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Reviews

Herbert S. Klein, *The American Finances of the Spanish Empire: Royal Income and Expenditures in Colonial Mexico, Peru and Bolivia, 1680–1809* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. xii + 221, $55.00.

A decade-and-a-half ago reviewers were unanimous in their praise of John J. TePaske and Herbert S. Klein (with the collaboration of Kendall W. Brown) in publishing three monumental volumes of account summaries of all the royal treasuries of Peru, Upper Peru, Chile and the Río de la Plata over the period 1560–1823: *The Royal Treasuries of the Spanish Empire in America* (3 vols., Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1982) (see, for example, the review by John Lynch in *JLAS* 16 (1984), pp. 195–6). This collection provided the raw fiscal data, together with limited guidance on interpretation, for reconstructing the shifting relationships between the movement of royal finances and the reality of economic structures in vast areas of Spanish South America over a long historical period. It was supplemented a few years later by parallel volumes by the same authors for the viceroyalty of New Spain: *Ingresos y egresos de la Real Hacienda en Nueva España* (2 vols., Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1986, 1988). With some honourable exceptions (written largely by the original editors and their collaborators) the actual exploitation of the data by historians in the intervening period has been rather less striking than was expected, and it is thus gratifying that Herbert Klein himself has now assumed the responsibility for using a substantial part of the original material to provide an interpretative essay – what he defines as 'the next stage in understanding royal finances' (p. xi) – on the fiscal history of large areas of Spanish America as a whole (Chile, New Granada, Venezuela and the Río de la Plata beyond Upper Peru are excluded) for the period 1680–1809.

The substantive study is brief (113 pp.) – an extensive (65 pp.) appendix listing the names of some 6,000 'income-producing taxes by type of activity' looks very much like padding, especially for a reader with access to the original volumes – but it is also clear and incisive. Its first two chapters provide a methodological/historiographical introduction and a statement of general fiscal trends by broad categories of taxes in the eighteenth century, and are followed by separate discussions of Peru, Upper Peru and New Spain respectively. In general terms the analysis of the fiscal/economic performance of the South American territories confirms the patterns identified in recent years by other commentators. However, some will be dubious about the suggestion that the viceroyalty of Peru experienced a 'late eighteenth century crisis brought on by Spain's European wars' (p. 35). Although it is shown that total tax revenues in the 1790s were about eight per cent lower than in the 1780s, it is debatable whether this constituted a 'crisis' and, in any case, they recovered to record levels in 1800–09. In New Spain, by contrast, not only was fiscal expansion in the 1780s even more impressive than in Peru (55 per cent: 47 per cent higher than in the 1770s) but

it was sustained throughout the subsequent two decades. For both regions, as for Upper Peru, the serial data does not extend beyond 1809, thus making it impossible to measure the fiscal impact – normally assumed to have been reduced revenue and increased expenditure – of the onset of insurgency in 1810. One of the key points, predictably, in the volume's persuasive conclusion is that 'far more work will be needed at the level of the account books to fully determine what happened in this crucial period' (p. 107). The precise context of this statement is the discussion of the Mexican economy, but the observation is applicable to Spanish America as a whole. The presentation of the many tables and graphs is clear and effective. However, the proof-reading, especially of the notes, seems to have been rather sloppy: this reviewer is not particularly bothered about his second initial shifting from 'R' to 'H', but he wonders how a compatriot feels about the reference to 'Braiding's (sic) extreme position' (p. 203).

University of Liverpool JOHN FISHER

Hans-Joachim König and Stefan Rinke (eds.), *Transatlantische Perzeptionen: Lateinamerika – USA – Europa in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1998), pp. 395, hb.

This latest volume of the Hispanoamerica series introduces research focusing on views held by the inhabitants of three different regions – Europe, Latin America and Anglo-Saxon America – about each other in the past and present. The editors German historians Hans-Joachim König and Stefan Rinke have included contributions written by German scholars – historians, ethnologists and sociologists, although we also find work by experts from the USA, Argentina and Switzerland.

The editors divide the studies into five parts. The first section is devoted to perceptions of America in the German language area (pp. 25–59) and of Cuba in the USA (pp. 61–76) over a long period of time. The author of the former is Hans-Joachim König, who, making use of his long-term research in European and American libraries, can draw on an immense amount of material. He observes how interest in the New World developed in journalism and the public since 1492, stressing the fact that for many Europeans, America has not been only a subject of study but also a hope, a place where Utopia can be created. This applies both to 17th century writers as well as to the critics of imperialism. The main problem of the study dealing with the perception of Cuba in the USA is a too categorical assertion by the author, Paul J. Dosal, that throughout the whole of the 19th and 20th centuries US politicians have considered Cuba unable to govern itself and so imposed Washington's decision-making. This, as Dosal claims, is also reflected in the US government's attitude to the revolutionary Cuba. There is no doubt that there have always been people in Washington inclined to this way of thinking. However, the opinion of many others, who Dosal does not consider, were different and important.

The second part comprises three studies devoted to the perception of America in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. The third section looks into the changing attitudes of Latin Americans (e.g. Raab's study on Jose Martí's views) and Europeans towards the rising power of the USA. The four studies of the fourth section are devoted to the same problem in the inter-war period and the last part includes another four studies concerning some problems of

contemporary relations between the Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon Americas, and Europe, as they are treated in more recent literature (for example Sinkel Hansel outlines the phenomenon of Chicanos in American social sciences).

As a whole the book affords a very useful picture of various aspects of relations between Europe, Latin America and Anglo-Saxon America as reflected in the views of national representatives. This is as true of the synthesising studies reviewing discussions on particular problems as it is of the broader studies.

Charles University, JOSEF OPATRNY
Prague

Michael Riekenberg, *Ethnische Kriege in Lateinamerika im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1997), pp. 169, hb.

The fifth volume of the series 'Hispanoamericana' edited by Hans-Joachim Köning and Stefan Rinke, presents a study by Michael Riekenberg on ethnic wars in Latin America. The author is well-known for his interest in nineteenth century Argentine and Guatemalan history, but here has broadened his scope to include Peru and Mexico.

Riekenberg compares various ethnic conflicts in these four countries during the nineteenth century, subsequently presenting his overall conclusions (pp. 123–49). Comparing ethnic conflicts in Latin America to Europe, he notes that while in the latter ethnic tensions manifested themselves in many cases as inter-state conflicts during the nineteenth century, in Latin America inter-ethnic conflicts tended to be confined within existing state boundaries. According to Reikenberg's typology, two types of ethnic war were observable in nineteenth century Latin America: 'hegemonic' and 'competitive'. Hegemonic wars took place in the area of contact between two ethnic groups, had an integrating effect and were characterised by high levels of violence and state involvement. Competitive wars, on the other hand, were characterised by clashes between communities living in the same region, had a disintegrating effect and were marked by low levels of intensity and the absence of direct state involvement. Using this framework Reikenberg examines two 'hegemonic' conflicts (the 1847–53 Yucatan War and the 1776–1835 period of conflict in Buenos Aires province) and two 'competitive' conflicts (looking at the 1838–1880 period in Guatemala and Peru between 1880 and 1885).

Riekenberg's publication bears witness to his ability to examine a traditional topic from a fresh perspective. It also indicates a broadening agenda for research among a new generation of German Hispano-American Scholars.

Charles University, JOSEF OPATRNY
Prague

Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood and Robert Haskett (eds.), *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), pp. x+486. $29.95, hb.

This substantial volume of fourteen essays on Indian women in Mexico ranges from the late pre-Conquest period to the nineteenth century and includes most regions of Mexico. Despite its broad temporal and spatial coverage the volume has certain unifying themes, one of which is that many of the contributors were students of the eminent social historian James Lockhart.

A major issue in the book is how the roles and status of women changed under colonial rule. Many of the essays (Kellogg, Haskett, Sousa and Deeds) argue that pre-Spanish society was characterised by 'gender parallelism' or 'gender complementarity' whereby the activities of men and women were organised separately. While this provided women with a degree of autonomy, a number of writers caution that it did not necessarily signify equality, for within distinct realms men often held the positions of highest status. On the other hand, Espejo-Hunt and Restall suggest that Maya society was patriarchical and that the position of women merely deteriorated under colonial rule.

