

**OSHER LIFELONG LEARNING INSTITUTE
FALL 1 - 2021**

Latin American Studies I

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AGENDA

WEEK 4 - NATIONALISM AND THE AFTERLIVES OF COLONIAL VIOLENCE

- Ch. 8-10, 12 & 14 from *A History of Modern Latin America 1800 to the Present* (2nd Ed. – 2016) by Teresa A. Meade
- Intro from *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (1991) by Nancy Leys Stepan

COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK 1

WHAT IS LATIN AMERICAN
STUDIES (LAS)?:
DISCIPLINARY INTRODUCTION,
HISTORY, AND CONCERNS

WEEK 2

THE COLONIAL ERA:
CONTACT TO 1800

WEEK 3

THE COLONIAL ERA:
1800-PRESENT

WEEK 4

NATIONALISM AND THE
AFTERLIVES OF COLONIAL
VIOLENCE

WEEK 5

LAS APPROACHES TO THE
CARIBBEAN

WEEK 6

LAS APPROACHES TO
LITERARY AND VISUAL ARTS

<https://prestontaylorstone.com/2021/07/17/las1/>



LEFT: *THE ARSENAL*, FROM *BALLAD OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION* (1928)

ABOVE: *MAN, CONTROLLER OF THE UNIVERSE* (1934)

DIEGO RIVERA

CRASH COURSE VIDEO, JOHN GREEN





DEVELOPMENTAL STATE THEORY (DST)

- **federalism** – preference for the centralization of decision-making processes in countries; in wealthier countries like Germany and Belgium, this can result in redistribution of wealth and a strong welfare state (and thus decreased income inequality) while in lower-income countries, this has often resulted in corruption, ISI, and (thereby) increased income inequality
- **populism** – the political movement representative of 'ordinary' people, who are said to be unrepresented by 'the elite'
- **latifundium** – large expanse of privately-owned land that is often worked by slaves or peons (or those in slave- or peonage-like conditions)
- **export economy** – sometimes called **EOI (export oriented industrialization)** is the pursuit of economic policy that promotes exporting goods that are competitive on the global market in order to increase GDP and thereby increase development; often, this results in finding a niche market and pursuing production in that area of the economy; during formal imperialism, this was often in the form of producing a monoculture (as in the case with sugar in Haiti and later Cuba) and/or rampant extraction
- **neocolonialism** – the persistence of colonial paradigms of relation beyond formally staking imperial possession, which is to say the persistence of informal colonial economic and cultural systems *after* formal decolonization
- **Import substitution industrialization (ISI)** – alteration in the economy that substitutes traditional imports with domestic production based on the logic that this would improve exports (and therefore raise GDP); often results in increasing urban manufacturing and decreasing agricultural production, having the adverse of the intended effect since what is being manufactured often isn't as competitive on the global market as the agricultural exports had been; thus, a country may end up increasing federal deficit (foreign loans) rather than decreasing it

PROGRESSIVE REFORMS

- What persists throughout Latin America is, on the one hand, a gravitation toward leftist politics (especially as immigration and increased production in both agrarian and manufacturing economic sectors gives rise to labor unions and class struggle) and the creation of Marxian-oriented political parties and platforms while, on the other hand, the centralization of power with federal governments that are increasingly unable to subdue powerful, wealthy industrialists and landowners.
- As more self-proclaimed communist parties arise in the early 20th century, they begin to theorize based largely on the USSR's model of Marxism-Leninism (ML) – a tendency that prizes (a) centralization of power, sometimes called democratic centralism and (b) vanguardism, or the notion that the educated, party 'elites' would guide the *lumpenproletariat* (the word Marx uses to describe the non-class conscious peasantry) toward socialism.
- Interestingly, despite multiple Marxist theorists arising from Latin America (the most famous of which is José Carlos Mariátegui) who very adamantly argue that socialist planning in Latin America must be specific to its regional differences to each other and to the rest of the world, this often does not get put into practice.
- As Meade points out, most labor organizations (mimicking their sister organizations throughout the world) faced sectarian disagreements about which direction was apt with regard to politics: some preferred the general strike (more anarcho-syndicalist approach) and longed for the creation of a decentralized confederation of labor unions; others preferred electoralism (reformists, social democrats) and advocated for change through the existing electoral processes; still others sought the overthrow of the regimes themselves and the (re)establishment of a communitarian state of affairs (revolutionaries, agrarian socialists).
- However, despite mass strikes throughout countries like Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, and Uruguay, little reforms were made at the federal level. On the contrary, the legislature was often pressured by industrialists to limit immigration (as in the US, immigrants were blamed for the labor unrest).

