



third edition

Latin America since 1780

Will Fowler



Latin America since 1780

Latin America since 1780 provides an accessible introductory text aimed at Spanish linguists and historians taking modules in Latin American history. It provides a compelling continent-based historical narrative supported throughout by incisive evaluation, pedagogical features and authentic source texts in the original Spanish.

This book focuses on key events such as the wars of independence, the Mexican, Cuban and *Sandinista* revolutions, and the recent shift to the left, as well as providing short inserts on the main political protagonists such as Simón Bolívar, Getulio Vargas and Hugo Chávez.

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Third edition

Will Fowler

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For Caroline

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Preface

By the time this book comes out nearly sixteen years will have passed since Elena Seymenliyska first visited me at the University of St Andrews and persuaded me to write a modern history of Latin America. Although I may deceive myself into thinking that it feels like yesterday that I started writing the first edition of *Latin America since 1780* (then tellingly entitled *Latin America 1800–2000*), it goes without saying that a lot has happened since then. Perhaps one of the most striking aspects to have changed over the last decade and a half is the way the world has come to view the region. For my generation, born in the 1960s, to think of Latin America was to think of dictatorships and revolutionary guerrillas, tortuous transitions to democracy, and heinous human rights abuses that went unpunished. Speaking from an entirely personal standpoint, the understanding of Latin America I initially acquired and developed from afar, during my youth in Spain and my early adulthood in England, was heavily marked by the Cold War. My childhood friends were the children of Uruguayan exiles living south of Barcelona who had fled from the brutal repression that was meted out by the 1973–84 junta. As a student, thereafter, at the University of Bristol, I found myself either spending hours listening to Chilean exiles reliving the horror of the years that followed Augusto Pinochet's coup of 1973, or linking up with solidarity groups aimed at supporting the beleaguered and besieged *Sandinista* government in Nicaragua. Even the Mexico I came to research and love as a postgraduate was described the year I first went there, not without controversy, as a 'perfect dictatorship' by Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa. Not surprisingly, the emphasis of the last chapter of the first edition revolved precisely around the struggle between dictatorship and democracy. And whilst many issues that date back to the last decades of the twentieth century such as the impunity enjoyed by those who were responsible for the genocides that took place in countries such as Guatemala remain burning issues to this day, it is equally true that the great majority of my students, born in the 1990s (soon to be the 2000s), have grown up knowing nothing other than a democratic Latin America (with the notable exception of Cuba). Evidently, we may very well question how democratic some Latin American countries are (it would do us no harm to apply the same critical approach to our own European or US democratic states), but there is no denying that democracy has become consolidated across the region. It is, in fact, thanks to democracy that the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century has witnessed the election of a whole range of socialist-leaning governments (the so-called Pink Tide), and that there is a growing confidence in the region's ability to grow economically whilst addressing long-term social injustices. As a result, for the Latin Americans of the twenty-first century, questions about authoritarian rule and revolutionary action have been replaced by others that are more concerned with the impact of globalisation, the growing economic role of China, the War on Drugs, increasing threats to the environment and the meaning of indigeneity

in the twenty-first century, among others. It should therefore come as no surprise that when Andrea Hartill and Isabelle Cheng at Routledge approached me in the autumn of 2014 to enquire whether I thought it was time I wrote a revised, updated and expanded third edition of this book, I could not have agreed more.

The objective of *Latin America since 1780* remains the same as it was in the first edition: to offer a clear narrative history of Latin America, broadly chronological in its approach, that will give students of Hispanic, Portuguese and Latin American studies, as well as students of history, some idea of the main events that affected the continent over the last two hundred years. It does not assume any prior knowledge of the subject on the part of the reader. It is first and foremost an introduction to modern Latin American history. Given that most modern language courses are driven by the study of literature, I have noted those Latin American literary texts and films that are most commonly studied at university in order to highlight those cases where history and literature/cinema are closely related. A selection of historical documents in Spanish is also included at the end of each chapter and thinking of those Anglophone students of history who do not understand Spanish, English translations of these are available as an eResource at www.routledge.com/9781138915572. These come with new essay titles, as a starting point for discussion. I have also made changes where recent scholarship has revised our understanding of certain events, and have included an entirely new final chapter dedicated to present-day Latin America that highlights and discusses the major challenges the region faces today. One of the aims of this book is to encourage students to read more on the subject, and to discover for themselves the more complex details of the history of Latin America, which, owing to constraints of space, cannot be fully explored in the following pages.