Perhaps more consensus emerges about what happened under colonial rule. The studies show that the spheres in which women could exercise authority generally declined and that the distinction between public and private domains became more marked. Even though in colonial times women were generally excluded from political and religious posts, many of the essays show that even in these realms they continued to play significant roles. They continued to exercise their inheritance rights and act as shamans, and they were often formidable litigants in court and even led revolts (Kellogg, Haskett, Wood, Spores, Sousa, Gosner, Espejo-Hunt and Restall Offutt). Neither were women a uniformly oppressed group. Some women achieved high status and wealth, even in rural areas (Wood), either as native nobles (Spores) or through alliance with Spaniards (Carrasco, Karttunen).

Two studies (Wood, Horn) show how differences in the status of men and women and the spheres in which they lived their lives were subtly reflected in the naming process. Rebecca Horn reveals that in Nahua society women were often named by birth order and that there was greater differentiation between men. She goes on to show how in the colonial period the latter was reinforced as men were given second names that reflected their wider public role.

While certain themes run through the volume, the essays speak for themselves. The editors are to be commended for trying to encourage debate by allowing different views to emerge rather than impose generalisations which might be inappropriate or for which there is as yet insufficient evidence. The studies are impressive in revealing how much can be gleaned from indigenous and colonial sources and how Indian women can be given a history. The research is sufficiently well advanced that several authors question the applicability of Western concepts such as patriarchy, gender complementarity, and public and private domains. The difficulty of applying imported concepts is demonstrated by Louise Burkhart in her fascinating study of the Mexica where she reveals how sweeping and cleaning, often deemed household chores, were of considerable religious significance. This excellent volume not only makes available the fruits of recent research, but it is likely to stimulate debate and be the starting point for many future studies.

King's College London LINDA A. NEWSON

Kathryn Joy McKnight, *The Mystic of Tunja: The Writings of Madre Castillo, 1671–1742* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), pp. xviii + 284, $45.00, hb.

In the history of colonial Spanish American women nothing is so uncommon as writing and hardly anything as precious as writing of literary quality. Education being limited to the few among the elite, it rarely encouraged writing, regarded

more appropriate for the higher intellectual pursuits of men. The exception to this iron rule was granted to the women who took the veil, theoretically removed themselves from the world, and devoted their lives to God. Profession was the ticket of admission to the privilege of writing and thus, self-expression. Yet, not all nuns became writers. In fact, precious few examples have been recovered up to now, which speaks not so much of restrictions placed on nuns as of a variety of circumstances such as personal ability, destruction of manuscripts by religious zeal, loss by neglect, or perhaps even to the need for further archival research.

Among those who had the rare ability and the opportunity to write is the versatile and fascinating Madre Francisca Josefa del Castillo (1671–1742), a nun of the Order of Clares in the city of Tunja, New Granada. Born in an elite family with many relatives in the church, she wrote two well-known pieces: an autobiographical account, the *Vida*, a book of spiritual meditations known as *Afectos espirituales*. A lesser-known piece of spiritual meditations, the *Cuadernos de Enciso*, after the name of the spiritual adviser who prompted the beginning of this third unfinished piece, is assumed to be a revision of some aspects of the *Afectos*.

The world and work of Madre Castillo (as she is known among literary critics and historians) has been finally introduced to the English-speaking world by Kathryn McKnight, whose sensitive and well-framed study deftly explores and reveals the personal and spiritual intricacies of the nun. The *Vida* and the *Afectos* represent two important avenues of self-expression but, at the same time, are testimonies to the influence of the spiritual directors in orienting and guiding the nuns' lives. However, although their control framed, it did not dictate the result of the writing process.

Fittingly, as an introduction to her book, McKnight explains what the reader may expect from the biographical and spiritual genres, and the difference between male and female writing. Readers learn the geography of the territory they are treading and how it was constructed. The inner world of female religious writers is full of unexpected corners, shades, bright flashes of light, despair and exultation. McKnight pursues many of these topics with ease and clarity. Especially important is the delineation of the meaning of visions as female spiritual venues in baroque sensibility, and the clear connective lines to European and Iberian religious culture. The issue of female authorial power raised by the act of writing is an important cultural subtext for seventeenth and eighteenth century women aptly discussed by McKnight. She also contextualizes the writings with a serious historical study of the internal life and rituals of the convent, the social connections with their contemporary society, family ties, and the politics of power within the cloisters, which never were, exclusively, enclaves of spirituality. This historical introduction reminds us that writing is more than an intellectual exercise of the self taking place in a vacuum, and how a felicitous marriage of history and literary criticism can problematise and illuminate both disciplines.

The probe into the *Vida*, the *Afectos espirituales* and the *Cuaderno de Enciso* is carefully crafted, and an excellent example of the state-of-the-art in contemporary literary criticism: careful reading of the meaning of the text, explained by social, cultural, and psychological analysis, as well as by the art of finding encoded messages and the essence of the writer's soul. Madre Castillo is thus revealed as a woman with a good knowledge of the scriptures, searching for the meaning of her life within religion, a visionary infused with the values of her period and its means of expression; a character torn between the many problems of living in the

world while attempting to rise to the state of perfection dictated by her beliefs. Madre Castillo is indeed, a complex personality who was able to write about the mundane and the elevated like no other religious that we know of. For those who understand how in convents one finds a microcosm of colonial life and a window to one of the most important forms of privileged womanhood, McKnight has provided a thoughtful enquiry that encompasses both. Her close reading of the texts (literary and historical) leaves few stones unturned and illuminates fully on her subject's writing. She has skilfully pointed to the archetypes used by the nun to understand her own life, as well as the tormented dialogue between the flights of her soul and the discipline imposed on her by the church of her times. Understanding colonial women's spiritual writing is no easy task. McKnight has excelled in it.

Arizona State University ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

Jean-Pierre Clément, *El Mercurio Peruano 1790–1795: vol. I: Estudio; vol. II: Antología* (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 1997–8), pp. 307, 229, pb.

Published twice-weekly in Lima between January 1791 and August 1794 by the Sociedad Académica de Amantes del País (a small group of intellectuals, administrators, churchmen and merchants, creole and *peninsular*, resident in the viceregal capital), the *Mercurio Peruano* provided its readers with a wide range of articles relating in particular to the economic life of late-eighteenth century Peru, and to a variety of literary and historical themes. Already widely recognised by specialist researchers as a key source for the analysis of contemporary attitudes towards the prospects for agriculture, mining, trade and related matters, the 12 volume (416 issues) work became more accessible to scholars in 1964, with the publication of a facsimile edition by the Biblioteca Nacional, followed 15 years later by the publication by the Instituto Nacional de la Cultura of Peru of *Indices del Mercurio Peruano 1790–1795*, prepared by Clément.

The present work is clearly based upon both the introductory matter included with the 1979 *Indices*, and the author's 1983 doctoral dissertation (*Bourgeoisie créole et Lumières: le cas du 'Mercurio Peruano'*, Université de Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle). The first volume provides an exhaustive analysis of the technical details of the periodical, the arrangements for its sale and distribution – the number of subscribers, the vast majority of whom resided in Lima, ranged from 258 to 399 during the four years of publication – and the identities of the contributors, most of whom wrote under classical pseudonyms. They included José Hipólito Unanue (*Aristio*), subsequently the first Minister of Finance of the Republic of Peru, José Baquíjano y Carrillo (*Cefalio*), and other leading lights of Lima's creole establishment. Some effort is made to analyse the accuracy of the information and views expressed in the journal, particularly with respect to economic issues, although this is marred by the fact that the author seems to have overlooked not only a lot of material on late colonial Peru published in Peru itself during the last decade or so, but also major works published in English over a longer period. Considerable emphasis is placed upon the significance of the many articles in the *Mercurio* that described the territory of Peru and the viceroyalty's natural resources in revealing to Peru's creoles their own identity and encouraging the emergence of a specifically creole (i.e. potentially anti-Spanish) mentality; the

theme has some validity although it is not pointed out that several of the descriptions of provinces that were published were clearly drawn from the inspections (*vistas*) carried out by the first intendants of Peru, *peninsulares* to a man. The demise of the *Mercurio* in 1794 is discussed in some detail, and, although it is suggested that growing viceregal distaste for its radical ideology was of some significance, no real evidence is advanced to support this possibility.

The second volume simply reproduces 34 of the articles in the *Mercurio*, with modernised orthography and explanatory notes relating in particular to individuals and institutions. This volume as a whole will be of particular use to scholars unfamiliar with the minutiae of late-colonial society and government in Peru and without access to the original or facsimile editions.

