KEEN HAYNES

A History of Latin America

INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT

VOLUME 2

SIXTH EDITION

SIXTH EDITION

A History of Latin America

VOLUME 2

Independence to the Present

Benjamin Keen
Northern Illinois University, Emeritus

Keith Haynes
The College of Saint Rose

Houghton Mifflin Company
Boston New York

Editor in Chief: Jean Woy
Associate Editor: Leah Strauss
Project Editor: Kellie Cardone
Associate Production/Design Coordinator: Jodi O'Rourke
Assistant Manufacturing Coordinator: Andrea Wagner

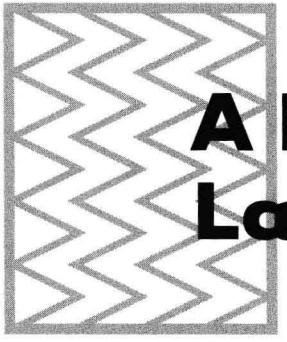
Cover Design: Tony Saizon/Sammy Yuen
Cover Art: *The Rehearsal of the Samba School,* 1977, by Jose Luiz, Museu de Arte Moderna, Belo Horizonte, Brazil/Bridgeman Art Library

Printed in the U.S.A.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 99-71962

ISBN: 0-395-97714-2

123456789-CRS-03 02 01 00 99



A History of Latin America

PREFACE

THE SIXTH EDITION of *A History of Latin America* has two major objectives. First, it seeks to make available to teachers and students of Latin American history a text based on the best recent scholarship, enriched with data and concepts drawn from the sister social sciences of economics, anthropology, and sociology. Because the book is a history of Latin American *civilization,* it devotes considerable space to the way of life adopted at each period of the region's history. To enable students to deepen their knowledge of Latin American history and culture on their own, it includes an updated bibliography, "Suggestions for Further Reading," limited to titles in English.

The second objective of this edition has been to set Latin American history within a broad interpretive framework. This framework is the "dependency theory," the most influential theoretical model for social scientists concerned with understanding Latin America. Not all followers of the theory understand it in precisely the same way, but most probably agree with the definition of *dependency* offered by the Brazilian scholar Theotonio dos Santos: "A situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subject."

Writers of the dependency school employ some standard terms that we use in this text: *neocolonialism, neoliberalism,* and *center* and *periphery. Neocolonialism* refers to the dependent condition of countries that enjoy formal political independence. *Neoliberalism* refers to the policies of privatization, austerity, and trade liberalization accepted willingly or unwillingly by the governments of dependent countries as a condition of approval of investment, loans, and debt relief by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. (The IMF and the World Bank prefer to give such policies the innocuous-sounding name of "structural adjustment programs.") The term *center* is applied to the dominant group of developed capitalist countries, and *periphery* to the underdeveloped or dependent countries.

Periodically dependency theory has come under attack from scholars, mostly North American, who announce its "collapse." The most recent announcements of dependency theory's "collapse" have been linked to the seeming triumph of neoliberal ideology and its creation, the so-called "global economy." Claiming that the neoliberal tide can lift all ships, including the countries of Latin America and the rest of the Third World, and pointing for proof in the case of Latin America to such macroeconomic indicators as increased exports (often based on intense exploitation of finite natural resources and subject to sudden changes in price and demand), large inflows of foreign capital (often speculative and volatile), and the like, these critics argued that dependency theory was basically flawed and outmoded, that its analysis of Latin America's problems had lost all meaning in the light of today's world.

But a rapid glance at the results of over a decade of application of neoliberal therapy to Latin America's problems suggests that in all essential respects the economic and social crisis of the area has worsened and its dependency vis-à-vis the core capitalist powers has deepened. Our text documents these conclusions in detail. Here are a few telling facts.

According to the UN's Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean, the number

of Latin Americans living in poverty went up from 197 million in 1990 to 209 million in 1994, a 6 percent increase. In 1987 the area's foreign debt stood at $426 billion; by 1996, after paying $648 billion on the debt, it had risen to $611 billion, and by the end of 1997 it had risen again to $644 billion—three times what it had been in 1982. In Mexico, often regarded as a shining light of the neoliberal revolution, by 1996 55 percent of the population, 14.7 million more than in 1994, lived in extreme poverty. In Argentina, between 1990 and 1994, the "golden years" of President Menem's neoliberal restructuring, the gross domestic product increased by on third, but unemployment almost doubled, reaching almost 19 percent by 1995. The inequities of the area's income distribution remain staggering. In Brazil, in the early 1990s, the richest 20 percent of the population received 67.5 percent of the national income. By contrast, the poorest 40 percent of the national population received 7 percent of their country's income in Brazil, 5.7 percent in Mexico, 5 percent in Venezuela, 4.9 percent in Chile, 2.7 percent in Guatemala, and 4.9 percent in Colombia. The growth of Latin American poverty, it should be noted, forms part of a pattern of growing impoverishment on a global scale, particularly in the Third World. In April 1999 James Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank, noted that the number of people living on less than $1 a day had risen from 1 billion a few years ago to about 1.3 billion and would likely reach 1.5 billion by 2000.

