

The Professors and Student Identification in Tucumán National University during the Last Argentinean Dictatorship

Phd. Ariel Slavutsky

Throughout this paper we give an account of the processes of identification (in the sense give for Brubaquer and Cooper 2008) of teachers and students from the National University of Tucuman (UNT), particularly of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (FFyL), during the last military dictatorship in Argentine (1975/6-1983).

The University was considered by the project of national reorganization (PRN)¹ as a strategic space in the fight against "subversive" ideologies. Thus, the practices of agents were heavily altered by the illegal policies (disappearances, expulsions, among others.) and the legalized through decrees, such as: the imposition of a new Statute of order, appointments of teachers through decrees, the prohibition of political activity², the prohibition of "subversive" literature, the imposition of an entrance examination, among other decrees.

In this context we want to retrieve the different positions of the agents and the identification processes that have the production of "others", which was stay in university, which expelled, which go to exile, which disappeared, are some of the terms that arise in interviews with teachers and students with regard to the practices of the actors in the academic field.

The academic field is a space that is around a specific capital (Bourdieu, 1991), which proposes practical logics, strategies and specific habitus. In the case of the Argentine universities of the decades of the 60' and the 70' recurrent political crises symbolized in the Onganiato first, the Peronist Government of the 73' and later the 76' hit produced strong convulsions which corresponded to the particular look that every political replacement took from the University.

Political positions and provisions in the field will be developed over throughout the Decade of the 60' and 70', positions that will have practical consequences with the arrival of the PRN and the formation of "blacklists", expulsions and disappearances of teachers, researchers and trade unionists who will result in a new formation of the academic field.

In this way, we intend to follow the development of the positions and provisions of agents to account for the actions of such transformations.

It is advisable to start with a tentative chronology of the moments that required a definition by the agents.

In this first approach interviews were limited to players who had no involvement in the armed struggle, although they were political activity, moreover also have managed to remain in the academic field or re-enter after the year 83'.

The period covered the academic respondents travel begins in the mid-60', in this way one of the most important landmarks is the University of the Onganiato³ on the one hand and the reaction marked by the uprisings in the provinces of Córdoba and Tucumán in the year 69' and 70' that gave home to the process called great national agreement that led President de-facto Lanusse would culminate with the return to democracy in the year 73' and the return of peronism to first Campora and the own Perón then hand power.

¹ The last military dictatorship self nominate as a reorganization process

² In Argentinean university's the government is in charge of a dean elected democratically by the population university population divided in three estates professors, students and administrations people. In studied period this practice was discontinued.

³ Ongania was a dictator during 1966-1970. In his government the university was intervened and all political parties was forbidden.

The reaction to these events depended on the political position of the actors and their position on the field. It is important before proceeding to carry out a scheme of political positions and ideological elements which served as a basis to them.

- Left: this group won a first division that still exists among the followers of the ideas of Trotsky and Mao Tse Dong ideas. They had in common the fervent antiperonismo and socialism as its ultimate goal.
 - Within the first posture reform of capitalism, existed in this sense made use of the institutional ways to intervene in reality. Here parties can locate as the Communist Party, the national reform movement.
 - The followers of the revolution take the teachings of the African liberation movements, the Cuban revolution, Mao's regime and the focus theory, are some of the elements that will give rise to positions culminating with the taking of weapons in the release post. Within this group are the PRT-ERP (revolutionary of the village-army revolutionary people's Party) as well as its legal grouping known under the name of FAS (anti-imperialist front for Liberation).
- National left: in this place we can find groups influenced by the ideas of Trotsky, deeply reformists and totally against the use of revolutionary violence, they proposed to generate a peaceful transition to socialism. One of the strongest groups within this current was PSIN (Socialist Party of the national left) which then became the FIP (left Popular Front) inspired by the pen of its leader Jorge Abelardo Ramos. The substantial difference is the possibility of dialogue with the revolutionary left both peronism. In the years after the return to the democracy party and its leader will be integrated fully with peronism.
- Peronism: within this area must be set at least three subgroups:
 - Peronism in base: we refer to the labor groups that establish resistance in the factories during the period included from the Revolución Libertadora and the return of Perón. This group is not always responded to their Union leaders, and in many cases they sympathised with the action of Montoneros.
 - Union peronism: is the more traditional peronism in which Peron, leaned around the CGT and mainly organized 62 Peronist organizations.
 - Montoneros: mainly linked to youth, these influenced by Socialist ideas and liberation movements believed to see the possibility of developing their aspirations of social justice in peronism. However, the early break with Peron who chooses to rely on the trade unions provokes a crisis that will conclude in the rupture in Plaza de Mayo and the passage to the underground of Montoneros. Meanwhile in Tucumán Montoneros it will have legal representation in the (Group evolution Tucumán) GET to perform in the centers of students in the College gymnasium although originally did not belong to Montoneros from the appended 74's era year and FANET (National Association of Vintners student front) where a large portion of the Christian democracy of Tucuman will be included.

