucha por motivos completamente ajenos a sus intereses; sus hombres desangrándose inútilmente por una guerra que ni provocaron ni desearon y de la cuál, gane uno o el otro, lo único que van a obtener es la esclavitud, el hambre y la infra condición humana…. Nuestra misión no está del lado de los yanquis ni del lado de los rusos sino del lado del pueblo, de todos los pueblos, que, a la postre constituyen uno solo: nuestra misión está del lado de los obreros y nuestro ideal está del lado de la revolución social."
[158] Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, pg 143-44.
[159] "Los stalinistas", *Jornada*, July 1944, UPPU, FHCE.

workers unions for the strike and in defeating the proposal. A month later, the FEUU were able to return the favor when they joined workers at ANCAP (the state run petroleum company) in October 1951 in what is regarded as one of the largest solidarity strikes in the country's history.[160] That same year, the FEUU also supported organizing workers at a subsidiary of Firestone as well as in the rural beet industry.[161]

The FEUU particularly sought to strengthen its relationships with unions outside the communist-oriented *Unión General de Trabajadores* (General Workers Union, UGT), often pushing other unions to use radical tactics that were frowned upon by communist organizers.[162] Pro-worker and anti-communist stories continued to fill the pages of *Jornada* as the FEUU accused communist students of trying to sabotage the Federation's *Tercerismo* platform. Although the FEUU acknowledged the right of communist students to organize and express their views, they complained that doing so at official FEUU events caused confusion about the Federation's clear anti-communist stance. As evidence, the FEUU offered that communist students' had added Bolshevik signs to the Federation's flyers about an impending student strike.[163] Such displays, the article argued, gravely misrepresented the political platform of the Federation.

In 1956, in the midst of continuing to publicize worker struggles generally, the FEUU drew attention to the suppression of workers in the Hungarian revolution as the

---

[160] The strike lasted over 3 weeks.
[161] Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 143-44.
[162] Ibid.
[163] "Traición Comunista al Movimiento Estudiantil", *Jornada*, Octubre de 1951, UPPU, FHCE.

ultimate example that Soviet-style communism was just as bad for workers as capitalism.[164] Communist students defended the Soviet Union against the FEUU's anti-imperialist campaign, insisting that a communist government could not be an imperialist power because it was not based on a capitalist economy.[165] The FEUU refuted this, describing it as a weak argument and pointing out that irrespective of being anti-capitalist, the Soviet Union was simply exploiting communities in the name of Communism.[166] After this, almost every time the FEUU spoke out against the U.S. it also referenced 1956 and loudly condemned the Soviet Union.[167]

Yet it wasn't only capitalism and communism that came in for student criticism. The FEUU's *Tercerismo* position also necessitated a public condemnation of dictatorships in Latin America, which it framed as additional examples of worker struggles since it was they who often suffered the harshest repressions. Thus, the FEUU saw dictatorships, in Latin America and beyond, as further evidence for the need to consider another way of organizing society. As detailed in the previous chapter, the FEUU stood in solidarity with its neighbors in Paraguay, who were struggling under the dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner, as well as its Argentine counterparts as they struggled to maintain academic and intellectual freedom under President Juan Perón. Without mentioning the platform directly, the Federation nevertheless pushed the *Tercerismo* position in these instances by framing struggles

---

[164] "Ciclo de conferencias sobre Problemas Sindicales", *Jornada*, 17 de Mayo de 1956; "Sobre los sucesos de Poznan – Los Comunistas atacan a FEUU", *Jornada*, 11 de Octubre de 1956, UPPU, FHCE.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Van Aken, *Los Militantes,* 161.

against authoritarian rule as part of the fight for a more just society: "Sooner or later, the people will be the owners of their destiny."[168] The FEUU also condemned the military rule of Francisco Franco in Spain and Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, as well as a collection of dictators whom government officials in Uruguay and the United States (and the mainstream press in both places) touted as "defenders of democracy," including Marcos Pérez Jiménez in Venezuela, Manuel Odría in Peru, Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, and Juan Fulgencio Batista in Cuba.[169] The Federation included photographs of the aforementioned dictators and issued a strong critique of the United States for its support of these regimes and the farce of claiming that any of them was helping to safeguard democracy.[170] The Federation also spoke out against the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala, and the repression in the years that followed.[171]

1958 Workers and University Reform

The student-worker relationship was reciprocal, with workers supporting student strikes and the FEUU's fight to achieve university reform and political

---

[168] "Actitud del comunismo y del Peronismo", *Jornada*, May 1953, UPPU, FHCE.
[169] "Galería de 'Defensores de la Democracia", "Estudiantes en el Mundo", *Jornada*, 26 de Junio de 1953; "Ultimas Actividades de FEUU", *Jornada*, 20 de Abril de 1955; "El movimiento sindical español se rebela contra Franco", *Jornada,* 17 de Mayo de 1956*;* "Y… se hizo justicia*", Jornada*, 11 de Octubre de 1956, UPPU, FHCE.
[170] The United States government's stance on these issues is no surprise to any student or scholar of Latin America; as in other parts of the world, its interest in preserving democracy vs. denouncing authoritarian rule is more often influenced by political, economic, and ideological factors instead of a strict definition of democracy. For more on the FEUU's opinion of the Uruguayan and U.S. government, see the Chapter Four of this dissertation.
[171] "Noticias de FEUU", *Jornada*, 11 de Octubre de 1956; La FEUU ante los nuevos crímenes en Guatemala, folleto, 1956, UPPU, FHCE.

autonomy throughout the 1950s. In 1958, after nearly a decade of renewed bargaining, revisions, and student-led strikes, the University of the Republic and its constituents successfully achieved university reform. The victory, however, required some serious compromises. The FEUU was so committed to *la misión social* and the inclusion of workers in the university that it had wanted to create a seat for labor union representatives in the "new university" administration. Along with other concessions in the negotiations with university officials, the FEUU was forced to remove the worker representation from the final version of the university reform measure that passed in 1958.[172]

Continuing to believe in the importance of the student-worker relationship, however, and acknowledging the tremendous role workers had played in achieving university reform, FEUU leaders turned their focus inward in 1958 to evaluate the strength of the student-worker relationship in Uruguay and did so in a manner that clearly demonstrates just how much value they placed on the relationship. They proposed a study to evaluate the Federation's presence in the labor movement and make suggestions for future strategies and collaborations.[173] Secretary General Alfredo Errandonea and Secretary of Union Relations, Hugo Cores, issued the findings of the study later that same year in a report titled "General Report on Union Relations with the FEUU." The report stated, overall, that although the idea of solidarity between students and workers was thriving, the actual relationships between

---

[172] Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 110.
[173] Informe General Sobre Relaciones Sindicales de la Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay, UPPU, FHCE; Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 143-44.

the two groups were lacking in numbers and overall strength.[174] This was not to say that the student-worker relationship did not exist: Errandonea and Cores listed a number of FEUU actions that had demonstrated solidarity in recent years, including a number of worker-focused articles in the Federation's publications, student participation in union strike actions, and FEUU donations to select labor unions. While acknowledging these efforts, the report argued that the majority of this work was being done by only a handful of people within the FEUU, prompting Errandonea and Cores to ask: "Is this what the FEUU means by Worker-Student Unity?"[175] They criticized the FEUU's past and current activism and argued that the Federation's approach to worker-student alliances should be re-worked:

> The Student-Worker Unity is not a simple charitable contemplation of the condition of the dispossessed, it is a profoundly revolutionary attitude located in the liberation struggle of the proletariat. It is an attitude of condemning capitalist society, it is the struggle against it to build "on its ruins" an "internationalist, free, fair and classless" society. It is the adoption of a means for the final fight: the unionist.[176]

---

[174] Ante-Proyecto de Informe de Politica Sindical de FEUU, 20 June 1958, UPPU, FHCE.

[175] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "Es esto lo que la FEUU entiende por Unidad Obrero-Estudiantil?"

[176] Informe General Sobre Relaciones Sindicales de la Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay, 20 June 1958, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "La Unidad Obrero-Estudiantil no es una simple contemplación caritativa de la condición de los desposeídos, es una actitud profundamente revolucionaria de ubicación en la lucha emancipadora del proletariado. Es una actitud de condena a la sociedad capitalista, es la lucha contra ella para construir "sobre sus ruinas" una sociedad "internacionalista, libre, justa y sin clases". Es la adopción de un medio para dicha lucha finalista: el sindicalista."

To really improve the student-worker relationship and make progress towards the larger goal of building a more just society, Errandonea and Cores argued for an approach that more fully incorporated the spirit of *la misión social*.

> [W]e must take the University to the unionist, make it serve him, in an effective university extension; but we must also obtain, in that relationship, the reciprocal influence that throws the University into social reality… Overcoming the limitation of the Worker-Student Solidarity declaration-ist verbiage and of workers at rallies speaking on behalf of a student population who ignores them, we must give effect to the reformist statement: "The University by and for the people".[177]

This call to revise and improve the student-worker relationship was a way for students (and the university) to extend themselves in service while also seeking to make the concerns of the workers a more central part of the university's dialogue.

In order for this relationship to be beneficial for both sides, Errandonea and Cores argued that the Federation had to move beyond the current paradigm of solidarity, beyond supporting from afar and publishing statements in their newspapers, and into a more active relationship that truly merged the university and the community. To make this shift, the authors suggested increased student interactions with workers by attending labor union meetings and pledging to find ways to use the students' technical, cultural, artistic expertise in service to the labor movement.[178] Although this

---

[177] Ante-Proyecto de Informe de Politica Sindical de FEUU, 20 June 1958, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "[D]ebemos llevar la Universidad al sindicato, hacerle que le sirva, en una eficaz extensión universitaria; pero debemos también obtener, en esa relación, la influencia recíproca que implique un volcarse de la Universidad en la realidad social. Superando la limitación de la solidaridad Obrero-Estudiantil de verborragia declaracionista y de obreros en los mitines que hablan en nombre de un estudiantado que lo ignora, debemos darle vigencia al enunciado reformista: "la Universidad del y para [sic] el pueblo"."

[178] Ibid.

1958 report lamented the FEUU's current relationship with workers and unions in Uruguay, the report also carried a spirit of optimism for the possibilities of future collaborations, with articles in *Jornada* echoing these sentiments.[179]

CONCLUSION

Much like the Industrial Worker's of the World motto "an injury to one is an injury to all," the FEUU of the 1940s and 50s saw improvements for workers as improvements for society. They believed in the core principles of *la misión social*, of extending the benefits of the university into the community, such as being able to corral mass support for a strike or protest. As can be seen in their publications, the FEUU viewed these student-worker relationships as key to bringing about social revolution and creating a more just society. Improved salaries and working conditions were important, but the students' larger goal was a re-structuring of society to better serve the needs of the entire population.

These student-worker solidarities had a deep impact on the FEUU and its politics and played a key role in developing the wider *Tercerismo* movement. As students made connections between the poor labor conditions of their compatriots and the failures of the capitalist system, the FEUU's perspectives on the economy, politics, and society became further radicalized. These domestic reflections merged with a growing international awareness and students stood up on behalf of workers around the world in both capitalist and communist societies. This solidarity with workers also

[179] "La unidad obrero-estudiantil es ya una realidad en Marcha", *Jornada*, 7 de Octubre 1958, UPPU, FHCE.

became part of the strategy to grow *Tercerismo*, as the Federation continued to foster relationships with workers and publicized worker struggles to demonstrate the need for constructing a new society that was neither capitalist nor communist.

Developed years before the emergence of the broader and more prominent Non-Aligned Movement and Third World coalitions of the 1960s, *Tercerismo* was an important development of leftist thought during the Early Cold War. Uruguayan University students in the FEUU were an integral part of this movement, informed by their long engagement with student-worker solidarity and anti-imperialist activism throughout 1940s and 50s. Indeed, this history of student-worker activism set the stage for many of the changes that took place in the 1960s, including the radicalization of the student movement in Uruguay.

The period I cover in this chapter ends with 1958, just ahead of the Cuban Revolution of 1959. The Cuban Revolution had a major impact on the FEUU, as it did for the majority of leftists throughout Latin America. However, its influence often dominates historical narratives concerning the 1960s, obscuring or distorting earlier influences. Indeed, the politics of the Cuban Revolution did mark a shift in the politics of the FEUU, in ways that one might expect (e.g. toward a more strongly Marxist stance that supported it), but also in ways less obvious (e.g. its impact on the *Tercerismo* movement). The Cuban Revolution did have a substantial impact on Uruguayan student politics in the 1960s, but that decade is beyond the scope of the current project. This is partly an attempt to maintain the focus on the earlier history of FEUU activism, an important period that is often overshadowed by the later 1960s.

There are, however, a few important shifts from 1959-1961 that I will briefly address here, most notably the way the Cuban Revolution affected the *Tercerismo* movement. Following the triumph of Fidel Castro's 26 of July movement in 1959, the FEUU celebrated the Cuban Revolution as a tangible success story of *Tercerismo*, proving that a popular revolution was possible without joining sides in the Cold War binary. Moreover, the Federation celebrated the Revolution's ability to prove that *el pueblo* could be victorious in their fight. The Cuban Revolution in many ways then, appeared to be "the dream of Tercerismo come to life."[180] Unfortunately for *Tercerismo* supporters, their euphoria over the Cuban Revolution as a triumph and model for their philosophy was short-lived. On December 2, 1961, Fidel Castro declared himself a Marxist-Leninist and embraced friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Despite Castro's continued critiques of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, the alliance with the Soviet Union shattered the image of an independent, non-communist workers' revolution, and no longer could *Tercerismo* supporters hold up Castro and the Cuban Revolution as a real-life example of a Third Way option outside of the Cold War binary. Many of the FEUU faithful found it impossible to reconcile their *Tercerista* stance with the Cuban Revolution that was aligned with one of the dreaded power blocs of the Cold War. The FEUU leadership shifted accordingly, and the *Tercerista* position of the 1950s was soon replaced by a more Marxist stance in the 1960s.[181]

---

[180] Solari, *El tercerismo en el Uruguay*, 30.
[181] Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 115.

The rest of the Uruguayan left who had supported the Tercerismo platform had much the same reaction.[182] Though there was much debate about the possibility of Fidel Castro having a relationship with the Soviet Union without becoming a puppet of the Communist state, the alliance was enough to fracture the image of Cuba as an independent nation and derailed the momentum of *Tercerismo*. This movement that had developed a faithful following throughout the 1950s was thus fatally weakened and never recovered its earlier vigor. Despite this decline in popularity, *Tercerismo* did not entirely disappear, as debates about what the movement was (and was not) continued throughout the 1960s.

In the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution, student activists on the left (in Uruguay and beyond) were often viewed as easily manipulated and overly naïve for their support and enthusiasm for the Revolution. These characterizations were often used, both during the 1960s and in later historical studies, to discredit student activism, and in particular to marginalize FEUU's relationship with workers, diminishing it to unthoughtful communist sympathy. In this way, the significant earlier history of FEUU activism is often obscured. By isolating the 1940s and 50s from the decades that follow, this chapter aims to show that the FEUU's advocacy for workers, as part of *la misión social,* was a key component of its activism throughout those decades, that it played a central role in developing and popularizing the *Tercerismo* platform, that it was not based on communist dogma, and was long established by the time of the Cuban revolution. As such, this framework encourages

---

[182] Gregory, Stephen. *Intellectuals and Left Politics in Uruguay: Frustrated Dialogue, 1958-2006*. Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2009.

a re-examination of narratives concerning student activism and its antecedents in Uruguay and elsewhere during the tumultuous 1960s.

Future studies would address the following: expanded analysis of university autonomy movement and social mission projects, discourse analysis of the different sections of FEUU activism that intersect in this chapter (*la misión social*, workers solidarity, and *Tercerismo*), more research in the individual centros (to see what the different facultades were focusing on, how those positions relate to the official FEUU stance), investigate workers archives and publications to see what their position was on the FEUU (if it was as meaningful as the FEUU made it out to be).

Chapter 4

Students and the State(s): The FEUU, Uruguay, and the United States

While the previous two chapters have focused on the FEUU's efforts to build relationships with workers and students in other countries, this chapter looks at the Federation's anti-government activism in Uruguay and the United States, highlighting the perspective of the students and perspectives of the respective governments. In exploring the FEUU's relationship with the U.S. government, I highlight the students' critiques of the U.S. government and their condemnations of U.S. imperialism through demonstrations and articles printed in their student-run newspaper *Jornada*. The FEUU's anti-imperialist platform was often coupled with an anti-yankee stance, with students condemning U.S. interventions throughout Latin America, even using these instances of U.S. aggression as justification for why they would not support the U.S. and the Allied forces in World War II.[183] The FEUU opposed all elements of what it considered U.S. imperialism, protesting the visits of U.S. Presidents, denouncing the presence of U.S. corporations in Uruguay, and fighting efforts to establish a U.S. military base in Uruguay.[184] The FEUU also questioned the motives of the U.S. government in providing funds for university research in Uruguay, arguing that these grants were designed to benefit the United States more than Uruguay. As such, the

[183] This is explained in more detail in Chapter Two.
[184] Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 155-57.

FEUU urged any Uruguayan professor who received grants from the United States to ensure that their research would benefit Uruguay.[185]

This "*anti-yanqui*" stance was met with concern by the U.S. government and aroused concerns that the FEUU could encourage the spread of anti-American sentiment in the region. Documenting the organization's international activities and their perceived status as one of the more organized and respected student organizations in Latin America, the U.S. government memos emphasize that the FEUU could be a key element to swaying public opinion, demonstrating that the U.S. government saw the FEUU (and student movements in general) as a danger. USNSA reports confirmed these suspicions, such as a 1951 account written by the organization's Latin American delegation that identified the Uruguayan student organization as both a strategic and ideological leader amongst student organizations in the region (though they also described the FEUU as "generally left-wing, but not Communist").[186] In monitoring these students, U.S. officials were also interested in the FEUU's close ties with workers and labor unions, a relationship made even more alarming by the organization's Tercerismo stance and growing communications and

---

[185] As Van Aken reports, though many FEUU members agreed with the Marxists who led the charge on this issue, the majority of the Terceristas in the organization were more interested in domestic critiques of the education system, problems that they argued were not only due to "imperialist penetration." Ibid, 184-185.

[186] USNSA, ICC, Box 129, Latin American team, report, 1951, Hoover Institution Archives. Although Argentinean students were long seen as leaders of student activism in Latin America, by the 1950s student groups throughout Argentina were largely seen as an extension of the Peronist state.

solidarities with workers movements around the world during the 1950s.[187] Since workers and labor unions were often seen as common sites of communist activity, any links to these groups raised suspicions amongst government officials about communist infiltration of the student movement. This communist paranoia is clear in U.S. Embassy reports, with regular updates about the workers movement and student activism that are marked by comments about the presence or absence of communist influence in both, as well as efforts to trace links between students, workers, and communists in Uruguay.[188] Communist ideology was also a regular theme of concern in these Embassy reports, with particular concern about the presence of communism in both the workers and student movements. Although Embassy reports correctly characterized the FEUU as anti-American, anti-capitalist, and anti-communist, government officials still saw the FEUU as a Cold War threat and went to great efforts to both monitor and influence the FEUU during the 1940s and 50s. In this, they were driven precisely by the thought that there was no middle ground for anyone to stand on. There was a free, white world and an un-free, red world and everyone outside of these globes was "pink" – either idiots or stooges of the reds. As students interested in socialism, the FEUU fell easily into the wrong category.

In the case of Uruguay, I examine how the FEUU viewed their own government by analyzing the student organization's public statements as printed in

---

[187] July 30, 1954, RG 84: Records of the Foreign Service Posts, 84/350/70/20/02-03, Uruguay Embassy, Montevideo – Class. General Records, 1953-55 (NND948801), Box 24, National Archives at College Park, MD (hereafter NARA).
[188] Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Record Group 84 (hereafter RG 84), Boxes 17, 220, 310, and 350, NARA

their newspaper *Jornada*. These articles range from critiques of specific Presidents and political parties, to more broad statements denouncing anti-democratic practices and collusion with the U.S. government. The FEUU also used this platform to complain about police violence, especially in suppressing student demonstrations, linking U.S. influence to Uruguayan repression. The paper trail of the Uruguayan government corresponds closely to the students' complaints. As recent scholarship has confirmed, the government worked to suppress FEUU activism by following their activities and infiltrating them when possible, harassing student activists, and instigating violence at student demonstrations. Though the Communist Party remained a legal political party in Uruguay for most of the twentieth century, the government closely monitored Uruguayan communists throughout the 1940s and 50s, freely sharing this intelligence with the United States.[189] In a manner similar to the United States, the increasing tensions of the early Cold War intensified these efforts, as students in the FEUU and any other activists who spoke out against the government in Uruguay were suspected of being linked to the Communist Party and quickly became targets of government surveillance.