“GREAT-POWER COLONIALISM” (MÁRQUEZ)



- Between December 5 and 6, 1928 in the town of Ciénaga, Colombia, workers of the United Fruit Company (which had become a huge landowner of the region, the government of which had been encouraged in creating an EOI with United Fruit at the center) were killed by Colombian soldiers.
- The workers had been on strike since early November due to poor working conditions and low pay and without any successful negotiations, the President of Colombia (Miguel Abadía Méndez) instructed the army to go to Ciénaga and kill the strikers if necessary.

- Previous to this, the United States government had been pressured by United Fruit Company's lobbyists, pushing the message that the strikers were communist subversives—in reality, members of the Socialist, Communist and Liberal Parties participated. The US threatened to invade Colombia with the US Marine Corp if the strike was not ended.
- Because an investigation into the massacre was never conducted, estimates of those dead range vastly (from 42, which is what the general of the Colombian military reported, and 2,000). The Colombian Embassy in the US reported 1,000 died.



INFAMY OF THE 'SANTA MONICA MASSACRE'

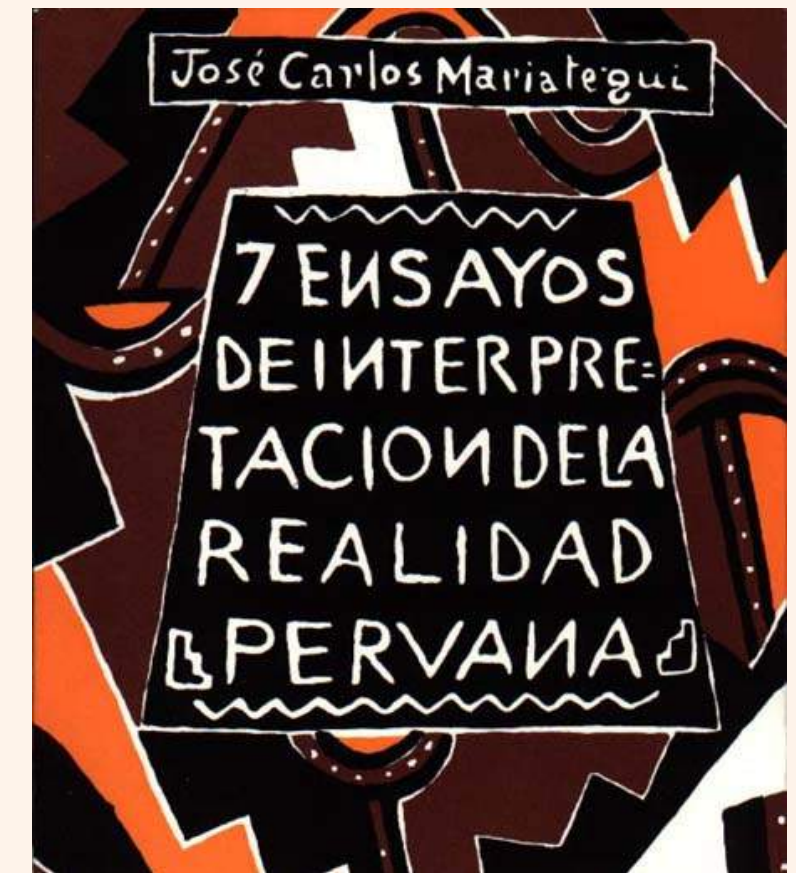
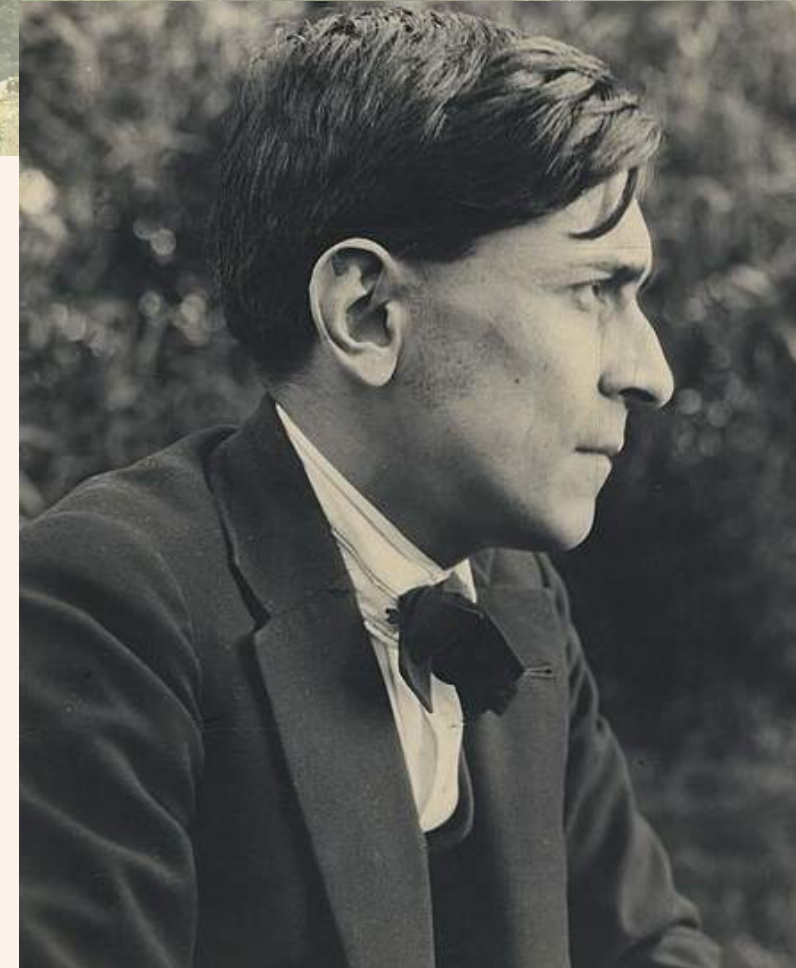
"When Jose Arcadio Segundo came to he was lying face up in the darkness. He realized that he was riding on an endless and silent train and that his head was caked with dry blood and that all his bones ached. He felt an intolerable desire to sleep. Prepared to sleep for many hours, safe from the terror and the horror, he made himself comfortable on the side that pained him less, and only then did he discover that he was lying against dead people ... Several hours must have passed since the massacre because the corpses had the same temperature as plaster in autumn and the same consistency of petrified foam that it had, and those who had put them in the car had had time to pile them up in the same way in which they transported bunches of bananas."