Meanwhile the deepening Latin American dependency has assumed a more sinister form. The drug traffic to the United States and Europe has virtually become the life support system of the economies of Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru, and its influence, as recent revelations show, has reached into the highest levels of officialdom in countries like Colombia and Mexico. Another symptom of growing dependency, directly linked to the impact of neoliberal policies on the Mexican economy, is the swelling flood of illegal immigrants seeking to cross the U.S.-Mexican border and the violence inherent in U.S. policies like Operation Gatekeeper, designed to prevent it. According to a study by the University of Houston, "Death at the Border," from 1993 to 1996 nearly 1200 immigrants died while attempting to cross the U.S.-Mexican border. In the light of these and other compelling facts, it appears that dependency theory continues to have a large relevance for Latin America. It remains, in the words of Professor Peter Evans, "one of the primary lenses through which both Latin American and North American scholars analyze the interaction of classes and the state in the context of an increasingly internationalized economy."

As we prepare this book for the press, a rush of events provides compelling evidence of a crisis of the "global economy" project and the neoliberal theory on which it rests. An economic storm, beginning in the Far East in 1997, left the economies of Indonesia, South Korea, and other "Asian tigers" in ruins, spread to Russia, and by early 1999 threatened Latin America. Especially affected were such countries as Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Mexico, and Colombia, which had commercial ties with Asian markets and suffered sharp declines in the prices of their raw material exports. Particularly worrisome was the plight of the biggest Latin American economy, that of Brazil, which experienced a loss of more than $25 billion of its foreign reserves through capital flight in two months. An IMF-led effort to bail out Brazil with a $41.5 billion loan in return for "structural adjustment" budget cuts of $21 billion was unlikely to do more than increase Brazil's huge foreign debt and the social inequities of a country which had the world's most inequitable income distribution. Michel Camdessus, the IMF's managing director, himself described the situation as "the crisis of a system." The famed financier George Soros proclaimed "the crisis of global capitalism." The board of directors of the International Forum on Globalization drew its own conclusion: "After more than 50 years of this experiment, it is breaking down. Rather than leading to economic benefits for all people, it has brought the planet to the brink of environmental and social catastrophe. The experiment has failed" (*New York Times,* Nov. 24, 1998).

A word about the organization of this text. In its planning, the decision was made to reject the approach that tries to cover the post-independence history of the twenty Latin American republics in detail, including mention of every general who ever passed through a presidential palace. Most teachers will agree that this approach discourages students by miring them in a bog of tedious facts. Accordingly, it was decided to limit coverage of the national period in the nineteenth century to Mexico, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, whose history seemed to illustrate best the major issues and trends of the period. In addition to covering these four countries, the survey of the twentieth century broadened to include the central Andean area, with a special concentration on Peru, and Cuba, the scene of a socialist revolution with continental repercussions. The second edition added a chapter on Central America, where a revolutionary storm, having toppled the U.S.-supported Somoza tyranny in Nicaragua, threatened the rickety structures of oligarchical and military rule in El Salvador and Guatemala. The fourth edition recognized the political and economic importance of the Bolivarian lands of Venezuela and Colombia by including a chapter on the modern history of those countries.

To accommodate alternative course configurations, the present edition of *A History of Latin America* continues to be published in two volumes as well as in a complete version. Volume 1 includes Latin American history from ancient times to 1910, and Volume 2 covers Latin American history from Independence to the present. An expanded introduction to Volume 2 has been added to provide some background for those students who do not take the first half of the course.

Lastly, the recent history of all the countries under discussion has been brought up to date, and the rest of the book has been thoroughly revised to reflect current scholarship, particularly the respective roles of race, class, and gender in the region's historical development. Special emphasis is placed on such topics as the impact of neoliberal economic policies and the gathering revolt against them, the effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the growing urgency of environmental issues, and the heightened visibility of the women's movement.

