

Argentina and the Dirty War

Overview

In 1976, a military junta assumed control of the Argentine government. Initially seen as a stabilizing force after years of economic hardship, political failures, and revolutionary violence, the regime quickly and ruthlessly waged a war on its own citizens. In this lesson, students will learn about the history behind Argentina's Dirty War through music, research, and discussion. Special attention is paid to the documentary film, *Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the Search for Identity*, which deals with victims of the Dirty War as well as citizens who heroically stood up to the junta. The lesson culminates with an activity in which students teach their classmates about an aspect of the Dirty War by creating an exhibit for the Dirty War museum.

Special thanks to Angela Hill, a Spanish teacher at Chapel Hill High School, and Charlie Tuggle, a professor at the UNC School of Journalism and Mass Communication and Executive Producer of Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the Search for Identity, for their assistance in creating this curriculum.

Grade

9, 11, & 12

NC Essential Standards for World History:

- WH.H.7.6: Explain how economic crisis contributed to the growth of various political and economic movements
- WH.H.8.6: Explain how liberal democracy, private enterprise and human rights movements have reshaped political, economic and social life in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, the Soviet Union and the United States
- WH.H.8.7: Explain why terrorist groups and movements have proliferated and the extent of their impact on politics and society in various countries

NC Essential Standards for the Cold War:

- 12.H.3.4: Explain the causes, actions, and implications of various Latin American conflicts during the Cold War, including but not limited to those conflicts in Cuba, Guatemala, and Chile
- 12.H.5.1: Analyze the beliefs and decisions of United States Presidents, from Truman to George H.W. Bush, and their administrations in terms of their influence on Cold War events

Materials

- Projector
- Computer with internet access
- "Mothers of the Disappeared" lyrics handout, attached [p. 11]
- "Mothers of the Disappeared" music video with lyrics, (optional)
 - available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ab2pY10A4pw>
- "Guerra Sucia: Argentina's Dirty War" accompanying PowerPoint, available in Carolina K-12's Database of K-12 Resources at http://civics.sites.unc.edu/files/2014/01/ArgentinaDirtyWar_PPT.pdf
 - To view this PDF as a projectable presentation, save the file, click "View" in the top menu bar of the file, and select "Full Screen Mode"
 - To request an editable PPT version of this presentation, send a request to CarolinaK12@unc.edu

- Documentary of “*Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the Search for Identity*”, available here:
 - English Version: <http://youtu.be/rZGq15lhAi0>
 - Spanish Version: <http://youtu.be/i1joK9js60M>
 - Spanish with English Subtitles: <http://youtu.be/34tl6Uvc-i0>
 - To purchase a DVD version of the documentary, visit: <http://www.searchforidentitydocumentary.com/lang/en>
 - “Create a Dirty War Museum Exhibit” handout, attached [p. 12]
 - Art Supplies: Poster board or poster paper, crayons, markers, colored pencils, etc.
 - “Links for Further Research” handouts, attached [p. 13 - 15], for the following topics:
 - Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo
 - General Jorge Rafael Videla
 - US Foreign Policy & Argentina
 - The Disappeared (Los Desaparecidos)
 - The Children of the Disappeared (Ninos de Los Desparecidos)
 - Falklands War
 - The Presidency of Isabel Peron
 - The Navy Mechanics School (ESMA - Escuela Superior de Mecánica de la Armada)
 - National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons
 - Guerilla Movements in Argentina
 - “Dirty War Museum Response Sheet”, attached [p. 16]
 - “A History of Argentina: Post-WWII” reading & questions, attached (optional for Honors classes) [p. 17 -19]
 - Optional article: “María Isabel Chorobik de Mariani, Crusading Argentine Grandmother, Dies at 94”
 - Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/23/obituaries/mara-isabel-chorobik-de-mariani-dead.html?rref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fobituaries&action=click&contentCollection=obituaries®ion=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=sectionfront>
- **Note: All links contained in this lesson were active as of November 2014. For any links that become inactive, teachers should enter the topic into a search engine to find alternate sites.**

Essential Questions:

- What is the Dirty War?
- What caused the Dirty War?
- What were the results of the Dirty War?
- What was unique about the human rights abuses during the Dirty War?

Duration:

1 or more block periods; class time varies depending on time allotted by teacher for the culminating activity.

Student Preparation

Students should have a basic understanding of the Cold War to provide context for the conflict between anti-communist and nationalist and/or communist groups within Argentina.

Teacher Preparation

- Cut the “Links for Further Research” strips before starting this lesson.
- Reserve time in the school’s computer lab or allow students to use laptops/smartphones/tables to complete additional research for the “Create a Dirty War Museum Exhibit” activity. Pre-approved links for each topic are provided below [p. 13 -15]
- Teachers may want to read the attached, “A History of Argentina: Post-WWII” [p. 17-19] reading for background information before starting the lesson.