[189] One such example was internationally renowned mathematician and communist leader José Luis Massera, among those under surveillance by the Uruguayan government and whose personal information and political affiliations were forwarded to the FBI when he traveled to the United States on an academic fellowship in 1944. Roberto García Ferreira, "Espionaje y política: la guerra fría y la inteligencia political uruguaya, 1947-64," *Revista Historia*, no. 63-64, (enero-diciembre 2011): 13-33,17; Aparicio et. al, *Espionaje y política*, 20.

1930S AND EARLY 1940S

As discussed in Chapter One, the FEUU was still a young organization when Dr. Gabriel Terra was elected President in 1931. A man from the nineteenth century, he was a graduate of the University and, as a Colorado, had begun his political career during the Batlle era. His first two years in office were marked by a steady decline in civil liberties, cascading sharply on March 31, 1933 when he suspended Congress and censored the press in a police-backed auto-*golpe de estado*. Later that same year, the FEUU initiated a new era of student activism and public discourse in Uruguay with their first edition of the student newspaper *Jornada.* This first issue in November 1933 denounced President Terra's harsh authoritarian tactics.[190] Despite increasing government censorship, the FEUU continued to speak out against Terrismo and government repression.[191] Some *Jornada* articles targeted the president by his name while others simply referred to the "office of the President" and to government offices more generally. These critiques of the Terra regime were most concerned with the disintegration of democracy in Uruguay, denouncing the violation of the country's

---

[190] He eliminated all checks and balances between government branches, abolished the constitution, and held sham elections in 1934 to maintain the presidency for a second consecutive term (prohibited under the prior constitution). "Capitalismo, Fascismo y Guerra" and "La Dictadura y los Trabajadores," *Jornada,* November 1933, UPPU, FHCE.

[191] "Dictaduras y democracia", "La dictadura frente la Universidad", *Jornada*, January 1934; "Abajo La Intervención!", "Centro Estudiantes de Arquitectura", "La doble censura", *Jornada,* March 1934; "La intervención de la Universidad", "Los estudiantes y la Dictadura", "Así surgió Hitler", *Jornada,* July 1934; "La dictadura, la Oposición y los Estudiantes", "Censura, presidio, deportación:", "Bajo la bota militar", "Universidad y Poder", "El fracaso de las negociaciones anglo uruguayas", "Manifiesto de la Federación", "Acción Estudiantil", *Jornada,* August 1934, UPPU, FHCE.

strong democratic legacy. In many of these articles, the FEUU compared the state of the presidency (and Uruguayan politics as a whole) to the fascist dictatorships sweeping Europe.[192] Just like Terra, the students argued, Hitler had also come to power through democratic elections, only to later become a brutal fascist. In 1935, the FEUU produced only one edition of their newspaper, but the content maintained their critical stance of the government, using the opportunity to write a scathing editorial about living under Terra's dictatorship.[193] 1936 had two editions, each one with strong critiques of the Uruguayan government and publicizing the continued repression of students and workers.[194]

The military dictatorship officially ended in 1938 when Alfredo Baldomir was elected President, bringing with him a return to more democratic practices, including lifting censorship restrictions. Although Terra had officially left office, the FEUU's critique of the Uruguayan government did not end with his departure. The students saw Baldomir as an improvement, but still closely tied to the anti-democratic politics of Terra's rule. This was fueled not only by the fact that Baldomir was Terra's brother-in-law, but also because he had played an instrumental role in securing the 1933 golpe de estado that dissolved the congress and gave Terra the authority to rule without checks and balances. The FEUU became bolder in its anti-imperialist and

---

[192] "Dictaduras y democracia", *Jornada*, Enero 1934; "Así surgió Hitler", *Jornada,* Julio 1934, UPPU, FHCE.
[193] "Dos años de dictadura", *Jornada*, Marzo de 1935, UPPU, FHCE.
[194] "La Universidad Frente a la Dictadura", "Tres Años de Dictadura", "A los Estudiantes y al Pueblo, FEUU", "Luchemos Por La Libertad de H.P. Agosti", *Jornada,* Marzo de 1936; "El Peligro Fascista", "La Amenaza de Otra Intervención," *Jornada,* Junio de 1936, UPPU, FHCE.

anti-dictator stance, positions that prompted them to speak out against undemocratic rulers around the world, including the likes of Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, and the Nazi party in Germany. Combining all of these critiques under the umbrella of anti-fascism, in July 1941 (that is, when World War II was well underway), the FEUU held an anti-fascist march and called for a general strike aimed at highlighting the injustices Nazism and fascism in Europe and not-so-subtly calling out similarities to the current state of the Uruguayan government.[195] The government was still neutral about the war.

In addition to criticizing their domestic policies, the FEUU also denounced Terra and Baldomir for pledging Uruguay's official support to U.S. foreign policy.[196] The FEUU used *Jornada* as a platform to critique the entire Uruguayan political system, reiterating that the current political situation had made these students more committed than ever to maintaining the FEUU as an independent organization without official ties to any political party. The political parties, they argued, had let the country down by allowing the dictatorship to occur and the FEUU held both the Colorado and Blanco parties responsible for the breach in democracy. The FEUU were not the only ones with this opinion, and it was not until the election of Juan José

---

[195] A student editorial addressed as an open letter to Baldomir laid out the FEUU's main complaints, while another article praised the success of the student strike. "Carta abierta al Poder Ejecutivo", "Clamoroso Exito de la Huelga Universitaria en Todo El Pais", *Jornada*, July 1941, UPPU, FHCE.

[196] Esther Ruiz. "Del viraje conservador al realineamiento internacional. 1933-45," in *Historia del Uruguay en el siglo XX (1890-2005)*, (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2008), 85-121, 99.

de Amézaga in November 1942 (and his completed term in office from 1943 to 1947), that the return to democracy in Uruguay was considered complete.[197]

1947 – INTELLIGENCE AND LIAISON SERVICE (SIE)

Though the Uruguayan government monitored dissident political movements throughout the Terra dictatorship and the return to democracy in the years after, it was the increasingly tense political climate of the late 1940s that led President Luis Batlle Berres to "systemize and expand" the government's counter-intelligence activities and embark on a robust anti-communist crusade.[198] In doing so, he was following a pattern that was taking place throughout Latin America as many of the democratic gains of a war against fascism were rolled back at the outset of the Cold War. The U.S. backed such tactics throughout the region.[199] It was in this year (just a month after transitioning from Vice-President to President following the untimely death of Tomás Berreta), that Batlle Berres founded the Intelligence and Liaison Service (SIE, Servicio de Inteligencia y Enlace) as an extension of the Montevideo police department, making formal the Uruguayan government's commitment to fighting Communism through surveillance and counter-intelligence.[200] Incidentally, the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States National Student Association were also founded during this year, and even share the same month as their institutional

---

[197] Ibid, 107-108.
[198] Aparicio et. al, *Espionaje y política*, 23.
[199] For more on this, see David Rock's edited volume, *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Postwar Transitions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
[200] Ibid, 25.

birthdates: September, 1947. With the creation of the SIE in Uruguay, the definition for what was considered a "subversive movement" was broadened to include any action that spoke out against the government in any way while also formalizing the process of sharing findings with the CIA and the U.S. government.[201]

A year after founding the SIE, the anti-communist intelligence efforts were in full swing. In October 1948, the Trocadero theater in Montevideo was scheduled to show the anti-Soviet film "The Iron Curtain", sparking protests by local communists and communist sympathizers.[202] Efforts to disrupt the screenings by local communist party members, many of them young high school and university students, were met by police, and the ensuing conflict had both short-term and long-term effects. In the short-term, they made clear that the Uruguayan government was monitoring and attempting to undermine communist party activities, especially those of student activists. The 1948 Trocadero incident also demonstrated that the Uruguayan government was particularly concerned about youth and student populations who were (or could become) involved in Communist activities. In the long-term, many of the people detained and questioned in relation to the Trocadero events were permanently marked "communist agitators" and became targets for persecution and detainment during the military dictatorship some 30 years later.[203] University students, and the FEUU in particular, continued to face similar prejudices throughout the 1950s. Despite the FEUU's insistence that they maintained an independent political stance,

---

[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid, 50.
[203] Ibid, 51.

the mainstream press frequently accused them of being affiliated with the Communist party (both in Uruguay and the Soviet Union) and the police acted accordingly.[204]

While U.S. Embassy records from the early 1940s do not make much mention of the FEUU, the next decade was much different. Throughout the 1950s, the U.S. government closely monitored the FEUU from the official post of the U.S. Embassy in Montevideo, as well as under the guise of the USNSA, detailing government concerns about communism in the university, the rise of the Third position, and a sense of "growing nationalism" amongst students.[205] Simultaneously, the Uruguayan government continued to use police forces to suppress any protests that they saw as a threat to the national government. Even with the FEUU's repeated declarations that they were not a communist organization (and in fact espoused a fierce anti-communist rhetoric as part of their *Tercerista* platform), Montevideo police and U.S. surveillance frequently treated the students as if they were communists, or at the very least were dupes of the C.P. Students suspected they were being targeted for police harassment and spoke out against it and the mainstream press that failed to cover these events.[206]

---

[204] The Partido Comunista del Uruguay (Communist Party of Uruguay, PCU) was direclty tied to the youth wing, Juventud Comunista (JC). It was, however, among the weaker and less radical of the leftist parties in Uruguay in the 1940s and 50s. For more on the PCU until 1951, see Eugenio Gomez's *Partido Comunista del Uruguay hasta el año 1951*. Montevideo: Ed Elite, 1961.

[205] September 8, 1950; June 1, 1951; October 8, 1952; May 27, 1955; Declassified Confidential Memo from FEHerron/ehl, Public Affairs Officer, to The Ambassador, Montevideo, Uruguay; Classified General Records, 1936-61; U.S. Legation & Embassy, Uruguay; Montevideo 1950-1952; Folder 350 Uruguay-Z; Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, RG 84, NARA.

[206] "La barbarie policial intenta acallar la voz del estudiantado", *Jornada*, May 13, 1953, UPPU, FHCE. For more on the FEUU's strained relationship with the mainstream press, see Chapter Five of this dissertation.

The FEUU became so frustrated that in 1955 it organized a march against these characterizations, during which internal SIE reports confirm that undercover agents infiltrated the event and attacked students at the end of what was an otherwise peaceful march as a way of "showing their strength" and sending communist infiltrators a message.[207]

While fighting against government's accusations at home, the FEUU was also busy denouncing U.S. imperialism, especially regarding the 1954 overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala. Despite this, the FEUU were open to building a relationship with students in the USNSA. This may seem contradictory, but it was actually quite consistent with the group's founding principles: just as the FEUU did not align itself with the Uruguayan government, the USNSA was not seen as a representative (or supporter) of the U.S. government and its foreign policy. Correspondence between the FEUU and the USNSA in the 1950s demonstrates these politics, and the efforts to build a cordial relationship. Letters between Carlos de Mattos and Clive Gray expressed the FEUU's interest in having the USNSA visit Uruguay and supported the U.S. student organization's presence at future Latin American student congresses to help improve understanding, promote solutions, and build solidarity amongst students throughout the Americas.[208]

It was amidst this climate that a USNSA delegation of five students arrived to Montevideo on July 27, 1956. The three men and two women, official representatives

---

[207] Ibid, 117-118.
[208] "Letter from Carlos A. de Mattos at the Federacion de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay (FEUU) to Mr. Clive Gray", February 5, 1955. USNSA, ICC, Box 261, Hoover Institution Archives.

of the United States National Student Association (USNSA), were warmly received by the FEUU and spent their visit accompanying student leaders to meetings, discussing university concerns, and socializing: taking the bus from one place to the next and chatting over cheap food and drinks in cafés and bars around the city.[209] In recalling the visit some fifty years later, former FEUU militant Mariano Arana remembered the USNSA delegation well, especially the leader of the delegation: Luigi Einaudi, "a very European-looking blonde… [who was] very nice… [and] extremely intelligent."[210] Years later, it came as a shock to Arana and his university *compañeros* to learn that Einaudi had become a high-ranking official in the U.S. State Department.[211] Arana laughed when he told me the story, and recalls that they all had laughed when they first heard the news. As students in the 1950s, they had no idea that Einaudi might end up working for the U.S. government in that capacity.[212] In fairness, Arana reasoned, Einaudi probably didn't know his future would end up that way either. In light of this news, Arana and his peers looked back on the 1956 visit and surmised that it now seemed rather obvious to them that the U.S. student delegation was not a

---

[209] Mariano Arana, interview with the author, Montevideo; List of USNSA delegates on the 1956 Latin American tour: Luigi Einaudi, Richard Elden, Gloria Kingsley, John Martz, and Marian Mc Reynolds. United States National Student Association (hereafter USNSA), International Commission Collection (hereafter ICC), Box 261, Hoover Institution Archives.

[210] Mariano Arana, interview with the author, Montevideo.

[211] Ibid. As Arana tells it, Einaudi became the Director of the C.I.A., but the official record does not substantiate this rumor. More than likely, the position that garnered the buzz Arana referred to was Einaudi's appointment as the head policy planner for the State Department during the 1960s and 70s, later moving into a more regionally-focused position as the chief planner of the Latin American Affairs department in the early 1980s. Barbara Crossette, "A Team at State is Key to El Salvador Policy," *The New York Times*, (New York, NY), February 25, 1982.

[212] Mariano Arana, interview with the author, Montevideo.

genuine student delegation at all, but instead a carefully planned operation by the U.S. State Department to gather intelligence on the FEUU and their provocative Tercerista stance.[213] Although the USNSA delegation was in fact "genuine," it is also true that the State Department had a heavy hand in it. The FEUU was unaware at the time that the USNSA was working at the service of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the U.S. government from 1950 until 1967, disrupted only thereafter because a former student activist helped expose the financial trail.[214]

An ad published in the *The New York Times* on February 14, 1967 announced a forthcoming article in *Ramparts* magazine about the CIA's involvement with international student affairs. *Ramparts* placed the ad in response to the CIA's efforts to get out ahead of the story -- it had become clear that they couldn't shut it down entirely. The subsequent *Ramparts* article would prove, with concrete evidence in the form of financial records, that the CIA had been using a number of non-governmental agencies, including the International Commission of the USNSA, as a way to conduct covert operations throughout the Early Cold War. Throughout this seventeen-year span, the CIA used the USNSA's International Commission to monitor and report the activities of student activists around the world. As such, USNSA records from the

---

[213] Ibid. Arana also suggested that the diversity of the delegation was key to the State Department's mission, making it a point to describe to me the gender, race, and overall appearance of the delegates. Although he did not elaborate further on what role he thought these characteristics played in the plan, I assumed that he was implying that these two women (one of whom was African American) helped present a progressive façade to a mostly light-skinned, male-dominated field of student activism in Latin America.

[214] Karen M. Paget. *Patriotic Betrayal*: *The Inside Story of the CIA's Secret Campaign to Enroll American Students in the Crusade Against Communism (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 388-393.

1950s and 1960s read much like U.S. State Department records and Embassy reports, logging interactions with specific student activists and characterizing student organizations with surveillance-style language.[215] Reports following the USNSA's 1956 tour of Latin America reveal similar language.

This episode leads into an exploration of the FEUU's interactions with the U.S. and Uruguayan governments during the early years of the Cold War, highlighting the FEUU's prominent role in Uruguayan society and the importance of students in Cold War politics more broadly. Recent scholarship has drawn attention to students as an understudied element of the Cold War, highlighting how the United States government waged war against communism by using international student organizations to gather intelligence, sabotage the opposition, and attempt to win the hearts and minds of students around the world.[216] It is in this context that the Uruguayan government, already engaged in various "preventative intelligence" campaigns, collaborated with

---

[215] Reports such as these seemed to be written with a particular audience in mind, one that was concerned with evaluating and monitoring potentially subversive movements, as opposed to trying to understand the situation and concerns of the students themselves. As such, these reports stand in stark contrast to the FEUU's own internal reports about other student organizations around the world. Unlike the USNSA reports, the FEUU accounts documented student groups and their situations with a tone that implied solidarity and emphasized the commonality of student experiences, highlighting student concerns, aspirations, and possible strategies for helping them achieve their goals. For more on the FEUU's transnational student solidarity networks, see Chapter Two of this dissertation.

[216] For an in-depth look at the CIA's infiltration of the USNSA during the 1950s and 60s, see Karen M. Paget. *Patriotic Betrayal*: *The Inside Story of the CIA's Secret Campaign to Enroll American Students in the Crusade Against Communism (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), Tity de Vries. "The 1967 Central Intelligence Agency Scandal: Catalyst in a Transforming Relationship between State and People," *Journal of American History*, 98, no. 4 (2012): 1075–1092, and Hugh Wilford. *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

the United States to track student movements and communist activity in Uruguay in the 1940s and 50s.[217]

In July 1957, a year after the USNSA's visit, the police repression of the FEUU worsened. Various left-wing presses publicized these transgressions, supporting student complaints with reports confirming that police were instigating violence and attacking students to provoke reactions that the police could then use to justify their behavior.[218] In addition to defending the students and denouncing police repression, *Marcha* argued that all of Uruguay should be concerned about the possible domino effect of these actions with bold warnings: "Today it could be students. Tomorrow workers."[219] As other sources have now documented, the police force in Montevideo were in fact monitoring and infiltrating the FEUU at this time, both to gather intelligence and to sabotage student activism.[220] Police records prove that

---

[217] Aparicio et al, *Espionaje y política*, 23.

[218] As cited by Aparicio et al in *Espionaje y política*, p. 126. *El Popular*, 3 de Julio, 1957. "En ese contexto, la Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay (FEUU) convocó a una manifestación por el centro de la capital. Para la ocasión, la policía desplegó un inusitado movimiento de fuerzas y, según se denunció, "pudo advertirse que mezclados entre los estudiantes había numerosos policías de investigaciones especialmente de la célebre 'Inteligencia y Enlace'". Cuando la pacífica manifestación estaba por llegar a su fin, "con sables y cachiporras" las fuerzas del orden "arremetieron contra todos los que se encontraban en las veredas sin discriminación alguna". Es que, como se suscribiría poco después, la Policía necesitaba "mostrarse fuerte y eficiente" y ante "alguna reducida hostilidad verbal de los estudiantes, embistió indiscriminadamente contra cualquier persona a quien el conflicto sorprendiera en aquellos sitios."

[219] As cited by Aparicio et al in *Espionaje y política*, p. 126. "La vigorización del poder policial", *Marcha*, 5 de julio de 1957 and 14 de Julio de 1957.

[220] For more on this practice and anti-communist espionage in Uruguay and South America as a whole during the cold war, see the complete text of *Espionaje y política*.

undercover agents acted as provocateurs, instigating violence and colluding with police officers in the violence of many a public protest.[221]

1959 – FIDEL CASTRO IN MONTEVIDEO

The occasion of Fidel Castro's visit to Uruguay in May, 1959 is one of the clearest examples of the Uruguayan government's serious concerns about FEUU activism. His arrival was part of a larger post-revolutionary Latin American tour, Uruguayan officials closely documented Castro's trip to the Montevideo, closely following his movements and the activities of those seen as "subversive" during his visit with the help of undercover agents who recorded information about attendance figures (and names where possible) for his public appearances and even infiltrated private meetings. [222] The FEUU and other student activists (both communist and non-communists alike) were already seen as "subversive" in the eyes of the Uruguayan government, so any interaction or public show of support for Castro during this visit was used as proof of its Marxist goals. A certain Marxist and revolutionary fervor had seized the FEUU, much as it ran through student groups throughout Latin America. Even before he arrived, *Jornada* extolled the *barbudo*.[223]

After detailing Castro's arrival on May 18, 1959 and tracking his movements throughout the day, an undercover agent posing as a university student activist gained

---

[221] Aparicio, et al. *Espionaje y politica*, p. 116.
[222] As cited by Aparicio et al in *Espionaje y política,* 189.
[223] "Unión de Pueblos en un Ideal Común: Fue el Mensaje del Jefe de la Revolución Cubana", "Fidel Castro y las dos caras de las Américas", "Los estudiantes Cubanos Ganan la Victoria Sobre el Dictador Batista", "Símbolo de un Pensamiento – Fidel, el Hombre de la Revolución Latinoamericana", *Jornada*, May 13, 1959, UPPU, FHCE.

access to a late-night private meeting between Castro and a number of persistently patient student leaders who had gathered outside his hotel.[224] According to the report, FEUU militant Alfredo Errandonea was designated as the leader of the impromptu group of student activists.[225] Among the noteworthy events documented by the undercover agent was a tense exchange between Errandonea and Castro. Errandonea expressed the FEUU's disappointment with the Cuban leader's failure to give a speech at the University where students had invited him as their guest. Castro explained that he had a number of offers to speak during his visit and that instead of the University setting, he had chosen to speak in a larger open air venue in the city and reach a larger audience. Errandonea followed up by challenging Castro's commitment to speaking out against U.S. imperialism, complaining that the speech he had delivered that day had been weak on the topic. Castro reacted strongly to this, clarifying to the students that his presence and the revolution were doing more than any speech ever could to combat Yankee imperialism.[226] After moving on to discuss the implementation of agrarian reform in Cuba, Castro made a point to explicitly state to the group that he was not a communist and that neither he, nor the Cuban Revolution, would be an instrument of communism. This non-communist stance is exactly how the FEUU had been characterizing the Cuban revolution, as a realization of their dream of Tercerismo. When asked if the students could publish the notes of this meeting, Castro said no, explaining that it was a private interview and even asking the student taking

---

[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid.

notes to destroy them so no record would exist. The student promptly complied. The group bid farewell with a few more comments of solidarity, and with Castro agreeing with one of the students who expressed their hate for the police, declaring that he also hated the police and the armed forces.[227]

The FEUU leaders at the time saw Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution as an important ally in the anti-imperialist and anti-Yankee stance.[228] With this shift in the global political landscape, tensions rose within the Uruguayan government. Fears about outside agitators, and of potential uprisings at home, corresponded with the Uruguayan government ramping up domestic espionage, targeting the FEUU and any other group deemed subversive.