One Hundred Years of Solitude by Gabriel García Márquez



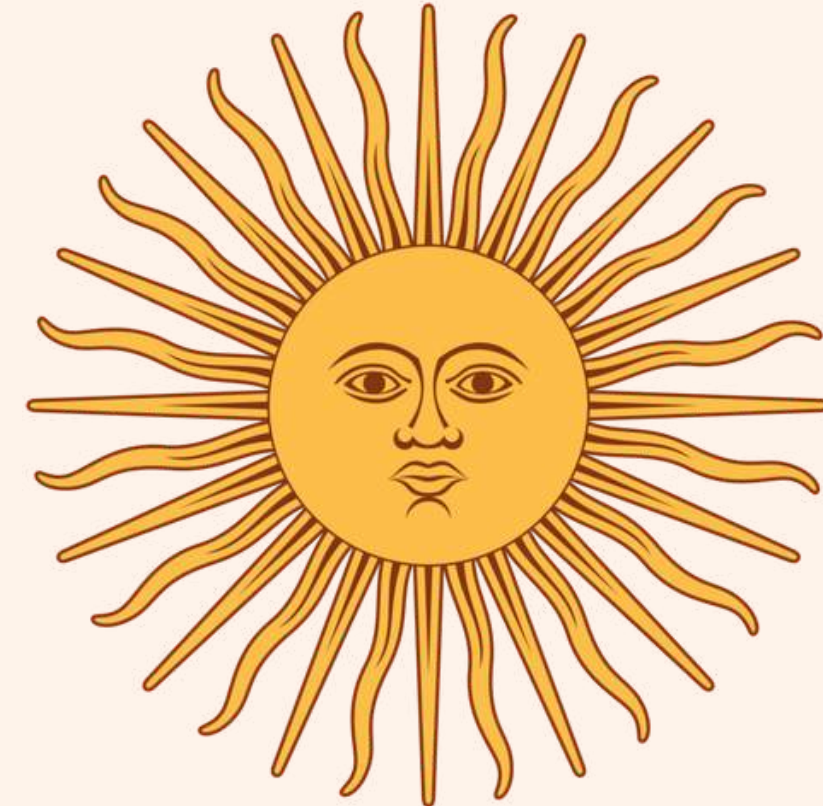
JOSÉ CARLOS MARIÁTEGUI, 1928

" The problem of the Indian is rooted in the land tenure system of our economy. Any attempt to solve it with administrative or police measures, through education or by a road building program, is superficial and secondary as long as the feudalism of the gamonales continues to exist. Gamonalismo necessarily invalidates any law or regulation for the protection of the Indian. The hacienda owner, the latifundista, is a feudal lord. The written law is powerless against his authority, which is supported by custom and habit. Unpaid labor is illegal, yet unpaid and even forced labor survive in the latifundium. The judge, the subprefect, the commissary, the teacher, the tax collector, all are in bondage to the landed estate. The law cannot prevail against the gamonales. Any official who insisted on applying it would be abandoned and sacrificed by the central government; here, the influences of Gamonalismo are all-powerful, acting directly or through parliament with equal effectiveness... The assumption that the Indian problem is ethnic is sustained by the most outmoded repertory of imperialist ideas. The concept of inferior races was useful to the white man's West for purposes of expansion and conquest... today a religious solution is unquestionably the most outdated and antihistoric of all. Its representatives—unlike their distant, how very distant, teachers—are not concerned with obtaining a new declaration of the rights of Indians, with adequate authority and ordinances; the missionary is merely assigned the role of mediator between the Indian and the gamonal... The belief that the Indian problem is one of education does not seem to be supported by even a strictly and independently pedagogical criterion... Economic and social circumstances necessarily condition the work of the teacher."

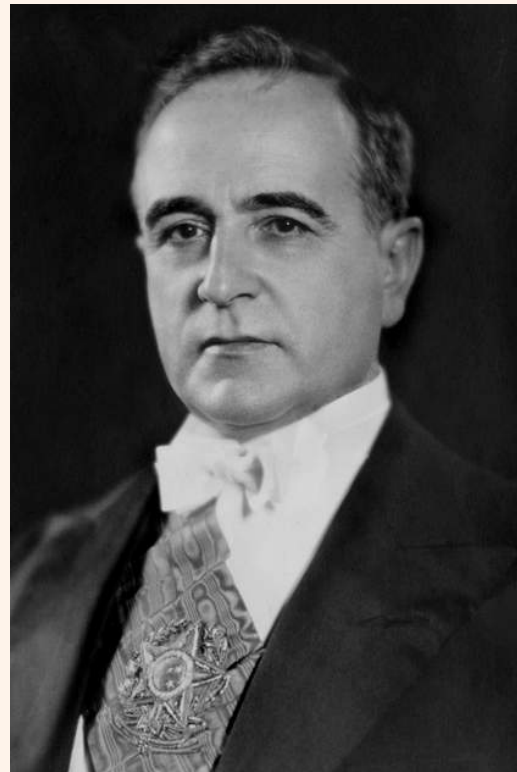


"INCA COMMUNISM" (7 ENSAYOS)

- Valcarcel, in his study of the economic life of Tawantinsuyo, writes that "the land, in native tradition, is the common mother; from her womb come not only food but man himself. Land provides all wealth. The cult of Mama Pacha is on a par with the worship of the sun and, like the sun, Mother Earth represents no one in particular. Joined in the aboriginal ideology, these two concepts gave birth to agrarianism, which combines communal ownership of land and the universal religion of the sun."
- **Inca communism**, which cannot be negated or disparaged for having developed under the autocratic regime of the Incas, is therefore designated as agrarian communism. The essential traits of the Inca economy, according to the careful definition of our historical process by Cesar Ugarte, were the following:
 - "Collective ownership of farmland by the ayllu or group of related families, although the property was divided into individual and non-transferable lots; collective ownership of waters, pasture, and woodlands by the marca or tribe, or the federation of ayllus settled around a village; cooperative labor; individual allotment of harvests and produce."
- Colonization unquestionably must bear the responsibility for the disappearance of this economy, together with the culture it nourished, not because it destroyed autochthonous forms but because it brought no superior substitutes. The colonial regime disrupted and demolished the Inca agrarian economy without replacing it with an economy of higher yields.