What is reflected in this brief outline is the debate generated within the left the emergence of peronism, in effect if there is a point at which all the interviewees agree on the existence of the debate on the question what is peronism? And second step what do with peronism? A sector on the left think it as a necessary evil on the way to communism, since the Argentina should comply with the most advanced stage of capitalism; Another lists it as an impediment due to his populist logic; a third sector remained fluid dialogues which, in many cases, I conclude later in the peronizacion of them. What is certain is that the Peronist phenomenon is not unnoticed by anyone who is devoted to politics, in any of its levels.

Now, the uprisings showed the Government military that the process initiated by the liberating revolution was coming to an end. In this context, the University began to measures taken by the Onganiato desestructurarse. In FFyL a normalizing Dean imposed teacher of the career of history Victoria Dappe, remembers that moment the interviewee "A"

"The Vicki Daape, once you throw them at the previous external auditors." A controller who was negotiating, of course, the Vicki was fully negotiating. It gives us room for the Student Center, authorize us to make the elections, win the Peronists and we left seconds immediately there, then was a co-director of the Student Center, claim that they will allow us to put back the bar because there was a bar in the Center closed in 66' year, give us that local and put the bar. All that in the year 71', also give us premises for the Centre here at the entrance to this room (refers to the main hall in central hall) and give us a second branch Library of the Student Center which we call "Escalabrini Raul Ortiz" (interview October 2010). Then impose a new controller that would continue with the management until the arrival of Cámpora to power.

It is in this context that re-opens the discussion on the do with the imminent arrival of own Perón and peronism. The Peronist resistance (Daniel, j. 1990) will begin another debate that revolved around the expectation if Peron could meet the political projects developed by youth and a part of trade unionism.

In 1973 under the hood "Campora to government Perón to power"⁴ Campora won the elections and started a period known as "the spring of Campora", which deepened the process of liberalization of the national universities, recognized by the expulsion of teachers identified by the outgoing military regime and the return of the expelled staff. However, the replacement in the teaching staff who had a high profile at the University of Buenos Aires and La Plata had no great effect in the UNT FFyL.

Here the replacement took the form of re-entry of the Peronist identity teachers driven by the "Revolución Libertadora"⁵, among them the new Dean was Professor Herrero Rodrigo auditor. Some of these provoked the reaction of the students, "Sarluye, who had been Governor of the soldiers until the 73' was a Peronist cast of the 55' here, Professor of philosophy and history, not is I not had never seen because..., and want to replenish." Clear but as a cast of the 55'pero who had also been Governor of the soldiers that they just let the Government then Student Center, we do a quilombo not going to replace Sarluye and not replenished it." (Interview in October 2011)

As we see the political identification with peronism not avoided to Sarluye be administrator Governor of the Onganiato, in fact as we saw in other developments, Risco Fernández was director of culture and education of the Government of Sarluye and it is expelled from the Faculty by the dictatorship of the 76'. In this sense the expulsions do not seem to have responded only to the political connections but also public actions scheduled agents as left or right, the case of Herrero Rodrigo and Sarluye is understood if we observe that part of the first peronism can be included within the second option.