In the same year that the Cuban revolution triumphed, the Uruguayan government was faltering. The country sent the first letter of intention to the International Monetary Fund in 1959, leading to structural adjustments that would become commonplace for these loans in the decades to come. Among other things, the IMF required the Uruguayan government to cut social services and salaries in an effort to combat growing inflation. These measures fueled activism in a country that had established a strong tradition of social welfare and strong unions.[229] Thus, as

---

[227] Ibid. This report also speaks to the inherent challenges of documenting social movements and the unintended consequences of government surveillance: without the well-documented anxieties of the state and its efforts to infiltrate the student movement, we might we not know about this exchange at all.

[228] These virtues are also what allowed these same students to forgive the loss of liberties that accompanied the Cuban revolution, seeing these infractions as small cost in fighting a greater cause. Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 166.

[229] Aparicio et al, *Espionaje y política*, 191.

Uruguayan politics and the national government moved to the right in the 1960s, it generated an even stronger contrast with the social revolution taking place in Cuba.

With the backing and influence of the United States (and the CIA in particular), Uruguay's newly established rotating presidency coupled these structural adjustments with an increasingly hard stance against any anti-government actions by conflating any such dissent with communism and Soviet aggression.[230] Moreover, the government's hardline against dissidents included an increasing level of violence against activists and an increase in SIE surveillance and counter-intelligence related to Cuba and the Cuban revolution".[231] Through these lenses, the Uruguayan government saw the FEUU's support for the Cuban revolution as an extremely problematic stance. In the most visible form, police violence and repression of student protests increased in frequency and intensity. The less visible impacts, however, were no less damaging. The government increased surveillance and infiltration of FEUU activities, attempting to both document and thwart their activities. They also funded anti-communist student groups like the Student Movement for the Defense of Liberty (Movimiento Estudiantil para la Defensa de la Libertad, MEDL) to agitate against the FEUU.[232]

Simultaneously, and likely as a result of the government's actions, the FEUU became increasingly cautious about U.S. visitors to Uruguay, concerned that they could be CIA agents spying for the government. Mark Van Aken who produced the major account of student activism in this era was subject to much of this suspicion in

---

[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibid, 190.

1962 when he petitioned the FEUU asking to shadow them as part of his research on the Uruguayan student movement. Though Van Aken was deemed trustworthy by the FEUU leadership after careful screening (including extensive background checks), many FEUU members remained suspicious of his presence and refused to be interviewed for his project.[233]

1960 EISENHOWER VISIT TO URUGUAY

An iconic event – almost a contrasting mirror image of Castro's visit – occurred when President Dwight D. Eisenhower visited Montevideo on March 2, 1960. The FEUU greeted the U.S. President from atop the Facultad de Arquitectura. Situated on the wide thoroughfare of Avenida España, the facultad was on the entourage's route from Carrasco International airport to the city center of Montevideo. Using this occasion to publicly proclaim their disdain for U.S. imperialism and their support for the Cuban revolution, a group of approximately 30 students stood above a sixty-foot long banner that read, "OUT WITH YANKEE IMPERIALISM OF LATIN

---

[233] Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 185. The author of this dissertation also experienced some suspicion while conducting research and oral history interviews in 2012. The topic came up frequently in discussions about my study of student movements with former activists from the 1950s and 60s that I was interviewing as part of my research. Most of the interviewees who brought it up did so in reference to Van Aken. Although I assured them that I was the farthest thing from a CIA agent, I also explained that as a Latin American historian I could certainly understand why they might suspect that. Regardless, these comments did not seem to restrict their openness. After making a joke about it, one interviewee immediately remarked, "Even if you were a CIA agent, I would tell you the same things anyway, so it doesn't really matter!" Mariano Arana, Interview with the author, Montevideo, 2012.

AMERICA. LONG LIVE THE CUBAN REVOLUTION."[234] Student activists also stood on the main steps of the facultad and on the sidewalk. A photo from the UPPU archives captures the moment police water canons sprayed the protestors on the roof, ostensibly forcing them to halt their protest. Additional photos from this day, also from the UPPU archives, show firefighters climbing up a ladder to remove the banner and students being attacked and arrested in the streets. The caption on one of these photos printed in a magazine pamphlet about the incident reported that over 2,000 officers, a combination of local police and federal military forces, took part in the massive repression of student expression that day.[235]

Black and white film footage taken by affiliates from the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company that day shows an additional student protest later in the day, this time at the Facultad de Derecho on 18 de Julio.[236] The opening scene shows police-lined streets in Montevideo awaiting Eisenhower's motorcade, and then focuses in on small pieces of paper floating about in the wind. The commentary explains that university students showered anti-U.S. and anti-imperialism leaflets from the top of

---

[234] UPPU, FHCE, Caja 221. Original Spanish text: "FUERA EL IMPERIALISMO YANQUI DE AMERICA LATINA. VIVA LA REVOLUCIÓN CUBANA"

[235] "El pueblo uruguayo denuncia ante el mundo", Movimiento Latinoamericano 26 (Montevideo Uruguay), UPPU, FHCE.

[236] Firestone Tire and Rubber Company produced this film, the final installment in a 3-part series that followed Eisenhower's tour to South America in 1960. The first eight minutes of Reel 3 focus on Uruguay, describing it with the familiar "Switzerland of South America" moniker. After discussing the country's general political and economic situation while seated next to a globe in a studio, the narrator reports the U.S. has the "overwhelming support" of people in Uruguay except for a small portion of "dissident students," thus making this American country "no different than other Latin countries." EYE WITNESS TO HISTORY, 1960; ARC 94777; Motion Picture Films, 1959-1960; Firestone Tire and Rubber Company Collection, 1959-1960; Motion Pictures (RD-DC-M); NARA.

the Facultad de Derecho on 18 de Julio as they awaited Eisenhower's motorcade to pass. The accompanying video captures more of the leaflets falling like confetti from the rooftop. The camera zooms in on the source of the leaflets and then on students atop the facultad yelling chants. It pans out just in time to capture the motorcade for a brief moment as it speeds by (according to the narrator much faster than planned).[237] This moment is also documented by the pamphlet documenting the protests against Eisenhower's visit, with a still image of Eisenhower rubbing his eyes and a caption that reports that the accelerated speed of the motorcade's "run" from the U.S. Embassy at 59 km an hour, resulting in an earlier than scheduled arrival at the Presidential Palace.[238] The leftist newspapers that had reporters on the scene that day also reported the presence of teargas, and the narrator's explanation in the Firestone film corroborates that tear gas caused the motorcade's acceleration.[239]

Though the Firestone video claims the student protests were the only opposition to the President's visit amongst an otherwise warm reception by the Uruguayan public, the leftist newspapers and magazine publication argue otherwise, citing public declarations from various labor unions, political parties like the Socialist

---

[237] Ibid.

[238] "El pueblo uruguayo denuncia ante el mundo", Movimiento Latinoamericano 26, Caja 221, UPPU, FHCE.

[239] For geographical context, the U.S. Embassy is only 3 kilometers away from the Plaza de Independencia and just a few blocks away from the facultad where the incident occurred. The facultad, however, is in the opposite direction of the Plaza de Independencia, suggesting that the motorcade route went out of its way to drive down this long stretch of 18 de Julio and did not expect to be disrupted by anti-U.S. protests or tear gas at the university. EYE WITNESS TO HISTORY, 1960; ARC 94777; Motion Picture Films, 1959-1960; Firestone Tire and Rubber Company Collection, 1959-1960; Motion Pictures (RD-DC-M), NARA.

and Communist parties, and even the Catholic Youth Associations, all condemning Eisenhower's visit.[240] Furthermore, the FEUU and the FUA issued a joint declaration of protest condemning Eisenhower's visit, supporting the Cuban Revolution, and declaring a firm Third Position stance, supported by additional declarations from student associations in the Facultad de Arquitectura and Ingeniero.[241]

Eisenhower himself recalls the event in a chapter titled "Amigos" in his two-volume memoir *Waging Peace*.[242] He dedicates this chapter to his Presidential travels to Latin America and frames the conversation by stating his longtime interest in Latin America and concern for U.S.-Latin America relations:

> Any American should understand that as we are bound to our neighbors to the south geographically (indeed, with our nearest southern neighbor we have an undefended border more than 2000 miles long), it behooves us to join with them in developing a stronger Western Hemisphere economy, higher standards of living, and faith in freedom's future.[243]

As evidence of goodwill towards Latin America, Eisenhower notes the U.S. involvement in developing (and filling the coffers of) the Inter-American Development Bank.[244]

This was not the first time the FEUU had protested the visit of a U.S. government official to Uruguay, and the occasion of Eisenhower's visit had prompted

---

[240] "El pueblo uruguayo denuncia ante el mundo", Movimiento Latinoamericano 26; "Hubo diversas expresiones de alta conciencia anti-imperialista", *El Popular,* March 3, 1960; UPPU, FHCE
[241] Ibid.
[242] Dwight D. Eisenhower. *The White House Years: Waging Peace*, Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1965.
[243] Ibid, 514-15.
[244] Ibid, 516.

fierce debates among students about what the organization's official stance should be.[245] The harshness and extent of police repression of students during Eisenhower's visit was unprecedented.[246] The violence was seen as a direct violation of the university's recently established autonomy. But beyond these factors, the event had even larger implications. In the immediate sense, it demonstrated the democratic Uruguayan government's willingness to resort to repression, especially in any instance involving the U.S. and Cuba. Indeed, almost any state would be angry if a U.S. President's visit caused international bad press. In the long-term, it signaled the beginning of what was to come. In fact, scholars now argue that the actions taken against these student protests in 1960 marked a shift towards the increasingly harsh repression of communists and communist sympathizers in the country thereafter, with links that lead all the way to the barbarities and rhetoric of the military dictatorship in the 1970s and 80s (1973-1985).[247]

CONCLUSION

Although Luigi Einaudi did indeed move from being a student leader in the USNSA to high-ranking positions in the State Department, interviews cited in Karen Paget's *Patriotic Betrayal* portray him as an idealist who defended the many leftist

---

[245] The results of this debate had lasting implications, causing a rift between members and playing an important role in the organization's politics and tactics after 1960. Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 203-205.
[246] The same anti-yankee sentiment was evident during the FEUU's protest of Vice-President Nixon's visit to the country in 1958. Van Aken, 158; Aparicio et al, *Espionaje y politica*, p. 189-191.
[247] Aparicio et. al, *Espionaje y política,* 185.

students in Latin America that were anti-imperialist, correctly arguing that most of them maintained an equally anti-U.S. and anti-communist stance.[248] Much like the FEUU's frustration with being unfairly categorized as communist, some USNSA members report being frustrated with the State Department's unwillingness to believe this as well. So although individual students in the USNSA were spying for the U.S. government ("witting" or not), the C.I.A. and the U.S. State Department used them to build records of leftist student organizations that should be tracked for their potential subversive-ness.[249] That is to say, even if U.S. students actively pushed to explain to officials that student groups like the FEUU were not actually communist threats, as Einaudi claims to have done, the State Department did not always listen.[250] One cannot help but believe that a need for administrative jobs drove part of this behavior.

Looking at the FEUU's public relationship with the Uruguayan government during the Early Cold War showcases student efforts to participate in public discourse and influence domestic agendas, foreign policy, and international politics. In addition to the students denouncing hypocrisy in government institutions (most notably the breach in democracy during the Terra dictatorship), the FEUU also regularly critiqued the political system as a whole, especially as it related to political resistance to university reform efforts. The FEUU inserted itself into public discourse and asserted that students had a rightful place in conversations about domestic and international

---

[248] Einaudi oversaw Latin American Affairs for the USNSA from 1955-56, and was thus correctly perceived by the Arana and the FEUU as the leader of the delegation. Paget, *Patriotic Betrayal*, 404.
[249] There was a difference between "witting" and "unwitting" USNSA members involved in the C.I.A. funded missions. Paget, *Patriotic Betrayal*, 403.
[250] Paget, *Patriotic Betrayal*, 164.

politics.[251] In response, and in collusion with the U.S. government, the Uruguayan police infiltrated the FEUU to monitor their movements, as well as create possible disruptions to the leadership and group morale. This infiltration and monitoring of the student movement demonstrates that the Uruguayan government were not only very aware of the FEUU's actions and platforms, but also that they took the students' actions so seriously that they dedicated time and resources to keeping tabs on their activities.

Although the FEUU's conflicts with the Uruguayan and U.S. government date back to the 1930s, it was the increasingly tense climate of the early Cold War in the 1940s and 50s that intensified these dynamics. As was noted at the beginning of this chapter, the FEUU's own publications and activism were stunted for much of the 1930s under the Terra dictatorship. Their public statements against the government and solidarity with other student movements resumed with the transition back to democratic rule in the 1940s. As FEUU politics progressed, the students became more threatening to both the Uruguayan and U.S. governments because of their anti-U.S. sentiments and controversial neutral stance in World War II that laid the groundwork for the Third Way movement in the 1950s. All of this activity garnered attention from U.S. officials as well as the Uruguayan government, but it was Cuba that tipped the balance for the FEUU's tenuous governmental relationships. After 1959, the FEUU's public support for Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution gave the government all the excuse it needed to suppress student activism, even actions that were not directly

[251] As detailed in Chapter Five, the FEUU faced harsh blowback from the mainstream press for their critiques of the Uruguayan government.

linked to solidarity with Cuba. Advocating for university reform and workers rights could now be dismissed as a part of a dangerous pro-Cuban agenda. That the Uruguayan government continued to characterize the FEUU as communist, even as the students repeatedly said that they were firmly against communism, is a clear example of the power of anti-communist hysteria and the government's desire to keep the students from the public sphere.

Many scholars have grappled with whether Cold War policies were based on legitimate fears of communist infiltration as opposed to strategic opportunities to repress leftist activism with a fierce ideological and moral authority. Government sources from Uruguay and the United States suggest a real paranoia and concern about Cuba and communism, but the history of these same institutions monitoring and repressing student activism in the 1940s and 50s also suggest that the tensions and harsh repressions of the 1960s are the result of a number of compounding factors. The FEUU and other leftist groups like it were caught up in the government's anti-communist crusades throughout the 1960s and during the military dictatorship of the 1970s and 80s. Though these years are beyond the scope of this project, it is important to note here that the increasing use of state force against students was not an isolated occurrence but part of a larger apparatus of what would become an increasingly authoritarian state during the later Cold War years.

The Uruguayan government's policing of student politics in these examples showcases an unsurprising trend. Since youth and student populations are often considered to be more easily influenced and open to radicalism than the rest of the

population, the impulse to monitor them often follows. The 1940s and 50s in Uruguay were no exception to this rule, as demonstrated by the growth of politically motivated youth groups on both sides of the Iron Curtain throughout the Cold War.[252] On the one hand, this shows how important student opinions and activities are to national politics and, by extension, public discourse. On the other hand, this perception of students as impressionable often led to their demise, as efforts were made to control and suppress them rather than to engage them in dialogue.

[252] I.e.: WAY, IUE, COSEC, etc. For more, see Chapter Two of this dissertation.

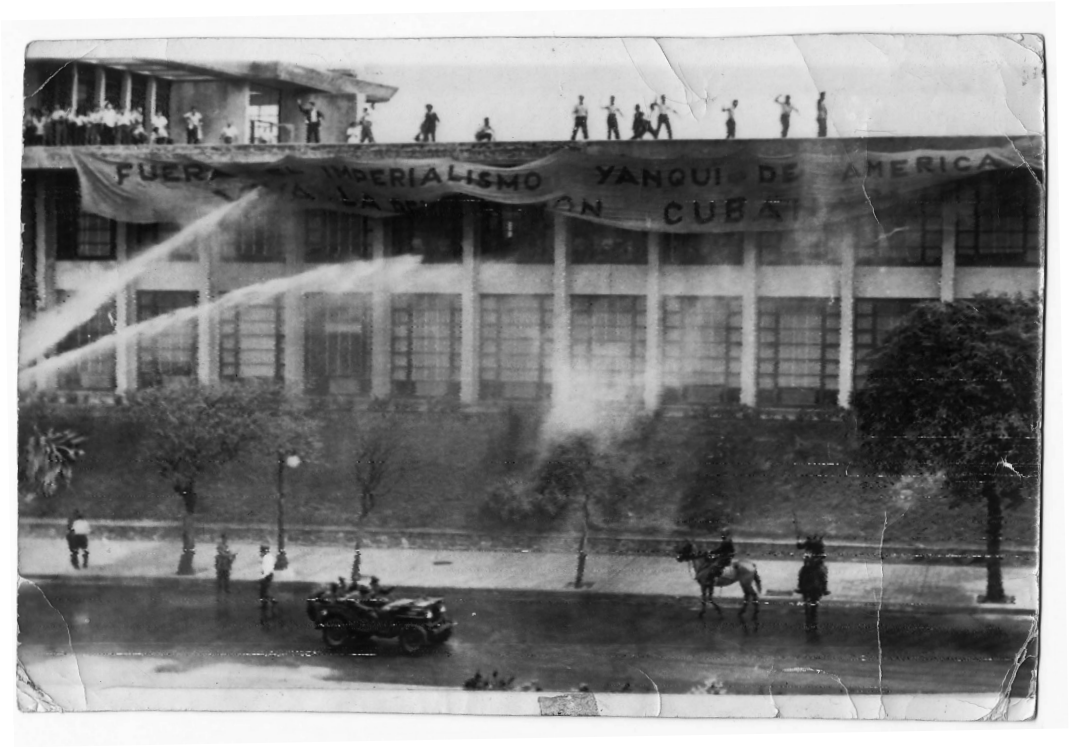


Image 1: Rooftop view of protest against Eisehnhower's visit, 1960.

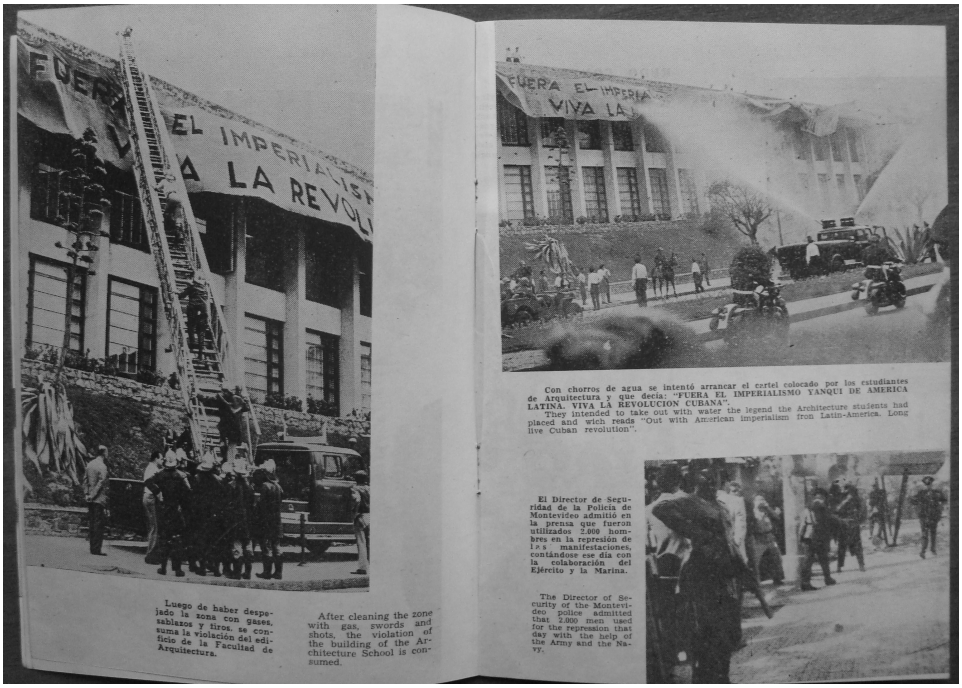


Image 2: Street view of protest against Eisehnhower's visit, 1960.

