Post Independence
Post Independence
Post Independence

Table 2.1. The population of Latin America before and after independence (in millions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1788</th>
<th>1810</th>
<th>1823</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Spain</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba and Puerto Rico</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Granada</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Río de la Plata</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>14.35</td>
<td>16.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>17.65</td>
<td>20.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a Approximately Mexico before the 1850s.
*b Approximately modern Central America.
' Included in New Spain.
'd Not given.
'e Equivalent to modern Panama and Colombia.
'f Equivalent to modern Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru.
*g Included in Peru.
'h Equivalent to modern Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay.
i Excludes noncatechized Indians.
j Data are for 1776.
k Data are for 1800.
Source: Rippy (1945), pp. 106, 107, and 127. More recent scholarship has revised the...
### Table 2.3. Latin America: extraregional and intraregional trade at the end of the colonial era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Products</th>
<th>Extraregional</th>
<th>Intraregional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Sugar, textiles</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oaxaca</td>
<td>Grain</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yucatán</td>
<td>Indigo</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Cattle, textiles</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>Indigo</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the Caribbean</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ancillas</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>Cacao</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plains</td>
<td>Hides</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Eastern highlands</td>
<td>Gold, silver</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>Cacao</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru and Bolivia</td>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North coast</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South coast</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina, Paraguay,</td>
<td>North and Central</td>
<td>Artisan products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Uruguay</td>
<td>Cuyo</td>
<td>Wine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>Yerba maté, cattle</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Río de la Plata</td>
<td>Tallow, hides</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Gold, diamonds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amazonia</td>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Cardoso and Brignoli (1979a), pp. 218–220.*
Post Independence

• *The post-independence order*
• Bloody battles of the second phase of the wars of independence destroyed lives, wealth, productions. Latin American economy was bound to Europe by three centuries of relations, through the export of agricultural goods and mineral products.
Post Independence

• With the creation of independent states, the basic economic structure remained the same. The trade had declined. Wars had made dangerous also interregional transports.

• Bolivar’s dream of a united America disappears. Particularism of local power, of caudillos, won.
Post Independence

• The fragmentation that followed the war, as the fight in the Rio de la Plata between Buenos Aires and the other provinces, or some regional revolts in Brazil and in Central America, where the five provinces separated, were often caused by the fight for local economic supremacy.
Post Independence

• From this point of view, State formation preceded the formation of the Nations. It was open the matter of political authority: the republic does not call the same loyalty of the Spanish monarchy, which, during colonial era, was reinforced by the strong links with the Church. In place of the “monarchical stability” now there is a “republican instability”.
Post Independence: economy

- Exports of many countries grew between 1830 and 1850: wheat and nitrates from Chile, tobacco from Colombia, poultry, wool from Argentina, silver from Peruvian, sugar from Cuba, coffee from Brazil, cocoa from Venezuela.
### Post Independence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Exports (in thousands of U.S. dollars)</th>
<th>Population (in thousands)</th>
<th>Exports per head (in U.S. dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>11,310</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>1,374</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>33,850</td>
<td>7,230</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>11,308</td>
<td>1,443</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>4,133</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>26,333</td>
<td>1,186</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>1,594</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>1,185</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>1,404</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>4,499</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>24,313</td>
<td>7,662</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>2,001</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>6,204ª</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>13.7ª</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>7,250</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>4,865</td>
<td>1,490</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>159,484</td>
<td>30,381</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Post Independence: economy

- L.A. countries imported from Great Britain industrial production - tools and clothing. British production competed with the local production, to the point that many craftsmen lost their jobs. Great Britain was the main importer of products (raw materials), and the leading exporter (processed products).
Post Independence: economy

• The roots of the imbalance of trade was in the fact that, every time that occurred a lowering of prices of products exported from Latin America, the capital (in L.A. counties) was spent in exports, instead of being accumulated for local investment.
Post Independence: economy

• During colonial era, the main holders of capital - Church and traders - had no interest in investing in industries, because they acted in a protected market, in a position of privilege.
Post Independence: economy

• Now:
• Great Britain introduced liberalism, with the consequence that every single country remains largely dependent on the international trade, without having the strength to create a real and modern national market.
Post Independence: economy

• It was very hard for the local merchants to compete with British trade, now in really strong positions.

• Within countries, the pre-existent system of hierarchy allowed the old oligarchy maintain privileged positions in traditional sectors, like land, specially in the large estates.
Post Independence: economy

• Foreign presence facilitated the movement of goods and products, stimulated some activities, supported the emergence of new States, but:

• lack of domestic investment and the presence of foreign investment in strategic sectors blocked real economic progress.
Post Independence: economy

• These conditions did not allow the rise of a middle class. The gap between hacendados and campesinos, or Indians (in country with a large Indian presence, working land, the two terms are synonyms), increased. The old oligarchy tried to take control, or maintain control of the political arena.
Post Independence: economy

• The possibilities of economic development were also blocked by the persistence of old social structures. In the countryside, there are a few owners and many Indians, campesinos, who lived at the subsistence level and did not have the opportunity to become consumers of manufactures.
Post Independence: society

• At political and social level the new nationalism did not involved masses: blacks, mulattoes and Indians, have been used to form armies during civil war, but were not directly involved in the national reconstruction process. They continued to live in precarious conditions, mostly illiterate.
Post Independence: society

• Slavery was slowly abolished in several parts. The Indians were very tied to local communities and haciendas. The colonial structure of Castas was abolished, but remained the social tensions which scared the Creoles, who preferred solutions aimed at the maintenance of the old social order.
Post Independence: society

• The Indians remain a “people apart”, an obstacle to modern national development. Many governs, in the name of liberalism, tried to destroy Indian communities, forcing Indians to abandon the special status they had since the conquest, through the distribution of land between individuals. But at the first difficulty, the lands were sold to the neighbors, more powerful and rich.
Post Independence: society

• In this way:

• liberal policies, instead of liberate the Indians, - bringing them into the national project - isolated them even more.

• This happened in countries where the Indians were a majority: Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Mexico, Guatemala.
Post Independence: politics

• The political system of the new republics expressed the will of the Creoles to control the remaining classes.

• Liberalism: constitutional government, economic “laissez faire”, put an end to the privileges.

• Conservatives: paternalism (monarchical solution) social conservatism and economic protectionism.
Post Independence: politics

- Apparently, liberals and conservatives were divided according to the scheme: capital and province, city and country, liberalism and protectionism, democratic and authoritarian system. But depending on the circumstances, Liberals imposed liberalism with centralized institutions; and Conservatives, in trying to keep their local privileges, converted into federalists.
Post Independence: politics

• However, it is a struggle within creole oligarchies: even the ones most advanced in terms of liberalism were not willing to discuss the supremacy of their own social part, i.e. their dominant role.
Post Independence: politics

• Government expenditures increased with the establishment of schools, hospitals, especially with the maintenance of the army. Role of the military: very strong position during the independence, one of the few places of upward social mobility for mestizos and mulattoes.
Post Independence: politics

- There were regional forces linked to the local aristocracies. The existence of the *caudillo*, regional leader, often a hacendado who controls men and food resources with a system of patronage that made him a benefactor, a dispenser of favours, with strong charismatic power, became a significant reference in times of famine and war.
Governance problems, XIX century

• One of the concerns of Bolívar, during the wars of independence, was how to adapt the constitutional regime to the new Latin American states.

• The tripartition of powers, with a strong executive, balanced by a strong parliament and an independent judiciary, was not enough to ensure a just government to populations who lived for centuries in tyranny.
Governance problems, XIX century

• “Venezuelans are not yet prepared for the goodness of liberal system. Too much freedom, we do not have the necessary stability to rule ourselves in the right way.

• We have the best constitutional law, but we still have many traces of the past. We suffered despotism for too much time”
Governance problems, XIX century

• “We need a special parliamentary branch composed by wise and educated people, as counterweight to both government and people, a mediator who can maintain harmony between the head and the other parts of the political body”.
Governance problems, XIX century

• Bolivar was planning a senate of wise men, inspired by the democracy of ancient Greece, which should have supervise in some way above the other branches, a last resort for justice and wisdom.
Governance problems, XIX century

• But it might not be enough. For this reason Bolivar, in the latter part of his life, faced the impossibility of governing the new states according to a democratic method, accordance with the principles of liberalism; he thought that the best solution could be a dictatorship, in the ancient style, like Roman dictatorship.
Governance problems, XIX century

• Dictator: one man with full powers for a short period, to do things that serve the country. The word originated as the title of a magistrate in ancient Rome, appointed by the Senate, to rule the republic in times of emergency.
Governance problems, XIX century

- Bolivar thought to himself, as dictator, because he did not trust anyone.
- Bolivar died young (1830). His dream of an America united shattered against the reality of widespread particularism. The wars of independence had produced so many local leaders who controlled the territory, the caudillos.
Post Independence: politics

• The success of the caudillos was based on the fact that the network of protection that they assured to their customers was real and effective, much more than that of the State, which did not exist or was not visible. The liberal constitution declared that freedom and rights were guaranteed, but it was not true.
Post Independence: politics

• All this shows the frame of reference during XIX century: political independence and economic dependence, social instability. It is in this acute weakness of the state that dictatorships grew up: Manuel de Rosas in Argentina, Diego Portales in Chile.
Post Independence: politics

- *The issue of Sovereignty*
- The authority of the Catholic Monarchy was replaced by the principles of national sovereignty. The only monarchy remaining, Brazilian monarchy, was limited by the constitution.
- No change had occurred in the oligarchic structure of society.
Post Independence: politics

• The achievement of independence realized the dream of the local elites to get political power, but it did not make them a real ruling class of a republican system, nor capable of handling international economic power resulting from the export of various goods.
Post Independence: politics

• Governments were inspired by the principles of economic liberalism, however political freedom and equality could be dangerous in contexts marked by semi-feudal privileges, ethnic and social divisions, illiterate masses.
Post Independence: politics

• *Liberals, conservatives, caudillos*

• The attempt more or less aware of the new ruling class is to create a modern state but without prejudice to its interests.
Post Independence: politics

• **Conservatives** were in favor of the persistence of the prerogatives of the Church, a special status for the Indians, adversion to cultural news from abroad. But many were also favorable to foreign investment and industrial development.
Post Independence: politics

• Liberals claimed the sovereignty of the people, a concept that had very limited extension (very few had the right to vote) individual rights, freedom of expression, the end of ecclesiastical privileges, separation of powers.
Post Independence: politics

• Monarchy, the government of a single, was over, but the personalities of patriarchal types, typical of agricultural societies, did not end at the local level.

