

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xiii
PROLOGUE. WHY LATIN AMERICA?	1
Interpretations of Latin America	5
Analytical Themes in This Book	10
ONE. THE COLONIAL FOUNDATIONS, 1492–1880s	13
The European Context	14
Spanish America: From Conquest to Colony, 1492–1600	15
Spanish America: The Transformation of Colonial Society, 1600–1750	21
Portuguese America: A Different World?	22
The Roots of Independence	26
The Colonial Response	29
Achieving Independence	32
The Brazilian Path to Independence	34
The Aftermath of Independence, 1830–1850	36
The Pull of the International Economy, 1850–1880s	40
TWO. THE TRANSFORMATION OF MODERN LATIN AMERICA, 1880s–2000s	42
Phase 1: Initiation of Export-Import Growth, 1880–1900	43
Phase 2: Expansion of Export-Import Growth, 1900–1930	47
Phase 3: Import-Substituting Industrialization, 1930–1960s	51
Phase 4: Stagnation in Import-Substituting Growth, 1960s–1980s	55
Phase 5: Crisis, Debt, and Democracy, 1980s–2000s	58
Women and Society	62
A Framework for Comparison	67

THREE. ARGENTINA: PROSPERITY, DEADLOCK,
AND CHANGE 69

The Struggle over Nationhood	69
Overview: Economic Growth and Social Change	71
Rhythms of Popular Culture	77
The Political System: Consensus and Reform	80
The Military Turns Back the Clock	82
Peronism and Perón	86
The Military Stewardship	89
The Failure of Developmental Reformism	91
The Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Solution	94
Peronists Back in Power	96
The Military Returns	98
Transition to Democracy	101

FOUR. CHILE: SOCIALISM, REPRESSION,
AND DEMOCRACY 109

Overview: Economic Growth and Social Change	110
Politics and Parliament	114
From Instability to Popular Front	118
The Era of Party Politics	122
Socialism via Democracy?	127
The Pinochet Regime	133
Redemocratization	136

FIVE. BRAZIL: DEVELOPMENT FOR WHOM? 139

Dom Pedro I (1822–1831)	139
Dom Pedro II (1840–1889)	143
The End of the Empire	144
Overview: Economic Growth and Social Change	147
The First Republic (1889–1930)	153
Getúlio Vargas and the <i>Estado Novo</i>	157
The Second Republic (1946–1964)	163
Military Rule	171
The Quest for Afro-Brazilian Identity	174
From Liberalization to Redemocratization	175
Brazil's First Working-Class President	179

SIX. PERU: SOLDIERS, OLIGARCHS, AND INDIANS 181

The Independence Period	183
The Guano Age	185
Overview: Economic Growth and Social Change	189
Oligarchic Rule	196

Leguía: The <i>Oncenio</i>	198
The Reformist Critique	200
Flirting with Alternatives	202
Economic Liberalism and Political Vacillation	205
The Military Revolution	208
Struggles of Civilian Governments	213
Fujimori's Illiberal Democracy	217
Perils of Politics	219
SEVEN. COLOMBIA: DISCORD, CIVILITY, AND VIOLENCE	221
Independence and Its Aftermath	223
Bolívar's Gran Colombia: An Experiment Failed	225
Forming Political Parties: Liberals and Conservatives	226
Rafael Núñez and the Politics of Regeneration	228
The Loss of Panama	229
Overview: Economic Growth and Social Change	231
Conservatives, Liberals, and <i>Convivencia</i>	236
Gaitán, Reaction, and <i>La Violencia</i>	240
The National Front	243
Seeking Constitutional Order	246
EIGHT. MEXICO: THE TAMING OF A REVOLUTION	254
Mexico After Independence	254
The North American Invasion	257
Reform, Monarchy, and the Restored Republic	258
The Díaz Era: Progress at a Price	260
The Mexican Revolution	264
Institutionalizing the Revolution	269
Stability, Growth—and Rigidity	274
North American Free Trade	287
Twilight of the Technocrats?	290
Dawn of a New Era	292
NINE. CUBA: LATE COLONY, FIRST SOCIALIST STATE	296
Dubious Independence	298
Overview: Economic Growth and Social Change	298
Politics: Corruption and Decay	302
Americanization in Pre-revolutionary Cuba	304
Fidel Castro and the Making of the Revolution	305
Defining the Revolution	309
Decade of Experiment	315
Consolidating the Regime	318
The Struggle for Survival	322

The Colonial Period: Conquest and Competition	330
Overview: Economic Growth and Social Change	332
Haiti: Slave Republic, Voodoo Dictatorship	335
The Dominican Republic: Unfinished Experiment	341
Jamaica: Runaways and Revolutionary Socialism	345
Puerto Rico: From Settler Colony to Capitalist Showcase	347
Lesser Antilles: Struggle of the Micro-States	351

ELEVEN. CENTRAL AMERICA: COLONIALISM, DICTATORSHIP, AND REVOLUTION 356

Colonial Background	356
Independence: The Struggle for Unification	359
Rafael Carrera and Conservative Supremacy	360
Liberal Theory and "Republican Dictatorships"	362
Overview: Economic Growth and Social Change	363
Panama: A Nation and a Zone	367
Costa Rica: The Exceptional Democracy	371
Nicaragua: From Dynasty to Revolution	373
Honduras: The Military in Politics	380
El Salvador: From Stability to Insurgency	382
Guatemala: Reaction and Repression	389

TWELVE. LATIN AMERICA, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE WORLD 396

From Independence to Pan Americanism	398
The Rise of U.S. Influence	402
The Consolidation of U.S. Influence	405
Expressions of U.S. Power	409
The Nationalist Impulse	414
The Revolutionary Threat	417
Democratic Reformers and the Alliance for Progress	421
Development and Debt	424
The End of the Cold War	427
Regional Economic Integration	428
The Intermestic Agenda	432
Hispanic Culture and Communities	434
Prospects for the Twenty-First Century	438

EPILOGUE. WHAT FUTURE FOR LATIN AMERICA? 440

Dimensions of Change: Demography and Economics	442
Looking Ahead: Political Responses	445
Closing the Socialist Route	448
The Prospects for Development Under Capitalism	449

What Will Happen to the Non-European Cultures in
Latin America? 452

Latin America's Contribution to the World 453

Acknowledgments

STATISTICAL APPENDIX 456

ANALYTICAL APPENDIX 460

HEADS OF STATE 471

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 480

INDEX 495