Chapter 5

(Mis)Representations and Public Discourse: The FEUU and the Press

During the early Cold War, student activists in the Federation of Uruguayan University Students (FEUU) fought to have their voice(s) included in the public sphere on topics, ranging from university issues to broader social concerns. They were met with disdain from the mainstream press. Newspapers like *El País*, backed by the conservative Blanco party, claimed that students were in no position to dictate how the university should be run, much less weigh in on policy issues regarding the national economy and international politics. In response to such critiques, the FEUU published rebuttals in *Jornada*. These rebuttals debated mainstream claims and demanded a rightful place in public discourse. Meanwhile, prominent leftist publications like *Marcha* bolstered the student voice by publishing student manifestos, letters to the editor from students, and articles and editorials with positive coverage of student activities. Taken as a whole, these exchanges reveal not only the multi-faceted struggles for power and voice amongst the student population in Uruguay, but also the complicated dynamics of intellectual and political discourse.

Examples from the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s demonstrate how tensions between the establishment media and Uruguayan youth unfolded. The primary source for this analysis is the FEUU newspaper *Jornada.* From 1933 to 1969, *Jornada*

published more than sixty articles concerning frustrations with the mainstream press.[253] As a means of analyzing these writings, I adapt and apply the concepts of the public sphere and public voice, as developed by Jürgen Habermas and Albert Hirschman respectively, to analyze the FEUU's relationships with the mainstream and leftist presses in this era and illustrate how students jockeyed for position and maintained a presence in public life.[254]

INTRODUCTION TO THE URUGUAYAN PRESS

As demonstrated in prior chapters, the Federation of Uruguayan University Students (FEUU) was deeply committed to the idea of students as social actors. The FEUU was also unique among student groups in that it maintained complete political autonomy from the two dominant parties in the country, the *Colorados* and the *Blancos*, which was a stance born not of apathy but rather of deep conviction: FEUU members worried that overt political connections between students and political

---

[253] Due to this shifting political climate, *Jornada* ceased production during the years leading up to, during, and immediately following Uruguay's military dictatorship (1973-85). For a sum of almost twenty years, from 1969 to 1987, the FEUU did not produce a single official issue of the paper. Publication finally resumed in 1987. UPPU, FHCE.

[254] Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989; Hirschman, Albert O. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

parties would compromise the integrity of the student organization and threaten the ideals of university autonomy they were fighting so hard to achieve.[255]

In contrast, the mainstream newspapers in Uruguay were deeply and openly wedded to their respective political parties. Though at the turn of the twentieth century the country boasted a highly literate and engaged public, with 24 dailies and 91 magazines published in Montevideo alone and a total of 116 other publications dispersed throughout the interior, by mid-century there were only five periodicals that garnered the majority of the circulation.[256] These five newspapers were all Montevideo-based and dominated by fierce loyalties to the country's two main political parties. These "Great Modern Day Newspapers," as characterized by Daniel Álvarez Ferretjans, included *El País* and *El Plata* of the Blanco party, and *El Día*, *El Diario*, and *La Mañana* backed by the Colorados.[257] Though the FEUU met resistance from all of these newspapers, the Blanco party paper *El País* developed the most contentious relationship with the FEUU during the early Cold War.

The first major newspaper backed by political parties in Uruguay was *El Día,* established in 1886 by then-journalist José Batlle y Ordoñez and envisioned as the public voice of the liberal, urban-based Colorado party. For almost a century, *El Día* operated from a privileged position of power as the Colorado party held the presidency uninterrupted from 1865 to 1959. Throughout it's tenure, *El Día* levied occasional

---

[255] For more on student calls for university autonomy see Mark J. Van Aken, "University Reform before Córdoba" in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Aug. 1971), pp. 447-4632.
[256] Álvarez Ferretjans, Daniel. *Desde la Estrella del Sur a Internet: Historia de la Prensa en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: Fin de Siglo, 2008, 439.
[257] Ibid.

criticisms at the FEUU and student activism but was more concerned with bolstering and maintaining its powerful political position than it was in resisting student activism.

In contrast, *El País* represented the more conservative and traditionally rural Blanco party and served as a fierce political platform for an increasingly disenfranchised conservative base. Founded in 1918, over thirty years after the founding of *El Día*, the Blanco party established *El País* to express frustrations with the Colorado stronghold on national politics. Its scope later expanded to also address issues of public concern, including student activism and the University of the Republic. *El País* quickly became the FEUU's loudest and most flamboyant critic. The paper's reports attacked not only student strategies and platforms, but also the integrity of the FEUU organization itself, especially when student activism moved beyond the confines of University concerns and into the realm of broader domestic or international politics.

While *El País* was undoubtedly its most outspoken critic, the FEUU regularly complained about being misrepresented or attacked by the mainstream press as a whole. The tensions were so great that by the 1950s, as former FEUU militant Carlos De Mattos recalled, the main offices of *El Día* and *El País*, were regularly scheduled stops on every student protest march en route to the *Palacio Legislativo* (the Legislative Palace/Statehouse).[258] All of these entities were quite close to the University's Facultad of Law on 18 de Julio, the starting point for most student

[258] Carlos de Mattos, interview with the author, notes, Santiago, Chile.

marches. The FEUU also used these strike destinations as an opportunity to publicly critique the close relationship between these mainstream newspapers and partisan politics.

In the realm of newspapers and public information, the FEUU was at a disadvantage. Though the Federation had its own student-run newspaper, the production and circulation was far less than that of the mainstream papers. With limited readership of its own publications, and the mainstream newspapers unwilling to issue retractions or print student rebuttals of contested material, the FEUU sought out support from smaller left-leaning newspapers presses to bolster their fight against the mainstream press. A number of these alternative newspapers supported the students and defended them amid attacks by *El País*. It was in this way that *Marcha* became one of the FEUU's strongest allies.

A well-respected leftist newspaper founded in Montevideo in 1939 by Carlos Quijano, a former student activist, *Marcha* had an unapologetically "anti-imperialist, nationalist, democratic, and socialist" stance.[259] The politically independent newspaper's weekly publications engaged both domestic and international issues and quickly gained a strong following with a widespread readership throughout Latin America and Europe by the end of the 1940s.[260] Likely due to Quijano's own history

---

[259] Vior, Eduardo J., "Perder los amigos, pero no la conducta. Tercerismo, nacionalismo y antiimperialismo: *Marcha* entre la revolución y la contrarrevolución (1958-1974)" in *Marcha y América Latina*. Mabel Moraña and Horacio Machín, Eds. Pittsburgh: Universidad de Pittsburgh, Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, Biblioteca de América, 2003, 83.

[260] For more on *Marcha* and its international influence, see the entire volume of *Marcha y América Latina* (ibid) and Luisa Perano Basso's *Marcha de Montevideo y la*

as a student activist, as well as the FEUU's devoted following to the ideologically like-minded publication, *Marcha* became a key ally for the FEUU in their battles with the mainstream press throughout the 1940s, 50s, and 60s.[261] The newspaper reported on FEUU activities and built a close relationship with students of all ages by providing regular coverage of youth activities, including special features like the six-month run of a section titled "Youth Tribune" in 1941 that was dedicated to reporting on youth and student activism all over the country.[262]

In addition to the weekly editions of *Marcha*, FEUU members also had friendly relationships with many of the paper's contributors. "The week was marked by the day *Marcha* came out," Carlos De Mattos recalled, explaining how groups of students, journalists, writers, and other intellectuals from the community would gather Friday and Saturday evenings in cafés to discuss politics and future writings, as well as "frivolous things."[263] De Mattos explained how central these café meetings were to

---

formación de la conciencia latinoamericana a través de sus cuadernos. Buenos Aires: Javier Vergara Editor, 2001.

[261] Quijano was one of the founding members of the Centro Ariel in 1917 while a student at the University of the Republic in Montevideo. While studying in Paris, he was also instrumental in the 1925 founding of The General Association of Latin American Students (La Associación General de Estudiantes Latinoamericanos). For more on Quijano, see Arturo Ardao's "El latinoamericanismo de Quijano" in *Marcha y América Latina*. Mabel Moraña and Horacio Machín, Eds. Pittsburgh: Universidad de Pittsburgh, Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, Biblioteca de América, 2003, 174.

[262] This section appeared in every edition of *Marcha* for sixth months in a row, from May to December. "Tribuna de los Jóvenes," "Marcha, nº 95 (9 May 1941) – nº 118 (5 December 1941), acedida August 12, 2013, Publicaciones Periódicas del Uruguay, http://www.periodicas.edu.uy

[263] Dr. Carlos De Mattos, interview with the author, notes, Santiago, Chile. Carlos Real de Azúa, for example, was reportedly quite difficult to have a serious conversation with in these gatherings.

student life: "The cafés served a function almost like a club. It was like a social club, where one articulated his social life. They played a very important role at that time in Uruguay."[264] An important link between students and society-at-large, the weekly editions of *Marcha* were therefore not just a news source, but also a central part of social and cross-generational intellectual exchanges in student life, forming a nexus of political and cultural life. As exemplified here, FEUU members were active participants in intellectual discourse on the left in Uruguay. This general understanding of the FEUU relationship with the mainstream and leftist press helps explain the context for the examples to follow.

FLASHPOINT: 1941

After facing years of censorship and repression under Gabriel Terra's dictatorial rule from 1933 to 1938 (described in more detail in Chapter One of this dissertation), students were eager to return to open, public activism in the 1940's. The FEUU celebrated the return of legitimate democratic governance with the election of President Alfredo Baldomir Ferrari, as mentioned earlier, had been part of the Terra administrations coup and repression. The FEUU feared Baldomir's politics had their own fascist tendencies that could lead back to dictatorship. A student editorial titled "Open letter to the Executive Power" in July 1941 laid out their main complaints and concerns.[265] For FEUU members who had resisted Terra in the 1930s and were also

[264] Carlos de Mattos, interview with the author, notes, Santiago, Chile.
[265] "Carta abierta al Poder Ejecutivo," *Jornada*, July 1941, UPPU, FHCE.

actively involved in anti-dictator solidarity movements throughout Latin America, the idea of another domestic breach in democracy was unacceptable.

Thus, amidst international concerns over the might and spread of fascism in Europe, in July 1941 the FEUU called for a nation-wide general student strike to proclaim their fierce anti-fascist, anti-Nazi, anti-imperialist stance. This strike was meant both as a domestic and international statement, a response to the political situation at home and abroad. Although Baldomir and the Colorado party, as well as the opposition Blanco party, publicly opposed the fascist politics of the Axis forces, the Baldomir government and its representatives did not look kindly upon the FEUU's anti-fascist protest. To the contrary, newspapers like *El País* strongly denounced the FEUU strike. In an editorial on July 23, 1941 titled "Those that are not students cannot direct strikes," *El País* editors claimed that the strike was organized under false pretenses, with non-students masquerading as FEUU members in order to instigate conflicts.[266] Specifically, the editors alleged that the FEUU contained numerous non-student agitators, including people who used to qualify as students but had ceased being "active" students because they had not taken an exam in the past year. Under this definition, *El País* claimed that "various components" of the FEUU executive body were "practically not students" and should therefore be ineligible to vote on actions like the strike in question. *El País* further argued that these "non-students" who were leading calls for the strike were not genuinely representing student body concerns and distracting the "real" students from learning.

---

[266] "Los que no son estudiantes no pueden dirigir huelgas," *El País*, 23 July 1941, BN, Montevideo, Uruguay.

In response, the FEUU laid out an eight-point rebuttal titled "Responding to 'El País'" in the August, 1941 edition of their newspaper, *Jornada*.[267] The students used the article to denounce the reporting of *El País* while also defending the integrity and platform of the FEUU. They prefaced the article by explaining to readers the FEUU's failed attempts to resolve the matter directly with *El País*: "Even though it occurred almost a month ago, we see the need to answer now via *Jornada*, since *El País* has neglected to run the correction."[268] The students were adamant that the newspaper was misrepresenting the facts, especially claims that the organization was made up of numerous "non-students" and had refused to print clarifications or retractions. The FEUU went on to challenge the integrity of *El País* on these grounds, concluding that the newspaper was either intentionally misrepresenting the facts for political reasons or was too stupid or irresponsible to get the facts straight. Most importantly, the FEUU also used this rebuttal as an opportunity to challenge *El País*' ideological stance that students did not belong in public discourse.

Number three of the students' eight points alleged that the *El País* article intentionally misrepresented the University regulations and the varying stages of student matriculation in order to unfairly impugn the FEUU. While *El País'* indictment of the FEUU had focused on individuals who did not appear to have taken their exams that year and could thus not be students, the FEUU refuted the newspaper's attack by pointing out both the inconsistencies and misinformation in *El*

---

[267] "Contestando a 'El País,'" *Jornada*, August 1941, UPPU, FHCE.
[268] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "(Aunque ha transcurrido casi un mes, nos vemos en la necesidad de contestar por "Jornada", ya que "El País" negó publicar la rectificación.)"

País' reporting and declaring that the individuals in question were, to the contrary, legitimate students by the rules and regulations of the university. Without naming the supposed non-students, *El País* had claimed that "statistics from the Faculties of Medicine and the Faculties of Law, among others," backed up their accusations.[269] The FEUU, in turn, questioned the editor's competence and integrity by proclaiming that "[t]he regulations [for student status] are sufficiently clear and precise, for any halfway intelligent person to distinguish," concluding that the writer in question must have been "deliberately misinterpreting the rules of the Faculties." The students drew further attention to the *El País* writer's weak grasp of University rules by asking, "Do they not know that in the Faculty of Medicine, for example, one can complete courses from their second to sixth year without taking a single exam and without losing student status?" Although this fact was accurate, it did not exactly diminish the critique of the student activists as not being full-time students.[270] Nevertheless, the FEUU made the point on the grounds that it should be the official student status that determines one's student identity. Finally, to clarify the organization's view of *El País'* mendacity, the FEUU directly contrasted the actual regulations of the university with the editorial's statements and concluded with this analysis: "The conditions a

---

[269] "Los que no son estudiantes no pueden dirigir huelgas," *El País*, 23 July 1941, BN, Montevideo, Uruguay. Original Spanish text: "Nos basamos para esta afirmación en lo que disponen los estatutos de la Facultad de Medicina y los de la Facultad de Derecho, entre otras."

[270] Indeed, many of the most active members of the FEUU were known to take substantial breaks from coursework to pursue their activism. Van Aken, *Los militantes*, 118.

student must meet to participate in student delegate elections are one thing, but the interpretation the writer wants to offer is quite another."

While much of the FEUU article focused on correcting the false statements in the *El País* article, as well as the newspaper's failure to name the suspected "non-students" as a form of evidence, the student rebuttal also succinctly captured one of the central tensions between the students and the press regarding the proper place of students in society. In the article, *El País* had contended that the FEUU's "energetic attitude" for strikes and activism originated from bad habits and distracted the "real" students from learning in the classroom. They had further argued that the misguided plan to strike was generated by those with a "serious constitutive defect."[271] By critiquing student organizing efforts and their leadership in this way, while also suggesting that student activity should be contained only to the classroom, the FEUU argued that *El País* was implying that the only acceptable model for student behavior was as a passive receiver of information in the classroom. Quoting the newspaper directly, the students rejected these notions as well as the idea that the FEUU agenda "only hurts the real students." To the contrary, the FEUU argued that its activism was actually the most authentic embodiment of student identity imaginable. Strongly opposing the notion of students as passive actors in their education, *Jornada* took the opposite stance by celebrating the students who engaged with society and argued that

[271] "Los que no son estudiantes no pueden dirigir huelgas," *El País*, 23 July 1941, BN, Montevideo, Uruguay. Original Spanish text: "De lo contrario la resolución que se adopte adolecerá de un grave vicio de origen."

these were the more ethical, responsible students at the university.[272] The FEUU also argued that *El País* was making a narrow-minded ideological argument about the appropriate role of students in the university. As detailed in Chapter Two, the FEUU saw social activism as a central component of a student's identity and an integral part of the *misión social* of the university itself.[273] Thus, the FEUU considered their actions to be appropriate and successful, actively engaging in the learning process by linking their experiences to larger social issues.

The student rebuttal also addressed what it meant to be "*hombre*," arguing that contrary to the opinion of *El País*, the FEUU actions reflected a very responsible, adult (and masculine) disposition. This response speaks to a general sentiment in the mainstream press, and in *El País* in particular, that students were not qualified to form an opinion about domestic or international affairs because of their youthful, non-adult status. It implied their lack of *hombria*, manhood and civility. As the FEUU understood it, this characterization demanded students be ejected from public life. To

---

[272] "Contestando a 'El País,'" *Jornada*, August 1941, UPPU, Universidad de la República, Montevideo, Uruguay. "We consider real students only those who know how to behave at any time as 'men' in the ethical sense of the term, covering all the duties inherent in their capacity as such, and not those who look to the silence of the classroom as the most suitable way to avoid the inescapable imperatives of the social environment. The positions taken by these students are the ones that suffer from a 'serious constitutive defect'." Original Spanish text: "Nosotros consideramos estudiantes auténticos tan sólo a aquellos que saben conducirse en cualquier momento como "hombres" en el sentido ético del término, atendiendo a todos los deberes inherentes a su calidad de tales, y no a esos que sólo buscan en el silencio de las aulas el medio más propicio para sustraerse a los imperativos ineludibles del ambiente social. Las posiciones que adopten éstos, esas sí, adolecen de un "grave vicio de origen"."

[273] For more on the social mission, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation and Van Aken's "University Reform Before Córdoba", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (August 1971), 447-462.

combat this characterization, the FEUU used terms like "hombre" to characterize their actions as responsible and engaged adults who deserved to be part of the dialogue.

The use of the term "hombre" further equated adulthood and responsible citizenship with manliness, reflecting the organization's all-male leadership. This exchange highlights the heavily gendered notions of nationalism, citizenship, and adulthood that informed the ideology of the FEUU and Uruguayan society at the time.[274] While there are no official records of FEUU membership that track or acknowledge gender specifically, oral history interviews with student militants from the 1950s confirm that although there were female students involved in the organization and associated activism, the FEUU leadership during this time period was completely male.[275] Men occupied the leadership and journalist positions in the organization, authoring the majority of FEUU content (communications like this article) and served as the public voice of the student body.

The FEUU's eight-point rebuttal to *El País* concluded with twenty-four students signing their names as authors, representing members of the FEUU leadership as well as delegates from eight of the university's ten *facultade*s and five affiliated student groups from outside the university.[276] Since the FEUU had organized a

---

[274] For more on the role of gender and the state in Uruguay, see Christine Ehrick's *The Shield of the Weak: Feminism and the State in Uruguay*, 1903-1933. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

[275] This was true in the 1940s as well. For more on the demographics of the university, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

[276] There were a total of 10 different faculties at the University of the Republic in 1941: Agronomy, Architecture, Economic Science, Law, Medicine, Veterinary Medicine, Dentistry, Chemistry, Math, and Engineering. The only faculties that were not listed as co-authors of this article were from Math and Engineering. In addition to

general strike, involving students from all over the country, they also included the signatures of a variety of student groups in their rebuttal to demonstrate the unified front students were making against *El País'* claims. This rebuttal also served as a symbolic act in opposition to the anonymous accusations waged by *El País*. Without *El País* making more specific accusations about individual students, the FEUU could not offer a more specific defense, and mentioned their frustration with this numerous times throughout the rebuttal. Thus, as a final stand against *El País* and its vague accusations against the "non-student" leaders, the FEUU concluded the article by listing twenty-four authors, accompanied by their school affiliations, to prove the authenticity of its members and the integrity of their organization.

THE FEUU AND *MARCHA*

On August 1, 1941, *Marcha* ran several articles about the student frustrations with the aforementioned incident, including a copy of the student's rebuttal as printed in *Jornada*. *Marcha* re-named it "The FEUU Answers," and added a brief note of introduction: "The following statement comes to us from the FEUU in answer to an article that appeared in the newspaper "El País."[277] The republication of this article was a sign of solidarity between the students and *Marcha,* giving the students a much

---

these students, representatives from the Federation of the Interior and four other federations comprised of secondary school students signed their names to the statement in solidarity.

[277] "Contesta la FEUU," "Marcha nº 107," *Publicaciones Periódicas del Uruguay*, accedida August 12, 2013, http://www.periodicas.edu.uy/items/show/292. Original Spanish text: "Nos llega de la FEUU el siguiente comunicado contestando un artículo aparecido en diario "El País.""

wider audience for their views. This was a de-facto endorsement of having student voices in public discourse. In describing the student concerns and activism in relation to other political entities, *Marcha* editors asserted that FEUU actions like the strike in question were in fact "more eloquent than any inflated academic oratory."[278]

On the same page, just below the "The FEUU Answers," *Marcha* also reprinted a manifesto penned by the FEUU-affiliated Engineering student group titled "Elections in the Engineering Student Center: Values of the group "For University Reform.""[279] The student manifesto expressed a commitment to democratic practices and the fight for university autonomy while also justifying student involvement in issues outside the university. In making such statements, these students reiterated the importance of the FEUU's political autonomy from mainstream political parties. They also used this moment to declare their deep commitment to society and the greater good, articulating a vision of their movement as part of a broader ideological front.