University of Liverpool JOHN FISHER

Eduardo Posada-Carbó (ed.), *In Search of a New Order: Essays on the Politics and Society of Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (London: University of London, Institute of Latin American Studies, 1998), pp. 175, £12.00, pb; $19.95, pb.

This volume is the second in a series of collections of essays on nineteenth-century Latin America, all emanating from conferences organised by Eduardo Posada-Carbó for the University of London's Institute of Latin American Studies. The present volume focuses on public order: conceptions of it and efforts to attain it. This turned out to be an inspired theme. It has been more common to ponder the reverse side of the medal – instability. In choosing the theme of order, Posada-Carbó opened up two useful possibilities: (1) discussing contemporary ideas about and ideals of public order, as opposed to the more usual *post hoc* pathologising about why order was so frequently disrupted; and (2) exploring various approaches and devices employed in the pursuit of public order.

Inevitably, the essays in the volume exploit these potentialities in varying degrees. The first three chapters address the stated theme directly and interestingly. In the first, on attempts to found republican governments during the earliest years of New Granadan independence (1810–15), Anthony McFarlane presents a lucid and crisp discussion of the efforts to establish the legitimacy of a new republican order. In addition to providing a concise description of this early political experimentation, McFarlane offers a critical discussion of various alternative interpretations of the process in that period.

The next two essays, in my opinion, are the heart of the volume, in that they focus on conceptions of order in the post-independence period. Ana María Stuven delineates variations of ideas of order in Chilean society, 1830–50, with particular reference to the views of Diego Portales, various conservative newspapers, Andrés Bello, José V. Lastarria, and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Stuven notes that definitions of order and ideas about the sources of order varied with the occasion, emphasizing at different times legality, constitutionalism, national economy, religion, or public security.

Paul Gootenberg provides a brisk analysis discussing the interrelationships between varying proposals for economic development in nineteenth-century Peru and hopes for social order. Among such projects were Juan Norberto

Casanova's belief that the establishment of modern factories would encourage a spirit of association among elites while factory labour discipline would have a positive moral effect on the popular classes. There also existed a more generalised hope that modern capitalist development would provide an alternative to *empleomanía* and consequent political instability. Others followed Manuel Pardo in placing faith in the transformative effects of railway construction, in stimulating local economic activity and thus discouraging revolution, and in integrating the nation politically as well as racially. Gootenberg notes in Peru a phenomenon also evident in New Granada at midcentury: the abandonment of economic protection in the 1850s produced marked hostility between a free-trade bourgeoisie and an artisanry who continued to hope for protection. As in New Granada, many in the elite believed artisans should abandon their crafts and go to work in export agriculture. Gootenberg finds indications of a growing social consciousness after 1860 among at least some elite writers.

Guy Thomson, amply displaying his knowledge of the culture, society, and geography of the Sierra Norte de Puebla, notes the role of provincial forces in contributing to the construction of the Porfirian order. Thomson points to the importance of the persistence of traditional patterns of authority in the region. Essays on Argentina by Carlos Malamud and Eduardo A. Zimmermann describe, respectively, repression and amnesty in 1890 and 1893 and the role of the judiciary in the construction of political order (1860–80).

The volume concludes well with an article by Frederic Martínez, which discusses changing concepts of order in Colombia in the last half of the nineteenth century and the failure of an attempt to implant a coercive, moralistic police system in the 1890s. Martínez thus admirably combines the two themes of this collection, analysis of conceptions of order and description of efforts to develop institutions that might translate those conceptions into some semblance of reality.

Northwestern University FRANK SAFFORD

Samuel Amaral, *The Rise of Capitalism on the Pampas: The Estancias of Buenos Aires, 1785–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. xviii + 359, £40.00, hb.

The half century following Argentina's Independence from Spain has become 'a sort of dark age for many scholars due to the brighter reflections of later affluence'. (p. 1). Yet it was this period that witnessed an extraordinary growth in the rural economy of the country, in spite of negligible advances in farming technology, multiple threats to farm incomes, and recurrent rifts in the climate for investment.

Samuel Amaral has devoted impressive scholarship over many years to the detailed workings of *estancias* in this period. Markets in Europe and United States for Argentine hides, tallow and wool provide the demand to fuel their growth. The *estancia*, while not a new concept, provides the means, but the growth would not have happened without the initiative and skills of individual investors and managers, operating in the face of considerable risks and uncertainties. The subject is clearly central to an understanding of this period of Argentine history and of the platform it provided for the explosive growth of farming from 1870.

Amaral has accumulated a wide range of contemporary source material and subsequent commentary. Farm records for this early period are sparse, but Amaral has worked with microscopic analysis of the available probate inventories. From these, he constructs detailed models of the way in which capital was deployed and the returns achieved. He cross-checks his results with contemporary reports and reaches the unsurprising conclusion that, in general, profits were earned well above the long term rate of interest, but below those reported at the time. The successes were due largely to luck and entrepreneurial skills, but along the road there were all too many victims – of Indian raids, brigandry, locusts, droughts, inflation, business inexperience, fraud, interminable litigation and bankruptcy.

The regrettable murder by Indians in December 1783 of the *estanciero* Clemente López Osornio and his son Andrés Ramón provides Amaral with a uniquely lucky break – as doubtless it did also for the families' lawyers in a decade of litigation over the victim's inheritance. The court records include financial statements for López Osornio's *estancias* over 10 years, from which Amaral has constructed a painstaking analysis of farm operations, the use of slave and free labour and the long run return on capital employed.

In his comparative analysis of larger samples of *estancias* in 1820 and 1850, Amaral was not so fortunate, since he was confined to the static evidence of probate inventories, without the benefit of operating statements for a series of years. When he attempts to construct detailed financial models and analyses on this slender primary material, his conclusions may be accepted as indicative of general trends, but must be treated with some care at the level of specific detail, particularly when presented to two decimal places.

Amaral is so close to his subject that he makes few concessions to the general reader who is not already expertly informed on the political and economic history of Argentina in this turbulent period. As one example, the central theme of the book is the rate at which the farming frontier was rolled out from the shallow arc around Buenos Aires, but we need to reach Appendix B before we are told in passing that the total productive area grew from 4.5 million hectares in 1820 to 11.8 million in 1850 (p. 298). The estimates for 1785 and 1870, the overall span of Amaral's work, are not apparent.

In a study which relies so centrally on financial analysis and modelling, it is debatable whether Amaral is right not to use normal accounting procedures, even if these were not yet in use in the early nineteenth century. He argues that 'the conventional division between fixed and working capital does not apply' (p. 22–3), but then has to explain his treatment of profit and 'non-cashed profit'. Accountancy has its generally accepted definition of profit and much else besides – the means to deal with variations in herd size, holding gains (and losses) and, of considerable importance from 1826, the impact of inflation. Amaral calculates, but then does not pursue, the remarkable statistic that, measured in terms of silver pesos, the real value per hectare of estancias in all regions fell by 59 per cent between 1820 and 1850 (Table 3.10, p. 82). Over the years, investors in Argentine land have learned at their peril to rely on real, not nominal, values.

The author deploys other techniques of financial analysis which might carry a 'wealth warning'. The history of investment is full of financial extrapolations identical to that which Amaral has constructed to illustrate Félix de Azara's description of *estancia* profitability in 1801, where the natural reproduction rate

of cattle (which is assumed to be constant and greater than the rate of cattle sales) delivers an impressive growth in value and profit (Table 10.1, p. 217). It would be more usual to apply Net Present Value (NVP) analysis to the resulting cash flows, using a risk-adjusted discount rate (over and above the standard six per cent Amaral uses throughout his work) to calculate a realistic rate of return. This would allow for the very real risks to which farm investment was exposed.

The quality of this valuable book is sadly let down by occasional lapses into *spanglish*. 'Rentability', 'valorization', 'privileged' (meaning valued more highly), 'punctual' (as in 'punctual scarcities' (p. 178), 'parts of a contract' are direct imports from Spanish without the privilege of translation. More disappointing still is the printing of the important frontispiece map of 1828, showing the Frontier and much detail up to those 'Campos cuya topografia no es aun bien conocida'. This much I could decipher with a powerful magnifying glass, but no more.

Amaral has a chapter on the pervasive influence of the dense thistleries that covered the pampas in this period and dictated the annual cycle of farming operations, while also providing forage, fuel and cover for bandits. Parts of his exposition are similarly dense, as Amaral lays out the minute detail of his workings, but, like the thesis of the book itself, sustained endeavour will revel the rich resource that Amaral lays out for us in this important work.