The book has also benefited from the careful scrutiny of the fifth edition by colleagues who made valuable suggestions for revision:

James Brennan, University of California
Marshall Eakin, Vanderbilt University
José Morales, Jersey City State University
Charles Pregger-Roman, Castleton State College
Joan E. Supplee, Baylor University

Many but not all of these colleagues' suggestions were adopted; these individuals bear no responsibility for any remaining errors of fact or interpretation. We also want to acknowledge a special debt of gratitude to Professor Asuncion Lavrin who graciously shared her photo archive on Latin American feminism. We wish to recall, too, the many students, graduate and undergraduate, who helped us to define our views on Latin American history through the give-and-take of classroom discussion and the reading and discussion of their papers and theses.

Benjamin Keen
Keith Haynes

INTRODUCTION

The Geographical Background of Latin American History

LATIN AMERICA, A region of startling physical contrasts, stretches 7,000 miles southward from the Mexican-U.S. border to the tip of Tierra del Fuego on Cape Horn. The widest east-west point, across Peru and Brazil, spans 3,200 miles. This diverse geography has helped produce distinctive development of each Latin American nation.

Latin America has two dominant physical characteristics: enormous mountains and vast river systems. The often snowcapped and sometimes volcanic mountain ranges—the three Sierra Madre ranges in Mexico and the 4,000-mile-long Andes in South America that make a western spine from Venezuela to Tierra del Fuego—form the backbone of the landmass. Nearly impassable for most of their length, these mountain ranges boast many peaks of over 22,000 feet. The mountains have presented a formidable barrier to trade and communications in Mexico and the nations of the southern continent. Not only do the mountain ranges separate nations from each other, but they divide regions within nations.

The enormous rivers most often lie in lightly populated areas. Three mammoth river systems (the Amazon, the Orinoco, and the Río de la Plata) spread over almost the entire South American continent east of the Andes. The size of the Amazon River Basin and the surrounding tropics—the largest such area in the world—has posed another impediment to the development of transportation and human settlement, although some rivers are navigable for long distances. Only with the advent of modern technology—railroads, telegraph, telephones, automobiles, and airplanes—has geographic isolation been partly overcome, a condition that has helped create markets and forge independent states.

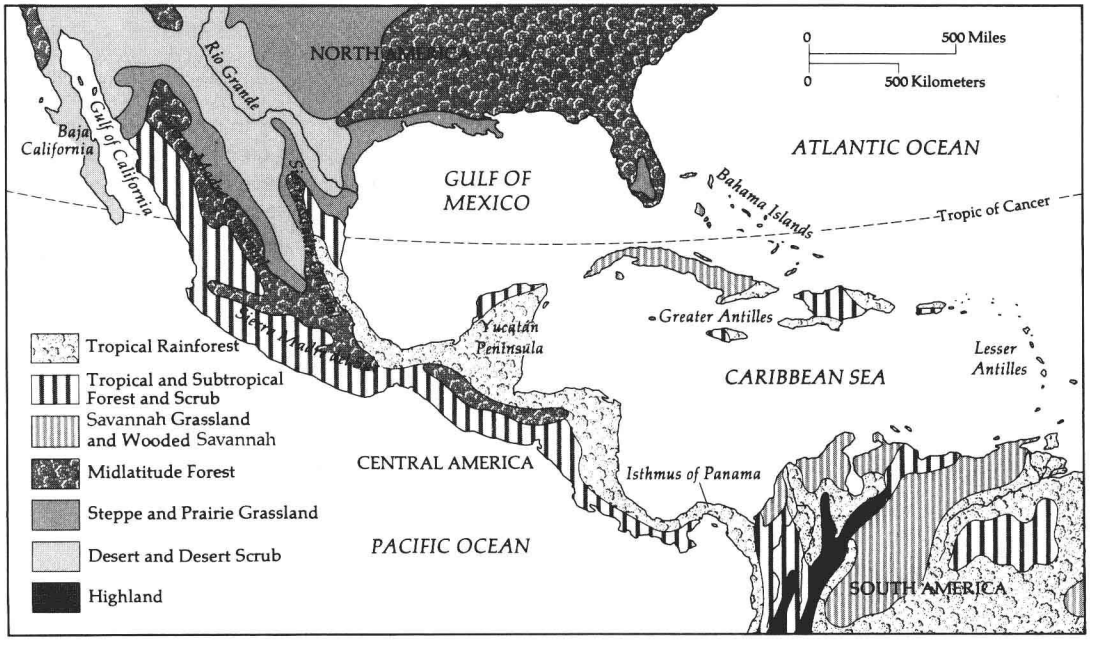
The number of waterways and the amount of rainfall vary greatly from region to region. Mexico has no rivers of importance, while Brazil contains the huge Amazon network. Lack of rain and rivers for irrigation in large areas makes farming impossible. Barely 10 percent of Mexico's land is fertile enough to farm; rainfall is so uncertain in some cultivable areas that drought strikes often and for years at a time. Mexico, with too little water, contrasts with Brazil, with too much. Much of Brazil's vast territory, however, is equally uncultivable as its tropical soils have high acidity and have proved infertile and incapable of sustaining agricultural crops.

