

THE SEARCH FOR AN INTERNATIONAL POLICY ON
ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY AND A DOMESTIC
POLICY ON ETHNICITY AND CULTURE

COMMENTARY

The final chapter focuses on the nations of Latin America and their dual quest for economic development and social justice in the 20th century. In many ways, it is a region of contradictions. Although settled by Europeans, like North America and Australia, as a region it has been less prosperous and peaceful than those areas. While there is a broad foundation of cultural unity, Latin America, like India or the Arab world, remains politically fragmented. And while most of the countries of mainland Central and South America have been independent since the early 19th century (many of the islands of the **Caribbean** did not become independent until late in the 20th century), they are virtually all still struggling for true economic independence. And, though richly endowed with natural resources, their populations have not always enjoyed the full benefit of this abundance.

Most of these contradictions are the lingering results of the conditions of Latin America's colonization by Europeans during the 16th and 17th centuries and the circumstances of their independence in the 19th century. Unlike the British colonies of North America, where European settlers migrated in great numbers and filled the land with small and medium-sized farms, the Spanish, Portuguese, French and English colonists in Latin America and the Caribbean islands came in relatively small numbers, establishing much larger sugar and coffee plantations, sheep and cattle *haciendas* or *estancias*, and gold and silver mines. There tended to be more intermarriage with the indigenous American population, and millions more African slaves were imported to work the large agricultural and mining concerns than were sold to North American slave owners. Massive European immigration did not occur until the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and much of it went to Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile. The result is a rich mixture of American, African, and European cultures and races, but one in which the *creoles*, or descendants of the original Europeans who colonized the region, have maintained most of the wealth and political power. And they have not, it would seem, used either wisely. Rather than developing their own domestic industries, as North Americans did so effectively during the 19th century, the *creole* elites were content, as it were, to continue to live off the land and the fruits of the labor of their Amerindian, *mestizo*, and African employees and tenant farmers. The economic results of this underdevelopment were a grossly unequal distribution of property and wealth and the perpetuation of **neocolonial** status for the region, as most of the produce was sold to Europe and most investment capital (and what little industry there was) was controlled by European countries. After the immediate post-independence decade, no attempt was made at political unification, and the region remained politically divided and weak. The class-ridden social conditions resulted in frequent political unrest and government instability, which was usually quelled by military commanders —*caudillos*—who set themselves up as dictators; another trend that has continued down to the present day.

Neither the tendency to political instability and *caudillismo* nor the burden of economic dependence has been alleviated by the policies of the United States, which replaced Europe as Latin America's rich—and meddling—uncle after the First World War. American intervention reached its height during the inter-war period and again during the Cold War, as the United States repeatedly sent troops or other aid to subvert or overthrow radical, populist leaders and reestablish conservative—often military—rule. The text details these interventions and their effects on U.S. relations with Mexico, Panama, Guatemala and Chile, and particularly **Fidel Castro's** communist state in Cuba, but omits mention of other U.S. interference in Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Honduras.

Chapter 23 reviews Latin America's economic and political struggles through an intensive comparative survey of four of its most important—and in many ways most typical—nations: Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Cuba. It asks, and attempts to answer the questions of, How did Latin America's problems originate? What reforms have been attempted? and What is the outlook for the future? At the present time, it appears that progress is being made on both the economic and social fronts. But Latin America's financial crisis of the early 1980s, violence and corruption related to the international drug trade, an ever-growing ecological crisis resulting from overpopulation and related factors, and continuing political unrest in Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, and Colombia demonstrates that the battles are far from being won.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- A. Latin American Diversity Today
 1. A multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society
 2. Population and urbanization