• Local alliances were based on charismatic leaders and networks of customers.
Post Independence: politics

- Both ideologies, conservative and liberal, were the screens behind which old mentalities and practices survived. In this context, the prevailing figure of the *caudillo*, which continued to play a leadership role, even after the end of the war, as guarantor of a precarious social order, which lacks the presence of state structures.
Post Independence: politics

• Nevertheless, the cultural openness implicit in liberalism and resulting from contacts with foreign countries, contributed in part to undermine the old mentality, mainly in the second part of the XIX century.
Post Independence: politics

• *Regionalism and centralism*

• Presence of geographic barriers that prevented the development of domestic and inter-regional relations. Many Latin American states were at the mercy of centrifugal forces, because, at the local level, ruling classes were divided over the final form to be given to the State.
Post Independence: politics

- Cities that during colonial era performed as audiencia became the basis for the assertion of local political elites: Guatemala, Santa Fe de Bogotà, Quito, Caracas, Sucre (Charcas), Santiago de Chile.
Post Independence: politics

• This explains the strange dynamics of federalism. Liberals and conservatives could be federalists, depending on the position of the local oligarchies.
Post Independence: politics

- In Argentina, Liberals in Buenos Aires were in favour of centralization, to control the inland provinces; the provinces were dominated by conservatives, fearful that excessive openness could lead to loose privileges, and appealed to federalism. In Mexico, the provinces were federalist, liberal, the capital conservative and centralist.
• *Church and State*

• The removal of the old bishops and parish priests, transforms the Church and its relationship with political power; now Catholic Church was weaker than in colonial time. However, Church had a large following in society, always enjoyed great prestige.
Post Independence: politics

• For liberals, Church had to be separated from State. Its wealths were an obstacle to the formation of a liberal society and had to be expropriated. The control of schools and universities prevented the spread of secular doctrines.
For conservatives, Catholic Church’s position was to be safeguarded because, not without reason, they saw in religion the only reinforcement of national unity. But Catholic Church was against the new political order just because now its possibilities were really limited.
Post Independence: politics

• Additional factor of conflict was the dispute over the Royal Patronage. The new republican States considered themselves to be owners of the former power of patronage, but:

• Roman Church did not recognize them.
Post Independence: politics

- The dispute ended when they decided to expel the Church from the State sphere, with the removal of privileges and taking away the education system to the religious orders.
The XIX c., The Church

• In the second half of the nineteenth century, the spread of progressive ideas and positivism contributed to the secularization of society. The parts are overturned, in Europe as in America: now Catholic Church had adapt herself to the secularized world, to renew the approach and the organization, as suggested by the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) by pope Leo XIII.
The XIX c., social situation

- *Indians, blacks, mestizos*
- During the colonial era, free people were subject to restrictions and obligations in the field of education, public offices, religion, and taxation. Many social inequalities were formally abolished with independence, as well as slavery.
The XIX c., social situation

- The economic expansion and the need to cultivate new lands, led governments to the attempt to create, or expand, the agricultural proletariat. A negative result of this policy were the indigenous uprising in the second half of the nineteenth century: Mexico, 1810, Yucatán 1847, Peru 1867.
The XIX c., Second Half

• The expansion to the unexplored areas of the interior led to a ‘new conquest and colonization’ and to new raids against the Indians, specially against Indian tribes of the not yet colonized areas: southern Chile, south of Argentina, Brazil inward.
Post Independence
The XIX c., Indians

- Indians were considered one more time as ‘barbarians’. These raids were even more bloody than those of the XVI century, because were done in the name of ‘civilization and progress’, without any doubt of religious nature, any respect of local customs.
The economic influence of Great Britain

- The economic influence of Great Britain
- From 1810 to 1825, due to the isolation of the Spain and european wars, Latin America experienced a period of freedom of trade, particularly with the U.S.A. and G.Britain.
The economic influence of Great Britain

- In commerce, G.B. obtained for its trade agents privileged positions; their men took the place that Spanish merchants had before independence. In addition, the organization and dimension of Britain commercial fleet crushed the possibility for Latin America fleet to manage the trade.
The economic influence of Great Britain

• “The Liverpool route substituted the Cadiz route”.

• Commercial ships now came from Liverpool: the expansion of trade in those years promoted domestic consumption, but did not encourage local industry and crafts.
The economic influence of Great Britain

• Moreover, the new states could not close their markets with a protectionist policy, because this would have damage the revenues gained from import tariffs (this one was the unique important revenue for the State finance).
The economic influence of Great Britain

• After independence, G.B. assured supremacy with bilateral commercial agreements. Great Britain was not interested in a direct political rule and did not want to get involved in the internal conflicts.
The economic influence of Great Britain

• British international policy is based on not aggression, but is interested in territorial fragmentation following the dissolution of the colonial order, because it allowed her to deal from a position of strength with many weak nations.
The economic influence of Great Britain

• G.B. was not against the unification projects of Bolivar, for example, but preferred solutions that guaranteed a commercial presence, as in the case of the creation of Uruguay, a buffer state at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, that would calm the rivalry between Argentina and Brazil.
The economic influence of Great Britain

• This ‘soft policy’ allowed the presence of other European powers such as France, or continental, as U.S.A., particularly in the second half of the century. The economical influence of Great Britain was particularly strong in Mexico, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Brazil.
The economic influence of Great Britain

- In 1850, British exports to Latin America had a volume of 8 million pounds, and imports were 12 millions.
The economic influence of Great Britain

- G. Britain dominated the marketing of many products: Brazilian sugar, Argentine wool, Chilean copper, Peruvian guano, sugar and tobacco from Cuba, although Cuba was still under Spanish rule. From G. Britain departed products of cotton, wool, linen. After 1870, exports of British capital increased.
The economic influence of Great Britain

- Guano (fertilizer) in Peru: Peruvian government granted to British merchant houses for a few years the export and marketing of guano. Then, it was granted to Anglo - Peruvians corporations; in this way, local interests were safeguarded.
The economic influence of Great Britain

- Other consequence: the export of guano to G. Britain caused the increase in imports from the same country, in part of textile industry, destroying the old peruvian crafts.
The economic influence of Great Britain

- In Chile, G. Britain controlled the marketing of copper. There were no British capitals involved in the extraction, but Britain’s merchant houses absorbed half of Chilean production.

- In 1840, half of Brazilian coffee and sugar exports were controlled by British firms.
Middle century changes

• The discovery of gold in California, just past the ‘50, opened new perspectives for the whole continent.

• In 1850 there was a recovery in world trade, with benefits also for Latin America.

• In the same year, US and UK signed a treaty, planning a canal between the two oceans.
Middle century changes

• Growth factors were the introduction of steam navigation and railways. The westward expansion of U.S. involved in the new exchanges all countries on the Pacific, first of all Mexico and Central America.
Middle century changes

• The need to cultivate new lands, to meet international demands, marked the beginning of the new assault on the lands of indigenous communities.
Middle century changes

- Governments expanded investments with loans obtained on the financial market in London, trusting the supposed constant economic growth, growth that it would have solved the debt created in the meantime.
Middle century changes

• In reality, what happened is that they were forced to get more loans to pay old debts, without taking in consideration that economic expansion is subject to international production cycles.
Middle century changes

- A drop in the prices of raw materials could generated a crisis in Latin American countries, and this was exactly what happened.
Middle century changes

• In the international economic environment of the second half of XIX century, Latin America seems to have a specific position:
Middle century changes

• 1 providing raw materials, whose marketing was entrusted to foreigner firms;
• 2 took part in the consumption of international industrial production;
• 3 at the same time, domestic production was linked to the foreign presence, by loans to local companies or with the direct participation in capital and managing.
Middle century changes

• In the '60s, the presence of British banks began, which lended money to the commercial sector of services, as in the case of the rail networks in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay.
Middle century changes

- The construction of railroads encouraged the production of agricultural goods and mineral products in inland areas and their export. In addition to controlling the railways, Britain controlled maritime transports.
Middle century changes
Middle century changes

• All this increased the ability of British capital to pressure on Latin American economy. Moreover, british banks were better organized than local banks, and collected more local savings.
Middle century changes

• Alongside this facts, U.S. interest of the to Latin America was growing. The beginning of the expansion in Texas and in the west territories, between the Appalachians and the Rocky mountains, then to Pacific ocean, is followed by the border war with Mexico, culminated in the victory of the USA (1848) and the annexation of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, and in a large migration to the west.
Governance problems, XIX century

• In the middle of XIX century, new problems appeared in Latin America.
• Some one began to compare the different political situations on the continent.
• Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810 – 1884) was an Argentine political theorist and diplomat.
Governance problems, XIX century

• Although he lived most of his life in exile in Montevideo and Chile, he visited many Europeans countries, studied political constitutions of that time, to find the suitable constitutional way for his country, Argentina. He influenced the content of the Argentina Constitution of 1853.
Governance problems, XIX century

• Argentina: a vast country, almost uninhabited, internally divided between the seaport area of Buenos Aires and the agricultural provinces, jealous of their prerogatives and fearful of losing their production due to excessive opening to foreign trade. Argentine knew a bitter internal struggle between the various caudillos, bearers of different local interests.
Governance problems, XIX century

• J.B. Alberdi on USA.

• According to Alberdi, United States was a particularly interesting case, because it was a country which in some ways resembled Argentine: large, with an important port, Long Island, with a internal river system, the Mississippi, and vast agricultural areas.
Governance problems, XIX century

• For the capital city, has been chosen a city irrelevant from the economic point of view, Washington. This avoided the concentration of political and economic interests.

• In USA, at that time, there was separation between economic and political interests.

• Federalism serves to hold together states with different legal jurisdictions, but who want remain united.
Governance problems, XIX century

• Federalism is not suitable for a system of provinces that already have the tendency to separate, such as Argentina; in this case, Federalism would only serve to increase the degree of instability of the system.
Governance problems, XIX century

• For Argentina: a unifying element was the modernization of a country, through the acceptance of new technologies, such as the railways, steam navigation along internal river; moreover, immigration, to populate the vast desert areas of the interior and of the South.
Governance problems, XIX century

• Immigration: it is what will happen at the end of the century, millions of european people, specially from Spain, Portugal and Italy went to Argentina (also to Uruguay and Brazil).
Latin America in the second half of the XIX century

• *Latin America in the second half of the nineteenth century*

• Between 1880 and 1920 Latin American society changed. The elites, beginning with the landowners, were starting to show interest in national politics. The figure of the caudillo, mediator between the center and the periphery, begins to disappear. The demand for greater political weight took two different ways:
Latin America in the second half of the XIX century

• 1) oligarchic republic, with an elite that controls the government, as in Chile and Argentina, building strong regimes, supported by the military, with constitutions that follow U.S. or/and European model. The competition between the parties was soft: they were mainly factions of the local aristocracy. Suffrage was still restricted.