On the other hand, Latin America has enormous natural resources for economic development. Mexico and Venezuela rank among the world's largest oil producers. Mexico may have the biggest petroleum reserves of any nation other than Saudi Arabia. Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru also produce oil. Over the centuries, Latin American nations have been leading sources of copper (Mexico and Chile), nitrate (Chile), silver (Peru and Mexico), gold (Brazil), diamonds (Brazil), and tin (Bolivia). Much of the world's coffee is grown on the fertile highlands of Central America, Colombia, and Brazil. Much of the world's cattle have been raised on the plains of northern Mexico, southern Brazil, and central Argentina. Argentina's immense plains, the Pampas, are among the planet's most fertile areas, yielding not only cattle but sheep and wheat as well. Over the past five centuries, the coastal plains of Brazil have produced enormous amounts of

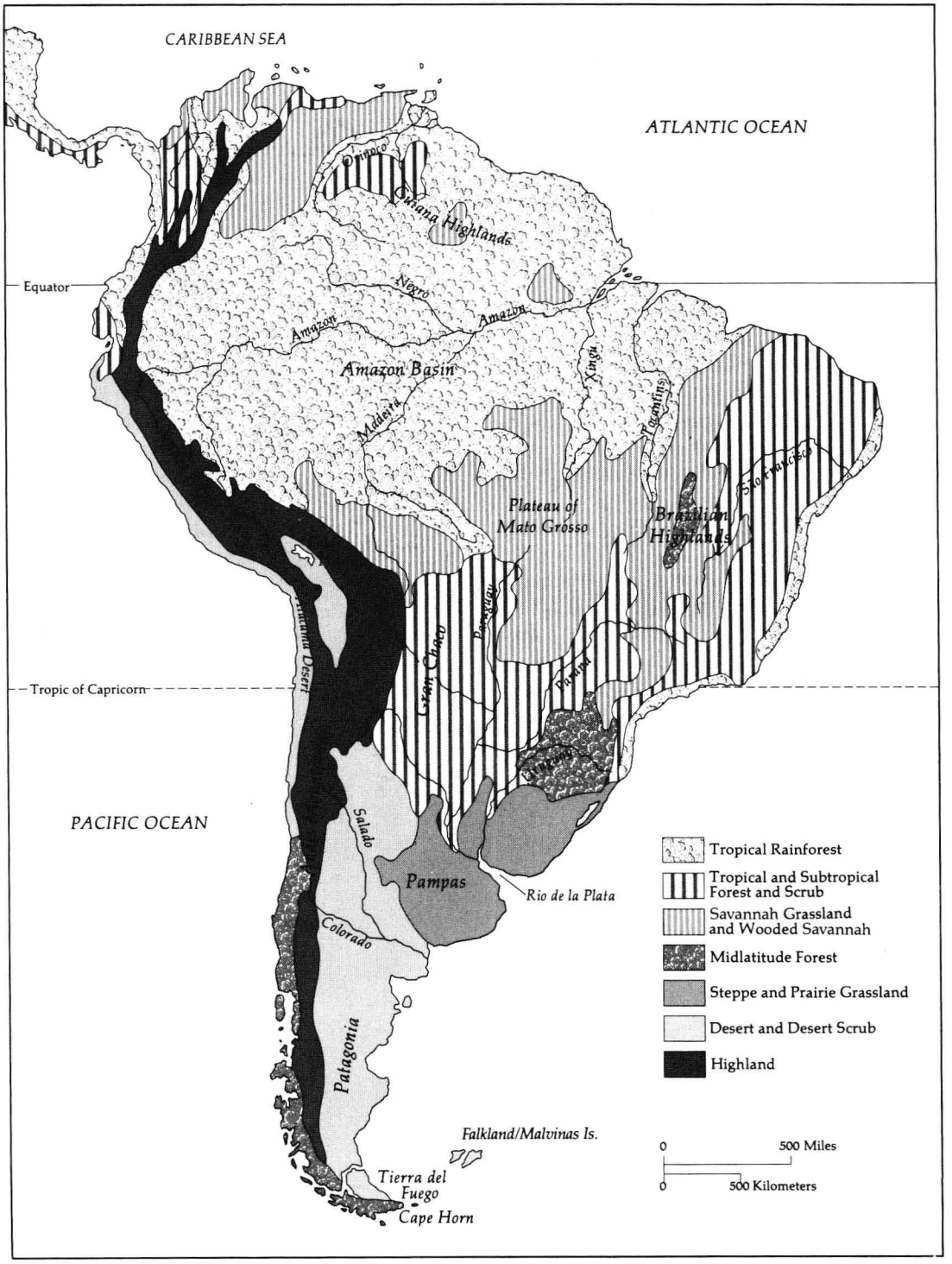
sugar. In addition, human ingenuity has converted geographical obstacles into assets. Some extensive river systems have potential for hydroelectric power and provide water for irrigation as well, as has been done in Mexico's arid regions.