MAURICE DE BUNSEN

Louis A. Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. xvi + 171, $34.95, $16.95, pb.

Professor Pérez has published widely on the subject of relations between the United States and Cuba. His latest work is relatively short and concentrates on examining what he identifies as the 'meaning' of the war for contemporaries and also later generations of Americans and Cubans. The book is elegantly written and crammed with the ideas and insights of a master historian. It provides an extremely thorough and perceptive critique of the historical literature on the war that will be stimulating and required reading for anyone who writes on or teaches this particular topic.

The opening chapter draws on the author's previously published work and restates his argument that the decision to go to war in 1898 reflected the deliberate policy of the McKinley administration to forestall the imminent military victory of the Cuban insurgents and to prevent the establishment of an independent Cuba under Cuban control. The later chapters are mainly concerned with showing how and why American historiography has diverged from this interpretation of events. Special attention is given to the topics of the destruction of the *Maine* and the military role of the Cuban insurgents. According to Pérez, the enduring historical debate over the reasons why the *Maine* blew up is essentially redundant because it explains America's military involvement in the war as a function of chance and thereby avoids the question of assigning accountability or responsibility. American historians are particularly taken to task for continually diminishing the military role of the Cuban insurgents. America's rapid victory has been attributed either to the exceptional bravery of the American troops or to Spanish military incompetence or a combination of both. Pérez notes that the

apparent absence of the insurgents from accounts of the fighting has been repeated so often in the historical literature that it has assumed the status of a self-evident truth. Moreover, the depiction of the Cubans as unworthy has served to justify subsequent American political and military control of the island.

Pérez corrects these views by highlighting the fighting capabilities and achievements of the insurgents in helping the American Expeditionary Force to land safely at Daiquirí and advance on Santiago. He does not make clear, however, that the American army went to Santiago not because Oriente was the strongest area of insurgent strength but for the reason that Cervera's fleet had been located there. When Cervera left the Cape Verde Islands in April he never intended to dock in Santiago. It could be argued, therefore, that chance did play a decisive part in bringing the Americans to fight in Santiago rather than carry out their original strategy of launching an assault upon Havana. The demoralised Spanish forces in Oriente may have been on the brink of defeat, but the large garrison in Havana was ready and waiting for the expected American attack. The bulk of the Spanish army never actually confronted the Americans in combat because the capitulation of Santiago and the destruction of Cervera's fleet brought about a Spanish military surrender. The war was a military disaster for Spain, but the Spanish army in Cuba could claim that it was undefeated by the Americans and the insurgents.

Pérez is justified in pointing out the ethnocentrism of the large majority of American historians who have written on the 1898 War. He believes, however, that changes in American power and policy over recent decades have produced a more balanced interpretation of events. This is evident in the relevant sections of several American college history textbooks and the growing tendency to include 'Cuban' in the title of the war. *The War of 1898* is an excellent study which will certainly accelerate the historiographical trend.

University of Exeter JOSEPH SMITH

Friedrich E. Schuler, *Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt: Mexican Foreign Relations in the Age of Lázaro Cárdenas, 1934–1940* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. x + 269, $47.50, hb.

As is usually the case, it is the sub-title, not the title, that better informs the readers of Friedrich E. Schuler's study what it is about. Schuler's principal theme is the integration, from the early 1930s to the early 1940s, of the foreign and domestic aspects of Mexico's development policy – with emphasis, of course, on the former. Within this time frame, domestic events were dominated by *cardenismo*'s efforts to unify Mexican political society (or a working majority thereof) while the post-revolutionary elite achieved consensus over the imperative to modernise agriculture and to foment industry – even though the latter objectives might not always be congruent with the former. In foreign relations, Mexican diplomats and foreign-policy managers, working necessarily from positions of weakness, cultivated their traditional economic and cultural partners – the USA, Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Japan – with skilful cool pragmatism so as to help achieve the nation's developmental objectives (Cárdenas' support of the Second Spanish Republic was a major, still-admired, exception to the bottom-line self-interest that informed Mexican diplomacy of the period).

As the international situation deteriorated after 1936, Mexican foreign-policy decision-makers considered that a general war (the advent of which they could do nothing to affect) would present opportunities as well as risks. This consideration led them in turn to seek Mexico's advantage wherever it might be found. In the end, however, they accepted with equanimity a broader and deeper subordination to the United States than many Mexican nationalists of all ideological stripes could easily tolerate. (But tolerate it they would have to, under Avila Camacho: for the trade-off benefits of the US connection would be great, especially to conservatives, and the power of the institutionalised revolutionary state to exert its will formidable.) Schuler finds the immediate roots of the oil expropriation of March 1938 in the general economic crisis into which Mexico had fallen the year before. He argues that despite the excited rhetoric generated on both sides by the expropriation, the rapprochement between the USA and Mexico, which would culminate in *Avilacamachismo*, was already well in train by mid-1938. (Cárdenas, Schuler shows, was fortunate to time the announcement of the nationalisation of oil with the German *Anschluß* of Austria; the world's attention was turned elsewhere. Nor could the hapless British establishment in Mexico achieve a common front with the North Americans.) As to the reputed opportunism of Nazi Germany, Schuler demonstrates that the fascist states were too much in thrall to Royal Dutch Shell and Standard Oil to challenge the blockade organised by the latter powers and dominions. Indeed, it would appear that the German presence in Mexican thinking and planning, to which the book's title adverts, was rather greater before 1938 than after.

The book's first two chapters review at considerable length the Mexican actors – individuals and bureaucracies – in foreign-policy making and the state of relations with Mexico's important foreign partners. There follows an analysis of the crisis of 1937 and the revision of development strategy that emerged from it; a chapter on the nationalisation of 1938; a diffuse chapter on the hugger-mugger of propaganda and conspiracy (foreign and domestic) of the later 1930s; the foreign links pursued by the Mexican military in its quest for modernisation (the soldiers, according to Schuler, were easier pushovers for the North Americans than the civilians); and an excellently-presented analysis of the transition from Cárdenas to Avila Camacho and the US role in it. Schuler's research in Mexican, US, British, and German archives is exhaustive. The book is no joy to read, even by academic standards. Even so, it is a very important book, for it takes most seriously the capacity of the Mexican post-revolutionary elite to define and pursue (with great tenacity and skill) the nation's objectives in less-than-promising circumstances. And thereby corrects some long-cherished misconceptions. Friedrich Schuler is to be applauded.

Simon Fraser University (*Emeritus*) RONALD C. NEWTON

Maria Lorena Cook, *Organizing Dissent: Unions, the State, and the Democratic Teachers' Movement in Mexico* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1996), pp. xvi + 359, £49.50, £17.95, pb.

Maria Lorena Cook provides an innovative and thoughtful analysis of the National Coordinating Committee of Education Workers (CNTE), the dissident movement that emerged between 1979 and 1982 within the monopolistic the

National Union of Education Workers (SNTE) in Mexico. Her book is a comparative study of teachers' movements demanding union democratisation in six states: Chiapas, Oaxaca, Morelos, Hidalgo, Guerrero, and the state of Mexico. However, she departs from most studies on democratisation movements within Mexican unions associated with the governing PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) because she uses the framework of social movement theory to explain the emergence and success of the CNTE. To overcome the dichotomy between resource mobilisation and identity-oriented paradigms in the literature on social movements, she proposes to adapt political process theory, devised for democratic industrialised countries, for the case of authoritarian Mexico. Using this theory, Cook explains the emergence and success of social movements by focusing on the relationship between their internal organisation and their political environment. Political opportunities explain the emergence of social movements. However, in authoritarian Mexico, opportunities are related to direct negotiation with the state and are short-lived because repression is more likely. Conflicts between the state and the union leadership provided a political opportunity for the emergence of dissident teachers' movements. These conflicts shifted the focus of the union leadership towards challenging state policies and reduced its attention towards internal dissidents. Meanwhile, the state was less willing to repress those who challenged the authority of union leaders and weakened their bargaining power. The 1979 policy of deconcentration of education provided this opportunity to regional movements of democratic teachers while facilitating their battle by shifting decision-making to the state level. Yet, when the conflict was over, the opportunity elapsed.