3. Living standards
- B. Technology, Industrialization, and Latin American Elites: 1870-1916
 1. Foreign investments and primary production
 2. Political control by *creole* elites
 3. Immigration and social change
 4. Demands for land reform and social justice
 - C. The Mexican Revolution: 1910-1920
 1. The dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (1876-1910)
 2. *Mestizo* revolutionaries: Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata
 3. Obregon and the Constitution of 1917
 4. Lazaro Cardenas and the P.R.I.: the revolution institutionalized
 - a. Extensive land redistribution
 - b. Nationalization of the oil industry
 - c. Establishment of a one-party state under the P.R.I.
 5. SPOTLIGHT: Diego Rivera — Muralist Painter of Mexico's History
 6. Mexico since the 1950s
 7. Ethnic culture and power in the revolution
 - D. Markets, the Military, and Emerging Democracy
 1. Import substitution industrialization (ISI)
 2. Economic development and the Second World War
 3. The tendency toward military dictatorships
 - E. Brazil
 1. Getulio Vargas and the New State (1930-45 & 1950-54)
 2. Order and Progress — military dictatorships (1954-1985)
 3. Problems of democracy since the 1980s
 - a. Unequal distribution of wealth and political corruption
 - b. Inflation and currency problems
 - F. Argentina
 1. The Great Depression and growing social unrest
 2. Juan Peron and the *descamisados*
 3. PROFILE: Opinions From and About Evita
 4. Military dictatorship and the Dirty War
 - G. The United States Policies in Latin America
 1. Dollar Diplomacy and military interventions, 1898-1934
 - a. The Roosevelt Corollary (1904)
 - b. The Good Neighbor Policy (1933)
 2. Nicaragua
 3. Guatemala
 4. Chile
 5. Panama
 - H. Cuba
 1. Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution
 2. FOCUS: Che Guevara and Guerrilla Warfare
 3. Cuba, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, 1961-1991
 - I. Current Issues and Trends
 1. The military in power, 1960-1990
 2. Economics and technology
 - a. Problems of development
 - b. NAFTA and MERCOSUR
 - c. The drug trade and its effects
 - d. Environmental issues
 3. Native Americans: oppression and response: How Do We Know?
 - a. Guatemalan case study: Rigoberta Menchu's *An Indian Woman in Guatemala*
 - b. The Menchu controversy

4. Religion and hope for the poor
 - a. The Catholic Church and Liberation Theology
 - b. Growth of evangelical Protestantism
5. The Unorganized Sector

IDENTIFICATION TERMS

For each term, students should be able to provide an identification or definition, an approximate date, a geographical location (if relevant) and —most important— a concise explanation of its significance in the context of the chapter. Terms that appear in the *Study Guide* are listed in **bold** font in the first column.

Rigoberta Menchu	primary production	Dollar Diplomacy
<i>mestizos</i>	<i>haciendados</i>	Roosevelt Corollary
Bay of Pigs	Porfirio Diaz	Sandinistas
P.R.I.	Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata	United Fruit Company
Good Neighbor Policy	<i>caudillos</i>	Salvador Allende
Eva Peron	Chiapas	Gen. Augusto Pinochet
Diego Rivera	import substitution industries	Panama Canal
N.A.F.T.A.	<i>Estado Novo</i>	Fidel Castro
Lazaro Cardenas	Order and Progress	Alliance for Progress
Che Guevara	Juan Peron	MERCOSUR
<i>Gauchos</i>	<i>descamisados</i>	liberation theology
<i>Pampas</i>	dirty war	El Salvador
	neocolonialism	

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying Chapter 23, students should be able to:

1. Understand the historical background to current Latin American economic, social and political problems.
2. Appreciate the ethnic, linguistic, economic and social diversity of Latin America.
3. Understand the importance of the Mexican Revolution and subsequent Mexican history as a case study that reveals many of the most important themes in Latin American history.
4. Explain the importance of the relationship between the United States and the nations of Latin America and understand the various phases and programs of American policy towards Latin America, from Theodore Roosevelt through Bill Clinton.
5. Understand the importance of the roles of the Roman Catholic Church, the military and gender in Latin American society.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LECTURE TOPICS

1. Explain the connection between the ethnic diversity of Latin America, its social class structure, and its economic development, with particular reference to the phenomenon of neocolonialism.
2. Discuss the Mexican Revolution and its repercussions throughout Latin America. Point out the connections between points that were made in lecture #1 (above) and aspects of the revolution in Mexico.
3. Review the economic and social problems in Latin America (as discussed in lecture #1), as an introduction to the various policies and programs developed by Latin American leaders and parties to address those problems. Some representative case studies would include Lazaro Cardenas and the P.R.I. in Mexico; Getulio Vargas and the New State in Brazil; I.S.I.; Juan Peron in Argentina; Fidel Castro in Cuba and Salvador Allende in Chile.
4. Discuss the economic and political importance of the United States in Latin America in the 20th century. Review and explain the changes in U.S. policy toward Latin America.
5. Explain the complex and sometimes contradictory role played by the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America. Discuss current religious trends and issues.