The historical record shows that the richness of Latin America's resources has had a significant impact on the economic and political development of Europe and North America. The gold and silver of its New World Empire fueled Spain's wars and diplomacy in Europe for four hundred years. Many scholars trace the origins of the Industrial Revolution in such nations as Great Britain and the Netherlands to resources extracted from Latin America by its colonial masters, Spain and Portugal.

Latin America's resources have affected economic development elsewhere, but how these resources have been developed and by whom and in which ways has profoundly changed the history of the nations in this area. Geography has perhaps narrowed historical alternatives in Latin America, but the decisions of people determined its development. Going back to the colonization by Spain and Portugal, Latin America's history has been marked by exploitation of its peoples and its natural resources. Imperial Spain's policy to drain the lands it conquered of gold, silver, and other resources fixed the pattern for later exploiters. With European dominance came the decisions to subjugate the indigenous peoples and often force them to labor under subhuman conditions in mines and on large estates, where many died. In the more recent era, there has been the decision to grow bananas on the coastal plains of Central America instead of corn or other staples of the local diet; this has made export profitable, usually for North American concerns, but this land use has left many, like the Guatemalans, without sufficient food. Meanwhile the uncontrolled expansion of capitalism in the area has led to an ecological crisis, reflected in massive deforestation, severe soil exhaustion, and growing agricultural



THE MAPS ON THESE TWO PAGES FORM AN OVERALL PICTURE OF THE NATURAL GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF LATIN AMERICA: MIDDLE AMERICA (ABOVE) COMPOSED OF MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, AND THE CARIBBEAN REGION; AND SOUTH AMERICA (NEXT PAGE).


CARIBBEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Orinoco
Guiana Highlands
Equator
Negro
Amazon
Amazon
Amazon Basin
Xingú
Madeira
Tocantins
São Francisco
Plateau of Mato Grosso
Brazilian Highlands
Atacama Desert
Gran Chaco
Paraguay
Paraná
Tropic of Capricorn
PACIFIC OCEAN
Salado
Pampas
Rio de la Plata
Colorado
Patagonia
Falkland/Malvinas Is.
Tierra del Fuego
Cape Horn
Tropical Rainforest
Tropical and Subtropical Forest and Scrub
Savannah Grassland and Wooded Savannah
Midlatitude Forest
Steppe and Prairie Grassland
Desert and Desert Scrub
Highland
0
500 Miles
0
500 Kilometers

and industrial pollution. These developments have contributed to rapid depletion of renewable resources, lack of clean water and air, and major epidemics of contagious diseases and other health problems.

The book that follows is a history of the development of Latin America's economy, politics, and society viewed primarily from the perspective of ordinary people, who were exploited and oppressed but who resisted and endured. It is the story of the events and forces that produced the alternatives from which Latin Americans created their world.

Latin America encompasses five climatological regions: high mountains, tropical jungles, deserts, temperate coastal plains, and temperate highlands. The first three are sparsely populated, while the latter two tend to be densely inhabited. With the exception of the Mayan, all the great ancient civilizations arose in the highlands of the Andes and Mexico.