All respondents agree that "the 73'" not brought about many changes in the teaching staff of the FFyL where Christian democracy was majority. This group had the particularity to remain during the onганиato, the last peronism and the last military dictatorship. Your aconflictivo and pragmatic nationalism is that allowed them to survive in the University even until the end of the Decade of the 90'.

College students take up his political activity with a variety of approaches including the debate was possible until the political situation resulted in shots of monolithic positions. The break between Montoneros and Perón joined the military action that was already developing ERP, since 74', through the company of the mount will make impossible the debate given that you as remembers the interviewee "C" "I think that it was very difficult to debate, a debate with people who had the weapons and one could give argument and others you were in the middle of that discussion showed you very tangible facts "the taking of a town, the distribution of food in a neighborhood, both the ERP and Montoneros Latins its propaganda activity of masses that included such actions, hijacked a milk truck and distributed it in a neighborhood." (Interview "H" November 2012).

"And in 74' the air was thick and dense in all sides had long firefight, the Montoneros and the ERP against Government and military activity and already pioneering of the AAA against any activity." "Practically the Student Center begins to not operate within the University setting, it gets thick, in the 74'y in the 75'directamente headquarters is closed, see you before the coup not" (interview "Z" October 2011) "is that had already appeared with Millan federal police head. It is the first national speech before the "operational independence" in the 74' is the Federal Police, who installed a system of controls is very strong on the route, then we went or came back wit and suddenly you were with... and suddenly stood you two bikes with the Ithaca pointing, bikes that could go to 160 km/h and we would go in Ami 8"(interview "C" in November).

It is in this year (December 1, 1974) is produced when the action that I conclude with the Executive order to develop the "operational independence". The attack that ends with the death of Captain Viola and his daughter as well as the disappearance of an aircraft of tasks heading towards Tafí del Valle, have a strong impact that I rush the arrival of Acdel Vilas in the city of Tucumán.

⁴ "Campora al gobierno Perón al poder"

⁵ Was the name called the cup the state of 1966 given for Ongania.

The "operational independence" imposed a new logic that began to develop a mapping of the situation, thus describes Vilas its actions " Having internalized the previous operating, I I started to meet the hardest jobs: 1) change the mentality of the pictures (cuadros)⁶, preparing them for a war where they would act on causes and effects, using non-conventional methods of struggle and 2) forming an elite civil identify with the ideas of the guidelines of the "operational", so that, at the same time, her act in the city supporting the army." (Vilas, a. 1976: 11). A part of the actions were military, but the battle took place at all levels:

- Opens the first clandestine detention center called "la escuelita of Famaillá" begins a police action that the Center urban and rural district.
- Develops a strong control over the University, interviewed "D" has that "when I receive me in the year 75' comes the Dean, Orlando Lazarus tells me, you are very smart and intelligent people is dangerous, do not reuse more", something similar happens with the interviewee "To" say "do not ever more, take care of yourself".
- The action in the media, the best-selling newspaper in the province reflects in its news military action with a clear tinge of triumphalist.
- Public events, the military were present in all the traditional commemorative public events and added new that they remembered the dead soldiers. Years later it go to deep this trend with the founding of peoples such as the so-called "Captain Caceres"
- Direct political action, Acdel Vilas kept public and secret meetings with well-known politicians who promoted the deterioration of the democratic political forces of Governor Juri.

The "operational independence" showed civilian and military that: to) Vilas method worked; (b) that the democratic political forces were divided and could not resist a military drubbing; (c) that the civilians did not see with bad eyes action military; (d) that the military could develop civilian functions. The attempted coup of the air force and Navy on December 21, 1975, the attempt failed in Monte Chingolo did the rest. The President started to propose economic changes through the Mondelli Plan backed by the International Monetary Fund however the situation begins to close the passage to democracy, Trade Union action which was discussed between the strike and the support for democracy, the political parties that were discussed between the harsh criticism and the urgent request of electionthe revolutionary action of armed groups are some of the elements that have prevented the opening to a democratic solution to the crisis.