• 2) dictatorships, led by army officers, after an internal conflict. “Pronunciamiento”.
Latin America in the second half of the XIX century

• In both cases, the targets are: modernization, openness to trade and foreign capital, basing the possibility of grow on the export economy system. Maintaining a political context of “law and order” is functional in this project which in effect leads to visible results at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the increase in productivity, thanks to the introduction of new techniques.
Latin America in the second half of the XIX century

• Tax revenues financed State expansion and spread some prosperity. Monetary economy was spreading, in some areas was growing industry.
• *Some conclusions*

• Attempts to growth always were realized with the help of foreign finance (GB and USA). This made the ruling classes interested in foreign relations, in the belief that it was the only way to ensure national growth and enrichment for themselves.
Latin America in the second half of the XIX century

• The most dynamic sectors were transport and services: bureaucracy, trade, finance. Growth contributed to formation of a middle class of merchants, shopkeepers, small business owners, who did not yet have a political representation.
Latin America in the second half of the XIX century

• The working class was extended in Argentina and Brazil, thanks to European immigration, and to a lesser extent, in Peru and Chile.
Latin America in the second half of the XIX century

• European immigration

• The phenomenon of immigration concerns workers from Spain, Portugal, Italy.

• Causes departure from european countries: population growth, unequal distribution of land.

• Causes of attraction to South America: opening new agricultural areas in temperate regions of the Atlantic coast, in the pampas of Argentina and southern Brazil.
Latin America in the second half of the XIX century

• Migration: 3.3 million between 1880-1900; 4.6 million between 1910 and 1920, 2 million after World War II. Italian workers went to all countries, such as Spanish. Portuguese workers especially to Brazil.

• The impact of new arrivals on the population was high: 500,000 Spaniards in Cuba between 1908 and 1919.
Latin America in the second half of the XIX century

• In Argentina, the area of greatest immigration was the cereal area of Santa Fe. In Brazil the coffee area of Sao Paulo, where in 1934 the immigrants and their families were half of the population.

• Assimilation occurred with time: workers from Veneto, Piedmont, Friuli, Sicily, who spoke their own dialect, began to communicate with each other in Spanish, or Portuguese. Later, they learned Italian language. Cohesion factor was the rise of solidarity centers, schools and newspapers in Italian.
L’andamento dell’immigrazione (1851-1930)

Immigrazione in Argentina, Brasile, Uruguay e in tutta l’America Latina, dal 1851 al 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decennio</th>
<th>Argentina</th>
<th>Brasile</th>
<th>Uruguay</th>
<th>A+B+U</th>
<th>Am. Latina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851-1860</td>
<td>18.584</td>
<td>97.571</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>116.155</td>
<td>172.797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-1870</td>
<td>153.967</td>
<td>123.819</td>
<td>85.157</td>
<td>362.943</td>
<td>395.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-1880</td>
<td>258.515</td>
<td>219.128</td>
<td>114.017</td>
<td>591.660</td>
<td>705.463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1890</td>
<td>841.122</td>
<td>530.906</td>
<td>150.349</td>
<td>1.522.377</td>
<td>1.585.694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1900</td>
<td>648.326</td>
<td>1.143.902</td>
<td>101.373</td>
<td>1.893.601</td>
<td>1.934.589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
<td>1.764.103</td>
<td>824.442</td>
<td>85.376</td>
<td>2.673.921</td>
<td>3.165.540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1920</td>
<td>1.179.594</td>
<td>797.744</td>
<td>100.246</td>
<td>2.077.584</td>
<td>3.542.872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>945.069</td>
<td>600.290</td>
<td>59.899</td>
<td>1.605.258</td>
<td>2.609.071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totale</td>
<td>5.809.280</td>
<td>4.337.702</td>
<td>698.417</td>
<td>10.845.399</td>
<td>14.111.039</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dati dell’International Labour Office e dell’Almanach de Gotha.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.

- *The Mexican Revolution*

- Mexico is a huge country, uninhabited or not colonized in the north, divided by struggles between liberals and conservatives.

- The innovations of the period 1880-1930 involved much more social sector than before. The exploitation of new lands caused social tensions in the countryside.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.

• After the loss of half of its territory in favour of the U.S. (1848) the internal struggles continued for 20 years, during which occurred the first occupation of the port of Veracruz in 1862 by France, Great Britain and Spain, to claim the payment of debts.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.

• Then there was the french hegemonic attempt, with the French troops occupying the capital in 1863 and the establishing the monarchy of Maximilian of Hapsburg with the support of conservatives. After the US Civil War and the outbreak of war in Europe (1866), France abandoned the project and Maximilian was shot.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.

- Benito Juárez governed 1867-1872, promoting liberal reforms, aimed at eliminating the privileges of the church and the military. His death caused new instability and led Porfirio Díaz to power in 1876, supported by landowners, proving the expropriation of indigenous lands. He opened the country to foreign investment (U.S. and G.B.) especially in mines and infrastructures.
The Mexican Revolution began in 1910 with the aim of putting an end to the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz and achieve a more equitable distribution of land.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.

- Just over 800 families owned the land.
- U.S. companies controlled mines and oil.
- The middle class pushed for greater political representation.
- Anarchist and socialist ideas spread for the arrival of Spanish emigrants and for contacts with USA trade unions.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.

• Francisco Madero, rich owner of the north, launched a program of reform. Persecuted, fled in Texas, where incited to revolt and promised the restitution of land to the peasants. Emiliano Zapata led a peasant revolt in 1911. Madero came back, trying to achieve agrarian reform but clashes with radical factions. Madero was assassinated in 1913 by General Victoriano Huerta, supported by the landowners and the U.S., worried by the uprisings led by and Pancho Villa in the north and Zapata in the south.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.

• In 1914 U.S. Army intervened against Huerta in support of the Zapatistas, and occupied the port of Vera Cruz. Villa and Zapata took power but they were divided. Carranza was elected president in 1914, put away radical elements from power, reassuring the U.S.

• Villa and Zapata continued to fight until 1919.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.

• Carranza tried to impose a successor but it is overthrown by Alvaro Obregón. Since 1920 began a more peaceful period, although the slow progress of land reform caused continuous social unrests.
Mexico, XIX-XX c.

- The “fruits of the Revolution”: the creation of a large trade union organization that in the 30’s became an integral part of the revolutionary party, PRI; land reform; 1917 Constitution: Universal suffrage, anti-clericalism and church-state separation, State could have supervision of organization of economic functions and protection of national resources.
The Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

- U.S. investments in Latin America increased tenfold between 1897 and 1914 (from 304 to 1600 billion dollars) and outweigh the interests of other powers, such as France and Germany. Almost all investments were in mining, some also in areas of typical local interest, supplanting local entrepreneurs.
There was a continuous expansion of trade between 1914 and 1920, helped by the fact that the First World War disarticulated the existing movement of goods, which is now being reorganized to and from USA. Purchases of bonds issued by Latin American states also increased.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

- The financial crisis of 1920 temporarily stopped the flow of investment, which started again from 1921. From 1919 to 1930, investment flow passed from 1.9 billion to $3.6 billion.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

• The Monroe Doctrine, declared in 1823, did not have immediate effects, given that throughout the nineteenth century was Great Britain, an European country, to exert its influence on Latin American countries. “America for the Americans”: there must be no more interests of countries which were not of the continent.
“With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly position toward the United States…”.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

- Apart from some attempts of Spain to take possession of some islands in the Pacific, and the French attempt in Mexico, there were no other direct interventions of the European countries aimed at establishing a political rule. The period from 1826 (after independence) to 1865 (U.S. Civil War) was marked by peaceful relations, but in 1848, after the war with Mexico, U.S. declared that they would not tolerate European interventions, or transfers of influence from one European country to another on a Latin American state.
• The period of the turning point came after the U.S. Civil War (1865). In 1865, France was warned that the continuation of its presence in Mexico would have compromised the friendship between the two states.
With the process of extending the U.S. border to the west and the end of the Civil War, U.S.A. began to look with new interest to its southern neighbours.

U.S.A. considered Mexico, ruled since 1876 by Porfirio Diaz, attractive for investment, and competed with G. Britain to create economic ties. USA also invested in Cuba.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

• In 1898, war broke out with Spain for control of Cuba and Puertorico. At the end of the war, with the Treaty of Paris (1898) Cuba remained independent, but under the influence of the U.S.A.; Puertorico (and Philippines Islands) passed under U.S. control.
• In Cuba, USA interests were already present before the war with Spain: the production of sugar went to the north. After the occupation, USA declared that they would remain as long as the conflict between rival Cuban factions continued.

• The U.S. Congress in 1901 approved a document setting out the terms of the withdrawal:
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

- Cuba could not make treaties that would limit its independence;
- Cuba had to undertake not to have debts exceeding its capacity revenues;
- C. had recognized the U.S. right of intervention to protect the independence of the country;
- C. Government had to confirm all acts made by U.S. during military government.
The Cuban constituent commission had to accept the conditions, which under the name of “Platt Amendment” became part of the Cuban Constitution of 1902 and a permanent treaty of 1903. These two policy instruments ensured U.S. control of the island, particularly on the sugar market. This shows that the connection between political-military and economic interests influenced the development of US – Cuba relations, and not only.
Venezuelan crisis: 1902-03. Venezuela was insolvent, creditors countries, G. Britain, Germany and Italy, organized a joint naval action to block the ports and obtain payment of the debt, but first they took care to assure U.S. that they had no intention of occupying in a permanent way the Venezuelan territory.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

• U.S.A. did not oppose. It seemed that nothing had changed, but the prior approval request implied a recognition of the Monroe Doctrine, and of the U.S. political role in the continent.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

• Latin American public opinion judged negatively the intervention of the European powers, as a return to the colonial past.
• The consequence of this episode was the development of “Drago doctrine” (Drago was the Argentine Minister for F.A.): in the relations between creditors and debtors, creditors could not resort to arms to settle disputes, i.e. the attempts for the payment of debts could not take the form of armed intervention against a sovereign state.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

- The capitalists who lend money to foreign governments must assume the risk of loss, without hope that their governments intervene with the use of force. A state is obliged to fulfill, but may choose the manner and time of payment. The principle was approved in The Hague International Conference in 1907. U.S.A. proposed a resolution to abandon the use of force in the recovery of debts.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

- Anyway, in 1904, the United States exposed the “Roosevelt Corollary”: only U.S.A. could to intervene to convince some country of the continent in financial difficulties.
“If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the U.S. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the U.S. to Monroe Doctrine may force the U.S., however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing and impotence, to the exercise of an international police”.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

• This attitude also reflected the pedagogical vocation of North America on the basis of religious puritanism: on the one hand there is the vocation to freedom, which is visible in the support given to Cuba against Spain; on the other, they used circumstances to promote national interests, with a certain intolerance towards political and social forms, different from their own, in the belief that they were the bearers of true civilization across the continent, as in the case of Panama.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

• At the mid-XIX c. on the isthmus of Panama passed a railroad owned by the U.S.. There was a project of a French company for the construction of a canal, parallel to the railway. The work proved to be very expensive. In 1903, the U.S. took over the company and the concession by the Colombian government to a strip of land 10 miles from either side of the channel.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

• Colombian Parliament did not approve the agreement. United States organized and supported a revolt for independence of the province of Panama that led to the declaration of independence of Panama Republic (November 3). USA immediately recognized the new state (November 6), and on 10 November USA and Panama signed an agreement very similar to that rejected by Colombia.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

- In exchange for the grant of the strip of land, USA conceded to Panama an annual subsidy and ensured independence, establishing troops and ships. USA took on the role of international police against the states who did not know to look after their affairs: a policy of paternalistic type that would cause resentment and hostility in many Latin American countries.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

• The difference with G. Britain was evident: it was limited to seize the advantage given by the international political circumstances, without wanting to create a political - military control.
Regional Conflicts, XIX c.