The varied climate and topography of South America, Mexico, and Central America have helped produce this highly uneven distribution of population. Three notable examples, the gargantuan Amazonian region of mostly steamy tropical forests and savannah, the vast desert of Patagonia in southern Argentina, and the northern wastelands of Mexico, support few inhabitants. In contrast to these inhospitable regions, a thin strip along Brazil's coast, the plain along the Río de la Plata estuary in Argentina, and the central plateau of Mexico contain most of the people in these countries. Thus these nations are overpopulated and underpopulated at the same time.

In western South America the heaviest concentration of people is found on the inland plateaus. None of the major cities—Santiago, Chile; Lima, Peru; Quito, Ecuador; and Bogotá and Medellín, Colombia—are ports; there are few good natural harbors on the west coast. In contrast, in eastern South America the major cities—Buenos Aires, Argentina; Montevideo, Uruguay; and São Paulo–Santos, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Recife, Brazil—are situated on the Atlantic coast. The majority of people in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay reside on the coastal plains. Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey, Mexico's largest cities, are inland. Almost all these cities have a population of over 1 million, with Mexico City, the largest, having over 20 million.

CONTENTS

List of Maps xi
Preface xiii
Introduction: The Geographical Background of Latin American History xvii

PART 2
Latin America in the Nineteenth Century ***181***

CHAPTER 9
Dictators and Revolutions ***184***
The Fruits of Independence *184*
Economic Stagnation • Politics: The Conservative and Liberal Programs
Mexico *187*
The Mexican Economy • Politics: Liberals Versus Conservatives • War and Territorial Losses • La Reforma, *Civil War, and the French Intervention • Postwar Attempts at Reconstruction and the Death of* La Reforma
Argentina *199*
The Liberation of Paraguay, Uruguay, and Upper Peru • The Struggle for Progress and National Unity • The Paraguayan War • Progress and Development Under Sarmiento
Chile *206*
Portales and Economic Growth • Recovery Under Bulnes • Montt's Moderate Reforms • Liberal Control
Brazil *211*
Dom Pedro, Emperor • Regency, Revolt, and a Boy Emperor • The Game of Politics and the Crisis of Slavery

CHAPTER 10
The Triumph of Neocolonialism ***216***
The New Colonialism *216*
Expansion of the Hacienda System • Foreign Control of Resources • The Politics of Acquisition
Mexican Politics and Economy *219*
Dictatorship Under Díaz • Concentration of Landownership • The Economic Advance • Labor, Agrarian, and Middle-Class Unrest
Argentine Politics and Economy *226*
Consolidation of the State • Economic Boom and Inflation • The Formation of the Radical Party • Electoral Reform and the Growth of the Labor Movement
Chilean Politics and Economy *230*
Nitrates and War • Aftermath of the War of the Pacific • Balmaceda's Nationalistic Policies • The Parliamentary Republic, Foreign Economic Domination, and the Growth of the Working Class
Brazilian Politics and Economy *236*
The Antislavery Movement • The Fall of the Monarchy • The New Republic • The Economic Revolution

CHAPTER 11
Society and Culture in the Nineteenth Century ***245***
How New Was the New Society? *245*
The Passing of the Society of Castes *245*
The Indians • A Question of Color
The Process of Modernization *249*
The Landowners • The Immigrants • Women • The Church
The Romantic Revolt *253*
Romanticism in Argentine Writing • Mexican National Literature • Chilean Writers • Brazilian Romantic Literature • The Historical Novel

vi

Literature and Social Change, 1880–1910 257
Poetry and Modernism
The Romantic Revolt Continued: Ecuador and Peru 259

PART 3
Latin America in the Twentieth Century **261**
1900–1930 262
1930–1970 263
1970–1999 267

CHAPTER 12
The Mexican Revolution—and After **273**
The Great Revolution, 1910–1920 274
Madero's Presidency: Inadequacy and Revolt • Huerta's Dictatorship • The Opposition: Zapata, Villa, Carranza, and Obregón • Intervention by the United States • Fighting Among the Victors • The Constitution of 1917 • Carranza's Presidency
Reconstructing the State: Rule of Millionaire Socialists 287
Obregón and Reform • Calles's Regime
Cárdenas and the Populist Interlude 293
Land Reform • Labor Reform • Economic Reform • Women's Rights • Cárdenas's Growing Moderation and the Election of 1940
The Big Bourgeoisie in Power, 1940–1976: Erosion of Reform 296
Deconstructing the State: Neoliberalism and the Second Conquest of Mexico, 1977–1999 299
Debt Crisis, the IMF, and NAFTA • Neoliberal Crisis and Popular Resistance