TOPICS FOR ESSAYS AND CLASS DISCUSSIONS

1. Explain I.S.I (Import Substitution Industrialization). How did the concept address Latin America's chronic economic problems? Why did it fail to achieve its goals?
2. Discuss the role of religion — Liberation Theology and evangelical Protestantism in particular —in Latin America since 1980. What reasons does the text give for the success of each? Why has Liberation Theology lost its earlier energy?
3. Lazaro Cardenas, Getulio Vargas, Juan Peron, and Fidel Castro have been among Latin America's most significant leaders in the 20th century. Compare their respective policies and programs. What did they have in common? Where did they differ?
4. Discuss U.S. policy in Latin America, from Dollar Diplomacy through the Good Neighbor Policy and the Alliance for Progress, to NAFTA. What have been some of the effects of U.S. policies on the region? How was the United States able to exert its influence?
5. Debate: Eva Peron and Rigoberta Menchu have been two of Latin America's most influential women in the 20th century. Although they were different in many ways, there were also strong similarities. — Discuss this statement, with reference to the personal appeal and following of each of these women. Do you consider the statement to be valid? Why or why not?
6. Compare the revolutionary tactics and philosophy of Che Guevara with those of Mao Zedong in China. How was each particularly suited to their environment?
7. Group work: How did Diego Rivera exemplify the programs and popular support of the Mexican Revolution in his art? What themes and imagery did he use to portray the ideals of the revolution?
8. Current issues and events: Poor Mexico: So far from God, so close to the United States. How accurate is Porfirio Diaz's famous epigram? To what extent might it be applied to all of Latin America?

TEXT RESOURCES (Spodek, 2nd ed.)

Timetables, charts and graphs:	Latin America (1), 1910-2000 Latin America (2), 1950-2000 Cuba Since the Revolution: Key Events	(pp. 776-7) (p. 778) (p. 798)
Large photographs or illustrations:	Steaming into the Americas (Central Railway, Peru) Brazil's revolutionary president (Getulio Vargas) Castro, victorious, en route to Havana, 1959 Latin American drugs trade Radical religion (Panama)	(p. 779) (p. 788) (p. 795) (p. 799) (p. 803)
Maps:	The economic development of Latin America Latin American politics in the twentieth century	(p. 775) (p. 786)
SPOTLIGHT:	Diego Rivera: Muralist painter of Mexico's History	(pp. 782-3)
PROFILE:	Opinions From and About Evita (Peron)	(pp. 790-1)
FOCUS:	Che Guevara and Revolutionary Warfare	(p. 796)

ADDITIONAL PRIMARY SOURCES (*Documents Set & www.prenhall.com/Spodek*)

- 23-1 An exiled idealist [Francisco Madero] ignites the Mexican Revolution
- 23-2 Getulio Vargas: Brazil's architect of unity
- 23-3 *Ariel*: the dualist nature of the Americas [from Jose Enrique Rodo, *Ariel*]
- 23-4 Moncada: the beginnings of *Fidelismo* [Haydee Santamaria, *Moncada*]
- 23-5 Haya de la Torre: the Peruvian visionary
- 23-6 The Milpero's Story

www Argentina s glamorous meteor: the power of Evismo [from *Evita by Evita: Evita Duarte Peron Tells Her Own Story*]

AUDIO-VISUAL RESOURCES (videos, DVDs, CD-ROM and websites)

Americas: Annenberg CPB Videos, WGBH Boston, 1993. [10 videos; 10 hours, color]

This series covers all aspects of recent Latin American society and culture: history, politics, race, religion, art and music, U.S. relations, economics, etc.

The Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile Crisis: History Channel Video [video; 50 minutes, color]

Mike Wallace narrates and conducts interviews for this *20th Century* episode. This film includes and especially illuminating interview with Robert McNamara, President Kennedy s Secretary of Defense.

Colombia s Guerrilla War: a Sundered Nation: Films for the Humanities & Sciences [video; 52 minutes, color]

This film vividly illustrates the ethnic, social and economic fissures that divide most Latin American societies.

Cuban History Archives: http://library.ccsu.ctstateu.edu/~history/world_history/archives/cuba.html [website]

Reviews the major themes in Cuban history and contains information on the Cuban economy, Cuban politics, art, music and culture and other subjects. There are also links to other websites.

Documents on Mexican Politics: <http://daisy.uwaterloo.ca/~alopez-o/polind.html> [website]

This substantial collection of documents covers current political, economic and social issues.

Fidel Castro, Maximum Leader: Films for the Humanities & Sciences [video; 52 minutes, color]

This video traces Castro s revolution from the time of his overthrow of Batista in 1959 to his moderating policies of the late 1990s.

The Last Stand of Salvador Allende: Macumba International/Filmmakers Library [video; 59 minutes, B&W]

This documentary covers the last days of Allende s democratically elected Marxist government in Chile and the successful, U.S. backed military coup that resulted in Allende s assassination.

Latin-American Debt: Living on Borrowed Time? Jim Wesley and Joseph Camp, 1989. [video; 29 minutes, color]

This short film reviews the economic problems of Latin America and the region s relationship with the U.S., with particular reference to the perennial foreign debt problem.

Mexico Index: <http://www.trace-sc.com/culture.htm> [website]

A search engine for links to all aspects of modern Mexican history and culture.

The United States in Latin America: Yankee Go Home! : History Channel Video [video: 50 minutes, color]

Another in the series of reasonably good, Mike Wallace-narrated *20th Century* videos, this program surveys U.S.-Latin American relations from the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine to President Clinton s intervention in Haiti.