Procedure

Warm Up: Mothers of the Disappeared

1. As a warm up, project or distribute the song “Mothers of the Disappeared” by U2 and ask students to silently read the lyrics. Teachers may also elect to play the five minute song while students read the lyrics. A version is available on YouTube that has the lyrics paired with the video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ab2pYI0A4pw>. Do not share the name of the song or share any additional information with the students yet.
2. Discuss the following questions with students once they have read and/or listened to the song:
 - How does this song make you feel? What words, images, feelings, etc. come to mind and why?
 - What do you think this song is about? What examples from the lyrics support your conclusions?
 - Do you think this is a hopeful or a sad song? Or, would you characterize it in another way? Explain.
 - Whose point of view do you think this song reflects?
 - If you had to name this song, what would you call it and why?
3. After discussing the questions, inform participants that this is a song called “Mothers of the Disappeared” and it was written by the band, U2. It is a song about the thousands of people who “disappeared” during Argentina’s “Dirty War” in the 1970s & 80s. In the 1970s and 80s, Argentina was ruled by a military junta (or dictatorship) that engaged in a campaign of state sponsored violence against its own citizens – commonly referred to as the “The Dirty War” (Guerra Sucia). Tell participants they will learn about various aspects of the Dirty War, including the plight of hundreds of children who were kidnapped by the government during this period, through a documentary titled, “Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the Search for Identity.”

Dirty War PowerPoint

4. To provide students with some very basic information about Argentina’s history post-WWII, use the accompanying PowerPoint, “Guerra Sucia: Argentina’s Dirty War”, available in Carolina K-12’s Database of K-12 Resources at http://civics.sites.unc.edu/files/2014/01/ArgentinaDirtyWar_PPT.pdf.
5. Divide the students into pairs, instruct them to take out a blank sheet of paper, and inform them that they will be discussing questions relating to the PowerPoint throughout the presentation. When students see a slide labeled “Think-Pair-Share” (slides 3, 10, 17, 23, 29), they should take a minute or two to read and answer the questions on the slide individually. After the teacher gives a signal, students should turn to their partners to compare their answers and further discuss the questions. After hearing the signal a second time, pairs should be ready to discuss their answers with the entire class before moving onto the next section of the PowerPoint.
 - **Note:** Teachers should decide how much time to give students for each “Think-Pair-Share” discussion. Indicate to students that they should move on to the next step by providing some sort of signal (handclap, egg timer, bell, etc.)
 - Slide 3 Think-Pair-Share Questions:
 - Why do you think it’s important to think about economic and social inequality when discussing Latin America?
 - What impact do you think inequality has on what we’re about to study?
 - Slide 10 Think-Pair-Share-Questions:
 - Why do you think the US was worried about Latin American countries turning towards communism?
 - How might the Alliance for Progress prevent countries from turning to communism?
 - Do you think the Alliance for Progress was a good idea? Why or why not?
 - Why do you think the Alliance for Progress failed to help Latin America?
 - How do you think the United States government reacted to the rise of military dictatorships across Latin America?
 - Slide 17 Think-Pair-Share-Questions:

- Why do you think the military deposed Perón in 1955?
- Why do you think the various governments (civilian & military) during the 1950s & 60s placed restrictions on Perónism?
- What role do you think the Cold War played in Argentina in the 1960s?
- Why do you think Isabel Perón created a death squad? How might this influence Argentina's politics later?
- Why do you think many Argentinians supported the junta at first?
- Slide 23 Think-Pair-Share-Questions:
 - Why do you think Isabel Perón's government and the junta used extra legal means to deal with the guerillas and other people they deemed subversives?
 - Why do you think that the junta began to expand its Dirty War operations to citizens who weren't guerillas?
 - What role did the Falkland War play in ending the Dirty War?
 - Why do you think it is referred to as the Dirty War? What alternative name would you use?
 - What do you think present day Argentinian's are doing to remember the victims of the Dirty War?
- Slide 29 Think-Pair-Share-Questions:
 - If you were a citizen of Argentina, how do you think you would react to the Dirty War (support, protest, stay silent, etc.)? Why?
 - The United States has long been involved in the affairs of many Latin American nations (Monroe Doctrine, Roosevelt Corollary, Bay of Pigs Invasion, etc.) Do you think the United States was aware of the Dirty War? If so, how do you think the US responded?
 - Based upon world events of the 1950s – 80s, why might the US view the junta as an ally, despite their known human rights abuses?
- Slide 32 Think-Pair-Share-Questions:
 - Are you surprised by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's actions in Argentina? Explain. Why do you think the US was secretly approving of the Dirty War, while publicly denouncing it?
 - What ideals or values are commonly associated with the United States? Does US support for the junta violate those ideals or values? If so, how?

Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the Search for Identity

6. After students have a basic understanding of post-WWII Argentine history, inform them that they are going to be learning more about the personal stories of people who were affected by the Dirty War, especially the stories of the children who were kidnapped by the junta by watching a documentary. Share the following information about the documentary from the film's producers:

This film tells the story of Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo, an Argentinian human rights organization of grandmothers committed to finding their lost grandchildren. They believe these grandchildren were stolen by their government during the country's military dictatorship from 1976-1983, a period in Argentina's history referred to as the Dirty War.

At least 10,000, and some estimate as many as 30,000, dissidents of the military dictatorship were kidnapped, tortured and killed during this time. Those kidnapped became known as Los Desaparecidos or "the disappeared." An estimated 500 of these were pregnant women or new mothers whose babies were taken from them and given to people sympathetic to the regime. Everything about these babies' identities was changed.

The grandmothers banded together and began their search in 1977, and they have been searching ever since. Las Abuelas has found more than 100 of the missing grandchildren, many of whom had no idea about their true identities.

Through more than forty interviews with members of Las Abuelas, found grandchildren, family members of the missing and many others, this film explores the haunting question: Is the right to know who you are a basic human right?