Although Cook claims that national and regional variation in the level of elite tolerance also influenced the emergence of social movements, she does not analyse states where these social movements did not emerge despite the political opportunity created by the union-state conflict to fully test her thesis. However, she presents variation in social movements' success, in terms of survival and legal recognition. She explains the success of teachers' movements only in Chiapas and Oaxaca by their cautious political approach, the maintenance of a broad base coalition, their ability to sustain mass support, their limited use of confrontational tactics, the weak presence of the official force controlling the national union, and their early development in the cycle of protest from 1979 to 1982. Thus, legal recognition obtained by the teachers' movement in Oaxaca and Chiapas facilitated their survival and gave them a structural advantage for the new cycle of protest that would emerge in 1989.

However, legal recognition created new strains. After the social movement won control of local union structures, leadership and negotiations with state officials turned into important strategic resources that complemented mobilisation threatening to cause accountability problems. To avoid the bureaucratisation of the movements (and the threat of local union decertification), dissident teachers created an informal structure parallel to that of the union that permitted rank-and-file control of leaders. Therefore, internal democracy, the original goal of the movement, turned into a survival strategy that permitted the combination of effective negotiation and mobilisation. Cook's analysis of the double role of democracy both as a goal and as a strategy addresses an unsolved paradox of political science in terms of political representation. Although she cannot answer whether participatory democracy can be extended beyond social movements into

larger and more durable organisations, she makes us think about the relationship between democratisation and social movements. She also points out to the effect of political liberalisation in accentuating political and strategic divisions within the democratic teachers' movement. Furthermore, her description of female household obligations in the context of a strategy involving meetings of more than 14 hours and union assemblies that moved from one place to another, points to the possible bias of participatory democracy in the context of a non-democratic civil society. Overall, this is a careful empirical study of the teachers' dissent movements in Mexico that successfully adapts political process theory to the Mexican context and provides important theoretical insights on the relationship between social movements and democracy.

Yale University M. VICTORIA MURILLO

Gary Prevost and Harry E. Vanden (eds.), *The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997), pp. x + 226, £45.00, hb.

This is an important and well written book bringing together six authors who deal effectively with the impact and erosion of the Sandinista revolution since the late 1980s. The central theme throughout is somewhat ironic. The Sandinista democratic experiment induced increased popular participation in the society and yet the regime sought legitimacy through two sets of elections based on more representative procedures. Moreover, even though the party lost in the 1990 elections, the popular organisations were increasingly marginalised in the last years of the regime, and yet it is these groups that perpetuated the benefits of the revolution after the defeat, albeit with considerable strain.

The five contributions deal in turn with the status of the revolution after setting up the gains of the Sandinista reforms. Democracy, both electoral and participatory, and the political economy are treated effectively. The impact on women who always bear the brunt of the defeat far more than their male counterparts is analysed in the context of the transition, and finally the resistance to erosion of the popular organisations is treated as testimony to the endurance of the revolution. The structure of the book is therefore straightforward and the arguments are to the point: democracy can neither be conducted nor contained through the electoral process. More could have been made of the argument that the prospects for democracy are severely constrained by the international economy. To be sure the effects of the neo-liberal backlash are analysed throughout and the results are detailed and depressing. But, more questions could be asked about the 'prospects for democracy' (David Held) within a globalised economy. That is, there is an important anomaly between the pervasive effects of the free market and its relationship to political systems constrained by the nation state. The questions of legitimacy, constituency, and consent are of paramount importance in such conditions.

If the book is situated within the literature on globalisation, its precise findings are still important. Prevost's analysis of the erosion of the Sandinista revolution demonstrates above all the importance of the power base in popular democracy. Despite the electoral loss and the FSLN strategies since 1990, they are now considered a part of the problem rather than the solution. Radical change, should

it return, will probably not be led by the Sandinistas, who in their attempts to retain power implemented strategies that hurt their base of support profoundly. These groups, however, were given the political opportunity to exercise their power during the revolution. LaRamee and Polakoff's optimistic reading of the prospects for popular participation suggests that despite the *contra* war and US aggression in the 1980s and Nicaraguan neo-liberal programmes of exclusion during the 1990s, the popular organisations have maintained some of the consciousness cultivated during the Sandinista period, and these groups carry on the revolution.

Vanden and Stahler-Sholk's successive chapters are an important combination on democracy and political economy. The relationship between the two and the findings in these chapters are a good antidote to the literature on the democratisation both in Latin America and beyond. With the return of elite democratic formation, Cynthia Chavez Metoyer reminds us that more than half of Nicaragua's population lives below the poverty line. The gendered approach to the transition in state power not only demonstrates that women have had to endure greater hardship as a result of the changes, but that such an epistemological approach can provide a truly universal understanding of power relationships and their implications for democratic theory and reality. The most severe costs of transition were disproportionately borne by 'the poor majority, that is, women.'

De Montfort University DAVID RYAN

Thomas W. Walker (ed.), *Nicaragua without Illusions: Regime Transition and Structural Adjustment in the 1990s* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1997), pp. viii + 332, $55.00, $21.95, pb.

Over the past ten years Thomas Walker has edited a number of books on Nicaragua. They have always been timely contributions, bringing together various authors who are generally sympathetic to the Sandinista revolution. In the mid-1980s *Reagan versus the Sandinistas* examined the regional hegemon's obsession with and destruction of the Sandinista project. By the early 1990s, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Nicaragua* moved away from the bilateral approach, focusing more on the internal Nicaraguan structures, policies and conditions.

The strength of *Nicaragua without Illusions* is that the analysis is situated within a continuum, and that it is placed, to some extent, within the currently pervasive discourse on globalisation. The strategy is perhaps best put by the sole contributor to the first section on the 'International Setting.' William Robinson indicates that it is not his intention to examine either the forest or the trees, but to look at the ecosystem, in which the Nicaraguan and Hemispheric reality is situated. Such an approach is of fundamental importance because it testifies to the absurdity of an 'international' system that is supposedly based on the sovereignty of the nation-state.

Several contributions (there are seventeen in all) demonstrate how in the transitionary period the Sandinista revolution has been both eroded and consolidated. Many of the initially progressive social programmes and economic

policies stagnated as a consequence of the US-backed war, eroded in the late 1980s through a combination of the war and Sandinista tactics, and reversed after Chamorro's electoral victory in 1990. Nonetheless, attitudes, institutions, and especially grass-roots organisations persisted into the 1990s through the process of transition from a relatively democratic process (under wartime conditions) to the institutionalisation of polyarchy, that is, the system of elite rule sanctified through periodic elections. The collection ends with a relatively optimistic assessment: the contributions generally confirm that the revolution has continued into the 1990s, it has to some degree been institutionalised and there has been a degree of consolidation. As Walker reflects, 'even if the Sandinistas themselves never returned to power, the Sandinista revolution had not died'.

Despite the strong underlying optimistic tone of the book there are obvious reasons to consider alternatives. To a large extent the chapters, adopting Robinson's analogy, examine the leaves rather than the trees, forest or ecosystem. This is at once a strength and a weakness of the collection. Its value lies in the detailed analysis provided on the very local impact of the transition. Eduardo Galeano wrote once that Nicaraguans were tired of having history made for them from above and from outside, and the revolution reversed this. But the contributions to this collection demonstrate, despite the resistance to transition and some aspects of consolidation, that historical agency is being eroded in Nicaragua. One of my reservations about this collection is that the interaction between the various layers does not flow throughout the contributions. Given the severe erosion of national sovereignty, the globalist analysis could have been extended throughout explicitly demonstrating the links between the resulting conditions and their causal factors.

Nevertheless, the convincing and well-articulated arguments in this collection can be used to further research in the area of interaction between local and global trends. The evidence accumulated here demonstrates the severe constraints placed on the promotion of democracy and meaningful participation in political and socio-economic processes. Walker indicates that the collection is the epilogue to a subject that dominated attention in the 1980s, but the continuing study of Nicaragua's condition also 'provides a singular and interesting vantage point from which to view various issues and subjects crucial to an understanding of Latin American reality in general': the aftermath of hegemonic intervention; regime transition and democratisation; and structural adjustment to neo-liberal forms of life.

De Montfort University DAVID RYAN

Doug Yarrington, *A Coffee Frontier: Land, Society and Politics in Duaca, Venezuela, 1830–1936* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), pp. xiv + 267, $45.00, $19.95, pb.