RISE OF THE POPULISTS



- "Although we refer to them as "populists," that admittedly imprecise label could have been applied to some *caudillos* mentioned in earlier chapters. This twentieth-century brand of populism differed from the nineteenth-century variety in several important ways. First, it emerged from, and in many ways intersected with, the activist workingclass, socialist, and social democratic mass movements described in this chapter. Secondly, while none of these populist leaders were leftists, nor traced their origins to the trade union or socialist movements, they drew on the tactics, honed the rhetoric, and saw the labor movement as a critical social force. Their populist influence relied on a mass base that had been forged in the battle for workers' rights, matured under the tutelage of socialist, anarchist, or communist leaders, and relied on the organizational apparatus of left-leaning political parties."
- "As a political force, populism can move to the left or to the right. Historically it has been the foundation more for fascism than communism, especially in the twentieth century; but its appeal to the masses rests precisely on the promise of redressing the grievances of the dispossessed, disenfranchised, ignored, and downtrodden. Unlike Marxist socialism, however, populism makes no fundamental critique of capitalism nor does it advocate worker control of the means of production or a worker-run state. Instead populists use the strength of the state, in the hands of capitalists, as a patronage machine to appease workers and meet the demands of mass movements"





(COVERT) US IMPERIALISM

"No account of the twentieth century in Latin America can ignore the profound importance of the rise to world dominance of the United States, on the one hand, and the repeated outbreak of multifaceted, antiimperialist, nationalist, and socialist struggles attempting to check US power and secure Latin American self-determination, on the other. While apparent as far back as 1823, with the articulation of the Monroe Doctrine, and reinforced by the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary – as well as frequent acts of “gunboat diplomacy” and other “Big Stick” interventions that marked the implementation of those political doctrines – the full force of US hegemony reached new heights during the second half of the twentieth century, as a product of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union” (Meade).

- 19th Century: European and US banks loan money to administrations in Latin America to build infrastructure that had been destroyed in revolutionary wars or was never built by imperial powers
- 1903: US backs Panamá's separation from Colombia in an effort to secure deal for US-French company to dig Panama Canal
- 1911-1933: US occupation of Nicaragua (1936-1976, Somoza dictatorships compliant with US interests)
- 1932: U.S. supports coup d'état in El Salvador, installation of dictatorship
- 1939-1945: "Wartime demand for copper, tin, and oil bolstered the export economies of Chile, Bolivia, Venezuela, and Mexico, while demand for sugar and tropical fruits was a boon to Central American and Caribbean nations. Without the ready supply of crucial raw materials from Mexico and other parts of Latin America, US defense plants would have encountered great difficulty making the rapid transition from peace to a wartime production schedule"
- 1942-1964: *Bracero* program

(COVERT) US IMPERIALISM

- 1903-1925: Honduras will be called the "Banana republic" by O. Henry because the US will invade and change regimes for the sake of US business interests (United Fruit) in 1903, 1907, 1911, 1912, 1919, 1920, 1924, and 1925.
- 1906-1909: US occupation of Cuba under the Platt Amendment
- 1914: US invades Mexico to get Huerta out of power (even though they had supported the coup d'état that placed him in power in 1913)
- 1915-1934: US occupation of Haiti
- 1916: US invades Mexico attempting to find and kill Pancho Villa
- 1916-1924: US occupation of the Dominican Republic
- 1941: US helps inspire and backs coup to oust Adolfo Arias of Panama
- 1948: US backs opposition to Rafael Ángel Calderón Guardia, who was allied with CP of Costa Rica, resulting in the Costa Rican Civil War
- 1954: US-backed Guatemalan coup d'état unseats democratically elected Pres. Árbenz and replaces him with the military dictatorship Carlos Castillo Armas; US supports Paraguayan dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner
- 1961: After originally supporting and sending aid to Rafael Trujillo, CIA helps to overthrow his government in DR
- 1964: US-backed coup d'état against Social Democrat João Goulart of Brazil
- 1965: CIA sends aid to opposition of democratically elected Juan Bosch in the Dominican Civil War
- 1971: Bolivian coup d'état led by Hugo Banzer is supported by US military
- 1973: Democratically elected Salvador Allende is overthrown in US backed coup d'état in Chile
- 1975: Operation Condor, which gives military aid to right-wing dictatorships in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru, begins. It will help kill 60,000 people and imprison 400,000
- 1976: Argentine President Isabel Perón overthrown by military junta
- 1983: US invasion of Grenada, which the UN General Assembly calls "a flagrant violation of international law"
- 1989-1994: US invades Panama to depose Manuel Noriega, whose dictatorship no longer served their interests; the US will occupy the country until 1994
- 1991: Haitian coup d'état of democratically elected President Aristede, replaced with de facto military junta supported by US trained soldiers
- 2009: Honduran military coup d'état supported by US