Source: <http://www.searchforidentitydocumentary.com/>

Viewing Options

7. Depending on class time, teachers may want to show short segments or the entire documentary (with discussion breaks.)
 - a. **Full Documentary:** This option should take approximately an hour and fifteen minutes (54 minute documentary + time for discussion breaks). Pause the video at the times outlined below and discuss the questions listed.
 - *Stopping Point #1 – 7:30 (“And these babies remained in the hands of military personnel or with families linked to the military forces.”)*
 - Why did Argentine’s initially welcome the military government?
 - *The military was viewed as a better alternative to Isabel Perón’s government and as a way to bring stability back to the country. In the past the military had taken control of the government, but turned things over to civilians once things were under control.*
 - Why was this time different?
 - *The military had an agenda of exterminating the left in Argentina.*
 - Why did they want to eliminate the “left” in Argentina?
 - *The military viewed them as the source of guerilla movements and terrorist violence.*
 - How many people are estimated to have been kidnapped, tortured, and/or murdered?
 - *30,000*
 - How many pregnant mothers were captured?
 - *500*
 - *Stopping Point #2 – 13:00 (“This institution will be in the hand of the grandchildren.”)*
 - What happened to Juan Cabandi?
 - *He was born in jail, after his parents were kidnapped by the military, and he was given to the family of a man who worked in the intelligence services. He long suspected that his parents weren’t his biological parents, and he wanted to know for sure, so he took a DNA test. After finding out the truth, he was united with his biological family.*
 - Do you agree with Juan that your identity is a “right?” Why or why not?
 - Who are the Grandmothers of May Plaza?
 - What do you think these women risked by starting the Grandmothers of May Plaza?
 - Why do you think they didn’t and haven’t given up their search?
 - *Stopping Point #3 – 17:50 (“Sometimes they say, ‘that’s good and what can I do to help them?’”)*
 - How did Tatiana’s experience differ from Juan’s?
 - *Tatiana was already born when she was kidnapped. The court declared that she was “abandoned” and she was put up for adoption. Her adoptive mother was very suspicious about her story, so she searched for answers and eventually met the Abuelas.*
 - Why do you think people waited so long to contact the Abuelas?

- How have things changed for the Abuelas since the end of the military dictatorship?
 - *The Abuelas can be much more open about their work without fear of reprisal from the government.*
- **Stopping Point #4 – 27:38 (“and hundreds of missing grandchildren.”)**
 - Do you agree with the quote, “you don’t end cannibalism by eating the cannibals, and the whole idea of employing terrorist tactics to put an end to terrorism means that you’ve sunk down to their level.”? Why or why not?
 - What are some alternate ways to stop terrorism?
 - Many of the disappeared were held where?
 - *Navy Mechanics School, called “ESMA”*
 - Describe the way people were treated at ESMA.
 - Do you believe the supporters of the junta when they say that the children weren’t kidnapped, they were just given to families who could care for them?
 - How did US policy towards Argentina change over time?
- **Stopping Point #5 – 39:20 (“Keep going mama. I cannot stop going.”)**
 - What are some of the accusations leveled against the Abuelas by supporters of the junta?
 - *They’re ignoring the fact that their children were “terrorists” and “communists”*
 - According to writer Uki Goñi, what was the military’s goal when it came to kidnapping children?
 - *It would be a huge victory for them if they could convert the children of “terrorists” into supporters of the regime.*
 - How did Alejandro’s experience differ from Juan’s?
 - *Until his adoptive father told him the truth, Alejandro never suspected he was adopted. He was also pre-selected by a family before his birth.*
 - How would you feel if the people you thought were your real family turned on you?
- **Stopping Point #6 – End of the film**
 - According to Ana Maria, why was she let out of the concentration camps?
 - *As a warning to other Argentinians.*
 - If you were one of the kidnapped children, would you want to know the truth? Why or why not?
 - The title of the film is “the Search for Identity”, if you produced the film, what title would you use? Why?

b. Selected Clips:

- **Clip #1: Juan Cabandie (7:32 – 10:30):**
 - What happened to Juan’s parents?
 - *They were “disappeared” with no trace left behind.*
 - Who did Juan’s “fake father” work for?
 - *The Argentine intelligence services.*
 - How old was Juan when he discovered his identity?
 - *26 years old*
 - How did Juan discover that he was not the biological son of his parents?
 - *He long suspected that his parents weren’t his biological parents. He took a DNA test to confirm his identity*
 - Was Juan happy about learning the truth?
 - Do you agree with Juan that your identity is a “right?” Why or why not?

- *Clip #2: Tatiana Sfiligoy (13:10 – 17:00)*
 - How old was Tatiana when she discovered her identity?
 - 6
 - Why do you think Tatiana was declared “abandoned” by the state?
 - How did Tatiana’s story differ from Juan’s?
 - *She was old enough to remember her kidnapping; she discovered her identity at age 6; her adoptive parents did not believe that she and her sister were abandoned, so they tried to find the truth.*

- *Clip #3: Pedro Nadal (27:40 – 30:45)*
 - How old was Pedro when he discovered his true identity?
 - 29
 - How did Pedro feel about learning his true identity?
 - *He was sad and angry, but he preferred learning the truth.*
 - What happened to Pedro’s father?
 - *Spent 5 years in jail, 4 years in exile, and then spent the rest of the time looking for Pedro.*