Scholars weary of the ebbs and flows in historiographic fashion will savour this compelling story of land, labour and politics in a Venezuelan coffee district. It briefly charts the creation of an Indian parish in the seventeenth century, examines the rise and decline of a peasant economy in the nineteenth century, and concludes with an analysis of the emergence of large estates and peasant protests

against land loss in the Great Depression. Based on a meticulous reading of notarial records and government documentation, the book provides fascinating details about the growing subordination of the peasantry to owners of land and capital.

A *Coffee Frontier* delves into the intricacies of land privatisation in far more depth than other monographs about coffee in Latin America. Yarrington describes how peasants in the district of Duaca prospered by cultivating coffee on public lands. He examines how, after more than fifty years of peasant independence, powerful individuals expelled the peasantry and amassed large private coffee estates. It took so long for *hacendados* to dominate the sector, according to this interpretation, because before the regime of Juan Vicente Gómez the local elite had insufficient political power to enforce private property and throw peasants off land. Paying particular attention to the machinations of state power, Yarrington concludes that politics, rather than unfettered economics, was the key to this agrarian transition. This insight is important; in contrast to many accounts of the rise of coffee in Latin America, Yarrington views the state as central to agrarian change. This points the way to a new research agenda, one which explores the role of the state in the rural transformation of Latin America.

This historical account is solidly rooted in an analysis of what could be taken as the signal markings of a market in land-prices, financing and speculation. Nevertheless, Yarrington argues that land privatisation was not market led. He demonstrates that the process was political more than it was economic, that the consolidation of the nation state was necessary before powerful individuals could amass land.

This rich account of changes in land tenure is presented together with a history of labour relations. The important point here is that the effect on the peasantry of seasonal labour depended primarily on their access to land and their ability to survive from household production. Yarrington emphasises that the strength of the peasant economy conditioned the nature of labour relations, in particular the extent to which peasants became dependent on *hacendados*. In this context, the book presents a detailed analysis of the changing nature of debt peonage. Yarrington begins with the premise that the level of indebtedness was a pivotal measure of worker bargaining power in a labour scarce situation. Arguing that peasants' debts to *hacendados* were much higher than planters would have needed in order to establish a claim on labour, he concludes that in Duaca indebtedness, rather than a means of patronal control, was a mark of peasant strength. Yarrington's argument here is sophisticated, nuanced and well-grounded in statistical evidence drawn from archival documentation. I never sensed that evidence was 'worked' to fit a script. I found it unconvincing nevertheless, because I do not share the initial premise. In contrast to his thesis that 'politics was in command' in the transformation of land rights, his argument about peonage rests on the notion that labour relations were governed by 'laws' of supply and demand. In this interpretation, the labour market was relatively free from planter influence. I am sceptical that the level of debt *per se* was the determinant factor in power relations between landlord and peasant.

This disagreement in no way diminishes my high esteem for Yarrington's important and original history. As an analysis of state formation 'from the bottom up' it is certain to become a landmark in the historiography of modern Venezuela. Yet this is not a book primarily for Venezuelanists. Latin American

scholars at large will appreciate *A Coffee Frontier* for its major theoretical and empirical contributions to the fields of peasant studies, state formation, and modern Latin American history. Yarrington has written a persuasive history whose power will endure.

University of Portsmouth ELIZABETH DORE

Jussi Pakkasvirta, *¿Un continente, una nación?: intelectuales, comunidad política y las revistas culturales en Costa Rica y en el Perú (1919–1930)*. (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1997), pp. 236, pb.

The study of the development of the concepts of *nationalism* and *identity* in the Americas has produced a considerable number of interesting works in the last three decades. The historical definitions and uses of those terms have remained, however, imprecise. There are many reasons for this. The contexts in which words such as *nation*, *nationality* or 'patria' appear are plural and unstable. With regard to the history of ideas in Spanish America, the diversity of meanings can be increased 19 times, one for each country. There is another important reason that makes it difficult to study these concepts, the strong presence of a handful of ideas proposing the existence of supra national communities called, for example, 'Latinoamérica', 'Iberoamérica' or 'Indoamérica'.

In this book *¿Un continente, una nación?*, Jussi Pakkasvirta explores, analyses and proposes a new framework for the discussion around the ideas of the nation adding to it a study of the Spanish American 'continentalismo'. His approach is original and allows him to bring forward an important set of conceptual relationships (overlooked by many scholars) established between the nationalist and the continentalist discourses. Employing an analogy between 'nacionalismo' and 'continentalismo' he discusses several elements common to both: language, history, institutions and the threat of Anglo America.

He understands nationalism as a plural concept, as strategies for the '*construcción social del mundo circundante* (o la imagen de éste) en el proceso de la modernización' (p. 37). By the beginning of this century, after several decades of national formation, the national projects in Spanish America were still something unattainable. Pakkasvirta's point of view, during those years 'los intelectuales continentalistas llenaron el vacío producido por la debilidad o la inexistencia de la nación con la utopía continental'. (p. 15). On these premises, his book aims to explore these thinkers' national mentality (p. 47) and to analyse the ways in which 'la idea utópica de la unidad continental chocó contra el modelo liberal de la comunidad política (la nación) entre los intelectuales latinoamericanos de la década de 1920' (pp. 14–15). This analysis is based on a comparison between two sort of extremes in the spectrum of the Spanish American 'nacionalismos': Costa Rica and Peru. At one end, a small country that was historically in the periphery of the colonial system and has an indigenous population almost totally excluded from the national project. At the other end, a big country, the former centre of a pre-Columbian cultural and political order and, also, of the Spanish colonial administration in South America. While in Costa Rica the idea of a unified nation has been successful and the country exports a widespread image of a 'pueblo idílico', a perfect democracy 'sin ladrones, indios, negros u otros "problemas"'

(p. 18) emphasising an homogeneous white and European cultural background, in Peru the idea of the nation has never been unquestioned.

Pakkasvirta's corpus consists of the collections of the cultural journals *Repertorio Americano* (San José, 1919–31) and *Amauta* (Lima, 1926–30), the prose and editorial works of their directors – the 'intelectuales antiimperialistas continentalistas' (p. 15) Joaquín García Monge (1881–1958) and José Carlos Mariátegui (1894–1930) –, and documents such as some Costa Rican presidential discourses and political manifestos of the Peruvian APRA party.

The first chapters of Pakkasvirta's book offer an interesting critical review of the discussion on nationalism. There are two essays on the Spanish American history of the ideas of 'lo nacional' and 'continentalismo' – in which the author tracks down the terms 'Hispano', 'Ibero', 'Latino', 'Pan', and 'Indoamérica', 'Raza Cósmica', 'Arielismo' and 'Indigenismo' (pp. 72–92) –, another two dedicated to the political contexts of Costa Rica, Central America and Peru in the early 20th century, and sections with analysis of the nationalist ideas in *Repertorio* and *Amauta*.

In his conclusions Pakkasvirta states, 'los intelectuales latinoamericanos de la década de 1920 creían en las utopías. Una utopía suya fue la nación continental.' (p. 212), 'el continentalismo fue una estrategia nacionalista: la comunidad [política y culturalmente] imaginada era toda América Latina, no una nación en particular.' (p. 216). In Costa Rica, this strategy did not clash with the offical nationalism because it did not promote social reforms, it was primarily eurocentric despite the diverse groups of immigrants needed to further the banana boom. In the case of Peru, Pakkasvirta writes that the 'antiimperialismo continental significó, antes que nada, una utopía socialista, pero pudo significar también una utopía indigenista o indoamericana, como en el caso de Luis Valcárcel of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.' (p. 216).

By the 1940s the large number of dictatorships change the political arena in the Americas, some of these ideas faded and others were adapted to the new circumstances. The framework proposed by Pakkasvirta opens up the possibilities for further research on the development of these ideas during the post war years.

King's College, London LUIS REBAZA-SORALUZ

Robin Kirk, *The Monkey's Paw: New Chronicles from Peru* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), pp. xiv + 215, £12.95, pb.

The subtitle 'New Chronicles from Peru' is only one of the many references to Peruvian history in Kirk's book. Like Guamán Poma's 'Corónica', Kirk's chronicles are concerned with times of change, of violence and fear, and sometimes of courage and hope. Guamán Poma's manuscript was intended to present the truth of the Conquest to a King who would then benevolently act to curb its excesses. Kirk's chronicles, true to this postmodern era, present views rather than truths, as well as doubts and questions, mostly the author's, but soon the reader's.