(COVERT) US IMPERIALISM

- In the post-war era the protection of US “interests” became increasingly tied to a policy of protecting US corporations against any demands for better wages and working conditions from domestic workers in Latin America. Companies such as United Fruit called on the US government to come to their aid when they found their profits threatened by political and economic reformists in Latin America. The case of Guatemala began to repeat throughout the hemisphere. Simultaneously, the politics of the Cold War left no place for neutrality, and allowed the traditional Latin American elite to dismiss indigenous calls for reform, for labor rights, for better wages and living conditions as “Soviet interference.” The polarized political situation provided entrenched elites in many countries with an excuse for their failure to provide for the public good. Liberal reformists, such as Arbenz and Paz Estenssoro, were few, but even their meager attempts to hold multinational corporations accountable met with stiff resistance. As a result, it was not the war but the post-war era and the division between the Soviet Union and the United States that had the greatest impact on Latin America.
- By the late twentieth century, nationalism had proven the most enduring of the many ideological currents rocking Latin America. But this was the case not because of its cultural and political cohesion among disparate Latin American nations; rather because nationalism reflected widespread wariness of, hostility toward, and suspicion of the United States. Even right-wing governments whose very subsistence depended on US foreign aid found it convenient to play the nationalist card when their popularity sagged.



THE WASHINGTON CONSENSUS

- In the final decades of the twentieth century, Washington and its surrogate agencies in the **World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Inter-American Development Bank**, and a host of similar financial powerhouses were free to exert enormous influence on the future course of Latin American nations. As if to drive home the point, the change in the balance of power was apparent in the term used interchangeably with “neoliberalism” in Latin America: the “**Washington Consensus.**”
- Coined by John Williamson in 1989, the term is largely associated with neoliberalism, which is said to have begun in 1980, and therefore the following policies:
 - Fiscal policy discipline, with avoidance of large fiscal deficits relative to GDP
 - Redirection of public spending from subsidies toward broad-based provision of key pro-growth, pro-poor services like primary education, primary health care and infrastructure investment
 - Tax reform, broadening the tax base and adopting moderate marginal tax rates
 - Interest rates that are market determined and positive (but moderate) in real terms
 - Competitive exchange rates
 - Trade liberalization
 - Liberalization of inward foreign direct investment
 - Privatization of state enterprises
 - Deregulation: abolition of regulations that impede market entry or restrict competition
 - Legal security for property rights



DEVELOPMENTAL STATE THEORY (DST)

- Developmental State Theory (DST) is the term used to describe state intervention techniques in the on-going development of non-Western states (especially in East Asia and, later, Latin America). The term arises from the assumption that state intervention can prevent impediments to developing ISI economy. Many critics see this as a failure, since ultimately the ISI increases corruption and deficit-spending, not GDP.
- In 2018, however, scholar Adam Fishwick offers an extension of DST to include labor relations. In *Development and Change* (scholarly journal), he writes, "Latin American state-led development continues to be tainted by inefficiencies of populist political economy: overspending, inflation and structural imbalances that produce inevitable crises...These critiques of the relative limitations of ISI in Latin America and its inability to develop comparably effective state intervention, however, consistently underplay a central feature of state-led development there that is shared with East Asia: the disciplining of labour." By examining key sectors in Chile and Argentina, Fishwick argues "the trajectories of ISI in Latin America were also shaped by the efforts of the state to control, and to help firms control, labour."
- "Labour historians on Latin America have also shown how attempts to manage the institutional incorporation of labour were crucial to the outcomes of state-led development in the region. In Argentina, the establishment of Peronist trade union federations after 1946 provided relative social stability in exchange for increased wages and welfare provision. These organizations played a dual role in coordinating labour protest but also mediating it to ensure that workers' demands remained within manageable limits. In Chile, the ostensible stability of the 'Compromise State' during the mid-20th century was underpinned by a similar mediating role played by the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT) — Central Workers' Union — the national trade union federation founded in 1953. Despite only gaining official recognition in 1971, this federation played an important role in mediating and controlling labour protest under ISI."