- *Clip #4: The Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared (30:45 – 34:55)*
 - How did much of this information about the junta’s actions become public?
 - *The Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared released a report called “Nunca Más” that detailed the junta’s actions.*
 - Why do you think that the junta gave these children away to families that supported the junta?
 - *Possible answers include: gave children to their supporters for their support of the junta; to “turn” the children of critics of the junta into supporters of the junta.*
 - What do supporters of the junta say about the *Abuelas*? Do you agree with the supporters of the junta? Why or why not?
 - *Their children were terrorists and guerilla fighters.*

- *Clip #5: Alejandro Sandoval (34:58 – 39:20)*
 - How did Alejandro find out the truth about his identity?
 - *His adoptive father told him the truth.*
 - How was Alejandro’s experience as an adoptive child different than Juan’s?
 - *He never had the same doubts about his origins.*
 - How did his adoptive family react to Alejandro after the trial?
 - *They blamed him for causing them trouble and they cut off contact with him.*
 - How did Alejandro’s adoption differ from the other stories you’ve heard?
 - *His adoptive family chose him based on his mother’s features, 6 months before he was born. The other children were given away or chosen after birth.*
 - Even though Alejandro’s grandmother found her grandson, why did she keep working with the *Abuelas*?
 - *She feels that she’s honoring the memory of her daughter by continuing to work with the *Abuelas*.*

- *Clip #6: Ana Maria Careaga (39:20 – 44:00)*
 - Why does Ana believe she was released from the junta’s concentration camps?
 - *She believes that she was released as a warning to other Argentinians.*
 - What are death flights?
 - *Some opponents of the junta were thrown alive from airplanes into the Atlantic Ocean.*
 - Why is it important to remember the past?

- Clip #7: end of film)
 - What happened to some of the former members of the junta?
 - *Some were convicted of crimes, while some remain untried today.*
 - What is La ESMA? What is La ESMA now?
 - *The Navy Mechanic School that served as a jail and a location to torture enemies of the junta. Today it is a museum that honors the victims of the junta.*
 - What happened to Jorge Vidalia? Do you think this was a fair sentence? Why or why not?
 - *In 2012, he was sentenced to 50 years in jail for stealing babies. He died in prison in 2013)*

8. General Discussion Questions at the conclusion of the film:

- Does the song from the warm up resonate with you differently, now that you've learned more about the Dirty War? Explain.
- How are people in Argentina dealing with the legacy of the Dirty War?
- Why is it important for us to learn about the Dirty War?
- Can you relate the Dirty War to any periods of American History? Explain.
- How do Americans deal with the dark side of our own past (e.g. slavery, Jim Crow, lynchings, relocation of Native Americans, internment of Japanese-Americans, etc.)
- What questions do you have about the Dirty War?

Dirty War Museum

9. Inform students that they will be creating an exhibit for Argentina's new Dirty War museum. The museum will be located in the former Navy Mechanics School (Escuela Superior de Mecánica de la Armada – ESMA), which used to be a concentration camp and torture center during the Dirty War. The purpose of the museum is to educate future generations about the Dirty War. Provide each student with a copy of the attached "Create a Dirty War Museum Exhibit" handout, review the instructions, and answer any questions.

- **Teacher note:** Teachers should use their discretion regarding how much time to devote to the museum activity. The process can be drawn out and turned into a project, in which students take several days (class or homework time) to research their assigned topic, prepare their exhibit, come to class dressed as their parts, etc. Or, it can be done in class as a culmination to the lesson as described below.

10. Next, divide students into groups of 2 – 5, assign each group one of the following suggested topics, and provide each group with the appropriate "Links for Further Research" handout [p. 13-15]:

- Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo
- General Jorge Rafael Videla
- US Foreign Policy & Argentina
- The Disappeared (Los Desaparecidos)
- The Children of the Disappeared (Ninos de Los Desparecidos)
- Falklands War
- The Presidency of Isabel Peron
- The Navy Mechanics School (ESMA - Escuela Superior de Mecánica de la Armada)
- National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons
- Guerilla Movements in Argentina

11. Allow students to prepare their museum exhibit (time will vary based on class composition and teacher's pacing). On the day that the final projects are due, provide each student with the attached "Dirty War Museum Response Sheet" [p. 16]. Ask half of the class partners to take their place around the room with their exhibit posters to act as "curators" and instruct the other half of the class to act as "visitors" and to

complete a “gallery walk” around the room. Students who are “visitors” should view and take notes on each exhibit. They should feel free to ask each exhibit curator about their design choices and any clarifying questions about their exhibits.

12. Once all exhibits have been viewed, the class should swap places, with all students who were “visitors” now becoming “curators”, and the students who were “curators” now becoming “visitors”.
13. After all students have presented, debrief the museum by discussing:
 - Which exhibit did you find most interesting and why?
 - Can you think of any other sites where atrocities took place that were later turned into museums, similar to ESMA? Why do you think these sites were chosen for museums?
 - How was the Dirty War similar to other historical events you’ve learned about? How was it different?
 - No matter how terrible it can be sometimes, why is it important to study events like the Dirty War?
 - As humans, we honor our ancestors by learning about and caring about the history they endured. What are other ways we can honor them? What are our responsibilities as citizens today to ensure that something like the Dirty War can’t happen again?
14. For homework, have students write an additional verse to the U2 song, “Mothers of the Disappeared”, using information they learned from the readings, documentary, museum project, etc.