• Regional Conflicts

• Paraguay War (1865-1870)

• Guano War, or Pacific War (1879-1883)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mexico-Central America</th>
<th>South America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Texas to USA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Mexico-Usa war</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862-67</td>
<td>France in Mexico.</td>
<td>1865-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Empire” of Max Habsburg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Usa investments in Mexican mines</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Spain-Usa war</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>United Fruit Co. started</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regional Conflicts, XIX c.

- The Chincha Islands War (or Spanish-Peruvian War) was a series of coastal and naval battles between Spain and its former colonies of Peru and Chile from 1864 to 1866. The conflict began with Spain’s seizure of the guano-rich Chincha Islands in one of a series of attempts by Spain, under Isabela II, to reassert its influence over its former South American colonies.
Regional Conflicts, XIX c.

• The War against Paraguay was caused by the attempt of the dictator López to exercise control on access to the Parana river. Paraguay was the only country at that time with no direct outlet to the sea and was subject to the payment of customs duties imposed by neighbours, Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil. The war was long and bloody. In 1870, Paraguay had lost half of its male population, and parts of territory ceded to the neighbours.
• Pacific War, or Guano War, 1879-1883. Along the Peruvian coast and on the islands guano was exploited (bird droppings) as excellent fertilizer, exported to Europe. The exploitation guaranteed high revenues to Peru.
Regional Conflicts, XIX c.

- In the south, on the border with Bolivia, guano and saltpeter deposits were discovered in an area claimed by Chile. When Chilean companies present in Bolivia refused to pay the new taxes on the extraction of guano and saltpetre, Chile occupied Bolivia, and Peru sided with Bolivia. Chile won and his troops occupied Lima for three years. The peace treaty delivered the contended territories to Chile. Bolivia lost access to the sea.
Regional Conflicts, XIX c.
Regional Conflicts, XIX c.

- Wars are few, but of long duration, and involved all major states. In addition to burning resources, induced a kind of ‘state of alert’ and tacit competition with neighbours, causing an increase in military spending, the creation of stable resource-consuming armies, the presence of military men in government.
Central America

- Central America
- Agricultural export economies. The marketing of the fruit was provided by foreign companies, such as the United Fruit Company (UFCO), that established a monopoly on fruit collection and trade, by controlling the railways and the local workforce, through intermediaries, while UFCO officials were all foreigners.
Central America

• The position of the Central American countries was particularly weak: agricultural monocultures, with only one foreign partner that ensured for himself monopoly positions through agreements with the government, controlled in turn by a few families.
• Usa President Taft (1909-13) inherits the principle of Roosevelt just as policy intervention. Commercial and financial U.S. companies became more active: the so-called “dollar diplomacy” began.

• While they were made contrary statements to the presence of European companies in the Caribbean and Central America, the direct presence of U.S. companies began.
In 1912, a Japanese company was buying a large piece of land along the coasts of Baja California (in Mexico): U.S. senator Lodge, declared that the United States could not see without grave concern the possession of ports or lands by foreign companies, in a geographic location that could allow strategic control over U.S. areas, or that could threaten U.S. interests.
The Monroe doctrine, this way, was extended to companies and foreign companies. In fact, the Lodge statement clearly violated the sovereignty of Mexico. It was an example of how the continental USA policy was developing.
The turning point came with President Wilson (1913) rightly convinced to exercise paternalism towards the “backward” countries of the Caribbean and Central America: U.S. would not recognize revolutionary governments, or governments not settled according to the current constitution of the country. This allowed the direct intervention, as also the perpetuation of governments that did not enjoy consensus.
• U.S. Interventions
• Between 1901 and 1907, U.S.A. gradually established a system of protectorates with relevant investments in the Caribbean and Central America: Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Panama, Nicaragua.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930

Nel 1913 gli S. U. possiedono il 43% delle proprietà messicane

Occupato o sotto protettorato americano

Golfo del Messico

Havana

CUBA

Occupata, 1898-1902, 1906-1909, 1912, 1917, 1922

Protettorato, 1898-1934

GUANTANAMO

Base navale americana a partire dal 1898

HAITI

REPUBBLICA DOMINICANA

Protettorato, 1905-41

PUERTO RICO

Occupato, 1898

OCEANO PACIFICO

BELIZE

NICARAGUA

Occupata, 1912-1925, 1926-1933

GUATEMALA

EL SALVADOR

HONDURAS

OTTO MARCA

Acquistate dalla Danimarca, 1916

SAN SALVADOR

1903

CANALE

1903-1939

PANAMA

Protettorato, 1903-1939

VENEZUELA

COLOMBIA

COSTA RICA

MEXICO

New Orleans

Houston

Key West

BAHAMA

ISOLE VERGINI
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930, p.II

• Cuba. In 1905 there was a liberal uprising and Cuban President requested the intervention of the United States. Theodore Roosevelt sent to Cuba the Secretary of War, Taft, who came in a vacuum of power, appointed himself governor and led several thousands of soldiers, remaining for three years.

• In 1917, a new liberal revolution caused a new U.S. intervention.
From 1919 to 1933 although not directly involved, USA influenced the internal political dynamics through the presence of U.S. ambassador and government advisors who imposed electoral reforms or managed the tax system.

In 1928, he supported the Machado coup d’etat. In 1933 there was an uprising which brought down the dictator. It was also the year of the Roosvelt’s New Deal.
• Dominican Republic: USA from 1905 to 1925 managed the customs system to guarantee their credits, holding 45% of the revenue. An internal revolt and the fall of President favoured USA interventions, as in 1916, when the country was occupied, establishing a military government with U.S. men in key posts, which lasted until 1924.
The widespread resentment in other countries led President Wilson to withdraw the armed forces in 1924, after signing a treaty in which the Dominican government undertook not to contract new debts without the U.S. consent. The U.S. intervention did not bring the island to greater political stability, since in 1930 began Trujillo dictatorship, that would last more than 30 years.
Haiti: in 1915 the presence of a French for debt payment claims led to the U.S. intervention. USA imposed to the newly elected president to accept an agreement on customs similar with that was signed with Dominican Republic. The conditions were much harder, because it was included the creation of a military police, headed by U.S. officials, and authorized USA to undertake actions aimed at safety and independence of Haiti. Consequence: the constitution was changed by plebiscite to adapt it to the USA wishes.
In the following years, the several episodes in which public opinion showed opposition to the direct presence of the U.S. troops, led President Hoover to begin withdrawing troops, while maintaining control of customs.
Nicaragua had always been the object of special attention from USA for the possibility to create a canal in place of the Panama Canal. In 1909 USA supported a revolt against the local dictator who was against to U.S. military presence. In 1911: new constitution with U.S. support, loan of 15 million dollars in exchange of customs control.
• The US Senate did not approve it, the agreement was made, however, between a group of U.S. banks and local government. 1914 Bryan-Chamorro treaty: in return for the loan of $3 million to reduce the pre-existing debt, Nicaragua granted: 1) exclusive rights to build interoceanic canal, 2) a 99-year lease of some strategic islands, the Islas del Maiz, in the Caribbean sea.
The neighbouring countries declared that the treaty violated their rights, with the consequence that it was ratified only two years later. USA supported governments of conservative politicians, but without a real consensus which supported their policy.
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930, p.II

• In the ’20, Augusto César Sandino led the guerrilla against the US-backed government, becoming a hero of the struggle against Yankee imperialism.

• Of all USA interventions, the one in Nicaragua was the most damaging to the image of the North American country, the less justified, because…
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930, p.II

• ...there was no real danger of European intervention, nor the U.S. economic interests were important enough to justify an intervention. The final result of intervention in Nicaragua policy was the establishment in 1936 of the Somoza family dictatorship, one of the longest and fiercest tyrannies, which lasted until the '70s.
In 1923 the centenary of the Monroe Doctrine, the Secretary of State Hughes declared that the Monroe Doctrine was one of the foundations of U.S. foreign policy and that USA could produce every new definition, interpretation and application of it. In 1928, US Government declared that Monroe Doctrine and the subsequent declarations were part of the security and national defense.
In Mexico, during the revolution, President Wilson, contrary to the government of Huerta, promoted his internal opponents, letting them get the weapons. In 1914 Wilson decided to occupy the Veracruz port, to prevent Huerta could receive military equipment from Europe. Without the customs revenue of that important seaport, pressed by the enemy, Huerta resigned.
In the following period, there were continuous changes of the course of the war. In 1915 US recognized the government of Carranza after he had promised to protect the US-properties. On some occasions Pancho Villa was overrunning the territory of the USA and was chased by U.S. troops in Mexico. There was a clash of the border in 1916.
The U.S. came to the brink of war when it was discovered a secret plan Germany - Mexico: the Germans would have helped Mexico to regain lost territories in the 1848 war in exchange for participation in the Great War. The intervention against Mexico, would have resulted in a long war and an uncertain outcome.
A new problem was posed by the New Mexican Constitution in 1917, conceived in a socialist direction: social function of property, land reform, laws to protect workers, intention to nationalize resources: everything was threatening U.S. interests. It was reached the agreement to comply with the previous situations, the status-quo.
The anti-Yankee sentiment

In Latin American society, an antiyankee feeling has spread since the end of the nineteenth century, among the members of the oligarchy, but also among intellectuals, frightened by the rapid penetration of U.S. capital through the continent. This sentiment extended in the working classes.
In “Ariel” J. Enrique Rodó (1900) written immediately after the Spanish defeat in Cuba, USA civilization is described as based on utilitarian and technical principles, which lead to denial of the sentiment. In the script was represented an allegorical conflict between Ariel, the embodiment of beauty and truth (Spanish tradition), and Caliban, the evil spirit of materialism (USA).
Latin American relations with United States 1823-1930, p.II

- Cuban José Martí, liberal patriot who in 1895 died fighting Spain, during the exile in the United States saw the birth of the US expansion and felt the need to fight it.
The Argentine José Ingenieros, proposed in 1925 the Latin Union with the slogan “Latin America for the Latin Americans” to solve the problems by peaceful means, to open up to foreign capital and promote the nationalization of productive resources.
• Peruvian theorist José Carlos Mariategui, in the twenties, was the first who used in a marxist ideological framework, the term “imperialism”.

Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

- Economic crisis
- Political crisis
- Structural changes
- Governments and regime changes
- Military interventions
- Populist alliances
Map 1. Leading resources and products of Central and South America, 1970s.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

- *Economic crisis*
  - The first decade after the I World War bought some shifts in the major L.A.- economies: structural changes, industrialization, diversification of the non export economy.
  - However, economic performance remained heavily dependent on the fortunes of the export sector.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• By the end of the 1920s, exports still accounted for a high proportion of the GDP. Structural change in the 1920s did not bring diversification within the export sector.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

- The three leading exports products accounted for at least 50 percent of foreign exchange earnings in all states, and one product accounted for more than 50 percent of exports in ten countries (Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Venezuela).
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• All export earnings came from primary products, and nearly 70 percent of external trade was with only four countries: USA, G.B, France, Germany.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• At the time of the Great Depression, L.A.-countries continued to follow a development model that left them highly vulnerable to adverse conditions for primary products in the world markets.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• Even Argentina, the most advanced economy in the 1920s, with a GDP per head that was twice the regional average and four times higher than Brazil, had been unable to avoid that a decline in exports earnings would undermine imports and government revenues, leading to expenditure cuts and to a decline in internal demand.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• The beginning of the Great Depression is usually associated with stock market crash in October 1929. But commodity prices in many cases peaked before 1929. Moreover, during 1929 there was a rise in interest rates. Interest rates started to fall in the fourth quarter of 1929: importers were unable to rebuild stocks of primary products to face credit restricts and falling demand.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• The fall in primary-product price was dramatic and affected all countries. Between 1928 and 1932, the unit value of exports fell by more than 50 percent in ten countries.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• Import prices declined slower than export prices. The net barter terms of trade (NBTT) declined sharply for all countries, with the exception of Venezuela (exporting oil) and Honduras (exporting bananas), where the export price of fruit was set by the foreign fruit Companies, simply to cover their local-currency costs.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

- Mineral exporting countries (Bolivia, Chile, Mexico) were heavily affected by the fall of international prices, as firms in importing countries reacted to depression by running down existing inventories at home rather than by placing new orders. In Chile (copper) the purchasing power of export (PPE) was the lowest ever recorded in L.A. in such a short period (See table)
### Table 7.2. Price and quantity changes for exports, net barter terms of trade, and export purchasing power, 1932 (1928 = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Export prices</th>
<th>Export volumes</th>
<th>Net barter terms of trade</th>
<th>Purchasing power of exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia *</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic *</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti *</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1929 = 100.

* 1930 = 100.

Sources: CEPAL (1976); Bulmer-Thomas (1987); Ground (1988).
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

- A second group of countries (Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, five Central America countries) experienced a decline in the volume of exports, because their export could not be easily satisfied with internal stocks.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• A third group of counties experienced a small (less than 10 percent) decline in the volume of exports between 1928 and 1932. Colombia took advantage from the Brazilian coffee collapse, Venezuela maintained more or less the quantity of oil exports, and Dominican Republic took advantage from the particular situation of Cuban sugar production.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• The combination of falling exports prices, for all countries, and falling export volumes for most countries, produced a sharp decline in the PPE. Only Venezuela and Honduras, as we have seen, partially escaped this situation.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• Only one price remained the same during the crisis: the fixed nominal interest rate on public and private foreign debt. As other prices fell, the real interest rate on this debt (mainly government bonds) rose, increasing the fiscal and balance of payments burden of the L.A. governments.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• The rise in the real burden of debt meant that an increasing share of (declining) total exports had to be allocated to debt-service payments. The combination of unchanged debt service payments and falling exports revenues caused a strong squeeze on imports.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

- Governments had to face problems caused by the fiscal dependence of fiscal revenues on external trade taxes. The combination of falling government revenues and debt-service payments, fixed in nominal terms, put intense pressure on government expenditures.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• In the following years most all countries had a change in government, often with military golpe.

• Exceptions: Venezuela, where Juan Vicente Gomez dictature, started in 1908, continued until Gómez death in 1935;

• Mexico, where the Revolution Party firmly guided a country exhausted by revolutionary period and civil war.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

The most disastrous impact of the crisis was the combination of these factors:

• High degree of openness in the economic structure;
• Large fall in price of exports;
• Decline of volume of exports.
• The situation needed urgent stabilization measures, to restore commercial balance.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• The world depression put great pressure on the political systems of Latin American countries, many of which suffered military coups (or attempted coups). Within a year after the October 1929 stock market crash in New York, army officers had sought or taken power in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• In the other countries occurred changes of government in more or less constitutional shape.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

- Economic effects of the depression not only caused these political outcomes:
  - they also cast into doubt the viability of the export-import model of growth;
  - discredited liberalism as economic and political model;
  - discredited ruling political elites, and made the population more prepared to accept military regimes.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• From the early 1930s onward, the military reasserted its traditional role as a principal force in Latin American politics.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• Latin American rulers had two options to face the global economic crisis.

• One was to have even closer commercial linkages to the industrialized nations, in order to secure a steady share of the market, whatever its size and dislocations. Argentina took such an approach, for example, during the 1930s, to preserve its access to the British market for beef.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• An alternative way, not necessarily inconsistent with the first, was to embark on industrialization. One of the goals of this policy, often supported by the military, would be to achieve greater economic independence.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• The idea was that by building its own industry, Latin America would be less dependent on Europe and the United States for manufactured goods. By producing industrial as well as agricultural and mineral goods, Latin American economies would become more integrated and more self-sufficient.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• And, as a result, they were less vulnerable to the shocks brought on by the worldwide depression.

• ISI: import substitution industrialization
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• An additional goal of industrialization was to create jobs for the working classes, which had continued to grow in size and importance since the beginning of the twentieth century. Concentrated almost entirely in cities, Latin American proletariat was still struggling to organize and sustain union movements.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

• In contrast with the previous generation, trade unions were now trying to gain power as a new social force. In some countries, such as Chile, union movements were relatively free of arbitrary government involvement. Elsewhere, as in Mexico and Brazil, politicians recognized labor as a potential political resource and tried to stimulate, and also control, labor organizations.
Economic crisis and changes in the 1930s

- Urban working class was seeking secure employment, and Latin American leaders saw industrialization as one way to respond. Latin America’s economies started producing manufactured goods that they had formerly imported from Europe and the USA. Hence the name for this type of development, “import-substituting industrialization” (ISI).
International situation

• Although in a period of crisis, U.S. presence grows compared to that of Great Britain. Franklin D. Roosevelt came to power in 1933, starting with the “Good Neighbor” policy:
International situation

• stop to direct armed interventions, which had characterized U.S. policy in Central America and Caribbean;

• Panamericanism: support to continental organizations and promotion of regular continental conferences: Montevideo 1933, Buenos Aires, 1936, Lima, 1938. In the latter was reaffirmed the principle of mutual consultation.
International situation

• This policy will be useful, especially to the United States, because they saw the danger of infiltration of the fascist powers in the continent and began to fell that a conflict was approaching.
International situation

- Political pressure was direct, but US armed intervention in fact disappeared.
- In 1938, in Mexico, President Cárdenas decided a large agrarian reform and nationalized the oil fields. USA did not intervene.
International situation

• Fascism was spreading in Europe. Fascism admirers in Latin America, including who were not of the right wing, were searching for new political formulas.
International situation

• Fascism seemed to meet the needs in Latin America for two reasons:
  • it did not re-propose the liberalism that had done so much harm to Latin American economies, but autarky economy, seen mainly as a boost to national industrial production;
  • fascism was away from communism and collectivist tendencies of USSR.
International situation

- It seemed there was a third way between the two great economic and political systems.
- The Spanish civil war then offered a stark contrast between fascism and revolution. It was an example not to follow.
Moreover, Corporatism, adopted by fascists regimes, seemed to avoid social tensions, particularly between entrepreneurs and workers, which characterized the capitalist societies.
Corporatism influence

• Corporatism: an ancient conception of society, of medieval origin, survived in Christianity but adopted also by thinkers from different cultural background, who conceived the human society as a body, composed of various bodies and organisms that, to operate in a right way, require the harmonizing role of the head of the body.
Corporatism influence

• In the same way, the political society, exactly as a body, requires harmony and not contraposition.

• Italian fascism, and also portuguese and spanish governments of Salazar and Franco, tried to apply this scheme to the new state they founded, substituting parties and independent trade unions with institutions created, and controlled by State.
Corporatism influence

• In fact, in Latin America, in those years, only Brazil's Getulio Vargas officially adopted partially corporate organization.

• However, the basic idea of corporatism was widespread, the compulsory conciliation of negotiations. It’s the same way that Peron chose for Argentine, to avoid conflicts between capitalists and workers and make sure industrial growth.
Corporatism influence

• The idea that the government, through its mediating work, could avoid social tensions and provide, or assist, the economic growth, was an attractive concept.
Corporatism influence

• Moreover, during the same period, although in different ways, it occurred the growth of the initiative of the governments in the economic, social, cultural fields.

• The extreme example was given by the Soviet system, with the total State control.