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I could not have written this book without the help of a number of individuals and institutions. I am indebted to Andrea Hartill for having pushed me into writing this third edition, to Camille Burns for her first-class editorial work, and the wonderful team at Routledge, including copy editor Janet Fisher and production editor Ruth Berry. My colleagues in the Spanish Department at St Andrews deserve a mention for their unwavering support. The same goes to my SP1030 students, whose enjoyment of my course on modern Latin America continues to be so encouraging. I also thank the Latin Americanists who live in the vicinity (Mario Aguilar, Roddy Brett, Emilia Ferraro, Dennis Hanlon, Mark Harris, Eleni Kefala, Lina Malagón and Gustavo San Román) for their collegiality and willingness to discuss their findings with me. I am particularly grateful to Matthew Brown, Rebecca Earle, James Dunkerley, Nuala Finnegan, Paul Henderson, Eleni Kefala, Peter Lambert, Rachel Sieder, Trevor Stack and Iain Stewart, all of whom read and commented on some of the chapters whilst they were being written, as well as the four anonymous reviewers whose recommendations were invaluable. Their views and insights were extremely helpful, although I hasten to add that any mistakes that survived their analytical eyes are mine and not theirs. I must also thank Michael Hironymous, at the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin, for having tracked down the pictures contained herein of Simón Bolívar, Benito Juárez and a group of Mexican revolutionaries. I am grateful to the Nettie Lee Benson Collection for having allowed the reproduction of these images. I thank the Hulton Getty Archive for allowing me to reproduce the picture of Evita Perón, the Fundación Rigoberta Menchú Tum for permitting the use of a picture of *doña* Rigoberta, and the British Academy for awarding me the grant that covered the cost of reproduction of the images presented in this volume. Last, but not least, I must thank my family. My mother, Rosa María Laffitte, and my parents-in-law, Peter and Susan Wilkes, have backed me all along. I remain grateful to my father, W.S. Fowler, for the way he encouraged me when he was alive. Caroline and our children, Tom, Edd and Flo, have all supported (as well as *soportado*) me during the time it took to write the first, second and third editions of this book. It is to Caroline that I dedicate it again. To quote Pablo Neruda: '*En ti los ríos cantan y mi alma en ellos huye / como tú lo desees y hacia donde tú quieras. / Márcame mi camino en tu arco de esperanza / y soltaré en delirio mi bandada de flechas.*'

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Chronology of main events

	MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN	SOUTH AMERICA
THE END OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD	1762 British occupy Havana	1776 Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata is created
	1764 Captaincy-General of Cuba is created	1777 Captaincy-General of Venezuela is created
	1767 Jesuits expelled from Spain and its colonies	1778 Captaincy-General of Chile is created
		1780-81 Túpac Amaru II's revolt in Peru
		1780 Comunero revolt in Socorro (Colombia)
THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE (1800-1825)	1791 Haitian Revolution	1781-82 Tupac Katari's revolt in Bolivia
	1797 British seize Trinidad, Tobago and St Lucia	1783-87 Intendencies created throughout Spanish America
	1803 US purchase Louisiana	1788-89 Minas Gerais conspiracy in Brazil
	1804 Independence of Haiti	1806 British invasion of Buenos Aires
		1807 British invasion of Montevideo and Buenos Aires; Portuguese Court transfers to Brazil
	1810 Revolt in Dolores (Mexico)	1809 Revolts in La Paz and Quito
		1810 Revolts in Caracas, Buenos Aires, Santiago and Bogotá; Independence of Buenos Aires
	1811 Hidalgo is executed	1811 Revolt in Banda Oriental; Battles of Paraguarí and Tacuarí; Independence of Paraguay
		1813 Bolívar decrees <i>Guerra a muerte</i>

- 1814** Constitution of Apatzingán
- 1815** Morelos is executed
- 1817** Mina's Expedition
- 1819** US purchase Florida
- 1821** Independence of Mexico and Central America
- 1822** Mexican Empire is forged
- 1822–44** Haitian occupation of Santo Domingo
- 1823** Mexican Empire ends; Formation of United Provinces of Central America
- 1824** Slavery is abolished (Central America)
- 1824–35** First Federal Republic (Mexico)
- 1827–29** Civil War in Central America
- 1829–39** Liberal factions rule Central America under Francisco Morazán
- 1829** Spanish invasion of Tampico; Slavery is abolished (Mexico)
- 1814** Battle of Rancagua
- 1814–15** Pumacahua's revolt
- 1815** Artigas takes Provincia Oriental
- 1816** Dr Francia becomes Dictator of Paraguay (1816–40)
- 1816–20** Brazilian invasion of Uruguay
- 1817** Battle of Chacabuco
- 1818** Battles of Cancha Rayada, Maipú, Semen; Independence of Chile
- 1819** Battles of Casanare, Boyacá
- 1821** Battle of Carabobo; Independence of Venezuela and Colombia
- 1822** Battles of Bomboná and Pichincha; Independence of Ecuador; Independence of Brazil; Gran Colombia includes Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador
- 1823** Battle of Puerto Cabello; Bolívar arrives in Peru; Slavery is abolished (Chile)
- 1824** Battles of Junín and Ayacucho; Independence of Peru
- 1825** Battle of Tumusla; Independence of Bolivia
- 1825–28** Argentine–Brazilian War
- 1826** Slavery is abolished (Bolivia)
- 1827** Battles of Juncal and Ituzaingó
- 1828** Independence of Uruguay
- 1829** Rosas takes Buenos Aires
- 1830** Ecuador and Venezuela separate from Colombia
- 1830** Páez elected President of Venezuela for the first time
- 1831** Pedro I abdicates
- 1831–41** Regency (Brazil)