> In this regard we reaffirm our position to defend democracy and against all forms of fascism in the international or national order and affirm that we will spare no efforts to fight alongside other popular forces against all undemocratic activities - including, especially, those hidden under fallacious concepts of *Hispanidad* or *Latinidad*.[280]

---

[278] "El movimiento estudiantil," *Marcha,* July 11, 1941, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "En efecto, la posición asumida hace aproximadamente un mes, de no concurrir a los cuarteles, y la de ahora, consistente en declarar la huelga general por tiempo indeterminado, señalan dos etapas de lucha más elocuentes que toda la oratoria inflada y académica de nuestros super-hombres."

[279] "Elecciones en el centro estudiantes de ingeniería: principios de la lista 'por la reforma universitaria'," *Marcha*, August 1, 1941, UPPU, FHCE.

[280] "Elecciones en el centro estudiantes de ingeniería: principios de la lista 'por la reforma universitaria'," *Marcha*, August 1, 1941, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "En ese sentido ratificamos nuestra posición de defensa de la democracia y contra toda forma de fascismo en el orden internacional o nacional y afirmamos que no

This reflected the greater FEUU position that supported certain elements of Pan-Americanism and regional solidarities but nevertheless saw potential dangers in these allegiances. In this instance, students were suggesting that President Baldomir's efforts to consolidate power were particularly problematic precisely because he was simultaneously claiming the process was democratic and, worse yet, that it was part of a broader collective "Hispanic" or "Latino" front. Further, students argued that seemingly disconnected international conflicts (such as supporting General Franco in Spain) were actually deeply intertwined with domestic politics, pointing out that many of the same political entities in Uruguay that "…today adopt democratic postures acted in complicity with the fascist aggressor" during the Spanish Civil War.[281]

The closing statement of the student manifesto reiterated principles of university autonomy and highlighted efforts to implement similar reforms throughout Latin America. These FEUU representatives saw their commitment to university reform in Uruguay as a way to improve the nation, while also working towards a genuine Latin American solidarity movement:

> We declare to always govern our attitudes by the axioms of the University Reform, a unique authentic ideology of the American students… [that] defends our freedom and our independence from foreign interference or actions that tend to deflect or mask the

---

escatimaremos esfuerzos para combatir junto con las demás fuerzas populares, a todas las actividades antidemocráticas – incluyendo especialmente entre ellas, las ocultas bajo falaces conceptos de hispanidad o latinidad."

[281] "Elecciones en el centro estudiantes de ingeniería: principios de la lista 'por la reforma universitaria'," *Marcha*, August 1, 1941, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "…de los que hoy adoptan posturas democráticas actuaban en complicidad con el fascismo agresor."

legitimate and true meaning of our nationality.[282]

Marcha's decision to print this manifesto just prior to the University elections served as yet another public show of support. While it could have stopped there, letting the re-printing speak for itself, *Marcha* instead added an editorial note to express its explicit support for the these university students and their ideas: "The group 'For University Reform' sent us their manifesto for publication which we gladly transcribe, taking the opportunity to offer our columns to the democratic groups of that student center."[283] These two acts, the printing of the student statement and the explicit endorsement of the group's democratic nature simultaneously increased the credibility of the FEUU and of the University's student elections.

As further proof of *Marcha*'s close relationship with the student population, the same August 1, 1941 edition also featured a FEUU report on the socio-political situation in the interior of the country. Running on page six, just one fold-out section away from the student manifestos, "Durazno: arm of the national consciousness" highlighted the aftermath of the aforementioned national student strike that had produced violent clashes between Nazi sympathizers and anti-totalitarian protestors in

---

[282] "Elecciones en el centro estudiantes de ingeniería: principios de la lista 'por la reforma universitaria'," *Marcha*, August 1, 1941, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text:

[283] Ibid. The editors for Tribunas de los Jóvenes are listed as Ruben Etchart, Alberto Ed. Valles, and Claudio Roman. The editor for the entire edition is Wellington L. Andreoletti. Original Spanish text: El grupo 'Por la Reforma Universitaria,' nos envía para su publicación el manifesto que gustosos transcribimos aprovechando la oportunidad para ofrecer nuestras columnas a los grupos demócratas de dicho centro."

the interior.[284] The article included an important commentary on the dominance of Montevideo in national politics and political consciousness, often ignoring experiences and perspectives from the interior. Equally important to the article's message was the student-status of its author. The fact that *Marcha* encouraged a FEUU member to serve as a guest journalist made an important statement about the strong peer-like relationship between *Marcha* and the FEUU, especially in the wake of the more infantilizing conflicts the FEUU had engaged in with *El País*. Taken together, the call for a strike, the public disagreements with *El País*, and the expressions of support from *Marcha* show the FEUU clearly moving into the public sphere despite establishment dismissal.

FLASHPOINT: 1950 AND 1951

Almost ten years after the student's July, 1941 anti-imperialism protests and the subsequent fallout with *El País*, the FEUU was still grappling with the same frustrations regarding the mainstream media. The push for university autonomy (political and economic) had gained momentum throughout the 1940s and by the 1950s was being seriously debated within the national legislature. For the mainstream press, however, the students were still not qualified to comment on or participate in the running of the country. Meanwhile, like much of the Western Hemisphere during this time period, Uruguay was absorbed in Cold War fears about the threat of communism. The FEUU, still non-partisan, maintained a neutral Cold War stance and

[284] "Durazno: Brazo de una conciencia nacional," *Marcha*, August 1, 1941, UPPU, FHCE.

began to collaborate with leftist intellectuals to develop their concept of *Tercerismo*.[285] The Uruguayan government and the establishment press could not accept any criticism of capitalism; the right concluded the students had become communists. The situation became even more complicated as the students continued to build alliances with labor unions and workers' movements, activism that was often suspected of having communist ties. Even when accusations against the FEUU were not explicit, the students encountered opposition for their refusal to pledge allegiance to the dominant political parties and the existing political system. U.S. pressure to conform to a Latin American anti-communist alliance also weakened democratic governments throughout the region and strengthened the right and dictatorships.

In "The press and the police" from the October, 1950 edition of *Jornada*, the FEUU argued that there was a direct connection between the political allegiances of the mainstream newspapers and their coverage (or lack thereof) of police aggression against students and workers. The article did not name any specific newspapers but instead made a sweeping statement about the mainstream press in general. This lack of reporting, the FEUU argued, was a deliberate pattern aimed at defeating the more progressive platforms of the labor unions and the student movement.

> If the police force strikebreakers to act as provocateurs and then take advantage of the incidents to trample the strikers (conflicts [in the industries] of wool, metal, etc.), the press is silent. If the police torture naval prisoners and Judge Dr. Franca signs an opinion of moral conviction that there were tortures, the press remains silent. When they raid the FEUU militants for the sole crime of posting flyers inviting [people] to attend a public event of the Federation, the mainstream press is also silent. If businesses whose workers are on

[285] For more on the development of *Tercerismo*, see Chapter Three of this dissertation

> strike (metallurgical workers) arm thugs to coerce workers and create a climate of fear in union neighborhoods, the press is either silent or defends the employers.[286]

The students pointed to these incidents that went unreported or in which reports were heavily biased against the workers as evidence of the their main point: that the press was not truly "free," but was instead acting first and foremost as a political entity. Though the political allegiances of the press were fairly transparent, the popular understanding was that the newspapers maintained enough autonomy from their party interests to allow for freedom of the press, including honest journalism and reporting about basic issues of public safety. But after the above-mentioned incidents, it had become clear to the students that the police were being shielded from scrutiny in order to maintain the status quo, and was acting in unison with U.S. pressures.

The FEUU pointed to this selective reporting as an indication that the press in Uruguay was not "free" in the sense of reflecting facts that the establishment did not want mentioned. "It is logical: the role of the free press would be to publicly point out the excesses committed against freedom and individual integrity. However, it is difficult to tell if the press is truly free when the issue at stake is broader and the political becomes social." The article ends with the final remarks phrased as questions

---

[286] "La prensa y la policía," *Jornada*, October 1950, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "Si la policía obliga a los rompe-huelgas a actuar de provocadores luego aprovecha los incidentes para atropellar a los huelguistas (conflicto de la lana, metalúrgicos, etc.), la prensa calla. Si la policía tortura a los presos navales y el Juez Dr. Franca firma un dictamen sentado su convicción moral de que hubieron torturas, la prensa sigue callando. Cuando se producen las razzias de militantes de la FEUU por el único delito de pegar murales invitando a concurrir a un acto público de la Federación, la gran prensa también calla. Si empresas cupos obreros están en huelga (metalúrgicos) arman a patoteros para coaccionar a los obreros y crear un clima de terror en barriadas sindicales, la prensa o calla o defiende a la patronal."

for dramatic effect: "Is the press only free when it comes to dealing with problems of partisan political struggles? Are police saved from all criticism when they direct their excesses against the labor movement or against the students?"[287] By making these links between the mainstream press, politics, and the police explicit, the FEUU made clear its position that tensions between students and the press were rooted in core ideological and political differences.

Just one year later in 1951, the FEUU was again defending itself against what it considered false and inaccurate accusations by mocking a recurring editorial section of *El País* called "Lo que se dice" (a phrase that literally means "What is said" but translates more colloquially to "What they're saying" or "Word on the street"). The students' version, in *Jornada,* replaced the column's usual bits of political gossip with statements about the Federation's frustrations with *El País*, framing the section with this editorial note: "Unlike this journalistic section's namesake, this is serious and responsible."[288] In the column, students once more challenged the integrity of *El País* and particularly the practice of publishing unconfirmed gossip, describing the newspaper and its journalists as irresponsible. They did this by printing examples of *El País'* bad practice in the same format as the gossip and lies they claimed *El País*

---

[287] "La prensa y la policía," *Jornada*, October 1950, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "Es lógico: la función de la prensa libre sería la de señalar públicamente los excesos cometidos contra la libertad e integridad individuales. Sin embargo, se vé si la prensa es realmente libre cuando el problema en juego es de carácter más amplio y de político pasa a ser social."; "Es que la prensa sólo es libre cuando se trata de plantear problemas de luchas políticas partidarias? Se salva la policía de toda crítica cuando dirige sus desmanes contra el movimiento obrero o contra el estudiantado?"

[288] "'Lo que se dice'," *Jornada*, October 1951, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "A diferencia de una sección periodística homónima, esta es seria y responsable."

regularly published: "THAT slanderous statements were made at the [University Senate] meeting about the ideologies of the strike organizers" and "THAT the FEUU challenges the known liar to prove that in the Federation of Students and the Strike Committee there is even one communist."[289]

Alongside this satire piece, was another strong rebuttal against the partisan press reporting practices titled "The Mainstream Press and the Truth."

> Once again, we students must break out with swords today against this disloyal pseudo press that, unable to discuss our ideas because it does not share them, uses the most reprehensible tactics to smear the university student movement.[290]

The article said that students were angry, but not surprised, by the press characterizations that ignored or misrepresented the FEUU platform, from its views on constitutional reform to the political orientation of its members and leaders. The FEUU cited specific newspapers that printed lies or ignored the Federation altogether. To *El País*, the FEUU denounced the false accusations of having communist leaders; to *El Día*, it rejected a vague theory that the students were being manipulated by politicians, but claimed that the paper did not attack the students directly for fear of losing their votes in the next election; and to the nationalist, anti-imperialist *El Debate* its disappointment for virtually ignoring students.

---

[289] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "QUE hizo, en la reunión [del Claustro], calumniosas aseveraciones sobre ideologías de los organizadores de la huelga. QUE la FEUU emplaza al conocido mentiroso a que pruebe que en la Federación de Estudiantes y en el Comité de Huelga hay un sólo comunista."

[290] "La Prensa Grande y la Verdad," *Jornada*, October, 1951, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "Nuevamente hoy los estudiantes debemos salir a romper lanzas contra esa desleal pseudo prensa que, al no poder discutir nuestras ideas por ella no tenerlas, recurre a los más rastreros procedimientos para manchar el movimiento estudiantil-universitario."

Aside from specific grievances, the FEUU continued its campaign for university autonomy: the university had to be free from an establishment that could only criticize and promote staid partisanship if it was going to meet its educational goals.

> We have read these tall tales and they don't astonish us. But though it may seem logical—despicably logical—that the press proceeds this way, that it distorts our slogans and falsifies the truth in all of it's manifestations, we cannot stop launching our cry of rebellion and protest: we want the people to hear us, to know for sure what today means: that is to say, we are fighting in this moment not for or against a constitutional reform— something that we will determine later if necessary— but in favor of a University free of the distorting influences of political power; free of the fossilization of state culture, free in its internal organization, and thus directed by the Claustro and in direct form by the teachers, students and alumni; free, finally, to fulfill its primary function: to create a culture for all the people, and not for a privileged group.[291]

As this example illustrates, the students recognized clear connections between the press distortions of student activists and political resistance and the concept of university autonomy. Moreover, they were ready to respond. The students used *Jornada* as their platform and their ideals did not change much from those announced

---

[291] "La Prensa Grande y la Verdad," *Jornada*, October, 1951, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "Hemos podido leer esas patrañas, y no nos asombran. Pero aunque nos parezca lógico - canallescamente lógico - que la prensa proceda así, que deforme nuestras consignas y que falsee la verdad en todas sus manifestaciones, no podemos dejar de lanzar nuestro grito de rebeldía y de protesta: queremos que el pueblo nos oiga, que sepa a ciencia cierta lo que hoy intuye: o sea, que luchamos en este momento no a favor o en contra de una reforma constitucional - que luego estudiaremos si lo consideramos necesarios - sino en pro de una Universidad libre de las influencias de-formantes del poder político; libre de la fosilización estatal de la cultura; libre en su organización interna, y por ende dirigida desde el Claustro y en forma directa por profesores, estudiantes y egresados; libre, en fin, para poder cumplir su primordial función: hacer que la cultura sea para todo el pueblo, y no para un grupo de privilegiados."

in the early 1940s. The FEUU demanded a public voice and an opening of the university to the entire community of Montevideo, insisting on participating in the public sphere and fulfilling the *misión social* by engaging with the community. The students' tone had become more threatening: "The press has lied once again, fulfilling its mission to defend the current regime. The students will remember this."[292]

Only a month later, in a special edition of *Jornada*, the FEUU reached back seventeen years into the archives to re-print an *El Día* editorial from 1934. Written under the Terra dictatorship, the students commented that this seemingly outdated editorial proved that the FEUU had remained faithful to their goal of improving the university while the press had steadily reflected the whims of political fads. Now, the press had grown more partisan than it was in the mid 1930s, made clear by its opposing university reform efforts as compared to their independent support of these same causes during dictatorial rule. According to the *Jornada* editorial, "The student movement has not changed its struggle for a better university, free from any political influence, at the service of the people; those who do change according to their interests are the politicians."[293] Because of political loyalties, the students argued, papers like *El Día* that had once publicly supported university reform were now pressured to oppose these same efforts.

---

[292] "La Prensa Grande y la Verdad," *Jornada*, October, 1951, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "La prensa ha mentido una vez más, cumpliendo su misión de defender el régimen actual. Los estudiantes lo recordaremos."

[293] "Decía el Día," *Jornada*, 2º Quincena, October, 1951, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "El movimiento estudiantil no ha cambiado su lucha en pro de una Universidad mejor, libre de todo influencia política, al servicio del pueblo; quienes sí cambian de acuerdo a sus intereses son los políticos."

In November, 1951, the FEUU reminded the public of the 1941 strike as a way of demonstrating that the establishment press had nothing new to say about students. Newspapers like *El País* followed a predictable pattern of hostility towards the students, treating contemporary events in a manner that the FEUU argued was eerily similar to what had happened ten years before:

> This press attitude is not new, especially that of "El País", who has made it the norm to try to discredit any movement that does not obediently follow "the illustrious political figures", or whose motives are contrary to the interests of the bourgeoisie they represent.[294]

Marcha responded with numerous articles in support of the students, championing their fight for university autonomy and speaking out against the police violence the students had faced during recent protests.[295] In addition to their own editorials, *Marcha* continued to give students the opportunity to speak for themselves. On Oct 12, 1951 *Marcha* published a statement written by Ramón Oxman, the International Secretary General of the FEUU, defending the organization's anti-imperialist stance and critiquing the Uruguayan government for offering naval support to the United States.[296]

Throughout the 1950s, the mainstream press continued their efforts to deny the FEUU a voice in public affairs by refusing to cover violence committed by police

---

[294] Ibid. Original Spanish text: "No es nueva esta actitud de la prensa, y en especial de "El País", que ha tenido como norma el intentar desprestigiar todo movimiento que no esté conducido por los caminos de la docilidad a "las ilustres figuras políticas", o cuyos móviles sean contrarios a los intereses de la burguesía que ellos representan."
[295] "El Proyecto del Claustro","Policías y Estudiantes: Batalla en Montevideo", "El Incidente Policíaco," *Marcha*, October 5, 1951, UPPU, FHCE.
[296] "La Federación de E. Universitarios declara," Marcha*,* October 12, 1951, UPPU, FHCE.

against the students and by using gossip and innuendo to marginalize the FEUU agenda. Leftist papers like *Marcha* remained key allies, reporting on student happenings and defending them against the slander of papers like *El País*.

FLASHPOINT: 1960

By 1960, the relationship between the FEUU and the mainstream press was even more strained, the disaffection intensified by domestic and international developments. Domestically, the mainstream press still seethed from the 1958 success of the students' university reform campaign, an effort that had been met with heavy resistance from a variety of politicians and journalists since the idea first circulated in 1908.[297] Amidst this already tense domestic climate, the press's antipathy to the students was further fueled by the FEUU's support of the recent Cuban Revolution in 1959, a cause that had polarized the general public and university students alike. Many interpreted support of Cuba as a tacit endorsement of Communism and armed revolution, both issues that were contentious in a growing climate of Cold War hysteria. As such, the FEUU, having openly supported the Cuban Revolution as an anti-imperialist project, was soon accused of being sympathetic to Communism and therefore a threat to Uruguayan nationalism. The following examples from October 1960 highlight these tensions and illustrate the nature of student politics and student voice in the public sphere, including concerns about student activism being linked to

[297] Though outside the scope of this chapter, the mainstream press critiques of students during the university autonomy campaign of the 1950s reveal many of the same patterns of hostility and disdain for student voice.

the larger ideological and political debates of the time.

Amidst growing tension, the FEUU saw leftist papers like *El Debate* and *El Nacional* as their allies in a united front against the mainstream press, the police, and (by extension) the larger political establishment that both entities represented and protected. Running facsimile copies of the headlines from both papers that read "A Round of Applause to the FEUU" and "Savage Repression of the Students", *Jornada* used this instance as another opportunity to prove that, in contrast to the negative message delivered by papers such as *El País*, the students actually enjoyed a measure of public support.[298] The students were pleased to quote *El Debate*'s October 3, 1960 editorial, which repeated the faults of the press from twenty years before. Referring to *El País*, *El Debate* declared that "[N]obody believes them, nobody pays attention to them, and everyone knows that the serious press is serious about earning dividends." To drive the point home, this statement was followed with "[W]e all understand why they speak ill of Cuba," a further indictment of what the FEUU argued was the pro-*yanqui* and anti-*pueblo* stance of *El País*.[299] The FEUU applauded this denunciation as confirmation of their own critiques of the mainstream press and re-printed *El Debate*'s editorial as a way to confirm for their readers that these views were shared by segments of the public. The accompanying article, "This is how they lie to the people" presented the editorial as proof that the campaign against the university

---

[298] "Un Aplauso a la FEUU" from *El Nacional*; "Salvaje Represión a los Estudiantes from *El Debate*, *Jornada*, 4 October 1960, UPPU, FHCE.
[299] "Así mienten al pueblo," *Jornada*, 4 October 1960, UPPU, FHCE. Original Spanish text: "Ya nadie les cree, nadie les hace caso, todos saben ya que la prensa seria es seria cobrar los dividendos. Ya todos entienden porque hablan mal de Cuba."

students was primarily ideological; the idea that those issues were generational conflicts, they argued, was simply being used by *El País* as an attempt to dismiss the student's ideological stance out of hand.[300] *El Debate*, on the other hand, declared their support for the larger goal of university reform and denounced the repression of students at a recent demonstration.[301] In this same 4 October 1960 edition of *Jornada*, the FEUU reminded their readers that these attacks were nothing new. They compared an *El País* editorial from 1958 to one from 1960, arguing that the condemnations were eerily similar. In both instances, the FEUU argued that *El País* had propped up its views with lies and distortions.[302]

Just two weeks later, the FEUU issued a two-page spread addressing student frustrations with the mainstream press, highlighting the disingenuous reporting of *El País* and misrepresentations of the FEUU by affiliated politicians. Three articles in this edition focused specifically on Senator Rodriguez Larreta for the defamation of the FEUU.[303] They attacked Larreta's remarks against the FEUU and critiqued him in his role as one of the founding members of *El País*, arguing that the Senator was a perfect example of the relationship between the traditional political parties and the mainstream press in Uruguay. To clarify any lingering confusion, the FEUU included a chart that clearly explained the structure and positions of their organization as the final point in their rebuttal, carrying the unmistakable title "Enough Confusions: The

---

[300] Ibid.
[301] "Cobarde aggression," *El Debate*, 3 October 1960, UPPU, FHCE.
[302] "Hoy proceden así: Ayer hablaban así," *Jornada*, 4 October 1960, UPPU, FHCE.
[303] "Miente el 'Senador' – Qué es la FEUU?"; "Rodriguez Larreta- Cerebro o Instrumento?"; "'Opiniones' y opiniones? Larreta vs Rodo," *Jornada*, 19 October 1960, UPPU, FHCE.