• Another example was given by the New Deal, with the expansion of State role.
Corporatism influence

• If the expansion of the functions of government and the state machinery took place in countries where until there was no trace of those institutions, it was clear that the new organizations would have an exorbitant role, because they occupied an empty space.
Populism

Latin American governments wanted:

- industrialization,
- the formation of a modern market,
- greater economic autonomy,
- and a modern working class,

but wanted to avoid the onset of class conflict.
Populism

• Since the weight and the spread of socialist and communist ideas was limited to some countries, in others it was still at the beginning, it was necessary to promote large inter-class alliances to incorporate working masses without producing conflicts. Conflicts were seen as obstacles in the national growth project.
Populism

- This attempt of great inter-class alliance with the goal of modernization took the name of “Populism”.
Populism

• Populism arises in the context of:
  • -economic dependence from foreign capital;
  • -transition from predominantly agricultural economy to industrial economy, underlined by strong internal migration and large social inequalities;
Populism

- limited participation in political arena;
- emergence of new elites that required political spaces;
- emergence of an industrial working class.
Populism

• Therefore, actors of populism are:
  • industrial bourgeoisie,
  • urban proletariat,
  • other groups affected by the social change and quest to modernization, not related to old oligarchic patterns: young military officers.
Populism

• The presence and distribution of foreign ideologies can be considered as a weapon by the new political elites to fit the local situation, without remaining slaves of the influence of the country of origin of those ideologies.
Populism

- A systematic populist ideology does not exist. However there are elements, in particular moments in national history, that can become strengths of the populist propaganda:
Populism

• the supremacy of the will of the people. People was considered as a whole, without internal divisions, different classes (corporatist conception influenced this vision);
• direct relationship between people and leaders, strengthened by the spread of most modern means of communication: radio, cinema, and newsreels.
Populism

• The element of exaltation of the people is an idea that works very well in period of social change, modernization, industrialization, keeping together the masses in view of national development, against imperialism and communism vision, the two main foreign ideologies.
Populism

- The experiences of populist government (Argentina and Brazil) begin with the seizure of power in a time of crisis, crisis of traditional parties, with a great willingness to change, by an organized group of men, led by a charismatic man: Vargas in Brazil, Perón in Argentina.
Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

- Getulio Varg as was from Rio Grande do Sul
- (1882-1954)
- President of Brazil, 1930-45;
- 1950-54.
Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

- **Brazil: Getulio Vargas**
- In Brazil, the global crisis had negative effects on the price of coffee, with the consequent crisis of the oligarchy linked to the coffee production. Political turmoil led to the rise of a new alliance headed by Getulio Varags. Vargas was from Rio Grande do Sul, a small state, outside of the dichotomy San Palo - Minas Gerais, “coffee and milk states”, the two states that traditionally expressed the president of the federation.
Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

• Supported by the emerging middle classes and by *tenentes*, young army officers, the alliance had an innovative program: extension of suffrage, minimum guarantees for the working classes of the city, protectionism on coffee production. Vargas understood that the modernization of the country had to pass over the interests of the oligarchies ruling in various states of Federation.
Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

- Changes had to be made also at the federal level:
  - Laws aimed at social protection;
  - Institution of Ministry of Labour, Industry and Commerce.
  - Support to industry;
  - Trade unions organized and controlled by the State;
  - Corporatism. (the corporatist representation had some success in Latin America, because it seemed to be more direct, more modern than the representation of the parties).
Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

- He replaced the governors of the states with *interventores*, appointed by central power, with no ties to local interests. Establishment of a network of controllers and informants on the work of the *interventores*.

- In 1934 new constitution, corporativist representation in parliament, votes for women. Vargas was elected president by the parliament. In the following years he had to face insurrection attempts in left and right.
Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

- 1937 authoritarian shift: with *Estado Novo*, Vargas put trade unions under state control, enhanced the powers of the president, established minimum wage, get the US support for industrial development plans. Skillful policy of rapprochement with the U.S., because they wanted a united american continent against Nazi threat, or at least neutral. During World war II, Brazilian troops were sent to Europe, to fight alongside the Allied Forces in Italy.
Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

• During the positive economic period, Vargas government started large industrial projects supported by the State in the hydroelectric and mining sector. Vargas suspended the elections of 1943 because of the war. Then, he encouraged the creation of new parties, PSD and PT.
Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

• At the end of the war, a negative economic period began. Vargas, who no longer had the support of the military, won the elections but was forced to resign by the military, which among whose ranks, even for the experience alongside the Allies, they began to know more democratic ideas.
Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

• From 1945 to 1950 there was a gradual democratization of the political situation: constitutional reforms, decentralization, readmission of the Communist Party. In 1950 Vargas won the elections with a program of new industrial investments. He founded Petrobras, the State oil company, mixed company under state control, but also with foreign capital, displeasing in this way both the nationalist side both those in favor to foreign capital.
Inflation, strikes, made the situation unsustainable, alienating the sympathies of the sectors traditionally favorable to him, but also the military. Vargas called on the government João Goulart, leader of the PT (left wing), which prospected wage increases of 100%, arousing the anger of the entrepreneurs and the armed forces who accused him of wanting to turn Brazil into a “republic dominated by trade unions”.

Populism in Brazil: Getulio Vargas

• Vargas turned to left in an attempt to maintain consensus in 1954, denounced the “depredation of Brazil” by foreign companies. Vargas was later accused to have organized an attack, failed, to one opponent, a naval officer. A great press campaign started against him, with requests for resignation. The August 24, 1954 Vargas killed himself, leaving a letter-testament in which he accused the internal and external enemies who were against the development and the independence of Brazil.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

- Juan Domingo Perón,
- (1895-1974)

- President of Argentina
- 1946-55;
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

- After economic crisis, from 1932 to 1943 there were governments arising from the so called *Concordancia*, a pact of transition between the major parties (NDP, Conservative, UCR, radical, and PSI, independent socialists). The presidents were Generals Justo 1932-38, Ortiz, 1938-42, Castillo 1942-43.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

- It was a corrupt regime that governed thanks to widespread election fraud. It is remembered as the “infamous Decade”.
- Position in favor of the Axis forces. Argentina was the only Latin American country to maintain neutrality until almost the end of the conflict. Declaration of war against nazi-fascist states was made “only” in March 1945.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

- The weakness of the traditional parties favors the intervention of the army in March of 1943 with the coup of General Ramírez.
- The government was controlled by a group of officers (GOU), with clerical and authoritarian tendencies, formally pro-democracy, but in fact opposed to traditional parties.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

• Colonel Juan Domingo Perón emerged among them, playing the role of seemingly marginal Secretary of Labor, from which role issued decrees in favor of industrial workers, stepping left all parties. Perón became minister of war, then Vice President of the Republic. He promoted legislation on social security, with which he gained the support of masses.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

• He was opposed by Democrats and feared by the army. President Ramírez ordered the arrest of Perón in October 1945. On 17 October, a large popular event in front of the presidential palace called for his release, sanctioning his candidacy in the presidential elections. Perón won elections in February 1946 with 54% of the votes.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

• The election campaign was characterized by the formation of a “democratic front” that included all opponents of Peron, supported by the US Embassy.

• It was very easy to Peron to prove where they were the “enemies of the nation”: those supported by USA.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

• The reason of such a success was the social policy in favor of the workers, who acquired rights before unthinkable, with the growth of social welfare, and support to industry with subsidized loans. Peron contributed to form and organize worker unions and put them in stable contact with the government.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

- Economy is according to the ISI model: state intervention, five-year planning, market protection, public expenditure, industry support. Creation of IAPI, Institute for interchange support, which purchased wheat at controlled prices and sold it at higher prices in the international market. The industry support had economic and political goals, since industrialization meant modernization, and also jobs for workers, higher wages and a growing domestic market.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

• Until 1950, the positive economic trend favoured the economic policy also made in the name of “purchasing sovereignty”. The Argentine government nazionalized the railway network and telephone held by foreign companies (GB and USA), but at an exorbitant price and taking on the previous debts.
With the reversal of the economic trend, the proceeds of foreign trade were not sufficient to finance state policies and the increasing expenditure. Perón was re-elected in 1951, with an overwhelming percentage thanks to women’s vote (60%), but the situation worsened in the following years. Early signs of discontent, strikes and protests, collision with Catholic Church, caused by the introduction of the “Peronist doctrine” in schools.
There was a change in economic line, with an opening to foreign investments, but it was too late. The Government failed to adopt an economic structure able to become independent from the performance of international commodity prices, on which the country continued to base his wealth. The worsening situation led the armed forces to deny him the support, then to force him to flee in September 1955.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

• The consensus of the regime was based on the direct relationship leader - masses and a dynamic conception of politics, with a well-studied rhetoric that clearly identified the enemies of the Argentine nation in the old oligarchy and foreign powers.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

• The creation of the national union, CGT, was functional to political control over its leaders. The creation of the Partido justicialista, the Peronist party, took place using public resources. The party headquarters were often located in public buildings.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

- Ideological cornerstones of the regime: political sovereignty,
- economic independence
- social justice.
- Assumption of a “Third position” at the international level about capitalism and communism.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

• It was a democratic regime, formally, with free elections, but with the authoritarian control over the media, intimidation ways against opponents, street demonstrations in support of the government's decisions.
Populism in Argentina: J. D. Perón

• Pillars of the regime were Catholic Church and the armed forces.
• So he created an “authoritarian democracy” based on the idea of an “organized community” in which dissent was controlled in various, more or less legitimate, ways.
Evita Perón (1919-1952)

• Strategic role played by his wife Eva Duarte, a former actress, married in 1945, which becomes “Evita Perón” (1919-52) embodied the popular spirit of Peronism, with violent speeches against the oligarchy and foreign powers.
Evita Perón (1919-1952)

• She “obtained” vote for women, created the women section of Peronist party, organizing a vast network of assistance and charity with stolen resources to businesses, and managed with personalist criteria that earned her the aura of the “mother of the poors”, “queen of descamisados” (shirtless).

• She was hated by the military because she seemed too independent from her husband. In fact, they denied her the opportunity to stand as vicepresident in 1951 presidential elections.
Evita Perón (1919-1952)

• Her premature death in 1952, after a long and agonizing illness, the popular devotion that had obtained, were exploited by Peron in the last years of his government to maintain the consensus.

• It was built a mausoleum to house the embalmed body.
Populism: some conclusion

- Conclusions on populism
- The populist governments pursued the goal of modernization of society, playing on the patriotic spirit, the re-consolidation of the national society around a development project, industrialization and the redistribution of incomes.
Populism: some conclusion

• Beyond positive or negative evaluation, Populism produced:
  • - inclusion of the masses in political life, through the extension of the suffrage and public assistance, and a political system which began to include, not to exclude masses;
  • - giving importance to the economic policies of governments;
  • - centralization of decisions, that means pre-eminence of the executive branch on the other power branches.
Populism: some conclusion

• The “fruits” of populism survived long after its end:
  • - Awareness of the importance of public policies and social assistance;
  • - Awareness for working classes of the importance of trade unions and political participation, even in case of an authoritarian structure party, like peronist party.
According to Marcello Carmagnani, the decades from 1930 to 1970 are characterized by an economy that can be defined as a whole, "populist economy".
“The populist economy”

• Economic policies that give priority to growth and redistribution of income, without taking into account that these objectives can be compromised by inflation, fiscal deficit, isolation with respect to international trade, and the implementation of protectionist policies and State intervention. These policies often have the aim at control more than at adjust, with the result of discouraging economic freedom of the economic operators.
“The populist economy”

• I stage. Public policies reactivate the (industrial) production, increased wages and employment, in a context of internal price and exchange rate stability. The economic expansion is sustained by public spending, supported by the good performance of traditional exports. The purchase of foreign assets is supported by deficit.
“The populist economy”

• II. Economic bottleneck, consequence of the strong expansion of domestic demand and less supply of hard currency. Government decides price increase of controlled goods, devaluation, increase of social protection instruments. The consequences are higher inflation and falling real wages, rising budget deficits.
“The populist economy”

• III. Goods begin to scarce, inflation accelerates, capital flight, budget deficit increases. The government is trying to stabilize the economy by reducing or devaluing the currency. Real wages fall and policies become unstable. The result: growing uncertainty and lack of confidence in the possibility of improvement.
“The populist economy”