Additional Activities

- The producer of *Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the Search for Identity*, Dr. Charles Tuggle, is available to participate in a Q&A session via Skype. To contact Dr. Tuggle, you can email him at catuggle@unc.edu, with the subject line: “Las Abuelas Q&A”.
 - His Skype username is **catuggle**.
 - Before completing the Q&A, the class should brainstorm a list of questions for Dr. Tuggle.
- Webquest from Boston College: <https://www2.bc.edu/~rusch/ho.html>

Resources

- Website for *Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the Search for Identity* documentary. Includes the latest news relating to the Las Abuelas, the Dirty War, etc.:
 - <http://www.searchforidentitydocumentary.com/lang/en>

Warm Up Song

Midnight, our sons and daughters
Were cut down and taken from us.
Hear their heartbeat
We hear their heartbeat.

In the wind we hear their laughter
In the rain we see their tears.
Hear their heartbeat, we hear their heartbeat.

Night hangs like a prisoner
Stretched over black and blue.
Hear their heartbeats
We hear their heartbeats.

In the trees our sons stand naked
Through the walls our daughter cry
See their tears in the rainfall.

Create a Dirty War Museum Exhibit

Group Members: _____

Exhibit Topic: _____

- Using the resources provided by your teacher, complete additional research on your assigned topic.**
 - Groups may complete research together or divide up the assigned resources and summarize for the group what they learned.
- Discuss the following questions before planning your exhibit:**
 - After researching, how do you feel about your assigned topic? (e.g. horrified, hopeful, sad, happy, etc.)
 - Why should people care about your topic?
 - What role, if any, did your topic play in the Dirty War?
 - Who/What are the important people, places, ideas, events, etc., associated with your topic?
 - What three things do you want people to know about your topic?
 - What creative means can you use in your exhibit to best convey the information to museum visitors (a statue, painting, abstract exhibit, poem, short video, etc.)?
- You may use any creative medium you choose to design your monument. The monument can be literal or abstract, simple or complex. Examples may include (but are NOT limited to):**
 - art work
 - mural(s)
 - statues
 - plaques, written descriptions, quotes from residents, or other text displayed in some way
 - structures or buildings
 - symbolic or abstract shapes
 - inclusion of music or voice over's (i.e. you push a button and narration plays)
 - performance art that takes place live at the monument on a particular schedule,
 - a television screen that plays a particular performance clip or narration
 - PICTURE YOUR OWN CREATIVE IDEAS HERE!
- Once you have thought through your idea, you will create a detailed sketch of your monument/marker that shows what it will look like when finished and installed in its final location. Your sketch can contain labels, in which you point to certain aspects of the drawing and use text to describe additional details that may not be clear in the visual.
- You must also turn in a paragraph in which you provide an overview of your exhibit, describe what it represents, as well as explain why it is important to memorialize the Dirty War. You will share your work on the due date.

Exhibit Due Date: _____

Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo: Links for Further Research

- Las Abuelas Official Site: <http://www.abuelas.org.ar/english/history.htm>
 - Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the Search for Identity: <http://www.searchforidentitydocumentary.com/>
 - Argentina's Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo awarded UNESCO peace prize: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37683&Cr=unesco&Cr1=#.Us8BNLTHCMN>
 - Disappeared Children in Argentina: Rita Arditti's Interviews with the Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo: <http://openarchives.umb.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15774coll10> (scroll down for English version of text)
 - Las Abuelas: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grandmothers_of_the_Plaza_de_Mayo
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General Jorge Rafael Videla: Links for Further Research

- Jorge Rafael Videla: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jorge_Rafael_Videla
 - Former Argentine dictator Videla jailed for life: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/12/22/us-argentina-rights-videla-idUSTRE6BL4J920101222>
 - Argentina's Videla: 'Troops followed my orders': <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10521294>
 - Argentina: Ex-Dictator Sentenced in Murders: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/23/world/americas/23briefs-EXDICTATORSE_BRF.html?src=twrhp
 - Former dictators found guilty in Argentine baby-stealing trial: http://www.cnn.com/2012/07/05/world/americas/argentina-baby-theft-trial/index.html?hpt=hp_t1
 - Former Argentine Dictator Videla Sentenced To Life By Court: <http://www.buenosairesenglish.com/2010/12/former-argentine-dictator-videla-sentenced-to-life-by-court/>
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US Foreign Policy & Argentina: Links for Further Research

- Kissinger approved Argentinian "dirty war": <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/dec/06/argentina.usa>
 - National Security Archive: <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB104/>
 - Cold War Argentina: the Dirty War: <http://www.coldwarstudies.com/2013/03/15/cold-war-argentina-the-dirty-war/>
 - Carter's Foreign Policy: <http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/short-history/carter>
 - American Returns to Haunt Leaders of Military Junta: http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1985-06-18/news/8502080768_1_torture-human-rights-military-leaders
-

The Disappeared (Los Desaparecidos): Links for Further Research

- Wall of Memory: <http://www.desaparecidos.org/arg/victimas/muro2.html>
 - Solving the Dirty War's mysteries: <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/argentina/090616/dirty-war-bones>
 - Painful search for Argentina's disappeared: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-21884147>
 - Argentina ex-dictator admits dirty war "disappeared": <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/14/us-argentina-dictator-idUSBRE83D0CK20120414>
 - Truth Commission: Argentina: <http://www.usip.org/publications/truth-commission-argentina>
 - The Dirty War & the Disappeared: <http://www.argentinacafe.com/Background/history/argentina-history-dirty-war.htm>
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The Children of the Disappeared (Niños de Los Desparecidos): Links for Further Research

