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## THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

VOLUME VI

*Latin America since 1930:  
Economy, society and politics*

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VOLUME I *Colonial Latin America*

VOLUME II *Colonial Latin America*

VOLUME III *From Independence to c. 1870*

VOLUME IV *c. 1870 to 1930*

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VOLUME VI *Latin America since 1930: Economy, society and politics*

VOLUME VII *Latin America since 1930: Mexico, Central America  
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VOLUME XI *Bibliographical essays*

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# THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

VOLUME VI

*Latin America since 1930  
Economy, Society and Politics*

*Part 2 Politics and Society*

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*edited by*

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## GENERAL PREFACE

Since *The Cambridge Modern History*, edited by Lord Acton, appeared in sixteen volumes between 1902 and 1912 multi-volume Cambridge Histories, planned and edited by historians of established reputation, with individual chapters written by leading specialists in their fields, have set the highest standards of collaborative international scholarship. *The Cambridge Modern History* was followed by *The Cambridge Ancient History*, *The Cambridge Medieval History* and others. The *Modern History* has been replaced by *The New Cambridge Modern History* in fourteen volumes. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* and Cambridge Histories of Iran, of Southeast Asia and of Africa have been published; in progress are Histories of China, of Japan, of India and of Latin America.

Cambridge University Press decided the time was ripe to embark on a Cambridge History of Latin America early in the 1970s. Since the Second World War and particularly since 1960 research and writing on Latin American history had been developing, and have continued to develop, at an unprecedented rate – in the United States (by American historians in particular, but also by British, European and Latin American historians resident in the United States), in Britain and continental Europe, and increasingly in Latin America itself (where a new generation of young professional historians, many of them trained in the United States, Britain or continental Europe, had begun to emerge). Perspectives had changed as political, economic and social realities in Latin America – and Latin America's role in the world – had changed. Methodological innovations and new conceptual models drawn from the social sciences (economics, political science, historical demography, sociology, anthropology) as well as from other fields of historical research were increasingly being adopted by historians of Latin America. The Latin American Studies monograph series and the *Journal of Latin American Studies* had already been established by

the Press and were beginning to publish the results of this new historical thinking and research.

Dr. Leslie Bethell, then Reader in Hispanic American and Brazilian History at University College London, accepted an invitation to edit *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. He was given responsibility for the planning, co-ordination and editing of the entire History and began work on the project in the late 1970s.

*The Cambridge History of Latin America*, to be published in ten volumes, is the first large-scale, authoritative survey of Latin America's unique historical experience during the five centuries since the first contacts between the native American Indians and Europeans (and the beginnings of the African slave trade) in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. (The Press will publish separately a three-volume Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas – North, Middle and South – which will give proper consideration to the evolution of the region's peoples, societies and civilizations, in isolation from the rest of the world, during the several millennia before the arrival of the Europeans, as well as a fuller treatment than will be found here of the history of the indigenous peoples of Latin America under European colonial rule and during the national period to the present day.) Latin America is taken to comprise the predominantly Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking areas of continental America south of the United States – Mexico, Central America and South America – together with the Spanish-speaking Caribbean – Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic – and, by convention, Haiti. (The vast territories in North America lost to the United States by treaty and by war, first by Spain, then by Mexico, during the first half of the nineteenth century are for the most part excluded. Neither the British, French and Dutch Caribbean islands nor the Guianas are included, even though Jamaica and Trinidad, for example, have early Hispanic antecedents and are now members of the Organization of American States.) The aim is to produce a high-level synthesis of existing knowledge which will provide historians of Latin America with a solid base for future research, which students of Latin American history will find useful and which will be of interest to historians of other areas of the world. It is also hoped that the *History* will contribute more generally to a deeper understanding of Latin America through its history in the United States, Europe and elsewhere and, not least, to a greater awareness of its own history in Latin America.