• IV. The government falls, defeated or ousted by a coup d’etat. The new government carries out a rigid stabilization policy that causes a further fall in real wages, with more unemployment and falling demand, without resulting in a return of capital.
“The populist economy”

Conclusions:

The ISI has been incomplete, since it did not take into account that Latin America (and every other developing country) that would produce competitive goods, had to buy tools, that is technology, from abroad. Growth does not put an end to dependence from abroad, but only changed its form.
“The populist economy”

• The industrialization, from the sixties onwards, after new scientific discoveries and the resulting technological applications, required more and more investment in capital and less in labor. This increased the problem of unemployment, particularly exasperated by population growth that occurred in many countries.
"The populist economy"

- Governments, then, have more and more the problem of financing social policies, which were institutionalized in welfare programs, both in states that did not yet applied it, and where the social gravity of the internal situation, forgotten for too long, requires choices of this kind.
“The populist economy”

• The military regimes, tried to achieve economic stabilization, controlling wages and take power away from trade unions with police methods. Some scholar talked in this connection of “bureaucratic-authoritarian State”. The attempts to reactivate economic growth occurred, even where there was a great resistance in this respect, by resorting to foreign investment.
The military regimes

• The military regimes
• Latin America history has been constantly marked by the military intervention in politics. However the emergence of “military regimes” is a recent phenomenon, of the sixties of the twentieth century.
The military regimes

• The roots of the prominent role played by the military in society is to be found in the great instability, as we have seen, that followed the wars of independence. In the power vacuum that characterized many regions during the struggle for independence, as in the subsequent period, in the cities as in the countryside, the maintenance of order was granted by the caudillos, landowners who could keep a small personnel army.
The military regimes

• This situation changes slowly during the nineteenth century. Some wars involved the states of the continent and made bigger the need for a stable and well-armed army. Compulsory military service was introduced and military academies were founded, following the example of European countries (European military training missions in L.A.).
The military regimes

- They formed a new class of officers, trained according to modern techniques. A phase of army professionalization army began, in which the highest degrees tried to influence the preparation of new candidates, and politicians tried to influence the career of the elements considered loyal to the ruling party. It should be noted that the establishment of military schools was the only access to higher education for those who did not have the resources to pay for studies.
The military regimes

• The armed forces in the twentieth century seemed as having a strong *esprit de corps*, awareness of their own skills and to be, at critical stages, the only truly national institution. The great political instability of the twentieth century encouraged the military intervention, not only with the *golpe*, but also simply as a statement of position on a political situation (*pronunciamiento*).
The military regimes

- They could serve as referees between the factions fighting for power. The appeal to the military intervention could come directly from the political world, not only by the traditional ruling classes, but also by groups of reformers or revolutionaries.
The military regimes

• Despite the continued presence in the Latin American political life, military intervention, when it occurred in an active form, gave a coup “moderate” and occasional. The fact of being called by the political parties themselves to express their position somehow legitimized their intervention, but not for this reason the military felt to be the right to stay in power for a long time.
The military regimes

• In fact, until 1930, military intervention was characterized by support of the parties, or denial of support, at critical moments.
The military regimes

• After 1930, what we can call “the third phase” of the military presence began. The number of presidents and heads of government of military origin increased. In 1940, for example, the military ruled in the majority of Latin American states. In the 50s there is an attenuation of the trend, which resumed with more force and in a changed context, in the sixties and seventies.
The military regimes

- Between ‘58 and ‘72 only in Uruguay, Chile, Venezuela, Costa Rica there were no coup d’état. A special case is Mexico, where, in fact, since the revolution, the military did not directly affect the political life. This is because at the time of the revolution the military career was opened to all social classes. In addition, because inside of the Revolutionary Party, which ruled until the end of the last century, the military were included in a special section of the party.
The military regimes

- With the increase of generals at the Presidencies, military presence in senior positions in government and public bodies increased, even in the civil government. Thus the role of protection that the military exercise in public life increased. Since the sixties, ideological divisions within the army also prevented that military always act as a single block. Military claims were more and more aimed to protect social classes excluded from political life, in the same way as the middle classes were in the thirties.
The military regimes

- Then interventions began in support of democratization of public life, or, at least, to open participation in the power for new social classes. In the sixties, the Armed Forces exceed internal divisions and appeared as a block sufficiently united, able to impose itself as an institution capable of ensuring “national security”.
The military regimes

- The 1964 golpe in Brazil marked the beginning of the phase of so-called “institutional golpe” which gave rise to lasting governments, with upheavals of economic and social development.
Desarrollismo

• The desarrollismo, (desarrollo = development) ideology, is the basis of all political projects of the period, regardless of political position. In all countries the division between a traditional agricultural sector and an urban industrial sector continued.

• 1948: creation CEPAL, UN agency for the economic development of Latin America, placed in Santiago de Chile.
International situation

• The trend of political, democratic, projects of modernization and reform suffered a setback for two reasons of international political order:
  • the Cold War, and the subsequent effort of U.S. policy, to present America as a united continent against the threat of Soviet Union;
  • the 1959 Cuban revolution, which introduced the idea, maybe the utopia, that social problems of the continent could be solved in a different way, revolutionary way. Many guerrilla movements set up in the sixties, following the example of Cuban guerrilla.
US policy toward L.A.

- In front of these destabilizing influences, USA sought to renew Panamericanism. Panamericanism increased before the Second World War, in front of fascist and Nazi menace. The newfound continental unity of that period (’30 and ’40) had led to the creation of the grandiose project of the OAS, following the UN example and other continental and regional organizations in the post-war period.

- OAS, Organization of American States, was created in 1948, but has never expressed all its full potential. USA Panamericanism of the ‘60 was an initiative to stimulate and support social reforms to prevent the revolution in L-A.: the Alianza para el progreso,
US policy toward L.A.

• *Alliance for the Progress*: J.F. Kennedy plan foresaw investments in millions of dollars for the next 10 years to ensure the realization of a peaceful social reforms instead of another Cuban revolution: agrarian reform, social policies. The death of Kennedy put an end to the project. U.S. foreign policy changed: from helping the reforms to aid the counterrevolution. We must remember that the agrarian question in Latin America, with the agrarian reform always postponed, seemed to be the main obstacle to modernization and development.
The military regimes

• In the years of the armed forces in power, the function of parties was very reduced, in some cases disappeared. Other social actors acquired importance: the trade union movement played a political role in place of the left parties; Catholic Church, was acting as an aggregation point for the marginalized masses; also guerrilla movements, more or less related to political parties and to local social conditions.
The military regimes

• The Church had to modernize herself and underwent a shift to the left. During the sixties dictatorship in Argentina, the CGT, former Peronist trade union, was an obstacle for the regime. Guerrillas, with the increase of social tensions and the advent of the military in power, gradually expanded in urban areas.
The military regimes

- *The National Security Doctrine*
- Brazil in March 1964, Bolivia in September 1969, Argentina in June 1966, Peru in October 1968. Chile and Uruguay in 1973, and Argentina in March 1976. The intervention of the military was always caused by internal instability and social tensions caused by attempts at reforms, touching traditional interests.
The military regimes

• In the sixties, the idea of industrialization according to ISI, typical characteristic of “populist economies”, was exhausted. The crisis of populist model was evident, as were evident the frustrated aspirations of modernization, the problems of capital accumulation, the strong ideological contrasts.
The military regimes

- The intervention of the military met an ideological support in the National Security Doctrine (DSN). The processing centers of the doctrine were Brazil and Chile. It was conceived in the war schools, where military technocrats were trained in technical and social sciences. DSN was characterized by:
  - awareness of the presence of an external enemy that threatens the unity and the sovereignty of the country, enemy identified in communism;
  - awareness of the essential role that the military establishment can play in the protection of national security.
The military regimes

• The DSN also rests on the conception of the geopolitical North American division of the world into two blocs: the “free world” and the “communist world”. The Latin American countries were, and had to remain, into the free world. The rise of guerrilla movements extended the concept of national security also to the phase of prevention of subversion.
The military regimes

• Then, a new strategy was set up to employ all possible means to ensure nation security, including the armed forces intervention, to defend the vital objectives of the nation.
The military regimes

• In addition to the geopolitical conception, there was also a division between developed and underdeveloped nations, along the north-south world axis. In all countries, these elements were present, to a different extent.

• In Brazil, for example, during dictatorship time (1964-1985) at beginning there was more emphasis to the division along the East-West line; later was given more importance to the North-South conflict.
The military regimes

• The main elements of the DSN:
  • The identification of both State and Nation in the Military Government.
  • National unity was conceived as a higher principle which inspired all the government activities and that should take precedence over all other principles and interests, especially in the presence of foreign conspiracies and anti-national ideologies.
The military regimes

- The consequence of this approach was the justification of power as an essential instrument for the achievement of national objectives, without any reference to the classic tripartite division of powers, and to individual rights.
- Sovereignty is exercised directly, and entirely, by the military government.
- The key word is “national”: national targets, national project, national development, national security.
The military regimes

- Apart from ideological U.S. influences, like the concept of hemispheric security, and the logistic assistance, with tens of thousands of officers trained in special schools, first of all, the Army School of Americas in Panama, such an apparatus had to pose the problem of a viable project. The attempt to stop the democratization of society in order to allow the required accumulation for economic development, shows some contradictions.
The military regimes

• The biggest contradiction is the attempt to reach an independent position in the international market, while using authoritarian methods inside, ignoring and suppressing social conflicts that arose, physiologically, during periods of change. The difficulties inherent in this operation made the state of emergency declared by the military prolonged over time, postponing to an indefinite future the return to democracy.
Cuban Revolution

- Cuba

- Spanish colony until 1898 with an economy based on sugar, (tobacco until 1860) whose production ended in the U.S. market. The Zafra, the harvesting and cutting cane activity, which was a prelude to the pressing operation, was concentrated in 3 months. Consequence: many workers, were not farmers, and began to live on the outskirts of the city. Sugar price was subject to periodical fluctuations, such as in 1920 and 1929.
Cuban Revolution

• New expansion since 1934. Sugar gave prosperity to a few, leaving many in poverty. Sugar business attracted foreign capital, but created dependency on external market. After U.S. occupation, a series of corrupt and authoritarian governments, Fulgencio Batista ruled, directly or through an intermediary, from 1934 to 1959.
Cuban Revolution

• Fidel Castro (1927) witnessed the Bogotazo in 1948, the suppression of the revolt of Bogota, where the killing of the progressive leader Eliecer Gaitán sparked violent popular anger, repressed by the police, just when was taking place the Pan-American meeting that would give life to the OAS. Castro was convinced of the necessity of revolt, an organized revolt.
Cuban Revolution

