

computers and satellite tracking technology to increase efficiency. For instance, when CEMEX took over the Rugby plant in England, the new management improved the production from 70 percent to 93 percent capacity. With this productivity and vigorous expansion, analysts predicted that CEMEX would continue to be among the most competitive cement producers in the world.

See also **Industrialization**.

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CEMPOALA. Cempoala (Zempoala), one of several Totonac states located near Veracruz Vieja, where Cortés's expedition disembarked to penetrate central Mexico. It contained a large population (20,000–30,000 tributaries) clustered around a ceremonial center. The name which translates to “place of twenty waters” derives from numerous rivers in the area. The Totonacs, who had a culture similar to the Maya, populated the area approximately 1500 years before the Spanish encounter. Cempoala had just recently been conquered by the Aztecs, and the people rankled at the empire's tribute demands. Cortés therefore found them willing allies. The Spanish had to protect Cempoala from Aztec retribution. In 1520 Cempoala was swept by a smallpox epidemic that left virtually no survivors. The remaining population was congregated in a neighboring town in 1569.

See also **Totonacs**.

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CENSORSHIP. To sketch a historical context for understanding censorship in Latin America, we must begin by defining the term. By providing competing conceptions of censorship, crucial issues involved in debates concerning freedom of the press emerges. Two points of view predominate. The liberal-pluralist stance understands censorship in a relatively narrow manner and focuses on whether there are any formal impediments to the exercise of free expression by the media. The other view implies a more nuanced conception of mass communication: regardless of whether the media are privately owned or government-controlled, the notion of censorship is related to the degree of access available to the population, either as individual citizens or as members of interest groups, and to their potential capacity to define public issues. Thus, in addition to legal and formal obstacles to free expression, informal means of restricting access to the public sphere may also be considered forms of censorship.

Both formal and informal censorship practices have existed since early colonial times in what today is Latin America. In precolonial civilizations, such as the Maya and the Inca, the definition of the social order was the exclusive privilege of the ruling elites. The Spanish and Portuguese authorities banned books, usually on religious and moral grounds, throughout the colonial empire, thus marking the start of censoring practices in the New World. However, only with the appearance and subsequent prohibition of patriotic *pasquines* (political pamphlets) during the independence period did the curtailment of press freedom occur that people later associated with censorship.

Once the new nations had gained independence, daily newspapers proliferated. This was a partisan press, which openly espoused the political views of its publishers. Throughout the nineteenth century, these partisan newspapers ebbed and flowed according to the fortunes of their sponsors. It was customary for the party in power to harass and outlaw the partisan press sponsored by its

political opponents, in the understanding that, when power shifted, as it often did, that party's own newspapers would be banned from circulation. Such "censorship" was an integral part of the political modus operandi of the times.

The situation was not the same for all Latin American countries. In Chile, for example, a country where caudillo politics of the nineteenth century were less entrenched and eventually gave way to a remarkably stable democratic system in the twentieth century, the first nonsectarian newspaper was founded as early as 1855. In contrast, Venezuela, where *caudillismo* remained strong well into the twentieth century, did not enjoy a free press until recently.

The structure of media ownership, particularly television, is the key factor in determining the subtler forms of censorship that were outlined above in terms of limited access and ability to define issues. Electronic media in Latin America grew on a commercial basis, and the vast majority of television stations are privately owned. Thus, messages tend to favor the worldview of the urban privileged, fostering consumerism and political conservatism.

A movement aimed at alleviating this situation took hold in several countries during the 1960s and early 1970s, eventually resulting in a 1976 meeting sponsored by UNESCO, where representatives of twenty Latin American nations discussed communication policies. The recommendations of this conference, which sought to increase popular participation and access to media, were seldom implemented. By the time they were formulated, the political climate that favored government intervention to promote greater media democratization had passed, and a wave of dictatorial regimes was sweeping the region, particularly the Southern Cone. Censorship increased greatly during the 1960s through the 1980s under these military regimes. Many newspapers were shut down and their reporters and editors assassinated, "disappeared," or hounded from the country. A famous example is Jacobo Timerman, the editor of *La Opinión*, who was imprisoned, tortured and deported from Argentina in the 1970s. In Nicaragua, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, owner of *La Prensa*, in Managua, Nicaragua, was assassinated in 1978.

After redemocratization in the 1980s, censorship diminished throughout the region. The power of the private broadcasters themselves became

formidable and few governments could afford to antagonize them. In Brazil, for instance, the Globo television network had far more influence and power than any current political force. A separate case was that of Mexico. After the loss of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in the presidential elections of 2000, newspapers and other media took a more independent stance, not as bound to the ad revenue that the Mexican government provided to media outlets.