The volumes of *The Cambridge History of Latin America* have been published in chronological order: Volumes I and II (Colonial Latin America,

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with an introductory section on the native American peoples and civilizations on the eve of the European invasion) were published in 1984; Volume III (From Independence to c. 1870) in 1985; Volumes IV and V (c. 1870 to 1930) in 1986. The publication of volumes VI–X (1930 to the present) began in 1990. Each volume or set of volumes examines a period in the economic, social, political, intellectual and cultural history of Latin America. While recognizing the decisive impact on Latin America of external forces, of developments within the world system, and the fundamental importance of its economic, political and cultural ties first with Spain and Portugal, then with Britain, France and Germany and finally with the United States, *The Cambridge History of Latin America* emphasizes the evolution of internal structures. Furthermore, the emphasis is clearly on the modern period, that is to say, the period since the establishment of all but two (Cuba and Panama) of the independent Latin American states during the first decades of the nineteenth century. The eight volumes of the *History* devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries consist of a mixture of general, comparative chapters built around major themes in Latin American history and chapters on the individual histories of the twenty independent Latin American countries (plus Puerto Rico).

An important feature of the *History* is the bibliographical essays which accompany each chapter. These give special emphasis to books and articles published during the past thirty years, and particularly since the publication of Charles C. Griffin (ed.), *Latin America: A Guide to the Historical Literature* (published for the Conference on Latin American History by the University of Texas Press in 1971). (Griffin's *Guide* was prepared between 1962 and 1969 and included few works published after 1966.) The essays from Volumes I – X of *The Cambridge History of Latin America* – revised, expanded and updated (to c. 1992) – are brought together in a single bibliographical volume, Volume XI, published in 1994.

## PREFACE TO VOLUME VI

Volumes I and II of *The Cambridge History of Latin America* began with a survey of native American peoples and civilizations on the eve of the European 'discovery', conquest and settlement of the 'New World' in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but were largely devoted to the economic, social, political, intellectual and cultural history of Latin America under Spanish and (in the case of Brazil) Portuguese colonial rule during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Volume III examined the breakdown and overthrow of colonial rule throughout Latin America (except Cuba and Puerto Rico) at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the economic, social and political history of the independent Spanish American republics and the independent Empire of Brazil during the half century from c. 1820 to c. 1870/80. Volumes IV and V concentrated on the half century from c. 1870/80 to 1930. This was for most of Latin America a 'Golden Age' of predominantly export-led economic growth, as the region became more fully incorporated into the expanding international economy; material prosperity (at least for the dominant classes); significant social change, both rural and urban; political stability (with some notable exceptions, such as Mexico during the revolution); ideological consensus (at least until the 1920s); and notable achievements in intellectual and cultural life.

Volumes VI to X of *The Cambridge History of Latin America* are devoted to Latin America during the six decades from 1930 to c. 1990. Volume VI brings together general essays on major themes in economic, social and political history. Volume VII (already published) is a history of Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean, Volume VIII (also published) a history of the nine republics of Spanish South America, Volume IX (in progress) a history of Brazil and of Latin America's international relations (predominantly relations with Europe and the United States). Volume X

(in press) is concerned with ideas, culture and society in Latin America in the twentieth century.

*The Cambridge History of Latin America Volume VI, Latin America since 1930: Economy, Society and Politics* is published in two parts. Part 1 *Economy and Society* includes chapters on demographic change (Latin America's population increased fourfold, from 110 to 450 million, during the period 1930–90); the Latin American economies – during the 1930s in the aftermath of the 1929 Depression, during and immediately after the Second World War, and during another 'Golden Age' of economic growth (1950–80), this time largely driven by ISI (import substitution industrialization), which was followed, however, by the so-called 'lost decade' of the 1980s; rapid urbanization (less than 20 per cent of Latin America's population was classified as urban in 1930, almost 70 per cent in 1990) and urban social change, mainly in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Mexico and Peru; the transformation of agrarian structures; economic ideas and ideologies (Latin America made a major contribution to development theory in this period); and, finally, the growth and institutionalization of science and the relationship between science and society in twentieth century Latin America.