- First attempt in Cuba: 1953, with 165 men, Castro attacked the Moncada barracks, in the southeast of the island. He was arrested, after 11 months was amnestied. In Mexico, he organized guerrilla groups with the help of Ernesto Guevara. The naval expedition wrecked, survivors repaired in the Sierra Maestra.
Cuban Revolution

• The guerrilleros seemed to have disappeared in the mountains, actually they were receiving support from local farmers and reinforcements, waiting that anger toward the Batista regime grow. Followers came mainly from the middle classes, intellectuals and students, not only peasants. USA removed support for Batista, due to very strong opposition against him. Catholic Church called for a change of government.
Cuban Revolution

• U.S. embargo. During the general strike in April 1958 guerrilla started. The repression of suspected supporters increased the people approval for the guerrilla.
Cuban Revolution

- Batista fled at the end of the year. January 1959: Castro and his guerrilleros entered in La Havana without a fight. It was urgent to establish a government and a program. They had the support of the middle classes, liberals, nationalists opponents to the U.S. presence. In the Triumvirate government Castro controlled the army.
Cuban Revolution

- The executions of Batista’s 550 officers, after trials in revolutionary courts, frightened liberals, inside and outside the island. Castro, who took full power in the meantime, visited USA. When he met Vice President Nixon; he wanted to give an image of reformist.
Cuban Revolution

• May 1959: first land expropriations and nationalizations. This was interpreted by Occident as the first step towards communism. Opponents began to flee, especially to USA. Castro accused others government members of conspiring against the government, and they resigned. He also resigned, but came back by popular acclamation. Campaign against “the traitors of the revolution”, Castro declared that there will not be elections for the coming years, revealed U.S. invasion plans of the island.
Cuban Revolution

• In 1960, decisive shifts: nationalization of economy; approach to the USSR; egalitarian socio-economic policy. He bought oil from the USSR, decided confiscation of sugar U.S. refineries, created the revolutionary army and the Defense Committees of the Revolution, starting in this way the popular mobilization. He closed the free press, appointed new judges. Universities, important centers of discussion and consensus, were placed under control of the revolution committees, as well as trade unions and social activities of the catholic church.
Cuban Revolution

- He decided to use the Communist Party organization to carry out its program, beginning with the agrarian reform.
- Extensive education in rural areas, health programs.
- Opposition and the escapes increased, specially among the middle classes.
- The discovery of invasion plans backed by USA led to the U.S. withdrawal in January, 1961. Kennedy withdrew support for the invasion plan made by the Cuban exiles.
Cuban Revolution

• The Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961 failed. The episode confirms that Castro was right about US intentions. It was a ‘no return point’.

• Castro decided for closer ties with the USSR, which placed missiles.

• Missile Crisis in 1962: world was to the brink of war; then Soviet Union took missiles away in exchange for the U.S. promise not to invade. Cuba became a satellite of the USSR.
Cuban Revolution

- Cuban government set up an economic plan for crop diversification, but as plan did not work, he decided to come back to sugar.
- Plans to support the revolution in Latin America and in Africa started, in an attempt to create other *focos* for guerrillas.
- Che Guevara in Bolivia: defeat and death of Che Guevara, in October 1967. The episode put an end to intentions of spread revolution in A.L.
Cuban Revolution

• Castro started the “revolutionary offensive” inside: nationalization of remaining private sector, campaign for sugar overproduction (10 million tons in 1970), but it did not give expected results (8.5).

• End of “economic voluntarism”, beginning of pragmatism: economic decentralization, profit incentives, performance rewards.
Cuban Revolution

- In 1980, after 20 years of communist regime, communist Cuba was still standing, supported by USSR (that supports Cuba for a quarter of GDP). From a dependency to another.
- Positive aspects of the regime: living conditions improved, health care, decrease of infant mortality, spread of schools, increased role of women in a traditionally ‘machist’ society.
- But they were still looking for technology, also occidental technology. Failure of agriculture, the less productive of the continent.
Cuban Revolution

• In 1979, the Cuban exiles from the U.S. visited their parents. They showed the comforts of the Western world. 1980: 11,000 Cubans tried to seek asylum in Peruvian embassy, Revolutionary committees organized events where they shouted “que se vayan” (“let them go away”), Castro opened the port of Mariel with a direct line with Florida to allow anyone who wanted to leave, freeing in this way many dissidents. 125,000 Cubans left the island.
Cuban Revolution

- Plans for military assistance in various conflict situations in other continents, especially in Africa, (Congo, Angola), and in Afghanistan.
- In the eighties: economic crisis, USSR collapse, difficulties increased, while U.S. embargo continued.
- But Cuba goes on, thanks to the institutionalization of the revolution, popular mobilization, the skilful opening in terms of tourism.
The military in Brazil

- The military in Brazil
- On 1° April 1964, the military overthrew the progressive government of João Goulart, after the announcement of nationalization, land expropriation and banks reform, the granting of vote to illiterate. The Brazilian DSN, born in the Superior School of war, called “the Sorbonne”, with the goal of modernization at all costs, abandoned liberalism to follow the state economic planning, focusing the project on public intervention, private entrepreneurs and foreign capital.
The military in Brazil

• This latter aspect was the most controversial, since many officers had been trained in the perspective of an economic nationalism.

The military in Brazil

- The government promoted chemical, petrochemical, mining sectors and infrastructures.
- Late sixties “Brazilian Economic Miracle”: increased production of consumer goods, growing military industry. High development rates, but social inequalities increased, as marginalization and poverty, massive urbanization, giving rise to favelas (slums).
- At the political level, behind the creation of a bipartisan parliamentary (a fake pluralism), the regime took off power to the parliamentary institutions, for the benefit of the executive branch.
The military in Brazil

- Purge of 600 suspected officials, 5000 persons deprived of political rights. Leftist parties and class organizations outlawed, strikes banned.
- Creation of National Information Service, a secret organization made up of 250,000 agents.
- Formation of paramilitary groups, in support of the police: the ‘hunt for communists Commandos’, against the guerrillas, and the ‘Death squads’ which were responsible for crime, with summary executions of criminals caught in the act.
The military in Brazil

• Initial USA support.
• Opposition parties victory in several states elections led the military to change the rules: state governors elected by the parliament, controlled in turn by the military government. 1968: change in more authoritarian sense.
The military in Brazil

- The regime governed with “institutional Acts”, which replace the parliamentary laws. The Institutional Act No. 5, 1968, declared the possibility of suspending any basic legal guarantees, dissolve parliament, call a state of siege. These were the years of fighting guerrilla, a struggle led by ruthless repression and hunting the “internal enemy”, which will end in 1973. The opposition was silenced.
The military in Brazil

• An only place of partial freedom remained: Catholic Church, for its supportive role to the weaker social classes, acting in solidarity. The oil crisis of 1973 set the economy into crisis, political crisis, general discontent. With US President Carter, President aware of the respect for human rights and against dictatorships, the isolation of the regime increased.
The military in Brazil

- In 1978, the Institutional Act 5 was revoked. A slow political liberalization began: return of the exiles, readmission of all parties in the elections, except Communist Party. In 1985, the military decided general elections, and supported without much enthusiasm a candidate. The oppositions won headed by Tancredo Neves. The slow transition, almost 7 years, the gradual departure from the political scene encouraged impunity of crimes and illegal actions committed by the regime.
The military in Argentina

- The military in Argentina
- La Revolución libertadora which made the 1955 coup, wanted to mark the return to democracy after the peronist regime, considered as a dictatorship. Actually, a turbulent period of about 11 years began, until 1966, with failed attempts at democratization of political life. The Peronist party was banned, Peronist trade unions (CGT) survived.
The military in Argentina

• In the 1966 elections, white boards number was higher than that of votes cast, expressing large following of Perón in the country. Perón exiled in Spain but remained in close contact with his followers.
The military in Argentina

- Peronist trade unions behaved as institutional opposition, while the other political forces, under the watchful eye of the military, could not find a formula that could meet a wide popular support. In 1958 the Frondizi’s UCR won the elections, thanks to the Peronist electorate. Policy: support to industry, however industrial expansion was not supported by (agricultural) exports such as financial targets expected.
The military in Argentina

- In 1962, Peronist party was readmitted to the election, and won: the military wanted to cancel the elections, Frondizi refused, the military overthrew him and took power. In 1966, in a climate of economic recession and strikes, new elections, new Peronist victory, military returned to power. The armed forces were divided among a technocratic sector, who headed the government with general Onganía, and a statist sector.
The military in Argentina

• Onganía dissolved political parties, withdrew the representation power to the Peronist unions. There was a slight economic improvement, however the authoritarian model did not achieve the objectives, and social conflict increased. The military decided a gradual political liberalization, allowing political elections in 1973. Peronist candidate, Cámpora, won, and immediately after Perón came back. New elections, Perón was elected President, his wife María Estela Martínez, named “Isabelita”, as Vice President.
The military in Argentina

• The peronist party was divided between various factions, there was a progressive and revolutionary wing, who had chosen to sustain guerrilla in the years of military dictatorship; a right wing, anti-communist, nationalist, compromised with the military, which tried to influence Perón, now a really old man, who died on 1° May 1974.
The military in Argentina

• Isabelita became President, in the desperate attempt to stop the rise in prices and wages, while the military were threatening to intervene. Coup of 24 March 1976. The regime has completely different characteristics if compared to the previous. The Junta, headed by General Videla, wanted eliminate, politically and physically, the most progressive members of Peronism. Political parties and trade unions were dissolved in a short time.
The military in Argentina

• To eradicate guerrilla, who was committing real massacres, tens of thousands of people are seized by masked men, taken to secret detention centers, tortured, then killed or made to disappear. The government did not provide explanations to the family: they were officially “disappeared”.
The military in Argentina

- Corporatist and statist vision of the economy, economic nationalism, political repression aimed to achieve a situation without possibility of dissent also on the economy line. Deflationary policy, aimed to reducing fuel consumption and standard of living, without achieving desired goals. After the almost total liquidation of the guerrillas in 1978, it was hard for the military to remain in power without appreciable economic results.
The military in Argentina

- The military played the last card, the patriotism card; invaded the Malvinas Islands, 280 miles off the Argentine coast and 360 from Cape Horn. Great Britain had occupied in 1832 and called the islands Falkland (Perón had tried to redeem in 1953, the matter had been submitted the UN in 1962). The argentine occupation received the support of all L.A. countries claiming territories: Venezuela for British Guyana, Panama for canal, Bolivia for passage to the sea.
The military in Argentina

- Usa at first were neutral, then supported the reaction of Great Britain, as well as the EuroCommunity. The defeat in war led the regime to the end. They promised free elections in a few months, not before they had tried to erase the traces of repression. Thus, in Argentina the end of the dictatorship did not come by pressures from society, but by the defeat in the war and internal divisions.