From the start, Kirk freely admits that her object of enquiry is an 'idea', or perhaps a question, rather than Peru itself. She asks: 'how is it that people craft

moral lives in times of trouble, against temptation, when choices are few and hard, and what message do those lives hold for me?' The author's preoccupation with people rather than processes and structures is a welcome and much needed change from the grandly theorising and ultimately faceless accounts of Peru's recent history of violence. Although Kirk's style is at times journalistic, it is, nevertheless, informed by a close familiarity with the academic literature on Peru generally, as well as that on Sendero Luminoso and revolutionary movements. Frequently, however, the author welcomes the reader into a private world of emotions. Soon, one finds oneself prying into a private diary. For the stories Kirk tells, and tells well, are not only those of the chronicled, but also those of the chronicler.

Kirk guides the reader through a series of encounters: the village of Tunnel Six and its *ronda campesina*, that of Betty, an ex-Senderista whose only regret is that she is not dead, Kirk's own middle-class landlady, Maria, with her pettiness and racism, Carmen Rosa and Cromwell Castillo's private struggle to bring the killers of their disappeared son to justice, or that of army officers Big Banana and Centurion of the Huanta army base in Ayacucho. All these encounters are presented in both an objective and subjective manner, and they are the better for it. One particularly poignant example is Kirk's experience in a prison wing controlled by Shining Path women, the Shining Trench. During an initial visit Kirk is exposed to the full panoply of Sendero discipline and ideological zealotry: the orchestrated marching, singing, as well as the robotic answers to her questions (Q: Do you have children? A: That is secondary. It is secondary where my children are too. (…) Q: Do you want your children to join this war? A: That is secondary! That will be decided by history. Q: But if they decided not to, could they still see you? A: That is not a problem. That is secondary. You have to analyse these problems politically). Eventually Kirk is invited to dance:

> One of the cadres invited me to dance. She had a narrow face and eyes as slanted as a cat's. She tried to make it look spontaneous, but it wasn't. Zambrano evidently wanted a gesture of sympathy before we left. She wanted a convert. Even as I said no, I knew that I should dance – if I wanted to return, if I wanted to get to know them, if I wanted to get past the pat answers. But I couldn't.

Kirk later returns to see the women. Prior to her visit, the police had been sent in to take control of the Shining Path wings, at the cost of 50 prisoners and three policemen dead. The women were moved to another prison. Kirk describes the appalling conditions: 'The women had not been allowed to take any belongings, not even a change of clothes. Since so many items had been ripped and bloodstained, each two and three woman cell only had enough clothing for one person, the others waiting their turns, covered their nakedness with a blanket'. One prisoner, a woman who had killed an admiral, holds out her hand, defying the ban on physical contact:

> At their strongest, when I visited them in the Shining Trench, I refused their invitation to dance. If anything, their deeds since, especially the murder of María Elena Moyano, had made them contemptible to me. Yet I would have let her take my hand, for any good it might do. I had no illusions about the feeling that woman had for me – at best, I was a conduit through which her message might reach a sympathetic ear – or the murder she had committed, freely and sound of mind. I felt pity for her, pity beyond my ability to express in words… Through the bars, our heads almost touched. I kept mine there, thought the smell – of her sweat, her rotting

teeth, her hot fury – made my eyes twitch and tear. Finally, fed up, the guard pulled me away.

Time and again in the Monkey's Paw, Kirk succeeds in transmitting the human dimension of Peru's 'Time of Fear', without recourse to melodrama or oversentimentality. Peru's war comes across as a human tragedy: the social, economic and political dimensions and consequences of the war can only truly be comprehended in their human dimension. It is this dimension that is found wanting in most accounts of Peru's recent history, particularly those that limit the protagonists in the war to Sendero *tout court* and the Peruvian Army. It is to be hoped that 'The Monkey's Paw will become required reading for students of Peru's recent history.

St Antony's College, Oxford PAULO DRINOT

Wilber Albert Chaffee, *Desenvolvimento: Politics and Economy in Brazil* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997), pp. xvi + 231, £39.95, h.b.

The major aim of this book is to allow the reader to understand modern-day Brazil, and it attempts to do so by making use of two well-established disciplines in the social sciences: economics and political science. It applies them to a past and present analysis of Brazilian institutions, society, political system, economic structure and economic policies. By pursuing this ambitious goal, however, the author risks engendering criticism from economists or political scientists (or from both) for being superficial. To avoid lack of depth, Chaffee has conducted impressive research, as can be judged by the enormous amount of data and information drawn from numerous and varied sources that appear throughout the book.

The book would seem most likely to draw criticism from economists, as the author is a political scientist, but at least this economist feels that the chapters specifically covering economic topics such as inflation (Chapter 2), unemployment and growth (Chapter 3), and income distribution (Chapter 4) offer a generally thorough and accomplished discussion of both theoretical and applied issues. In chapter two, an apt theoretical analysis of the causes of inflation is presented together with a description of Brazilian heterodox stabilisation plans. In Chapter three, there is a valuable discussion of the differences between unemployment data available in Brazil. The analysis of the causes of income inequality that appears in chapter four, however, is somewhat tentative.

There are also chapters on Brazil's political system and practices (Chapter 5), and description of the civilian governments from 1985 up to 1994 (Chapters 8 and 9). Chapter six, where a model of political support is developed, and Chapter seven, combine both economic and political issues. Hence, one problem is that the book seems to lack coherence, since one given topic may be found in different chapters (stabilisation plans, for instance, are analysed in Chapters 2, 7 and 8).

An important quality of Chaffee's work is that the major issues in Brazil's economy and society are indeed identified. For instance, he points to the weakness in political parties which forces 'presidents without control of party blocs in congress to spend federal funds to buy votes' (p. 5), and the fact that 'there are too many parties for effective legislative action' (p. 195). He concludes

(correctly, in my opinion) that the political and party reform depends on 'the introduction of single-member district elections for federal deputies' (p. 96). He also rightly points out that 'the drive for economic growth has become an issue of government legitimacy' and that in this pursuit 'inflation has been a frequent and persistent problem' (p. 5). In chapter four, Chaffee emphasises the important role of education both in reducing inequality and in improving the chances of sustained economic growth and explores the dismal picture of public education.

However, in spite of its qualities, Chaffee's book has serious lacunae. In some of the most important issues, the book misses the point and draws the wrong conclusions. For example, the author accepts the naive (and widespread) view that the unorthodox stabilisation programmes of the 1980s, and especially the *Cruzado*, 'had a chance to both bring inflation under control and begin the process of redistributing wealth' (p. 32). In my opinion, the opposite is true: those plans were among the major factors that *caused* the acceleration of inflation, and consequently contributed to *worsen* income distribution (incidentally, the relation between inflation and distribution is not discussed in the book.) Also Chaffee fails to perceive that the orthodox Bulhões-Campos programme of the 1960s, – centred on reaching long-range budget equilibrium – was the single truly successful stabilisation plan in post-war Brazil (especially given the problems that now plague the *Real* plan). On the other hand, Chaffee affirms that the *Real* plan, in its initial stages, 'had eliminated much of the fiscal deficit' (p. 32), whilst the truth is that only a precarious equilibrium was accomplished in 1993 thanks to a tax increase, and that the structural distortions of the public sector soon caused dramatic increases in spending, leading to huge deficits.

In chapter four, analysing the causes of unemployment, Chaffee affirms that among the most important are the orthodox measures of price stabilisation: 'orthodox stabilization plans have increased both absolute and relative poverty by reducing the level of economic activity' (p. 56). However, economic stagnation and the reduction of working posts in the better-paid industrial sector have been associated with the long series of *unorthodox* stabilisation programmes, and more recently with the *Real* plan (which is definitely non-orthodox).

Summing up, this book gives a broad, valuable description of Brazil's economy and society, although the analysis is sometimes hindered by imprecision and excessive generalisation.

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro MANUEL A. R. DA FONSECA

Maria D'Alva Gil Kinzo (ed.), *Reforming the State: Business, Unions and Regions in Brazil* (London: University of London, Institute of Latin American Studies, Research Paper no. 49, 1997), pp. 61, £5.00, pb; $10.00, pb.

The present volume of the series Research Papers of the Institute of Latin American Studies, edited by Maria D'Alva Gil Kinzo, under the title *Reforming the State: Business, Unions and Regions in Brazil*, assembles three articles, each representing an important contribution to a better understanding of the process of change in Brazil since the beginning of the 1990s.