CHAPTER 13
Argentina: The Failure of Democracy **311**
The Export Economy 311
Argentine Society 313
The Radical Era, 1916–1930 315
The Rise of the Radical Party • The First Radical Government: Yrigoyen, 1916–1922 • The Second Radical Government: Alvear, 1922–1928 • Yrigoyen's Second Term, 1928–1930
The "Infamous Decade," 1930–1943: The Conservative Restoration 321
The Perón Era, 1943–1955 323
Perón's Rise to Power • Postwar Economics • Perón's Downfall
The Shadow of Perón, 1955–1973 328
Economic Stagnation • The Military in Politics • The Return of Perón
Military Rule, 1974–1983 330
The Malvinas War
Return to Democracy and the Death of Peronismo 332

CHAPTER 14
The Chilean Way **337**
Foreign Dependency and the Parliamentary Republic, 1891–1920 337
Economic Growth and the Export Sector • Women and the Workplace
Alessandri and the Rise of Populism, 1920–1970 339
Ibáñez and the Great Depression • The Return of Alessandri • The Rise of the Left and the Popular Front • New Alignments: The Emergence of Christian Democracy
The Chilean Road to Socialism, 1970–1973 348
The Opposition • The First Year, 1971 • The Left's Old Dilemma: Caught in the Middle, 1972–1973
Neoliberalism and Democratic Constraints, 1973–1999 351
Pinochet, State Terrorism, and Free Markets • Popular Struggle for Democracy and Social Justice, 1990–1999

CHAPTER 15
Republican Brazil **358**
Decline and Fall of the Old Republic, 1914–1930 358
Economic Impact of World War I • Postwar Industry and Labor • Political Unrest • Economic Crisis

Vargas and the Bourgeois Revolution, 1930–1954 363
Vargas's Economic Revolution and Political Measures • Vargas as Dictator • A Military Coup • Vargas's Return to Power
Reform and Reaction, 1954–1964 371
The Kubitschek Era • The Quadros Regime • Goulart's Presidency
Brazil's "Colonial Fascism" 376
Encouragement of Foreign Capital and Repression of Labor • Costa e Silva and a New Constitution • The Economy and Denationalization • The Opposition and the Struggle for Rights • The Dictatorship in Crisis, 1978–1983
The Transition to Democracy, 1983–1999: "The New Republic" 383
The Military and External Constraints on Democracy • Neoliberal Wine in Populist Bottles • Electoral Enganos *and Popular Protest*

CHAPTER 16
Storm over the Andes: The Struggle for Land and Development 393
Three Andean Revolutions 393
Bolivia, 1952–1999 • Ecuador, 1972–1999 • Peru's "Ambiguous Revolution"
Peru: From Independence to the War of the Pacific 403
The Military Caudillos • Pardo and the Civilianist Party
Neocolonial Peru: The English and North American Connections, 1883–1968 406
The Indian Problem • The Return of Pardo • The Leguía Regime: North American Investment and Peruvian Disillusionment • Indianism and Socialism • APRA Versus the Military • Belaúnde: Broken Promises
The Rise and Fall of the Peruvian Revolution, 1968–1999 413
The Military About-Face • Land Reform and Nationalization of Resources • The Revolution Under Attack, 1975–1983 • APRA in Power, 1983–1990 • Back to the Past, 1990–1999

CHAPTER 17
The Cuban Revolution 424
Cuba Under Spanish Rule 424
Economic and Social Change: The Bitter Harvest of King Sugar • The Ten Years' War
Independence and the Spanish-Cuban-American War 427
The Revolutionary Movement • Involvement by the United States • The First United States Occupation, 1899–1902
Dependent Development and Popular Struggle, 1902–1953 432
Intervention, Corruption, and Popular Resistance, 1902–1924 • World War I and the Dance of the Millions • Machado, 1925–1933 • The Revolution of 1933 • Populist Interlude, 1938–1952 • The Return of Batista as Dictator, 1952–1959
The Revolution: The Odyssey of Fidel Castro 440
The Revolution in Power, 1959–1999 442
United States–Cuban Relations • Revolutionary Economics • The Return to Sugar, 1963–1970: The Ten-Million-Ton Harvest • Failure and Reassessment, 1970–1975 • The Institutionalized Revolution, 1975–1990 • Achievements • Cuba and the World • Rectificación and the "Special Period," 1990–1999