- Orphaned in Argentina's dirty war, man is torn between two families: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/02/10/AR2010021003662.html>
 - Children of the Dirty War: Argentina's Stolen Orphans: <http://www.globalresearch.ca/children-of-the-dirty-war-argentina-stolen-orphans/5327877>
 - Children of the Disappeared: <http://www.onbeing.org/program/laying-dead-rest/feature/children-disappeared/968>
 - Las Abuelas Official Site: <http://www.abuelas.org.ar/english/history.htm>
 - Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and the Search for Identity: <http://www.searchforidentitydocumentary.com/>
 - Children of the disappeared step forth: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jun/08/argentina.theobserver>
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Falklands War: Links for Further Research

- Falklands War: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Falklands_War
 - The Falklands War: An Overview: <http://militaryhistory.about.com/od/battleswars1900s/p/falklands.htm>
 - Key facts: The Falklands War: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/guides/457000/457033/html/>
 - 30 Years Since the Falklands War: <http://www.theatlantic.com/infocus/2012/03/30-years-since-the-falklands-war/100272/>
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The Presidency of Isabel Peron: Links for Further Research

- Isabel Perón: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/452372/Isabel-Peron>
 - Argentine Ex-President Charged with Rights Abuses: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/13/world/americas/13argentina.html>
 - The History of Peronism (Part II): <http://www.argentinaindependent.com/tag/isabel-peron/>
 - Argentine Anticommunist Alliance: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentine_Anticommunist_Alliance
 - Argentina's 'Triple A' death squads: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6216431.stm>
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The Navy School of Mechanics (ESMA - Escuela Superior de Mecánica de la Armada): Links for Further Research

- Navy School of Mechanics: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Navy_Petty-Officers_School_of_Mechanics
- Argentina's dirty war: the museum of horrors: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/3673470/Argentinas-dirty-war-the-museum-of-horrors.html>
- Torture Center to Bear Witness: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/10/14/AR2007101401248.html>
- Working Towards a Museum: http://www.memoriaabierta.org.ar/eng/camino_al_museo3.php
- Argentina hands on Dirty War site: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7026833.stm>

National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons: Links for Further Research

- Truth Commission: Argentina: <http://www.usip.org/publications/truth-commission-argentina>
- Truth and reconciliation commission: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Truth_and_reconciliation_commission
- National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Commission_on_the_Disappearance_of_Persons
- Nunca Mas (Never Again):
http://www.desaparecidos.org/nuncamas/web/english/library/neveragain/neveragain_000.htm
- ICTJ: Argentina: <http://www.ictj.org/our-work/regions-and-countries/argentina>

Guerilla Movements in Argentina: Links for Further Research

- The Guerrilla Movement (1955 – 1976): <http://www.argentinacafe.com/Background/history/argentina-history-guerrilla.htm>
 - Argentina's Revolutionary Movements:
http://wikis.lib.ncsu.edu/index.php/Argentina%27s_Revolutionary_Movements
 - Cold War Argentina: The Dirty War: <http://www.coldwarstudies.com/2013/03/15/cold-war-argentina-the-dirty-war/>
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Name: _____

Dirty War Museum Response Sheet

Topics	Two Facts You Learned About the Topic

The Perón decade

Juan Perón emerged in the 1940s to become Argentina's most revered, as well as most despised, political figure. He first came to national prominence as head of the National Department of Labor, after a 1943 military coup toppled civilian rule. In this post he organized relief efforts after a major earthquake in San Juan, which earned praise throughout the country. In the process he also met Eva (Evita) Duarte, the radio actor who would become his second wife and make her own major contribution to Argentine history. With the help of Evita, Perón ran for and won the presidency in 1946.



During previous trips in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, Perón had grasped the importance of spectacle in public life and also developed his own brand of watered-down Mussolini-style fascism. He held massive rallies from the balcony of the Casa Rosada, with the equally charismatic Evita at his side. Although they ruled by decree rather than consent, the Peróns legitimized the trade-union movement, extended political rights to working-class people, secured voting rights for women, and made university education available to any capable individual.

Economic difficulties and rising inflation undermined Juan Perón's second presidency in 1952, and Evita's death the same year dealt a blow to both the country and the president's popularity. In late 1955 a military coup sent him into exile in Spain and initiated nearly three decades of catastrophic military rule.

Perón's exile & return

During their exile, Perón and his associates constantly plotted their return to Argentina. In the late 1960s increasing economic problems, strikes, political kidnappings and guerrilla warfare marked Argentine political life. In the midst of these events, Perón's opportunity to return finally arrived in 1973, when the beleaguered military relaxed their objections to Perón's Justicialist party (popularly known as the Peronistas) and loyal Peronista Hector Cámpora was elected president. Cámpora resigned upon Perón's return, paving the way for new elections easily won by Perón.

After an 18-year exile, Perón once again symbolized Argentine unity, but there was no substance to his rule. Chronically ill, Perón died in mid-1974, leaving a fragmented country to his ill-qualified third wife – and vice president – Isabel.

The Dirty War & the disappeared

In the late 1960s and early '70s, antigovernment feeling ran rampant in Argentina, and street protests often exploded into all-out riots. Armed guerrilla organizations like the People's Revolutionary Army and the Montoneros emerged as radical opponents of the military, the oligarchies [small group of elite rulers] and the United States' influence in Latin America. Some of these radical groups resorted to bombings, kidnappings, and assassination in an attempt to overthrow the government. Some of these groups were influenced by communism, while others were nationalist in nature, but many of these groups claimed to be speaking for the impoverished masses of Argentina.