FEUU = An Essentially Democratic and Representative Organization."[304] The chart illustrates the clear relationships between the Centros at each Facultad and the Consejo Federal of the FEUU, as well as the different posts that are part of the Consejo Federal (ie: Secretaria General de Prensa, Secretaria General de Asuntos Politico-Sociales, Secretraia General de Relaciones Exteriores, etc.).

THE LETTERS OF "E.F. LABAT"

An example of the tensions that continued to rise between the FEUU and the mainstream press appeared that same month. Here, the FEUU republished a Letter to the Editor as printed in *Marcha* in which Juan Garibotto (a non-student) explained how he had sent *El País* a fake Letter to the Editor, full of fabrications and false accusations against student activists, government officials, and workers unions. In his letter to *Marcha*, Garbiotto included a copy of the letter he had sent to *El País* and explained that the newspaper had published it without any fact checking. *Jornada* ran the reprint of Garibotto's letter to *Marcha* with their own title: "This is How a 'Serious' Paper Acts" followed by an editor's note explaining that *El País* had never publicly acknowledged the clarification Garibotto sent them after the initial publication.[305]

---

[304] "Basta de confusiones: La FEUU = Un organismo esencialmente democrático y representativo," *Jornada*, 4 October 1960, UPPU, FHCE.

[305] The students noted this as a particularly egregious detail, considering that the original exchanges had been published in March 1960, more than six months prior to *Jornada*'s re-printing of them in October 1960. "Así Procede un Diario 'Serio': Esto Nunca lo Desmintió 'El País,'" *Jornada*, 19 October 1960, UPPU, FHCE.

By Garibotto's own admission to *Marcha*, he wrote the letter to *El País* in the spirit of Carnival, a month-long festival in Uruguay that includes satirical performances aimed at politicians and various other elements of Uruguayan society.[306] These satires are most commonly performed by young people during Carnival-sanctioned competitions, attended and celebrated by Uruguayans of all ages. Garibotto's farcical letter can thus be understood as an attempt to poke fun at *El País* by mocking the paper's history of false reporting and disingenuous commentaries about students and workers. In writing to *Marcha*, Garibotto was able to clarify these initial intentions while also sharing his reaction and critique of *El País* after they published and enthusiastically endorsed his letter.

El País had published his letter with the title "Concrete facts," and went on to claim that E.F. Labat's account was proof that *El País* had been right all along about the dangers of the student-worker alliance and communist infiltration of both movements.[307] The irony was that the very publication of E.F. Labat/Juan Garibotto's letter now proved the opposite. Further, it proved that the paper had no regard for the facts and was implacable in its hostility to the FEUU. To prove his identity as the true author of the letter, and presumably for the enjoyment of the readers, Garibotto also

---

[306] Although Carnival is a festival celebrated with different variations and interpretations all over the world, Uruguay proudly proclaims itself the home of the "World's Longest Carnival," referring to the month-long series of competitions and activities that make up the celebrations. Satirical commentaries have long played an important role in Uruguay's Carnival, taking shape mostly in the form of theater-based performance competitions separated into four categories: *murgas*, *humoristas*, *parodistas*, and *revistas*. For more on Carnival in Uruguay, see Gustavo Remedi's *Carnival Theater: Uruguay's Popular Performers and National Culture (Cultural Studies of the Americas)*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

[307] "Hechos concretos", *El País*, 14 March 1960, BN, Montevideo, Uruguay.

explained the origins of his pseudonym in the postscript of his letter to *Marcha*: "E.F. LABAT" was a combination of the names Eduardo Larreta and Fulgencio Batista. Larreta was a well-known Senator and opponent of the FEUU. He was also one of the founding members of *El País.* Fulgencio Batista was the recently deposed dictator of Cuba.

Garibotto explained, in a note to *Marcha*, that he initially enjoyed his joke but then he saw its implications.

> Monday morning I laughed for a bit. But then I got serious. How could a newspaper publish and endorse a letter in which some unknown person attacks government officials, university authorities and union organizations? How, without any scruples, could they distribute such false information about the workers movement? Is this the ethical standard of this newspaper? Are their columns used to invoke the freedom of the press and democracy? That is to say, is it for this type of journalism that they receive subsidies? [This is] a very poor representation of our "great" press.[308]

There, in the hothouse atmosphere of the Montevidean public, the conservatives had been tripped and gone into a pratfall. The simple fact was, as pointed out earlier, the FEUU had always relied on the public's belief in their integrity. The Garibotto letter demonstrated the newspaper's party line had never changed. Other members of society were drawing the same conclusions and were outraged by the paper's

---

[308] "El lunes de mañana me reí un rato. Pero de pronto me puse serio. Cómo un diario publica y apadrina una carta en la que un desconocido dice lo que se le antoja sobre representantes diplomáticos, autoridades universitarias y organizaciones sindicales? Cómo, sin ningún escrúpulo, difunde una menosprecia soezmente al movimiento obrero? Esa es la ética que rige la conducta de ese diario? Están habilitadas sus columnas para invocar a cada rato la libertad de prensa y la democracia? Dicho sea de paso, es para esa clase de periodismo que se pretenden subsidios? Muy mal parado sale del presente cuestionario este representate de nuestra "gran" prensa." "Así Procede un Diario 'Serio.'" Jornada, October 1960, UPPU.

practices. The ruse made the students look smarter than the distinguished gentlemen who wanted them out of public life.[309]

Garibotto's letters as printed in *Jornada* serve as further evidence of the tensions and mistrust between the FEUU and the mainstream press, simultaneously validating the students' complaints and discrediting *El País*. The paper had no journalistic ethics and was willing to say or print anything that attacked the students. In addition to illustrating how the mainstream press sought to undermine student activism and ideologies, this exchange also demonstrates that members of the leftist press in Uruguay often worked to defend the FEUU. *Marcha* in particular stands out here, for its domestic and international prestige, its support of the students, and for building the consciousness of its leftist readers. Not only did *Marcha* publish FEUU's numerous Letters to the Editors (including two in this same issue), but they also covered stories about various student campaigns and police brutality against student activism.[310] In addition, as seen with E.F. Labat's remarkable letter, *Marcha* readers sometimes took it upon themselves to creatively expose *El País'* faulty journalism and disinformation campaigns. All of this reinforces that the FEUU were indeed an important part of public discourse, acknowledged and validated on both sides of the ideological divide, in critiques as well as support. But what this case demonstrates

---

[309] This is particularly ironic given that the FEUU was greatly respected in international student circles for the integrity and formality of their organizations. For more on this, see Chapters Two of this dissertation. This sentiment was also reiterated by Gustavo Cosse in an interview with the author, Montevideo, Uruguay.

[310] "De la Federación de los Estudiantes"; "Apoyo a los Estudiantes," Marcha nº 1002," Publicaciones Periódicas del Uruguay, accessed March 28, 2014, http://biblioteca.periodicas.edu.uy/items/show/1284. English translation: "From the Federation of Students"; "Support the Students."

País' fervent anti-student stance and an engaged public who saw through the façade.

STUDENTS AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Carlos de Mattos' description of the intellectual salon-culture in Montevideo is a stark contrast to these battles with the mainstream press, though indeed an important part of the context. The FEUU connections with leftist intellectuals bear some resemblance to Jürgen Habermas's conception of the bourgeois public sphere of the nineteenth century. In many ways, the café meetings described by Carlos de Mattos fit the Habermasian model of the public sphere and serve as a useful way of assessing the FEUU's relationship to public discourse. In addition to the continual nature of these meetings and discussions, the three main components identified by Habermas were all present in these café gatherings. The apparent disregard of status makers between intellectuals, journalists, and students created a sense of collegiality and mutual respect regardless of age or job title. This led to an inclusive environment where the different opinions and experiences of all members seemed to be seen as equal (or at the very least valid enough to be included in the conversation). These meetings also focused on social issues that reflected a concern with the "common good" and worked to influence socio-political changes through their collective voice. These European circles as described by Habermas were nonetheless elite, bourgeois spaces with economic capital and close ties to the political classes. They weren't, like the FEUU and *Marcha* contributors, pushing against the established political classes. The elite in Habermas' public spheres were working to gain influence and operate within the political class. In many ways, the Habermasian public spheres in nineteenth

century Europe were more an extension of the ruling elite than a challenge to it. By contrast, the leftist students and journalists in Montevideo were working to disrupt the established political order, to reform it, and then ultimately transform it into something else. In this sense then, the students and journalists here would be considered more of a counter-hegemonic force than a part of the mainstream public sphere.

Although the student-journalist-intellectual relationship may not have been part of the formal public sphere, the combination of public support and informal exchanges operated within what has been described by Nancy Fraser as a "subaltern counterpublic."[311] By creating alliances with leftist intellectuals and journalists, who were themselves outside of the mainstream public sphere, the FEUU members (and students more generally), attempted to straddle two different conceptions of the public sphere. These students were thus pushing to both change and be part of the existing public sphere by way of their involvement in a subaltern counterpublic. As the FEUU developed a relationship with *Marcha* and staked out a place in a budding counterpublic, students were simultaneously trying to gain access to the mainstream public sphere. Consistent with Fraser's theoretical framing, the students were invested in participating in and expanding the mainstream public sphere, not dismantling it.

---

[311] Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy" in *Working Papers (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Twentieth Century Studies), No. 10*. Milwaukee, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Center for Twentieth Century Studies, 1990-91.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the early Cold War period, mainstream newspapers in Uruguay like *El País* consistently framed their critiques of student activism with a patriarchal tone, arguing that students did not have the authority to weigh in on social concerns. They were quick to categorize student political perspectives as under-developed, suggesting that they were naïve, ignorant, and misinformed. This approach endorsed the idea that education was a passive exercise and that the ideal student population was apolitical and unengaged with society. If students showed signs of acting beyond these confines and challenged the status quo, thinking critically about the structure of the education system or society at-large, the press dismissed their ideas and argued that they should be ignored because their student status precluded them from being qualified to speak on such matters. In this construction, the idea of education was to amass knowledge, but not actively engage with matters outside the classroom until they were finished being a student. The FEUU actively rejected this construction of the student identity and fought to have their voices heard. I thus argue that the mainstream press' approach to FEUU activism reveals overlapping ideologies about politics, adulthood, childhood, and the public sphere. I further contend that the pretense of generational distinctions of knowledge and authority were also ideologically dependent, with the most vociferous denunciations of student activism aimed at students on the left that opposed the existing political status quo.

As argued by scholars of contemporary student activists in other parts of the world, the role of university students in public discourse is an important measure of

civil society and the prospects of a nation's future leaders. Though a study of Malaysian students that focuses on the importance of the internet in expanding access to public discourse may seem like a far cry from the early Cold War in Uruguay, the commentary on the changing role of university students in public discourse and the importance of university students engagement with broader social and political issues bears many similarities with the argument I make here about the FEUU and the efforts of Uruguayan university students to participate in public discourse.[312] Furthermore, this comparison helps remind us of the many different interpretations that can be made of Habermas, pushing the boundaries of his definition of the public sphere as an elite and exclusive space. One might argue that the university students were simply part of the existing elite circles, boasting a higher education level than the majority population. In Uruguay however, that was only partially true. With a large middle class society and the development of the country's only university as a public institution with free attendance, the University of the Republic was not as exclusive as higher education in other places and was thus more inclusive for the average citizen or worker.[313]

---

[312] Chan, Mei-Yuit, Shamee Rafik-Galea, and Ngee-Thai Yap, "Hidden participation in the public sphere: Understanding Malaysian university students' public discourse practices in cyberspace." *First Monday*, 19, No. 5 (5 May 2014); Mortimer N.S. Sellers. "Ideals of public discourse," In Christine T. Sistare (editor). *Civility and its discontents: Essays on civic virtue, toleration, and cultural fragmentation*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004, pp. 15–24.

[313] In neighboring Brazil and Argentina, for example, university systems were historically created by and for the elite exclusively, only later opening up for other social classes.

The FEUU's commitment to remain autonomous from formal political party affiliations, and to challenge the existing principles and policies of the government, was not well received by the mainstream press. Although efforts were made to dismiss oppositional leftist student politics as youthful ignorance, as elders resisting the ideas of the youth, a closer analysis reveals the underlying role of ideology and political differences in these student-press tensions. As highlighted in this chapter, political ideologies lay at the core of tensions between the FEUU and the mainstream press. Similar to Jaime Pensado's analysis of student movements in Mexico during this same time period, this chapter has argued that negative reports about students in the press were not about real concerns of "non-student agitators" or "communist infiltration," but were instead political ploys that used Cold War hysteria as a tool to weaken the students' leftist platforms.[314] In contrast to the tension with mainstream papers like *El País*, *Marcha*'s support for the students validated the FEUU's long-standing argument that the mainstream press held an anti-student bias for political reasons. These dialogues also showed that student efforts to participate in public discourse did not fall upon deaf ears; the leftist press and their readers were listening and supporting. Further, this analysis suggests that the students (and their youthful status) may have been used as scapegoats by the mainstream press to advance larger political and ideological debates in Uruguayan society. In an entrenched two-party system, the FEUU were some of the most visible opponents of the existing socio-political order. Thus, the students were attacked for their counter-hegemonic

[314] Pensado, Jaime. *Rebel Mexico: Student Unrest and Authoritarian Political Culture During the Long Sixties.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

critiques, and dismissed as impressionable youth who were susceptible to Communist infiltration and manipulation.

Though rejected by some sectors of society because of their controversial political and ideological stances, this chapter has argued that the FEUU played an important and active role in Uruguayan public discourse during the early Cold War period. Contrary to the mainstream press and their attempts to discredit student perspectives and exclude them from public dialogue, the examples presented in this chapter instead demonstrate the real importance and active presence of student voice in Uruguayan society. The FEUU was engaged with society and the development of ideas, furthering socio-political and ideological debates and constantly pushing to establish itself as a respected participant in public discourse. Though newspapers like *El País* may have disliked the platform and strategies of the FEUU, the very efforts to dismiss the students' perspectives, to de-legitimize and infantilize student opinions and actions, can be read as an indication of the true importance of students in Uruguayan public discourse. If they really were not important, would not the press have simply ignored them? That is to say, though disparaging in their coverage, the fact that press outlets like *El País* repeatedly attempted to discredit the students and their activism shows that the students did in fact have an impact on the public sphere.

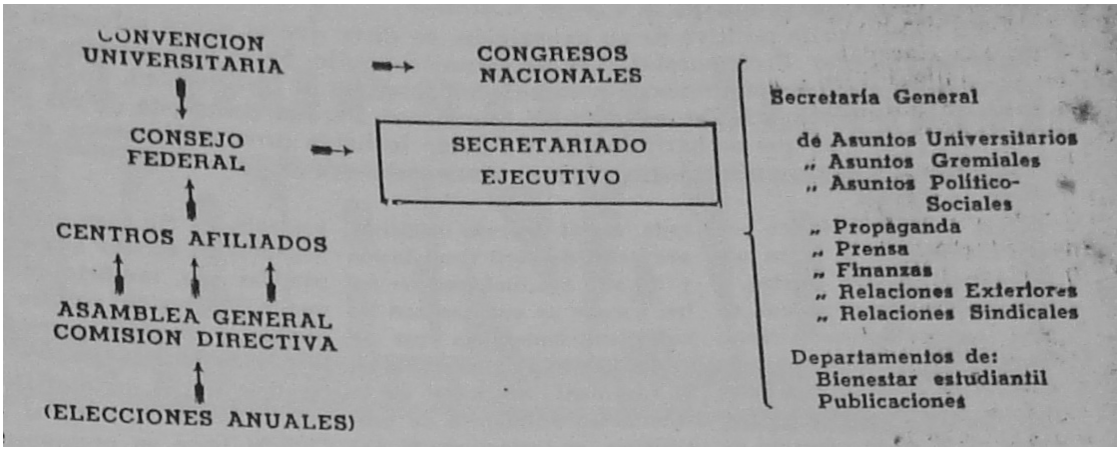
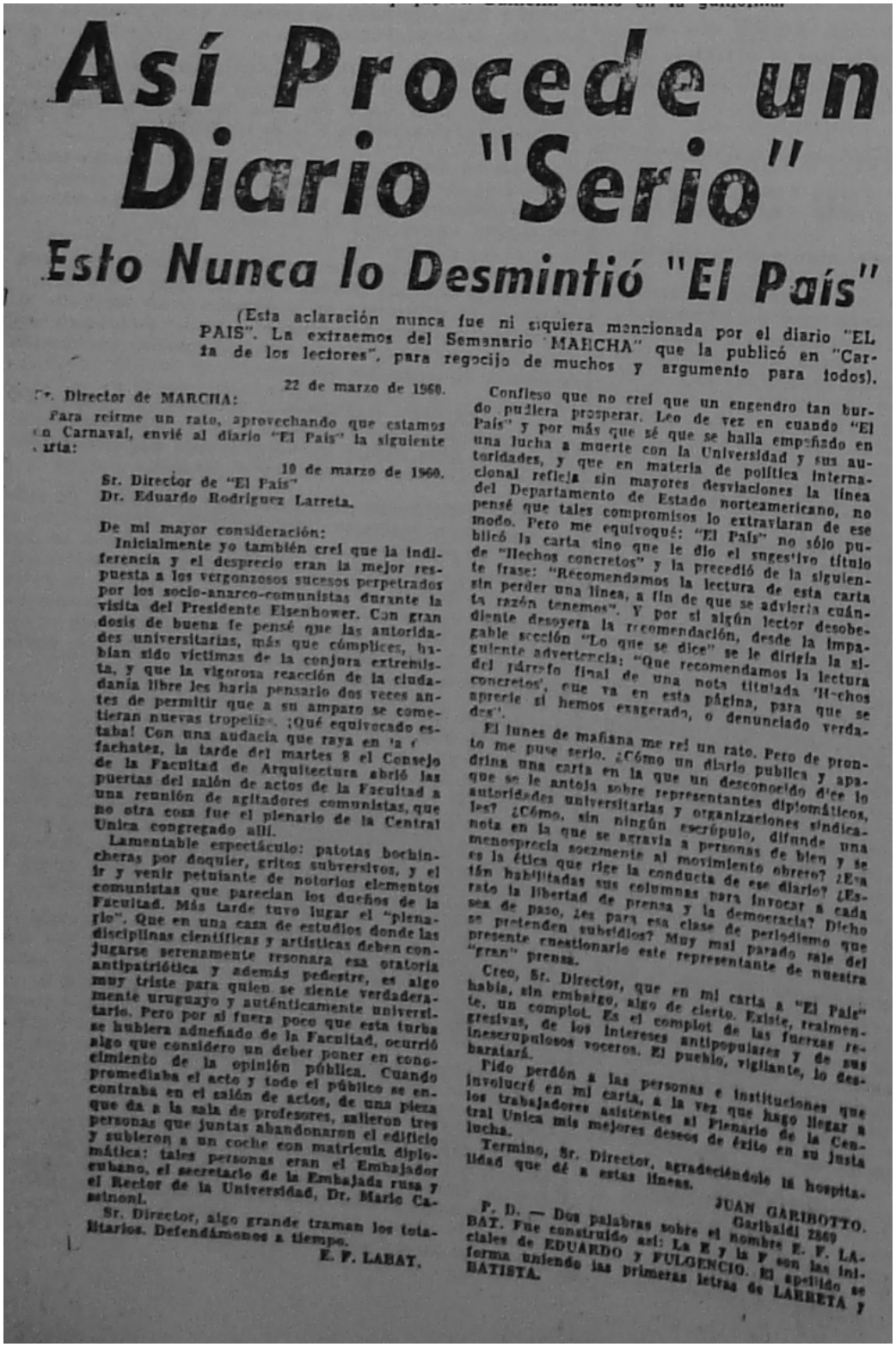


Image 3: FEUU organizational chart, *Jornada*, 4 de Octubre,1960.



Así Procede un Diario "Serio"

Esto Nunca lo Desmintió "El País"

(Esta aclaración nunca fue ni siquiera mencionada por el diario "EL PAIS". La extraemos del Semanario "MARCHA" que la publicó en "Carta de los lectores", para regocijo de muchos y argumento para todos).

22 de marzo de 1960.