REGIMES OF LABOUR CONTROL (FISHWICK)

FORMS OF LABOUR CONTROL		
	INSTITUTIONAL	PRODUCTION
RESTRICTIVE	<div>Directly repressive measures adopted to reduce forms of political and/or workplace representation, including:<ul style="list-style-type: none">Legal restrictions on organization, mobilization and representationFreezing of wages and annulling of collective bargaining rightsRemoval of legal protections from punitive dismissal</div>	<div>Reorganization of the workplace to maximize discipline either through the fragmentation of labour process or increased oversight, including:<ul style="list-style-type: none">Restrictions on representation within the workplace and strict discipline in production processFragmenting of work to minimize interaction and improve productivityIncrease in competition within domestic production networks to fragment sectors and force layoffs to restrict labour organization</div>
CO-OPTIVE	<div>Measures aimed to limit the scope of social mobilization through concessions and access to political institutions, including:<ul style="list-style-type: none">Establishment of state-mediated corporatist labour relations and strengthening labour bureaucraciesLimited wage increases, increased social spending, subsidies and price controlsPublic sector expansion to reduce unemploymentExpanded welfare provision</div>	<div>Reorganization of the workplace to encourage compliance with changes to labour processes via collaborative arrangements, including:<ul style="list-style-type: none">Forms of employee participation in managerial oversight of the production processFlexible working arrangements and incentives, including paternalist managerial techniquesSupport for labour-intensive production to sustain employment levels that reduce tensions and conflicts arising from layoffs</div>

- Fishwick classifies regimes of labour control into two categories: restrictive and co-optive. Both have the goal of stratifying labour relations.
- "Recent historical research in Latin America has begun to identify the workplace as a central site of labour control under ISI. This research has shown how the exertion of control in the workplace has historically been an essential complement to institutional mechanisms of control... In all these studies, institutional labour-control measures can be seen to complement attempts to extend the mechanisms of control that firms adopt in the workplace. By influencing a range of managerial strategies aimed at extending discipline over labour, the state helps establish a constellation of 'relations in production' to maximize the degree of labour control."
- "To offset the socialization of the production process, restrictive measures maximize the fragmentation of labour by dividing it into discrete, competitive units...Such practices undermine the potential of collective socialization in the workplace...To prevent this solidarity translating into opposition, key mechanisms restrict the 'double indeterminacy of labour power'— effort and mobility— that enable workers to challenge workplace discipline. Restrictive measures, then, fragment the potential solidarity of labour within the workplace."

THE PINK TIDE (MAREA ROSA)



2011 map of left-leaning governments (red) versus conservative (blue)

- Sometimes referred to as **pink tide** or **turn to the left** and even **post-neoliberalism**, this refers to the 21st century embrace of more left-oriented political approaches in governments throughout Latin America, especially in South America.
- While critics have called these governments 'anti-American' and 'authoritarian-adjacent', the fact is the majority of these governments are either Socialist or Social Democracies. The 'start' of the pink tide is seen as **1998 with the election of Hugo Chávez** to the Presidency of Venezuela (however we ought to note that the 'real' start begins with opposition to U.S. intervention throughout the region, which is felt as a carryover of Western colonialism).
- By the early 2010s, there is a backlash and **conservative wave** throughout the region that resulted in more right-wing governments and an increase in economic inequality. This is followed, in the late 2010s and early 2020s by another pink wave in countries like **Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Mexico, Colombia, and Ecuador**.
- Both the pink tides and the conservative backlashes are populist-motivated, often using **the burgeoning power of the internet** (as in the case of Jair Bolsonaro) and focus largely on social welfare reforms (in the case of pink tides) or bureaucratic reforms (in the case of conservative backlash). **The US, we should note, almost uniformly supports the conservative waves over the pink waves.**



ABOVE: *A CUCA* (1924) AND
LEFT: *MORRO DA FAVELA* (1945)
TARSILA DO AMARAL



NEXT CLASS...

WEEK 5 - LAS APPROACHES TO THE CARIBBEAN

- Intro from *Confronting Black Jacobins: The United States, the Haitian Revolution, and the Origins of the Dominican Republic* (2015) by Gerald Horne
- Intro from *Empire's Crossroads: A History of the Caribbean From Columbus to the Present Day* (2014) by Carrie Gibson
- "The Black Jacobins, Past and Present" by Selma James from *The Black Jacobins Reader* (2017), ed. by Charles Forsdick and Christian Høgsbjerg
- "Report from the Bahamas, 1982" by June M. Jordan