In 1973, the Triple A (Alianza Argentina Anticomunista), a death squad to take on revolutionary groups, was created. The Triple A took on a more prominent and active role under the leadership of President Isabel Perón (1974-1976). With increasing official corruption exacerbating Isabel's incompetence, Argentina found itself plunged into chaos.

On March 24, 1976, a bloodless military coup led by army general Jorge Rafael Videla took control of the Argentine government and ushered in a period of terror and brutality. Videla's sworn aim was to crush the guerrilla movements and restore social order, and much of the Argentine press and public gave their support. During what the regime euphemistically labeled the Process of National Reorganization (known as El Proceso), security forces went about the country arresting, torturing, raping and killing anyone on their hit list of suspected leftists.

During the period between 1976 and 1983, often referred to as the Guerra Sucia or Dirty War, human-rights groups estimate that some 30,000 people 'disappeared.' To disappear meant to be abducted, detained, tortured and probably killed, with no hope of legal process.

Although the junta (military government) said its objective was to eradicate guerrilla activity because of its threat to the state; it conducted wide-scale repression of the general population; it worked against all political opposition, and those it considered on the left: trade unionists (half of the victims), students, intellectuals including journalists and writers, rights activists, and other civilians, and their families. Many others went into exile to survive, and many remain in exile today (despite the return of democracy in 1983). One unique feature of Argentina's military dictatorship was the kidnapping of the children of the desaparecidos. The kidnapped babies were part of a systematic government plan during the "Dirty War", to pass the children for adoption by military families and allies of the regime, to avoid raising another generation of subversives (or people opposed to the military government).



Two important resistance organizations were founded during the Dirty War: Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo & Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo. Las Abuelas was made up of the grandmothers of the babies kidnapped by the government. Las Madres were made up of the mothers of the desaparecidos. Some of the members of the groups were target by the government and "disappeared".

Ironically, the Dirty War ended only when the Argentine military attempted a real military operation: liberating the Falkland Islands from British rule.

The Falklands/Malvinas war

Under military rule, Argentina's economy continued to decline and eventually collapsed in chaos. El Proceso was coming undone.

In late 1981 General Leopoldo Galtieri assumed the role of president. To stay in power amid a faltering economy and mass social unrest, Galtieri played the nationalist card and launched an invasion in April 1982 to expel the British from the Falkland Islands, which had been claimed by Argentina as the Islas Malvinas for nearly a century and a half.

Overnight, the move unleashed a wave of nationalist euphoria that then subsided almost as fast. Galtieri underestimated the determined response of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and after only 74 days Argentina's ill-trained, poorly motivated and mostly teenaged forces surrendered. In 1983 Argentines elected civilian Raúl Alfonsín to the presidency.



Aftermath of the Dirty War

In his successful 1983 presidential campaign, Alfonsín pledged to prosecute military officers responsible for human-rights violations during the Dirty War. He convicted high-ranking junta officials for kidnapping, torture and homicide, but when the government attempted to also try junior officers, these officers responded with uprisings in several different parts of the country. The timid administration succumbed to military demands and produced a Ley de la Obediencia Debida (Law of Due Obedience), allowing lower-ranking officers to use the defense that they were following orders, as well as a Punto Final (Stopping Point), beyond which no criminal or civil prosecutions could take place. These measures eliminated prosecutions of notorious individuals such as Navy Captain Alfredo Astiz (the Angel of Death), who was implicated in the disappearance of a Swedish-Argentine teenager and the highly publicized deaths of two French nuns.

In December 1990 president Carlos Menem pardoned Videla and his cohorts even though the Argentine public overwhelmingly opposed it. During the 1995 presidential campaign, Dirty War issues resurfaced spectacularly when journalist Horacio Verbitsky wrote *The Flight: Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior* (1996), a book based on interviews with former Navy Captain Adolfo Scilingo, in which Scilingo acknowledges throwing political prisoners, alive but drugged, into the Atlantic Ocean from airplanes. In January 2005 Scilingo went to trial in Spain, facing numerous counts of human-rights abuses and becoming the first official associated with El Proceso to be tried abroad. He was convicted of crimes against humanity by the

Spanish Supreme Court and is currently serving 30 years in prison (although he was sentenced to 640 years, 30 is the legally applied limit in Spain). In 2007 the Spanish upped his sentence to 1084 years.

Other than Scilingo, few have been convicted for crimes perpetrated during the Dirty War. One exception was the conviction of Héctor Febres, who worked at Buenos Aires' Naval Mechanics School, the country's most notorious detention center. In December 2007, days before he was to be sentenced in Argentina for human-rights violations, Febres was found dead from cyanide poisoning in his prison cell. Most of the criminals of El Proceso, however, still walk the streets, either in Argentina or abroad.

As frightening and as recent as this chapter in Argentine history is, most Argentines feel an atrocity such as the Dirty War could never happen again. Today, after more than 20 years of civilian rule, many visitors to the country find themselves amazed that it did happen.