CHAPTER 18
Revolution and Counterrevolution in Central America: Twilight of the Tyrants? 456
Independence and the Failure of Union, 1810–1865 457
Guatemala 459
Liberal Reform and a New Dependency, 1865–1944 • Revolution and Counterrevolution, 1944–1983 • Return to Democracy, Guatemalan Style, 1983–1999
Nicaragua 469
Modernization, American Intervention, and Sandino, 1857–1934 • The Somoza Era, 1934–1979 • The Sandinistas in Power, 1979–1990 • Self-Determination for the Peoples of the Atlantic Coast •

viii

Women and the Revolution • Government and Church Relations • The Quest for Peace, the Election of 1990, and the Chamorro Regime

El Salvador 485

The Coffee Cycle and Peasant Revolts, 1850–1932 • Oligarchs and Generals, 1932–1979 • The Salvadoran Revolution, 1980–1995

CHAPTER 19

Lands of Bolívar: Venezuela and Colombia in the Twentieth Century 502

Bolívar and the State of Colombia 502

Venezuela: The Nineteenth-Century Background 503

The Reign of Páez, the Conservative-Liberal Cleavage, and the Federal War, 1830–1863 • Antonio Guzmán Blanco and the Maturing of Neocolonial Venezuela, 1870–1908

Venezuela in the Early Twentieth Century, 1908–1958 508

The Tyranny of Juan Vicente Gómez, 1908–1935 • Liquidating the Gómez Legacy, 1936–1945 • A Strange Alliance: Betancourt and the Military in Power, 1945–1948 • The Military Dictatorship, 1948–1958

Venezuela's Representative Democracy, 1958–1999 514

A Decade of AD Rule, 1959–1969 • Caldera in Power, 1969–1973 • The Dilemmas of a Petroleum Republic, 1974–1999

Colombia: The Nineteenth-Century Background 522

The Santander Regime and the Birth of a Two-Party System, 1830–1850 • The Liberal Hegemony, 1850–1885 • Rafael Núñez, the "Regeneration," and the War of a Thousand Days, 1880–1903

Colombia in the Twentieth Century 528

The Conservative Republic, 1903–1930 • The Populist Interregnum: "The Revolution on the March," 1934–1946 • Counterrevolution on the March, 1946–1958 • The National Front: Reform and Repression, 1958–1974 • Drug Lords, Guerrillas, and the Quest for Peace, 1974–1999

CHAPTER 20

The Two Americas: United States—Latin American Relations 541

United States Policy 541

Prelude to Empire, 1810–1897 542

Manifest Destiny, 1810–1865 • Commerce and the Canal • The Awakening Giant, 1865–1887 • Adventures in Latin America, 1888–1896 • The Turning Point: Venezuela, 1895–1896

An Imperial Power, 1898–1933 546

The War with Spain • An "American Lake": The "Big Stick" and "Dollar Diplomacy" in the Caribbean • The Panama Canal • The Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Nicaragua • Puerto Rico • The Mexican Revolution • Wilson and Latin America • Quiet Imperialism: The Post–World War I Years

A New Era: The Good Neighbor in Depression and War, 1933–1945 555

Defending the Empire and Capitalism, 1945–1981 556

American Investment and Trade • Post–World War II Adjustments • The Cold War • The Latin American Policies of Truman and Eisenhower • The Cuban Revolution and United States–Latin American Relations • The Vietnam Era • Carter's Latin American Policy: Nationalism, the Canal, and Human Rights

Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and the Return to "Gunboat Diplomacy," 1981–1992 564

The Malvinas/Falklands War • Grenada • Haiti • Reagan, Bush, and Central America • The Invasion of Panama • Latin America and the Gulf War

Bill Clinton's Latin American Policy: More of the Same? 573

CHAPTER 21

Latin American Society in Transition 578

Crises in the Twentieth Century 578

Economic Problems • Social Problems
The New Class Structure 584
The Great Landowners • The New Bourgeoisie • The Upper Middle Sectors • The Peasantry • The Industrial Working Class • The Service or Informal Sector
Attitudes and Mentalities: Change and Resistance to Change 590
Women's Place • Race Prejudice • The Catholic Church • The Military
The Flowering of Latin American Culture 599
The Social Sciences • The Arts • Literature and Society, 1910–1930: The Search for Self-Expression • Literature and Society, 1930–1999: A Social Consciousness

Glossary 608
Suggestions for Further Reading 612
Index 621

LIST OF MAPS

Natural Geographic Features of Latin America xviii–xix
Latin America in 1830 190
Modern Mexico 277
Modern South America 314
Modern Caribbean Nations 429