1832 Federalist Civil War in Mexico

1833 Santa Anna elected President of Mexico for the first time

1835–46 First Central Republic (Mexico)

1835–36 Texan revolt

1836 Independence of Texas

1837 Mita revolt (Guatemala)

1838 French blockade of Veracruz; Costa Rica and Nicaragua break away from Central American Confederation

1844 Independence of Santo Domingo from Haiti

1845 US annexation of Texas

1846–48 Mexican–American War

1847 Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador break away from Confederation

1847–52 Caste War in Yucatán

1848 British intervention in Mosquito Coast

1833 Portales' Constitution (Chile); Rosas leads Campaign of the Desert;

Britain seizes Las Malvinas

1835–52 Rosas, Dictator of Argentine Federation

1835–45 Rio Grande do Sul revolt

1835–39 Santa Cruz forges Peruvian–Bolivian Confederation

1836–39 War between Chile and Peruvian–Bolivian Confederation

1840–41 French blockade of Buenos Aires

1841 Pedro II becomes Emperor (Brazil) (1841–89)

1846 Slavery is abolished (Uruguay)

THE EARLY NEOCOLONIAL PERIOD (1850–1880)

1850 Clayton–Bulwer Treaty

1853 US purchase La Mesilla

1854–55 Revolution of Ayutla (Mexico)

1855–56 William Walker's intervention in Nicaragua

1858–61 Civil War of *La Reforma* (Mexico)

1859 Britain returns Bay Islands to Honduras; Belize becomes British Honduras

1849–61 Liberal–conservative civil wars (Colombia)

1850 Slavery is abolished (Colombia)

1852 Slavery is abolished (Ecuador)

1853 Slavery is abolished (Argentina, except Buenos Aires)

1854 Slavery is abolished (Peru and Venezuela)

1861–65 Santo Domingo becomes a Spanish colony again

1862–67 French intervention in Mexico

1865 The Dominican Republic is formed

1867 Liberal triumph in Mexico

1868–78 Ten Year War (Cuba)

1870 Tomás Guardia rises to power in Costa Rica (1870–82)

1871 Liberal forces end conservative rule in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras

1872 Slavery is abolished (Puerto Rico)

**THE MATURE
NEOCOLONIAL
PERIOD (1880–1930)**

1882–84 Ulises Heureaux (Dominican Republic)

1886 Slavery is abolished (Cuba)

1887–99 Heureaux returns to power (Dominican Republic)

1895–98 Cuban War of Independence

1860–75 Gabriel García Moreno rules Ecuador

1861–80 Liberals in power in Colombia

1861–91 Liberals govern Chile

1862–68 Mitre presides in Argentina

1864–70 War of the Triple Alliance (Paraguayan War)

1865–66 Spanish invasion of Chincha Islands

1868–74 Sarmiento presides in Argentina

1870 Guzmán Blanco (Venezuela, 1870–88); Slavery is abolished (Paraguay)

1879–83 Argentine War of the Desert

1879–83 War of the Pacific

1879 Battles of Iquique and Cape Angamos

1881 Battles of Chorrillos and Miraflores

1886–91 José Manuel Balmaceda (Chile)

1888 Slavery is abolished (Brazil)

1889–1930 First Republic of Brazil

1890 Grace Contract (Peru)

1891 Civil War (Chile)

1891–1920 'Parliamentary Republic' (Chile)

1893–95 Rio Grande do Sul revolt

1893–96 Canudos revolt

1895 Liberal Revolution in Ecuador

1895–1919 'Aristocratic Republic' (Peru)

1898 Hispano-Cuban-American War

1898-1902 US occupation of Cuba

1898-1952 US occupation of Puerto Rico

1903 Independence of Panama

1906 Rio Blanco strike and massacre (Mexico)

1907 Cananea strike and massacre (Mexico)

1910-20 Mexican Revolution

1912-33 US occupation of Nicaragua

1914 Panama Canal opens; US attack Veracruz

1915-34 US occupation of Haiti

1916 US intervention in Mexico

1916-24 US occupation of Dominican Republic

1927-33 Sandino leads insurrection against US occupation forces (Nicaragua)