Sr. Director de MARCHA:

Para reírme un rato, aprovechando que estamos en Carnaval, envié al diario "El País" la siguiente carta:

10 de marzo de 1960.

Sr. Director de "El País"
Dr. Eduardo Rodríguez Larreta.

De mi mayor consideración:

Inicialmente yo también creí que la indiferencia y el desprecio eran la mejor respuesta a los vergonzosos sucesos perpetrados por los socio-anarco-comunistas durante la visita del Presidente Eisenhower. Con gran dosis de buena fe pensé que las autoridades universitarias, más que cómplices, habían sido víctimas de la conjura extremista, y que la vigorosa reacción de la ciudadanía libre les haría pensarlo dos veces antes de permitir que a su amparo se cometieran nuevas tropelías. ¡Qué equivocado estaba! Con una audacia que raya en la [illegible] fachastez, la tarde del martes 8 el Consejo de la Facultad de Arquitectura abrió las puertas del salón de actos de la Facultad a una reunión de agitadores comunistas, que no otra cosa fue el plenario de la Central Unica congregado allí.

Lamentable espectáculo: patotas bochincheras por doquier, gritos subversivos, y el ir y venir petulante de notorios elementos comunistas que parecían los dueños de la Facultad. Más tarde tuvo lugar el "plenario". Que en una casa de estudios donde las disciplinas científicas y artísticas deben conjugarse serenamente resonara esa oratoria antipatriótica y además pedestre, es algo muy triste para quien se siente verdaderamente uruguayo y auténticamente universitario. Pero por si fuera poco que esta turba se hubiera adueñado de la Facultad, ocurrió algo que considero un deber poner en conocimiento de la opinión pública. Cuando promediaba el acto y todo el público se encontraba en el salón de actos, de una pieza que da a la sala de profesores, salieron tres personas que juntas abandonaron el edificio y subieron a un coche con matrícula diplomática: tales personas eran el Embajador cubano, el secretario de la Embajada rusa y el Rector de la Universidad, Dr. Mario Casaballi.

Sr. Director, algo grande traman los totalitarios. Defendámonos a tiempo.

E. F. LABAT.

Confieso que no creí que un engendro tan burdo pudiera prosperar. Leo de vez en cuando "El País" y por más que sé que se halla empeñado en una lucha a muerte con la Universidad y sus autoridades, y que en materia de política internacional refleja sin mayores desviaciones la línea del Departamento de Estado norteamericano, no pensé que tales compromisos lo extraviaran de ese modo. Pero me equivoqué: "El País" no sólo publicó la carta sino que le dio el sugestivo título de "Hechos concretos" y la precedió de la siguiente frase: "Recomendamos la lectura de esta carta sin perder una línea, a fin de que se advierta cuánta razón tenemos". Y por si algún lector desobediente desoyera la recomendación, desde la impagable sección "Lo que se dice" se le dirigía la siguiente advertencia: "Que recomendamos la lectura del párrafo final de una nota titulada 'Hechos concretos', que va en esta página, para que se aprecie si hemos exagerado, o denunciado verdades".

El lunes de mañana me reí un rato. Pero de pronto me puse serio. ¿Cómo un diario publica y apadrina una carta en la que un desconocido dice lo que se le antoja sobre representantes diplomáticos, autoridades universitarias y organizaciones sindicales? ¿Cómo, sin ningún escrúpulo, difunde una nota en la que se agravia a personas de bien y se menosprecia soezmente al movimiento obrero? ¿Esa es la ética que rige la conducta de ese diario? ¿Están habilitadas sus columnas para invocar a cada rato la libertad de prensa y la democracia? Dicho sea de paso, ¿es para esa clase de periodismo que se pretenden subsidios? Muy mal parado sale del presente cuestionario este representante de nuestra "gran" prensa.

Creo, Sr. Director, que en mi carta a "El País" había, sin embargo, algo de cierto. Existe, realmente, un complot. Es el complot de las fuerzas regresivas, de los intereses antipopulares y de sus inescrupulosos voceros. El pueblo, vigilante, lo desbaratará.

Pido perdón a las personas e instituciones que involucré en mi carta, a la vez que hago llegar a los trabajadores asistentes al Plenario de la Central Unica mis mejores deseos de éxito en su justa lucha.

Termino, Sr. Director, agradeciéndole la hospitalidad que dé a estas líneas.

JUAN GARIBOTTO.
Garibaldi 2869

P. D. — Dos palabras sobre el nombre E. F. LABAT. Fue construido así: La E y la F son las iniciales de EDUARDO y FULGENCIO. El apellido se forma uniendo las primeras letras de LARRETA y BATISTA.

Image 4: "Así Procede un Diario 'Serio,'" *Jornada*, 19 October 1960, UPPU

Appendix: Translation of Image 4 "Así Procede un Diario 'Serio,'"

This is How a "Serious" Paper Acts
'El País' Never Denied It

(This clarification was never even mentioned by the newspaper "El País". This is copied from the weekly newspaper "MARCHA" that published it in "Letters from the readers," to the delight of many.)

22 March 1960

MARCHA Director:
To laugh a little, taking advantage of the fact that we are in Carnival, I sent the newspaper "El País" the following letter:

> 10 March 1960
>
> Mr. Director of "El País"
> Dr. Eduardo Rodriguez Larreta
>
> Dear Sirs:
> Initially I also thought that the indifference and contempt were the best response to the shameful events perpetrated by the socio-anarcho-communists during President Eisenhower's visit. With large doses of good faith I thought that the university authorities, rather than being accomplices, had been victims of an extremist conspiracy, and that the vigorous reaction of the free citizens would make them think twice before allowing new outrages to be committed under their watch. How wrong I was! With a boldness that borders on impudence, on Tuesday afternoon the 8th the Council of the Architecture School opened the doors of the School's auditorium to a meeting of communist agitators, to none other than the plenary of the Central Unified [Worker's party] that was gathered there.
>
> An unfortunate spectacle: gossipy gangs everywhere, subversive shouts, and the ebb and flow of petulant notorious communist elements that acted as if they owned the School. Later the "plenary" took place. That in a house of studies where scientific and artistic disciplines ought to be combined calmly it resonated with this unpatriotic oratory, and very pedestrian as well, is very sad for those who feel truly Uruguayan and are authentic university students. As if it wasn't enough that this underhandedness had taken possession of the School, something happened that I consider a duty to report to the public. When [the votes for] the act were averaged and the whole audience was in the auditorium, from a part of the room that connects to the professors lounge, emerged three people that together abandoned the building and got into a car with diplomatic

> plates: these people were the Cuban Ambassador, the Secretary of the Russian Embassy, and the Rector of the University, Dr. Mario Cassinoni.
>
> Mr. Director, the totalitarians are plotting something big. Let's defend ourselves in time.
>
> E.F. LABAT

I confess that I did not believe that such a gross monstrosity could prosper. I occasionally read "El País" and although I know it is engaged in a death struggle with the University and its authorities, and that in matters of international policy it reflects the line of the U.S. Department of State without any major deviations, I did not think that such commitments would lead them so astray. But I was wrong: "El País" not only published the letter but gave it the suggestive title "Fast facts" and preceded by the following sentence: "We recommend the reading of this letter without skipping a line, and notice that it shows how right we are." And if any disobedient reader were to ignore the recommendation, the following warning ran in the priceless section "What is said": "May we recommend reading the final paragraph of an article entitled 'Fast facts', which is on this page, in order to evaluate if we have exaggerated or denounced truths.

Monday morning I laughed for a bit. But then I got serious. How could a newspaper publish and endorse a letter in which some unknown person attacks government officials, university authorities and union organizations? How, without any scruples, could they distribute such false information about the workers movement? Is this the ethical standard of this newspaper? Are their columns used to invoke the freedom of the press and democracy? That is to say, is it for this type of journalism that they receive subsidies? [This is] a very poor representation of our "great" press.

I think, Sir Director, that in my letter to "El País" there was, however, some truth. There is actually a plot. It is the plot of the regressive forces, of the unpopular interests and their unscrupulous spokesmen. The people, vigilant, will disband it.

I apologize to the people and institutions that I involved in my letter, at the same time as I send to the workers attending the Plenary of the Central Unica my best wishes for success in their just struggle.

I conclude, Sir, thanking you for the hospitality you give to these lines.

JUAN GARIBOTTO
Garibaldi 2869

P. S. - Two words on the name E. F. LABAT. It was constructed as follows: The E and F stand for the initials of EDUARDO and FULGENCIO. The last name is formed joining the first letters of LARRETA and BATISTA.

Conclusion

The 1960s are undoubtedly an important era of student activism, with surges of student movements all over the world situated amidst broader social, cultural, political, and technological upheavals. In particular, 1968 has come to be regarded as a pinnacle year, celebrated in scholarship and popular memory as the watershed moment of transnational student movements. As a result, this decade has been paid a lot of attention and has come to dominate conversations and historiographies about student activism. However, because so much attention is paid to the 1960s, other important periods have been somewhat obscured. Although not as tumultuous as the 1960s, the 1940s and 50s were crucial years for student activism in Uruguay. It was in these years that the Federation of Uruguayan University Students (FEUU) firmly established itself as a student organization that was both politically engaged and inherently transnational, building solidarities with workers and students, developing a staunch anti-imperialist platform, and regularly asserting its public voice on both university and non-university issues. All of these issues were important during that time and in their own right, but they also produced the context out of which student activism in the 1960s would arise.

The FEUU of the 1940s and 50s was instrumental in building transnational networks with students around the world, most notably with its Southern Cone neighbors but also building ties with peers throughout Latin America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. They even maintained a positive relationship with the United States, a

remarkable feat given the FEUU's outspoken stance on U.S. imperialism.[315] The Federation worked to foster student networks that addressed the concerns of university students, both on campus and off, standing in solidarity with student struggles around the world and supporting student efforts to improve their educational experience and society at large. As highlighted in Chapter Two, this pattern of transnational activism has roots Uruguayan student activism in the early twentieth century. In the face of the Cold War and mounting international crises, the FEUU's transnational activism was entrenched in the 1940s and 50s, creating a tradition that continued in the decade that followed.

The FEUU of the 1940s and 50s also forged alliances with the working class, standing in solidarity with unions and workers on strike and building bridges between these two worlds that are so often separated. The Federation maintained an official stance that argued for the need to use the university to uplift society, and they especially made this connection with regards to economic inequality and a drive for improving the quality of life for the population as a whole. Many workers and unions reciprocated the FEUU's support, standing with the students in their fight for university reform and denouncing the same government and police repression of students that the workers faced in their own protests. Much like the transnational student networks, these FEUU-worker solidarities of the 1940s and 50s laid the

[315] As it turns out, this relationship was not in their best interest. As detailed in Chapter Four of this dissertation, the CIA used the USNSA to spy on students around the world in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s.

foundation for increased alliances and activism between students and workers in the 1960s.

As my dissertation shows, the FEUU of the 1940s and 50s pursued both domestic and transnational agendas that steadily created and maintained an institutional identity that emphasized a collective student voice and the right to be included in public discourse. This identity remained largely consistent over the span of twenty years, obscuring, by comparison, the individual voices of the Federation's leaders. The most telling evidence of this collective identity can be seen in the Federation's newspaper *Jornada*. As the official "voice" of the FEUU, this newspaper serves as the main archival source of this dissertation. It is particularly noteworthy for the lack of individuals credited in its pages—almost all *Jornada* articles were written without credit to an individual author—a characteristic that suggests that the Federation's authorship was collective and was self-consciously fostered to appear so. Indeed, the only mention of individuals during the twenty years of the newspaper's production was in the editorial information. Yet the editorial staff, inevitably for a student publication, also changed frequently, and because of this the consistency of the institutional voice cannot be understood as simply reflecting the didactic views of one or two editors. Indeed, it is particularly impressive that the FEUU built and maintained a consistent identity in spite of the necessarily regular change in its membership. In doing so, however, it managed to escape the pitfalls that frequently beleaguer social movements when they become too strongly attached to a charismatic

leader. The FEUU entrenched an identity that was inherently collective, one that it maintained throughout and beyond the 1960s.

THE FEUU DURING THE 1960S AND THE DICTATORSHIP

Even as its leaders took on a more Marxist stance, in the 1960s, the FEUU carried the legacy of earlier generations forward, promoting a university model that supported workers, forged transnational ties, and encouraged students to participate in public discourse about both domestic and international issues. The excitement attending the Cuban Revolution encouraged the FEUU to intensify its student-worker solidarities and connect with the country's rural labor force. It reached out to agricultural workers as a way to improve the conditions of fellow citizens while also standing in solidarity with the sweeping agrarian reforms taking place in Cuba.[316] In 1964, for example, the FEUU joined former law student and union organizer Raúl Sendic as he helped organize a large strike of sugar cane workers, leading over 200 protestors from the border-state of Artigas to the capital city of Montevideo. The campaign hoped to raise the public profile of the workers and push to for land expropriations from some of the larger landowners.[317] The FEUU actively supported this campaign by publicizing the demands of the workers in student publications and flyers, joining the march, and providing meeting space, food, clothing, and shelter for

[316] Van Aken, *Los Militantes*, 144.
[317] The march was organized by Raúl Sendic, a former law student who would become famous a few years later for his role in founding the *Tupamaro* guerrillas. Van Aken, *Los Militantes,* pg 190.

workers and labor activists involved in the strike action. Unfortunately, this campaign failed to gain widespread public support and the government heavily suppressed the strikers, denying the demands for improved salaries and land grants.[318] Despite this repression, the FEUU continued to protest alongside labor unions throughout the 1960s as a worsening economy threatened real wages and the stability of the country's celebrated welfare state.

In 1967, however, amidst increasing civil strife, the nation took yet another turn for the worse, as General Oscar Gestido was elected President and almost immediately implemented austerity measures as demanded by the International Monetary Fund, devaluing the peso and increasing inflation by 100 percent. As part of these austerity measures, the government also made cuts to University funding and steadily encroached on University autonomy. When President Gestido suddenly died later that year, Vice-President Jorge Pacheco Areco assumed power and swiftly censored the press and increased suppression of student protests and labor unions. He also banned the Socialist party and a number of other leftist political parties, arguing that all of these entities were undermining the Uruguayan constitution.

In 1968, less than a year after becoming President and amidst ever-rising inflation rates, Pacheco froze wages and the price of goods. When the FEUU joined workers in protests against these measures, the Pacheco government responded by further suppressing all forms of resistance, including strikes, work stoppages, and student demonstrations. Despite this increase of state repression, the FEUU continued

---

[318] Ibid.

to speak out against the government and maintained a reciprocal solidarity with workers. This reciprocity was especially clear when police unleashed violence against students at a FEUU May Day demonstration in 1968 that celebrated student-worker solidarity and declared the students' commitment to keep fighting in defense of the workers. Following the violence, coalitions of workers, teachers, and students responded with protests and solidarity strikes.[319]

At a protest on August 14th, later that year, further police clashes with students ended with the death of Líber Árce, a FEUU militant and member of the Communist Youth Union. Árce was the first student in Uruguay to be killed by police while participating in a student protest and his death elicited a massive public response, with thousands of mourners marching in the days that followed, to honor him in and denounce the police brutality, and government repression. With thousands of people taking to the streets in these processions, the government forces were outnumbered, if only momentarily, and forced to retreat. This triumph did not last long however. Three months later the military invaded and occupied the university itself, trampling the hard-won autonomy agreement that was part of the university reforms congress had passed just ten years prior. By June 1973, Uruguay was ruled by a military dictatorship that would remain in power until 1985. Indeed, as Clara Nieto notes, almost one third of the country's population was directly affected by government repression:

Uruguay became one huge prison. There were more than 8,000 political

---

[319] Gould, Jeffrey. "Solidarity under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968." The American Historical Review, 114. no. 2 (April 2009): 356.

> prisoners, and about 800,000 Uruguayans chose exile. With a population of 2.8 million, Uruguay set the record in Latin America for the per capita repression and exodus of its citizens. The country was emptying. The graffiti on a wall at the Carrasco International Airport in Montevideo read, 'The last one to leave, turn off the light.' Someone else, who believed in the struggle, had written, 'Comrade, don't go.'[320]

On September 11, 1973, Chile was also plunged into military dictatorship. Argentina followed suit three years later in 1976. Thus, for much of the 1970s and early 1980s, student activists, labor organizers, and leftist organizations throughout the Southern Cone were reppressed, dismantled, or forced to go underground. Many fled in exile and countless others were imprisoned, tortured, or disappeared. Despite this, the FEUU maintained flashes of activism during the dictatorship, publishing clandestine pamphlets that denounced the dictatorship and serving as an important part of the popular movement that helped bring about democracy in the 1980s.[321] Although there is some documentation of this period, much research is yet to be done on the FEUU both during and immediately following the dictatorship.

THE FEUU TODAY

While many students passed through the university on their way to becoming politicians, the more active FEUU militants maintained their leftist politics after graduation and shunned participation in the traditional political parties, choosing instead to run for office with one of the smaller political parties (of which there are

---

[320] Nieto, 174.
[321] Centro Uruguay Independiente. *Movimiento estudiantil: Resistencia y transición I-III*. Montevideo: Impresos GEGA, 1986.

many). With the return to democracy in the 1980s, private universities began to compete for students and the *Frente Amplio* (Broad Front) drastically changed the two-party political landscape that had dominated the country for years. This leftist coalition party, founded just ahead of the dictatorship in 1971 and repressed until the return of democracy in the 1980s, finally achieved electoral success in 2005 when its candidate Tabaré Vasquez won the presidency.

Despite all the political and social changes of the 1960s, the dictatorship of the 1970s and 80s, and the return to democracy in the 1980s, the FEUU has maintained itself as an organization and is still an important force of student activism in Uruguay today. [322] Not only does student-worker activism continue to be an important part of the FEUU today, it is also deeply connected to an identity and platform of priorities that were entrenched in the 1940s and 50s. In July 2015, for example, the FEUU issued a statement that pledged student support for the PIT-CNT (Uruguay's National Trade Union) general strike on August 6, 2015, a statement that was proudly displayed on both the FEUU and labor union websites.[323] In showing its support, the FEUU

---

[322] With the Frente Amplio in office, a number of former FEUU militants from the 1950s then assumed government posts. I interviewed some of them for this project, including Mariano Arana (former mayor of Montevideo and current municipal official), Alberto Couriel (Senator, Frente Amplio party), and José Díaz (cabinet member under Tabaré Vásquez). Other former students have maintained their leftist political stance in the service of political foundations, including ones connected to leftist intellectuals like Vivian Trías and the Frente Amplio's storied leader, Líber Seregni: Jorge Brovetto from Fundación Líber Seregni and José Díaz from Fundación Vivian Trías, among others.

[323] "Apoyo de la FEUU al paro general del 6 de agosto se enmarca en la lucha por una mejor educación, salud, vivienda y trabajo", FEUU, 27 de Julio 2015, http://www.pitcnt.uy/index.php/sala-de-prensa/item/589-apoyo-de-la-feuu-al-paro-

harkened back to a slogan from 1960: *Obreros y estudiantes, unidos y adelante* (Workers and students, together and forward).

Transnational student solidarities also continue to be central to the FEUU's activism, as seen in its continued support of the detained students in Ecuador mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation.[324] The FEUU also joined students and activists around the world in expressing outrage at the disappearance of forty-three Normalista teacher's college students from Aytozinapa, Mexico in November 2014, joining in solidarity marches sponsored by the *Organización Continental Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Estudiantes* (Organization of Continental Latin American and Caribbean Students, OCLAE), an international student organization rooted in FEUU transnational activism in the 1950s.[325]

Activism on university-related issues also remains a central part of the FEUU's identity today, as seen in its fight to increase university staff salaries and its campaign to increase the overall university budget by six percent in order to upgrade facilities

---

general-del-6-de-agosto-se-enmarca-en-la-lucha-por-una-mejor-educacion-salud-vivienda-y-trabajo

[324] As of July 21, 2015, Human Rights Watch reports that the Ecuadorian case remains stalled. The FEUU has maintained its activism on the issue, as seen in a statement published on organization's Facebook page. "Ecuador: Courts Stalling on Protester Appeals. Apply New Rules to Groundless Convictions", *Human Rights Watch*, July 21, 2015; "Declaración de la FEUU Sobre Los Últimos Acontecimientos Vividos en Ecuador", Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay, 21 de Julio 2015.

[325] "Estudiantes de Uruguay se solidarizan por el caso Ayotzinapa." *TeleSURtv*, November 8, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eYvunqZIF6A

and help offset the growing cost of education, an especially poignant issue for a university that was originally established as a tuition-free institution.[326]

By examining FEUU activism in the 1940s and 50s, my project has sought to fill a gap in the historiography of student movements in Uruguay and to make clear the historical legacy that lives on in the FEUU today. As this dissertation has shown, the Federation of Uruguayan University Students built on the seeds of earlier activism and ideologies to establish a new student subject in the 1940s and 50s that was both politically engaged and strongly transnational. It was during this span of two decades that the FEUU worked to establish a public voice, implement *la misión social*, build domestic and transnational solidarities with workers and students, and cement a staunch anti-imperialist stance. As in the examples provided in this conclusion, the FEUU activism of this era not only resonated through the 1960s, but also continues to inform and inspire student activism today.