Censorship has begun to emerge in Latin America again under the aegis of populist-leftist regimes. Most important in this respect was Venezuela, where in 2004 the National Assembly controlled by President Hugo Chávez promulgated a law that restricted the type of programming in radio and television. In 2005, it became a crime to insult public officials, but this law has been used mainly to keep journalists quiet rather than to punish them for transgressions. These actions were followed in May 2007 by Venezuelan government's decision not to renew the broadcasting license of Radio Caracas Televisión (RCTV). The government, which has argued that most private media outlets are against it, asserted that RCTV had helped the plotters in the 2002 coup and that it was within its rights to close the station. This decision brought about massive protests throughout the country, but the government did not back down. In communist Cuba, censorship of all media remains the rule. In Colombia, death threats against reporters by paramilitary and drug dealers promote self-censorship. Likewise, in Mexico the murder of nine journalists in 2007 highlights the problems of censorship, especially of media outlets along the U.S. border, where drug traffickers threaten to harm those reporting on their activities.

Overall, systematic censorship by governments in Latin America is relatively rare except in Cuba and Venezuela. In Cuba even the Internet is strictly controlled. The most important barriers are self-censorship because of threats from criminal elements. Thus, censorship is becoming less an issue since the rise of the Internet has made control of information very difficult.

See also Journalism.

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twentieth-century media are Marvin Alisky, *Latin American Media: Guidance and Censorship* (1981), and Elizabeth Fox, ed., *Media and Politics in Latin America: The Struggle for Democracy* (1988). On censorship during colonial times, see Pablo González Casanova, *La Literatura perseguida en la crisis de la colonia* (1986). For a discussion of press harassment in the twentieth century, see María Teresa Camarillo Carbajal, *La represión a la prensa en América Latina: Hemerografía, 1978–1982* (1985) and Richard R. Cole, ed. *Communication in Latin America: Journalism, Mass Media, and Society*. Four interesting national studies respectively, are Andrés Avellaneda, *Censura, autoritarismo y cultura: Argentina, 1960–1983* (1986); Silvana Goulart Guimaraes, *Sob a verdade oficial: Ideologia, propaganda e censura* (1990); and Hernán Millas, *Los señores censores* (1985).

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The best up-to-date resource for censorship issues is Reporters Without Borders, whose website is <http://www.rsf.org>.

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CENTER FOR ADVANCED MILITARY STUDIES (CAEM). Center for Advanced Military Studies (CAEM), a Peruvian institution for specialized higher military education created in 1950 under the rule of the de facto president General Manuel Odría. Its original objectives were to define national war doctrines, train Peruvian colonels aspiring to higher military posts, and relate the issues of national defense to national problems. It was similar in scope to contemporary military centers in France, the United States (Inter-American Defense College), Argentina, and Brazil.

Peruvian military training and education had been modeled since 1896 on the French military school (in part as a reaction to the German model used by the Chilean army at the time). The French model perceived the role of the military in a wider social and administrative dimension. With this perspective the Peruvian general Oscar Torres, President José Luis Bustamante y Rivero's minister of war, called as early as 1945 for the establishment of a specialized military training institution.

The CAEM's graduates and teaching staff began a gradual transformation in the military mentality toward a "new professionalism." They favored institutional military intervention in matters of national development, Indian "integration," and diminished foreign dependency. The CAEM played an important role in the military suppression of the peasant uprisings in Cuzco in the early 1960s through "civic action." In Cuzco the military introduced the first land reform ever executed in Peru in order to avoid further insurrections.

It has been assumed that the CAEM had a decisive influence among those who supported the 1968 military coup led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado against constitutional President Fernando Belaúnde. While some supporters of Velasco were CAEM graduates (such as General Jorge Fernández Maldonado), recent studies point to the much more important bearing of concepts of strategic internal and external defense (rather than the CAEM's developmental doctrines) expounded by the newly expanded military intelligence.

See also **Armed Forces.**

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CENTRAL AMERICA. The term "Central America" is often used to designate the region stretching southeastward from the isthmus of Tehuantepec, in Mexico, to the boundary between Panama and Colombia. Historically, however, it has more often been used with reference to the five states that once made up the Central American federation—Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica—but also including Belize, which has long been claimed by Guatemala. The Spanish colonial Kingdom of Guatemala also