From March 24, 1976, were banned from political activity, was mounted at the level country the police/military control, the disappearing device (Calveiro, p. 2008) is mounted and begins to establish a negative identification (Feierstein, D. 2007) under the stigma of criminal/subversive, at the same time we are trying to strengthen a national, Western and Christian identity.

Richard nelli establishes that the coup d'etat in Chile produces shock in the categories identifying that transforms the political and social conditions of the agents. On April 4, 1976 published a list of teachers and students who should be expelled from the education secondary and higher. From that moment are added at least two categories "the uninsured" cast of the Faculty and suspected for the society and guilty for the PRN's activities subversive/criminals, those who remain in the University and those who disappear.

The new categories do not replace the pre-existing but in some cases are annexed and then multiply the possibilities depending on the contexts in which it is used. The list shall be published in the local press and distributed by educational establishments which prevents the re-employment of persons, "look; they have shown me the list, and you are there, among people who you can not hire" (interview "C" in November).

Intra parties ties will be, in some cases reinforced, through economic support, in other cases, a distant relationship produced by terror. Despite this situation when it comes to identifying respondents not stop never recognized as part of a specific group. What is evidenced when two questions are why do you think that you were in the sights of the intelligence services? And what happened in later of the 76'?

All interviewed cases gives a possible reason that could be put in the spotlight, either by University political activity by trade union activity, by Marxist, among other affiliations, when inquiring by subsequent to the coup processes attach names to political affiliations.

⁶ Is a form to call the more preparing to leadership.

In this context the least begin to devise strategies to survive. They, depended on the social relations of each individual networks that had woven out of the academic field.

"The party gave me of eat, I spent a year there, living with some relatives." Then I turned and worked out in strange things, for example attending farms, sugarcane, cattle farms, four, five years working on that. In addition I had not my title; three areas were missing me and also could not receive me. Finally my career in the 84'."(Interview "F" in October 2011)

"Well the first months largely lived thanks to the support of my father-in-law and I started to appear in ads for work but when they knew that I was in general University I left aside. Then I had to start to build a credible resume but with some small distortions until in the year 78' was already beginning to reach the finals or be to be selected among the last three until once, had presented to me in the 77'y September the first days of January of the 78'me called on the phone telling me that the next day I had to be in Buenos Aires because he entered at Kodak as a salesman for all North so between Kodak and I learned how to sell photos and photography articles and machines and all those things, I was trained for a month and spent five years (interview "B" November 2011)

It is evident in these two experiences that being University and that they were not in their usual space turned them into suspects, which resulted in a social vacuum that forced to seek new paths.

While both within the field remained the given movement that the spaces created by the expulsions should be covered, as well as promotions occur without competitions, proof of this is the note of April 23, 1976 is called registration of interested parties to cover 62 charges (Journal), it was not until 82' after the war of the Falklands when the PRN was retreating when contests occur that they sought to justify charges granted Ad referendum, in these competitions was put back on the table the status of the uninsured, on the one hand were forbidden to appear and other persons who could remain in the field could make careers of graduate and obtain teaching experiences that made a difference even after 83' year.

After Falkland University begins to release is giving rise to some of the uninsured to seek teaching assignments. With the return to democracy were raised several conflicts do with teachers who had occupied a position during the dictatorship? What to do with the uninsured? How is the relationship between the uninsured and those who kept their jobs and even ascended into the same established?

There was no reaction in the FFyL review of teachers that remained, but instead sought the way to conform to all the parties, however the fear of these was due to the superimposition of charges obtained with the separated charges. This fear led to the creation of a Union institution Federation of professors of the UNT (FEDIUNT).