FURTHER EXPLORATIONS

There are a number of ways to build on this analysis of student activism in the 1940s and 50s in a Uruguayan context. In spite of the strong collective voice of the FEUU that I highlight in this dissertation, a close examination of the individual leaders of the FEUU would be a worthwhile next step. I look forward to finding out more about the individuals who helped navigate, create, and maintain the Federation's collective identity despite individual differences. Further exploring the debates about

[326] "Estudiantes universitarios marcharon por mayor presupuesto", Espectador.com, 16 June 2015.

what positions or strategies the Federation would take would also be revealing, likely increasing our understanding of how this emphasis on collective identity came to be. My work also lays the groundwork for examining student activism and solidarities around the world during the Early Cold War, offering a lens to re-examine Cold War politics as they played out in nations and populations that have often been overlooked as peripheral in what was actually an era of global political tensions. As this dissertation shows, the FEUU's identity in the 1940s and 50s was deeply linked to the tensions of the Early Cold War. With the remarkable staying power of the organization, with priorities and platforms in 2015 that closely resemble those of the 1940s and 50s, it is worth exploring how vestiges of the Cold War also remain part of the Federation's identity. Finally, the FEUU's activism today helps to confirm the FEUU's fight of the 1940s and 50s, as a student body whose collective voice has an important place in public discourse on local, national, and international issues.

Bibliography

ARCHIVES

Uruguay
Archivo General de la Nación
Archivo General de la Universidad de la República, Archivo del Movimiento Estudiantil
Archivo Municipal de Fotografía
Biblioteca Nacional
Instituto Nacional de Estadística
Publicaciones Periódicas del Uruguay
Unidad Polifuncional de Problemas Universitarios, Universidad de la República

Argentina
Archivo General de la Nación
Archivos y Colecciones Particulares, Biblioteca Nacional de Argentina
Biblioteca Nacional de Maestros
Centro de Documentación e Investigación de la Cultura de Izquierdas en la Argentina
El Topo Blindado

Chile
Archivo Central Andrés Bello, Universidad de Chile
Archivo y Centro de Documentación FECH
Biblioteca Nacional

Paraguay
Academia Paraguaya de Historia
Archivo General de la Nación
Centro de Documentación y Archivos para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos

Spain
Centro de Documentación de Movimientos Armados

United States
National Archives and Record Administration
Library of Congress, Manuscript Room
Tamiment Library & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University
Rutgers Library, Special Collections
Hoover Institute, Stanford University

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Arana, Mariano. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Brassi, Jorge. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Brovetto, Jorge. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Carlevaro, Pablo. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Cosse, Gustavo. Interview with Megan Strom, (2013).

Couriel, Alberto. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Cremanit, Vicente. Interview with Megan Strom, (2014).

de Mattos, Carlos. Interview with Megan Strom, (2013).

Díaz, José. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Díaz Maynard, Álvaro. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Espansidin, Nancy. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Gonzalez, Aurelio. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Lanzaro, Jorge. Interview with Megan Strom, (2014).

Reiman, Guillermo. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Sanguiñedo, Francisco. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

Van Aken, Mark and Dolores. Interview with Megan Strom, (2013).

Villaró, Ricardo. Interview with Megan Strom, (2014).

Zerbinov, Monica. Interview with Megan Strom, (2012).

CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS/JOURNALS

El Día

El País

El Popular

El Sol

Marcha

TeleSUR

The New York Times

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Acosta, Yamandú. *Pensamiento Uruguayo: Estudios latinoamericanos de historia de las ideas y filosofía de la práctica.* Montevideo, Uruguay: Editorial Nordan-Comunidad, 2010

Aldrighi, Clara. *Estados Unidos y Uruguay 1954-66: la diplomacia de la Guerra Fría: Selección de documentos del Departamento de Estado: Conversaciones reservadas entre politicos uruguayos y diplomáticos.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2012.

Álvarez Ferretjans, Daniel. *Desde la Estrella del Sur a Internet: Historia de la Prensa en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: Fin de Siglo, 2008.

Alonso, Jimena, Figueredo, Magdalena, Novoa, Alexandra, *Cultura y libertad*. *Breve historia de la Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Uruguay*, Suplemento Especial de *La República*, 26 de abril de 2004.

Alonso, Rosa and Carlos Demasi. *Uruguay 1958-1968: Crisis y estancamiento.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1986.

Aparicio, Fernando, Roberto García, and Mercedes Terra. *Espionaje y política: guerra fría, inteligencia policial, y anti-comunismo en el sur de América Latina, 1947-1961.* Montevideo: Ediciones B, 2013.

Astori, Danilo. *Neoliberalismo: Critica y alternativa.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1982.

Barrios Pintos, Aníbal. *El silencio y la voz: Historia de la mujer en el Uruguay.* Montevideo: Linardi y Risso, 2001.

Baumont, Maurice. *La Faillite de la paiz (1918-1939)*. Paris: Presses Universitaries de France, 1961.

Benvenuto, Luis Carlos. *Breve historia del Uruguay.* Montevideo: Arca, 1981.

Bertola, L., *Ensayos de historia económica: Uruguay y la región en la economía mundial 1870-1990*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2000.

Blixen, Samuel. *Sendic.* Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2000.

Bonilla, Frank. "The Student Federation of Chile: 50 Years of Political Action", *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, II (1960), No. 3, p. 312

Bonilla, Frank and Myron Glazer. *Student Politics in Chile.* New York: Basic Books, 1970.

Bonino, Luis Costa. *Crisis de los partidos tradicionales y movimiento revolucionario en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1985.

Bonino, L. La *crisis del systema politico uruguayo partidos politicos y democracia hasta* 1973. Montevideo: Fundación de Cultura Universitaria, 1995.

Campiglia, Néstor, "Montevideo: Poblacion y trabajo" In *Montevideo...* v.7, Edited by Daniel Aljanati, Mario Benedetti and Walter Perdomo. Montevideo: Impreso en Impresora Rex, 1971.

Caetano, Gerardo and José Pedro Rilla. *El joven Quijano, 1900-1933: izquierda nacional y conciencia crítica.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1986.

Caetano, G., J. Gallardo, and J. Rilla. *La izquierda uruguaya: Tradición, innovación y Polítical.* Montevideo: Trilce, 1995.

Chan, Mei-Yuit, Shamee Rafik-Galea, and Ngee-Thai Yap, "Hidden participation in the public sphere: Understanding Malaysian university students' public discourse practices in cyberspace." *First Monday*, 19, No. 5 (5 May 2014).

Ciria, Alberto and Horacio Sanguinetti. *Universidad y estudiantes: testimonio juvenil.* Buenos Aires: Ediciones Depalma, 1962.

Cores, Hugo. *El ´68 uruguayo: Los antecedentes, los hechos, los debates.* Montevideo, Edición Banda Oriental, 1997.

Cores, H. *Uruguay hacia la dictadura, 1968-1973.* Montevideo: Ediciónes de la Banda Oriental, 1999.

Cresswell, Tim. *Place: A Short Introduction*, 2004. Malden, Oxford, & London: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

D'Elia, Germán. *El Uruguay neobatllista, 1946-1958.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1982.

D'Elia, Germán. *Historia Contemporanea, Tomo II.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1990.

De Armas, Gustavo. and A. Garcé. *Uruguay y su conciencia critic: Intelectuales y política en el siglo XX*. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 1997.

De Armas, Gustavo. and A. Garcé. *Técnicos y política. Saber y poder: encuentros y desencuentros en el Uruguay contemporáneo* (Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2000.

Dello Buono, Richard A., and José Bell Lara eds. *Imperialism, neoliberalism and social struggles in Latin America.* Koninklijke Brill, NV, Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007.

del Mazo, Gabriel. *Estudiantes y gobierno universitario*. Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1955.

de Vries, Tity. "The 1967 Central Intelligence Agency Scandal: Catalyst in a Transforming Relationship between State and People," Journal of American History, 98, no. 4 (2012), pp. 1075–1092.

Ehrick, Christine. The Shield of the Weak: Feminism and the State in Uruguay, 1903-1933. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Finch, Henry. *Historia económica del Uruguay contemporáneo.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1980.

Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy" in *Working Papers (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Twentieth Century Studies), No. 10*. Milwaukee, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Center for Twentieth Century Studies, 1990-91.

Fraser, Ronald. *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.

Frega, A., A. Aycaguer, E. Ruiz, R. Porrini, A. Islas, D. Bonfanti, M. Broguetas, and I. Cuadro. *Historia del Uruguay en el siglo XX, 1890-2005.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2008.

Freire, Paolo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.

Fitzgibbon, Russell H. *Uruguay: Portrait of a Democracy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954.

García Ferreira, Roberto. "Espionaje y política: la guerra fría y la inteligencia political uruguaya, 1947-64," Revista Historia, no. 63-64, (enero-diciembre 2011), pp 13-33.

Garibay, Raul Armando. *The Tupamaros: The basis for the armed conflict and their defeat*. El Paso: University of Texas at El Paso, 1986.

Gomez, Eugenio. *Partido Comunista del Uruguay hasta el año 1951*. Montevideo: Ed Elite, 1961.

Gonzalez, Aurelio. Fui testigo: Una historia en imagenes. Montevideo: Centro de Fotografía, Intendencia de Montevideo, 2012.

Gould, Jeffrey. "Solidarity under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968." The American Historical Review, 114. no. 2 (April 2009), pp 348-375.

Gregory, Stephen. *Intellectuals and Left Politics in Uruguay: Frustrated Dialogue, 1958-2006.* Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2009.

Gurrieri, Adolfo, Edelberto Torres-Rivas, Janette González, Elio de la Vega. *Estudios sobre la juventud marginal latinoamericana*. México, D.F.: Siglo Veinturno Editores SA, 1971.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An in quiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society.* Translated by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1991.

Hall, Stuart. "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power", in Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben, eds. *Formations of Modernity*. Open University/Polity Press, 1992. pp. 275-331.

Hirschman, Albert. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Response to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Katsiaficas, G. *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Kotek, Joël. *Students and the Cold War*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996.

Landinelli, J. *El movimiento estudiantil universitario en el Uruguay.* México:

Coordinación Académica, Sede Méico, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales,1983.

Landinellil J. *La movilización estudiantil universitaria en la crisis social de 1968*. Montevideo: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias-Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1988.

Landinelli, J. *1968: La revuelta estudiantil*. Montevideo: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias-Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1989.

Langland, Victoria. *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in military Brazil.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.

Liebman, A, K. Walker, and M. Glazer. *Latin American University Students: a six nation study*. With an introd. by Seymour Martin Lipset. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Leibner, Gerardo. *Camaradas y compañeros: una historia política y social de los comunistas del Uruguay.* Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2011.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. *Estudiantes universitarios y política en el tercer mundo*. Montevideo: Editorial Alfa, 1965.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. *University Students' Values, Vocations, and Political Orientations: Uruguay, 1966.* Ann Arbor: Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, 1984.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. *University Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries*. Berkeley: University of California, 1964.

Lipset, Seymour M. and Philip G. Altbach. *Students in Revolt*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969.

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Aldo Solari, Eds. *Elites in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. *Rebellion in the University*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1972.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. (editor). *Student Politics*. New York: Basic Books, 1967.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. *The possible effects of student activism on international relations.* Santa Monica: Rand Corp, 1968.

Liebman, Arthur, Kenneth N. Walker, and Myron Glazer. *Latin American University Students: A Six Nation Study*. With an introd. by Seymour Martin Lipset. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Maggi, Carlos. *El Uruguay y su gente.* Montevideo: Editorial Alfa, 1965.

Maidanik, Marcos. *Vanguardismo y revolución.* Montevideo: Editorial Alfa, 1960.

Marcuse, Herbert. *Counterrevolution and Revolt.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

Markarian, Vania. "Al ritmo del reloj: Adolescentes uruguayos de los años cincuenta", en Barrán, José Pedro, Gerardo Caetano y Teresa Porzecanski (compiladores), *Historias de la vida privada en el Uruguay, Tomo III: Individuo y soledades (1920-1990)*, Montevideo: Editorial Taurus, 1998, pp. 238-265.

Markarian, Vania, María Eugenia Jung and Isabel Wschebor. *1968: La insurgencia estudiantil*. Montevideo: Archivo General de la Universidad de la República, 2008.

Markarian, V., M. Jung, and I. Wschebor. *Aniversarios 2008 – Universidad de la República, Vol. 3; 1958: El cogobierno autonómico.* Montevideo, Archivo General de la Universidad de la República, 2008.

Moraña, Mabel and Horacio Machín, Eds. *Marcha y América Latina*. Pittsburgh: Universidad de Pittsburgh, Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, Biblioteca de América, 2003.

Mortimer N.S. Sellers. "Ideals of public discourse," In Christine T. Sistare (editor). *Civility and its discontents: Essays on civic virtue, toleration, and cultural fragmentation*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004, pp. 15–24.

Myers, Scott Louis. *Uruguay: The traumatic years, 1967-1987*. Missouri: Washington University, 1988.

Nahum, Benjamín, A. Frega, M. Maronna, and I. Trochon. *El fin del Uruguay liberal, 1959-1973*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1990.

Naipaul, V.S. *The Return of Eva Perón*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980.

Oddone, Juan and Blanca Paris. *Historia de la Universidad de Montevideo, Volume I*. Montevideo: Edición Banda Oriental, 1963.

Oddone, Juan. *La universidad uruguaya desde el militarismo a la crisis, 1885-1958*

Montevideo: Departamento de Publicaciones, Universidad de la Republica, 1971.

Oddone, Juan. *Vecinos en discordia: Argentina, Uruguay y la política hemisférica de los Estados Unidos: Selección de documentos, 1945–1955.* 2nd ed. Montevideo: El Galeón / Universidad de la República, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Departamento de Historia Americana, 2004.

Ortner, Sherry. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Paris, Blanca, *Historia y memoria. Medio siglo de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación*, Montevideo, Departamento de Publicaciones de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, 1995.

Paget, Karen M. *Patriotic Betrayal: The Inside Story of the CIA's Secret Campaign to Enroll American Students in the Crusade Against Communism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.

Panizza, Francisco. *Uruguay: batllismo y después. Pacheco, militares y tupamaros en la crisis del Uruguay batllista.* Montevideo: Prisma Ltda, 1990.

Peláez, León Cortinas. "Autonomy and Student Co-Government in the University of Uruguay," *Comparative Education Review*, VII (1963), No. 2.

Pensado, Jaime. *Rebel Mexico: Student Unrest and Authoritarian Political Culture During the Long Sixties.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

Perano Basso, Luisa. *Marcha de Montevideo y la formación de la conciencia latinoamericana a través de sus cuadernos.* Buenos Aires: Javier Vergara Editor, 2001.

Pivel Devoto, Juan E. and A. Ranieri de Pivel. *Historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay, 1945- 1966.* Montevideo: Medina, 1981.

Porrini, Rodolfo, Ed. *Historia y memoria del mundo del trabajo: Hacia la recuperación de la memoria oral y los archivos históricos del movimiento syndical en Uruguay*. Montevideo: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de la República, 2004.

Rabe, Stephen. *Eisenhower and Latin America: The Foreign Policy of Anti-Communism*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Rama, Angel. *The Lettered City.* Edited and Translated by John Charles Chasteen.

Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

Real de Azúa, C. *El impulso y su freno: Tres décadas de batllismo y las raíces de la crisis uruguaya.* Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1964.

Real de Azúa, Carlos. *Tercera Posición, Nacionalismo Revolucionario y Tercer Mundo: Una Teoría de sus supuestos*, Vol. 3. Montevideo: Cámara de Representantes, República Oriental del Uruguay, 1996.

Remedi, Gustavo. *Carnival Theater: Uruguay's Popular Performers and National Culture* (Cultural Studies of the Americas), Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Rey Tristán, Eduardo. "Movilización estudiantil e izquierda revolucionaria en el Uruguay (1968-1973)" In *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, Vol. 28, 2002, pp 185-209.

Rey Tristán, Eduardo. *A la vuelta de la esquina: La izquierda revolucionaria uruguaya: 1955-1973.* Montevideo, Fin de Siglo, 2006.

Rey Tristán, Eduardo. *La iquierda revolucionaria uruguaya: 1955-1973*. Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005.

Rock, David (ed). *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Postwar Transitions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Rodó, José Enrique. *Ariel*. Translated by Margaret Sayers Peden, Forward by James W. Symington. Prologue by Carlos Fuentes. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988.

Roseberry, William. Anthropologies and histories: *essays in culture, history, and political economy.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989.

Rossinow, Doug. "The New Left in the Counterculture: Hypotheses and Evidence," *Radical History Review*, No. 67 (Win. 1997).

Rossinow, Doug. *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity and the New Left in America.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Ruiz, Esther, Paris, Juana, "Ser militante en los 60'", en: BARRÁN, José Pedro, et alli, *Historias de la vida privada*, Tomo 3, Montevideo, Ed. Santillana, 1998.

Ruiz, Esther, (coordinadora), *Una poderosa máquina opuesta a la ignorancia. 100 años de la Facultad de Agronomía*, Montevideo, Universidad de la República-Facultad de Agronomía, 2007

Ruiz, Esther. "Del viraje conservador al realineamiento internacional. 1933-45," in Historia del Uruguay en el siglo XX (1890-2005), Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2008.

Sánchez-Albornoz, N. "The Population of Latin America, 1850-1930" in Leslie Bethell (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 121-151, 122.

Sánchez Alonso, Blanca. "The Other Europeans: Immigration into Latin America and the International Labour Market (1870-1930)." *Revista de Historia Económica*, 25 (2007), pp 395-426, 399.

Sanguiñedo, Francisco. *La FEUU ayer y hoy: 70 años de documentos del Movimiento Estudiantil Uruguayo*. Montevideo: Universidad de la República, 2015.

Schwartz, Eugene, (Ed). *American Students Organize: Founding the National Student Association after World War II: An Anthology and Sourcebook.* Ann Arbor: American Council on Education/Praeger Publishers, 2006.

Searle, John. *The Campus War: A Sympathetic Look at the University in Agony.* New York: The World Publishing Company, 1971.

Sistare, Christine T. (editor). *Civility and its discontents: Essays on civic virtue, toleration, and cultural fragmentation*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

Solari, Aldo. *El tercerismo en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: Arca, 1965

Solari, Aldo. *El desarrollo social del Uruguay en la postguerra.* Montevideo: Editorial Alfa, 1967.

Stites Mor, Jessica, Ed. *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013.

Suri, Jeremy. *Power and Protest: Global Revolutions and the Rise of Détente.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Suri, Jeremy. *The Global Revolutions of 1968: A Norton Casebook in History.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc, 2007.

Thorn, Kristian and Maarja Soo. *Latin American universities and the third mission : trends, challenges, and policy options*. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 4002. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: World Bank, 2006.

Tríaz, Ivonne. *Hugo Cores: passion y rebeldía en la izquierda uruguaya*. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2008.

Tríaz, Vivián. *Obras de Vivián Trías: Imperialismo en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: Ediciones de Banda Oriental, 1991.

Turiansky, Wladimir. *El movimiento obreros uruguayo*. Montevideo: Ediciones de Pueblos Unidos, 1973.

Unamuno, Muguel. *Essays and soliloquies*. Translated from the Spanish with an introductory essay by J.E. Crawford Flitch. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925.

Van Aken, Mark J.. Los Militantes: una historia del movimiento estudiantil universitario uruguayo desde sus origines hasta 1966. Prologue Vicente Cremanti Casas. Montevideo: Fundación de Cultura Universitaria, 1990.

Van Aken, Mark J. "The Radicalization of the Uruguayan Student Movement", The Americas, Vol. 33, No. 1 (July 1976), 109-129.

Van Aken, Mark J.. "University Reform Before Córdoba." The Hispanic American Historical Review Vol. 51, No. 3 (1971), 447–62.

Van Aken, Mark. "Rodo, *Ariel*, and Student Militants of Uruguay." *In Homage to Irving A. Leonard: Essays on Hispanic Art, History, and Literature.* Ann Arbor: Latin American Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1979.

Vanger, Milton I. José Batlle y Ordoñez of Uruguay: The Creator of His Times, 1902-1907. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Vanger, Milton I. The model country : José Batlle y Ordoñez of Uruguay, 1907-1915. Hanover, N.H. : Published for Brandeis University Press by University Press of New England, 1980.

Varela, Gonzalo. *El movimiento estudiantil de 1968: El IAVA, una recapitulación personal*. Montevideo: Trilce, 2002.

Weinstein, Martin. *Uruguay: The Politics of Failure*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1975.

Weinstein, Martin. *Uruguay: Democracy at the Crossroads*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988.

Wilford, Hugh. *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Wschebor, Mario. *Imperialismo y universidades en América Latina*. Montevideo: Biblioteca de Marcha, 1970.