Content edited by the Carolina K-12 from the following sources: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dirty_war; <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/argentina/history>; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grandmothers_of_the_Plaza_de_Mayo; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mothers_of_the_Plaza_de_Mayo

After reading the article, answer the following questions on a separate sheet of paper:

1. Why do you think the Argentine public initially supported the military junta in the 1970s?
2. Why do you think Isabel Peron's government and the junta used extra legal means to deal with the guerillas and other people they deemed subversives?
3. Why do you think that the junta began to expand its Dirty War operations to citizens who weren't guerillas?
4. If you were a citizen of Argentina, how do you think you would react to the Dirty War (support, protest, stay silent, etc.)? Why?
5. What was unique about Argentina's tactics in the Dirty War compared to other military dictatorships?
6. What role did the Falkland War play in ending the Dirty War?
7. Why do you think it is referred to as the Dirty War? What name would you use?
8. Why do you think so few people were prosecuted for crimes during the Dirty War? Why might it be difficult to prosecute these crimes?
9. What do you think present day Argentinian's are doing to remember the victims of the Dirty War?
10. Do you think the Dirty War or something similar could happen again in Argentina? Why or why not?

María Isabel Chorobik de Mariani, Crusading Argentine Grandmother, Dies at 94

By Daniel Politi | Aug. 23, 2018 | The New York Times

BUENOS AIRES — María Isabel Chorobik de Mariani, who stood up to Argentina’s military junta during the 1970s in the search for abducted children as a founder of the [Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo](#), died on Monday in La Plata, near Buenos Aires. She was 94, having never found the granddaughter she lost.

José Luis Mansur, Ms. Mariani’s doctor, said the cause was respiratory complications of a stroke she suffered on Aug. 7.

Ms. Mariani, who went by the nickname “Chicha,” was one of the most emblematic figures of a movement formed by women who were searching for hundreds of babies stolen from their parents under the brutal military dictatorship that ruled Argentina from 1976 to 1983.

Over more than 40 years she gained wide attention for efforts that were instrumental in the pursuit of justice for the crimes the state committed during that era, all the while holding out hope of finding her granddaughter, Clara Anahí, who was 3 months old when she disappeared.



María Isabel Chorobik de Mariani was president of the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, which led an agonizing search for hundreds of children “disappeared” by Argentina’s military rulers.
PHOTO CREDIT: REUTERS

Human rights activists say as many as 30,000 people were killed or forcibly made to disappear under the military junta. Roughly 500 newborns are believed to have been kidnapped from political prisoners.

Ms. Mariani played an important role in setting up a system that enabled the [Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo](#) to discover the identity of scores of children taken from their parents and locate them. So far, 128 of the abducted, now in adulthood, have been reunited, or at least connected, with blood relatives.

On Nov. 24, 1976, military and law enforcement officers descended on the home of Ms. Mariani’s son, Daniel Enrique Mariani, and his wife, Diana Esmeralda Teruggi, as part of an official campaign against people deemed to be subversives. The home, in La Plata, housed a printing press for the armed leftist group the Montoneros. Ms. Teruggi and four others were killed in the raid. Mr. Mariani was not home at the time, but he was killed less than a year later, in August 1977.

Although military officers claimed that Clara Anahí had also died, witnesses said they had seen her being removed from the home.

Convinced that her granddaughter had survived, Ms. Mariani joined forces with another grandmother, Alicia Zubasnabar de la Cuadra, whose pregnant daughter had been detained by military officers.

The two women gathered 10 others to form the Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo in November 1977. Simultaneously, another group, Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, sought information about adults who had seemingly vanished without a trace.

Ms. Mariani was the second president of the grandmothers’ group and led it until 1989. As part of her work with the group, she helped introduce blood tests as a way of matching people thought to be the children of the disappeared and their grandparents. She later set up a nonprofit organization in her granddaughter’s name.

[In a statement](#), the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo said that Ms. Mariani had been “fundamental in the start of the search for the boys and girls who were appropriated by state terrorism.”

Political and human rights leaders vowed to continue the search for Clara Anahí.

In 2006, Ms. Mariani confronted Miguel Etchecolatz, a retired police commissioner, at his trial for his involvement in the state terror. She accused him of knowing where her granddaughter had been taken. “I see police commissioner Etchecolatz with the rosary,” she said, “and I’d like to ask that instead of praying to the rosary he should alleviate his conscience and say where Clara Anahí is, because he knows.” He did not respond, but years later said he had been told that the baby had died in the attack.

Mr. Etchecolatz was [convicted and sentenced to life in prison](#).

Ms. Mariani had a glimmer of hope in December 2015 when a woman claimed that she was her long-lost granddaughter. But a blood test proved otherwise.

“That was a difficult situation that to this day I don’t quite understand,” said Elsa Pavón, who leads the Anahí foundation. “It hit Chicha hard, but she was strong and she was determined not to let anything stop her from her search.”

Ms. Mariani was born Nov. 19, 1923, in San Rafael, in western Mendoza Province. In 1947, she married Enrique José Mariani, who died in 2003. No immediate family members survive.

Ms. Mariani’s long years in pursuit of justice took their toll.

“I’ve sometimes felt bad, tired and disappointed in life, people and things,” she said in an [interview with Spain’s El Mundo newspaper](#) in 2015. “I’ve even had so much fatigue that I think it’s time to go.

“But I always react and tell myself, I can’t die,” she said. “I don’t have the right to die without having found Clara Anahí.”

Reformatted by Carolina K-12 from the following source:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/23/obituaries/mara-isabel-chorobik-de-mariani-dead.html?rref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fobituaries&action=click&contentCollection=obituaries®ion=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=sectionfront>