Volume VI Part 2 *Politics and Society* consists of chapters on the development of state organization from 1930 (concluding with the beginnings of 'state shrinking' in the 1980s); the advance of (as well as the setbacks suffered by) democracy in Latin America, mainly in Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, Uruguay and Venezuela and, to a lesser extent, in Argentina, Brazil and Peru; the successes and failures of the Latin American left, both democratic and non-democratic; the military in Latin American politics: military interventions and coups, military regimes, and problems of transition to civilian rule; the urban working class and the urban labour movement, with the emphasis on its role in politics; rural mobilizations and rural violence, especially in Mexico, Central America and the Andes; changes in the role of women in the economy, society and politics of Latin America in the twentieth century; and, finally, the history of both the Catholic church, a major force in political as well as religious and social life throughout the region, and the rapidly growing Protestant churches.

This most problematical of volumes in *The Cambridge History of Latin America* – on the economic, social and political history of the region as a whole during the period from 1930 to the present – has been a long time in the writing and editing. Some chapters were commissioned a decade and a half ago. Those authors who met their original deadlines – and I am

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thinking in particular of Joseph Love and Thomas Merrick – have had to wait more than a decade for their work to be published. This is an unacceptably long time by any standards and I am grateful for their patience. Some authors dropped out along the way; others were dropped; one, Carlos Díaz-Alejandro, sadly died. All had to be replaced. Some authors – for example, Gabriel Palma – joined those (in this case Ricardo Ffrench-Davis and Oscar Muñoz) who had already been working on their chapters for some time. Guillermo de la Peña was persuaded to write a separate chapter on rural mobilizations which had originally been part of the chapter on agrarian structures. Arturo Valenzuela and Jonathan Hartlyn accepted an invitation to write the chapter on democracy in Latin America when the rest of the volume was already well advanced. Many of these chapters were at various times over the years extensively revised and rewritten – in some cases more than once. In the end all contributors were obliged – and here delay in publication has perhaps had some benefits – to take account of the important changes that occurred in Latin America in the 1980s.

A conference at the University of California, San Diego in February/March 1986 organized by Paul Drake, then Director of the Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies (and a contributor to Volume VIII of the *History*), and myself offered an early opportunity for a number of contributors to present preliminary drafts of their chapters to each other and to a group of distinguished non-contributors. The conference was generously funded by the Tinker Foundation. Two workshops were also held at the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of London – in 1990 and 1991 – during my term as Director of the Institute, with financial support from the Institute and from Cambridge University Press.

Many of the contributors to this volume – eight Latin American (one resident in the United States, one in the United Kingdom), seven British (two resident in the United States), six North American (one resident in France) and one French – commented on the chapters of their colleagues. I am especially grateful in this respect to Alan Angell, Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Ian Roxborough and Laurence Whitehead. James Dunkerley, who served as an associate editor on Volumes VII and VIII of the *History*, offered support and encouragement at various key stages in the editing of Volume VI. Christopher Abel, besides generously agreeing to help in the editing of Enrique Dussel's chapter on the Catholic church, contributed the bibliographical essay which accompanies that chapter. Stephen Suffern

took on the task of reviewing and revising a less than satisfactory translation from the French of Alain Rouquié's chapter on the military in Latin American politics and added a final section on demilitarization in the 1980s. Varun Sahni contributed the bibliographical essay on the Latin American military.

Tom Passananti and Tim Girven, graduate students in Latin American history at the University of Chicago and the University of London respectively, were research assistants in the final stages of the editing of this volume during 1993. Secretarial assistance was provided by Hazel Aitken at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London (in the period 1987–92) and Linnea Cameron at the Department of History, University of Chicago (in 1992–93).