1930-61 Trujillo, Dictator of Dominican Republic

1931-44 Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, Dictator of El Salvador; Jorge Ubico, Dictator of Guatemala

1932-48 Tiburcio Carias Andino, Dictator of Honduras

1934-40 Lázaro Cárdenas, President of Mexico

1934-44 Fulgencio Batista rules Cuba

1937-56 Anastasio Somoza, Dictator of Nicaragua

1938 Oil is nationalised in Mexico

1899-1901 War of a Thousand Days (Colombia)

1903-7 Batlle y Ordóñez presides in Uruguay

1905 *Semana Roja* (Santiago)

1907 Iquique strike and massacre

1908-35 Juan Vicente Gómez (Venezuela)

1911-15 Batlle y Ordóñez returns to power in Uruguay

1915 Puno revolt (Peru)

1919 Massive strike and massacre in Lima; *Semana trágica* (Buenos Aires)

1923 Uncía strike and massacre (Bolivia)

1930-45 Getulio Vargas rules Brazil

1932 Women included in suffrage (Brazil)

1932-35 Chaco War

1934 Women included in suffrage (Chile)

1934-35 José María Velasco Ibarra rises to power for the first time (Ecuador)

THE DEPRESSION AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1930-1945)

THE COLD WAR (1945–1989)

1950–54 Jacobo Arbenz governs Guatemala

1952–59 Batista returns to power (Cuba)

1952 Referendum leads to Puerto Rico becoming a free and sovereign state of the USA

1953 Women included in suffrage (Mexico)

1953–58 Figueres, President of Costa Rica

1956–59 Cuban Revolution

1957–71 François Duvalier, Dictator of Haiti

1961 Bay of Pigs invasion

1962 Cuban missile crisis

1966–78 Balaguer, ruler of Dominican Republic

1968–89 Military rule (Panama)

1969 Football (Soccer) War

1971–86 Jean-Claude Duvalier, Dictator of Haiti

1979 *Sandinista* Revolution (Nicaragua)

THE AGE OF NEOLIBERALISM (1980–)

1981–87 *contra* war in Nicaragua

1941 Ecuador–Peru War

1946–55 Perón in power, Argentina

1947 Women included in suffrage (Argentina)

1948 *Bogotazo* riots (Colombia); *La Violencia* begins

1952 Bolivian Revolution; Women included in suffrage (Bolivia)

1954–89 Stroessner, Dictator of Paraguay

1955 Women included in suffrage (Peru)

1964–85 Military junta in Brazil

1967 Che Guevara is killed in Bolivia

1968–75 Juan Velasco Alvarado (Peru)

1973–84 Military junta (Uruguay)

1973–90 Pinochet, Dictator of Chile

1976–83 Military junta (Argentina)

1982 Falklands War

1983–85 Democracy restored in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil

1988 Pinochet loses plebiscite in Chile

- 1989** Coup deposes Stroessner in Paraguay; *Caracazo* riots in Venezuela
- 1990** Democracy restored in Chile
- 1994** *Zapatista* revolt erupts in Chiapas (Mexico)
- 1996** Peace Treaty ends 36-year civil war (Guatemala)
- 1995** Ecuador–Peru War
- 1998** Hugo Chávez elected President of Venezuela (re-elected 2000, 2006 & 2013)
- 1999** Socialist electoral victory in Chile
- 2000** PRI lose elections in Mexico for the first time
- 2000** Alejandro Toledo wins elections in Peru
- 2002** Chávez survives coup
- 2002** Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva wins elections in Brazil (re-elected in 2006)
- 2003** Néstor Kirchner wins elections in Argentina; Succeeded by Cristina Fernández de Kirchner in 2007 (re-elected 2011)
- 2005** Tabaré Vázquez wins elections in Uruguay; succeeded by José Mujica (2010–15); re-elected in 2015
- 2006** Michelle Bachelet wins elections in Chile; Evo Morales wins elections in Bolivia (re-elected 2009 & 2014); Alan García wins elections in Peru; Rafael Correa wins elections in Ecuador (re-elected 2009 & 2013); Álvaro Uribe is re-elected in Colombia
- 2006** Morales forces shift in ownership of Bolivian gas fields
- 2006** Felipe Calderón wins Mexican elections despite allegations of fraud; Daniel Ortega wins elections in Nicaragua (re-elected 2011)
- 2007** Chávez pulls Venezuela out of IMF and World Bank – and loses referendum to reform Constitution
- 2009** Coup in Honduras deposes President Manuel Zelaya