The fear of those who remained had its counterpart in the formation in the year 83' "an Association of professors cesantias, began to make arrangements and even publish a couple of chosen in the Journal Gazette all and each one of those we asked, not everyone wanted to sign at the time. Write those orders was a daunting task because there were very afraid, everyone wanted to take care of things that were expressed and finally when upload Alfonsín appointed Rector of the University one of the unemployed, it is the Professor Luis Salinas who was one of the promoters of the reinstatement process, was one of the most active along with Professor Billone. "Then in April the year 84'conseguimos a rectoral resolution of Professor Salinas rejoining us and that was then ratified by a ministerial decision to the Minister of Alfonsín called Alconada Aramburú thus legalized of Salinas but it gave rise to each submit the request for reinstatement and is already done in terms of that resolution." (Interview "B" in November 2011).

The problem was prompted when a radical Senator Stubrin proposed a law by which those who had titled their posts during the dictatorship should return to pay contest, however again the new officials and the uninsured were eliminated the conflict through an agreement where teachers who would like to surrender would in the upper position, many chose not to surrender and remain in office achieved until his retirement at the end of the Decade of the 90'.

In the day to day relationship was quite different, the uninsured were long regarded suspiciously as attainment of the "theory of the two demons" summarized in the phrase "for something it will be". The uninsured became aware of this situation and it is consistently in the interviews.

Students in this situation did not react in favor of the uninsured, and denouncing those that remained, which facilitated the oblivion of transformations suffered during the PRN.

"there is a complaint nor attempt to evict those who have stayed in the... well there is a resistance to stay to those who had been cast during the dictatorship." But they will not succeed. Then I think that the result was a draw, bancar is that those who return... and nothing more.(...)

I think unfortunately it achieved effective censorship, persecution, ethical nomas, police control, authoritarian and controlled University made generations of conformists and accommodating people unfortunately, not all you can not generalize but mostly in this country is what I've managed to collect. "After times change and now is the time to speak of democracy, but are accommodated"total I always went Democratic" I perceived that that Act is not so, nor have an identity, or political interest, have produced a generation not is if a generation but at least cohort dominated by that, the absence of commitment to not talk about militant commitment."(interview "A" October 2011).

Conclusion

Throughout this paper we could see at least two possible processes of identification:

- Which are imposed through the imposition of categories as delinquent /subversive, uninsured, among others. Here is the main creator of the categories, but the action of social groups should also be included.
- The process of self-identification in which agents are recognized as part of a group.

These establish complex, often contradictory relations where the power of the State is imposed through its institutions leaving marks on the bodies and space.

On the other hand as Scott, agents establish pragmatic strategies that rationally analyze the situation protecting from reprisals of those who hold the police power. In the analyzed case can be seen in the case of the interviewee "B" that you must hide his education so that he be included in the list of suspects. So State terrorism begin to impose the logic of the "something will be" who will continue to run many years later. Now, these strategies does not mean denying the identification but carry out their actions in confidence private conditions that took the form of clandestine meetings to discuss what should be done.

An element that also is taken into account is the inevitable fact that human beings change and then many of the IDs that were once strong brand identity today manifests itself as a litany and in some cases with excessive criticism. In interviews this situation is revealed in the times which used to account for his militancy, "I was", I "belonged" in any case of respondents claiming fully their political membership rather are located in current identification processes. However, reading against the grain it is possible to observe some brands of previous identifications that bear some relation to personal stories.

Another interesting element of discussion that crosses the entire article is the discussion that keep the process identifying and joints, which can be interpreted through the structure/subject relationship. This debate, which has trapped the larger cientific@s of the 20th centuries often arise through power relations focusing on the dispute by significant elements, whether we call it capital (bourdieu), expert systems and abstract (Giddens) or devices (Focault) than it is to the struggle for a better position in relation to a limited good. However, in the process of identifying power relations are multiple, the State, the subject, a number of groups that interact in the competition, the State is without a doubt that concerts increased enforcement power but it is not always to decide path to take identifying processes.

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