This deep change implies not only a rupture with the former strategy of development, but also the restructuring of state–society relations, and the

rejection of the previous state model. The focus of these articles is the study of three strategic actors in the process of building a new order: the business elites, the unions and those who represent regional interests. The main question is their capacity to influence governmental decision-making and their ability to interfere in the general process of change.

The first article, by Ben Schneider, which analyses the political role of industrialists in the present stage of Brazilian transition, reinforces the conclusions of the main studies about the historical trajectory of the business class in the country since the 1930s: its weakness as a collective actor, in spite of the strengthening of its organisational resources in the course of time and notwithstanding its individual weight or personal connections with state authorities. Schneider's work reveals that industrial elites were not successful in their efforts to influence one of the main items of the public agenda, that is, the constitutional reforms.

In explaining this weak capacity for joint action, the author emphasises three main aspects: the organisational characteristics of business corporatist structure of interest representation (especially the lack of a strong peak association), the historical incapacity of industrialists to create a political party able to act for the entrepreneurial interests as a whole and, finally, the fractionalisation of the Brazilian political system. Here the author points out the effect of the fragmentation of the party system and of the legislative representation. He considers this aspect as one of the most salient factors responsible for the lack of political power among businessmen in Brazil.

Without denying the relevance of these aspects, I consider it useful to add two other factors. The first is the politico-institutional constraint that affects the present shape of state–society relations, as a consequence of the increase in the despotic power of the state in Brazil after the establishment of the New Republic. The intensification of this power resulted in a broadening of the range of actions which state elites are empowered to undertake without routine and institutionalised negotiations with civil society groups. The strong concentration in decision-making in the high echelons of the techno-bureaucracy and the vast power of decree of the President were two of the factors responsible for this peculiar situation, which in turn accentuated the imbalance of the Executive and the Legislative powers. The other factor is related to the historical low capacity of the business class to incorporate extra-entrepreneurial interests into its agenda, especially those that relate to the interests of the working class. From the time of Sarney's government the political behaviour of the business elite shows its great difficulty in adapting to a strategy of pacts and negotiations which would expand the scope of alliances, thus breaking its tendency to preserve, above all, close links with state elites.

The second article, by Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, focuses on the capacity that the unions have shown in facing globalisation and the new nature of the capitalist economy, at both world and national level. She emphasises the recent institutional transformation in the system of interest intermediation, the main result of which was the decline of a corporatism that had prevailed for more than 50 years. At the same time, democratisation enhanced the role of union mobilisation. One of the characteristics of this process was the strengthening and diversification of the organisations created during the struggle against the military regime, although their number and relative empowerment varied during

the 1980s. Furthermore, as the author points out, 'while union membership in the urban areas dropped slightly from 1979 to 1994, the number of unions grew dramatically after 1988'. On the other hand, decentralisation, internal divisions and lack of cohesion hampered their political power as a collective actor. This article coincides with the first in one important aspect: like the business class, the unions have shown little capacity to influence the process of reform. As already noted, the explanation concentrates on the internal characteristic of the union structure. Perhaps the inclusion of three other important and interrelated aspects could contribute in expanding the scope of the analysis. First, the concentration and the remoteness of governmental decision-making; second, the consequent decrease in the governing capacity of the legislative body; finally, the demobilising effects of the low rate of investment and the growing rate of unemployment that has hit the country since mid 1990s.

Celina Souza's article calls attention to another important actor in the interplay of political forces that affect the process of reform; the regional interests. These interests have always been very influential, but their power has increased further still as a result of the decentralisation established by the constitution of 1988. This very informative article highlights the cleavages and contradictions that have characterised the relationships between national and sub-national instances of government, especially in respect to the impact of decentralisation. On the one hand, this innovation favoured the prospects of democratic consolidation in Brazil through the emergence of new political actors on the political scene and through the expansion of the pressures for a new pattern of negotiation on national issues. On the other hand, as the author emphasizes, decentralisation 'might impede the reduction of the country's historical regional inequalities, because of the financial and political weakening of the federal government'. It is therefore necessary to consider the limits of financial decentralisation in countries where regional and social inequalities are so deep. Another important point is that the increase in the states' financial resources following the introduction of the constitution of 1988 has had little effect upon their own finances. This is not only because of the expansion of their payroll, but also because of the size of their inherited debt, which, in turn, has been exacerbated by the policy of high interest rates to sustain the stabilisation programme.

I would like to stress once again the quality of the articles in this publication and their contribution to deepening the debate about the present dilemmas Brazil faces in order to conciliate modernising reforms with the surpassing of its pressing economic and institutional problems.

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro ELI DINIZ

R. Andrew Chesnut, *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentocostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), pp. x + 203, $50.00, $19.95 pb.

The Pentecostal boom of Andrew Chesnut's title threatens to turn into an academic boom as well, and with greater reason in this case because he offers us 'two books for the price of one'. His volume is split literally and metaphorically down the middle into two analyses, both of high quality, and which, though they may not in strict reasoning be mutually incompatible, are certainly surprising to

find under the same authorship. In producing them, Chesnut has nonetheless performed a valuable service, revealing more glaringly than most the analytical and presentational dilemmas facing students of his subject.

Although the author does not quite intend the word to be interpreted so broadly, the book could be said to deal with two sets of 'pathogens': one consists of the innumerable physical and psychological sufferings which poverty brings, ranging from illness to depression to domestic violence, drugs and alcohol. The others are the pathogens of politics: clientelism, authoritarianism, abuse of power. Pentecostalism may offer relief from the former, but, at least – and not only – in Belem, it accentuates the latter.

The first part of the book, based on a combination of survey and participant observation, explains in detail the way in which Pentecostal adherence solves or alleviates the daily sufferings of the poor. In contrast with the short-term contracts a Brazilian might make with an *umbanda* spirit or a local saint, the commitment which follows from conversion, if sustained, changes her life style so much that she escapes many of the pathogens of poverty. In addition the church member joins a group in which the intense pressure to fulfil ritual commitments produces a change of life in itself. In some sense, women – and two thirds of Pentecostals are women according to all available studies – are empowered by joining a church.

The second part of the book then describes church organisation and the participation of the leadership of the vast and well established Assemblies of God in Belem in political life at the state and even national level. It is a tale of organisation-building and power-accumulation by Pastor-President Paulo Machado, who enjoyed an intimate and profitable relationship with the military government and used his power in the church quite brazenly to promote his family's political careers. It will no longer be possible to claim that the neo-Pentecostal Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, famous in Brazil for its high-profile political interventions, is exceptional in this respect. Chesnut is to be congratulated on gaining access to the Assemblies' archives and on producing such a lively account of what he found in them.

The originality of the first part of the book lies in the evidence it contains for a materialist explanation of Pentecostal expansion among the poor. We are asked to believe the stories of conversion, cure and change of life, but not exactly to accept them as explanations: the explanation offered is rather an implicitly psychological one. Here much greater anthropological sophistication would have been helpful, for it is hard to accept the bald claim that the descent of the Holy Spirit ('spiritual baptism') 'Fills believers with the strength to face a harsh reality and persevere' (p. 96). The rituals of legitimation and certification of such experiences need to be analyzed, together with the resulting rewards and social pressures.

Yet it is difficult to gauge that any Pentecostals are being empowered when they are subject to the unrestrained political manipulation recounted in the later chapters. In principle, it is possible that people are empowered in their private life while being utterly deprived of their citizenship, but the intuitive contradiction between these two analyses entitles us to expect the author to attempt to reconcile them: Chesnut did not, perhaps because he could not.

In this he is not alone: researchers on this subject have great difficulty in responding to a phenomenon which is ideologically and culturally distasteful to

most of them yet finds such widespread acceptance among the poor and even seems to help them. Some have resolved the issue by discovering that Pentecostals are not as politically conservative as is usually thought, or that they do participate in social movements, but they have to try very hard to discover these findings. Others, like Chesnut, try to specify the real benefits to the poor of conversion to Pentecostalism. Chesnut has done excellent research and produced a far thicker corpus of testimonial material than anyone else. However, the explanations, because of the lack of a theoretical framework, leave too many questions unanswered, while the best evidence – on politics – provides ample ammunition to those who would disagree.

The corpus of reliable information on Pentecostalism is further enriched by the research report of the Rio de Janeiro Instituto de Estudos Superiores da Religião (ISER). Based on a meticulously drawn and very large sample of 'evangélicos' in the Rio area, this report confirms some widely held views and casts serious doubt on others: the predominance of women is confirmed, as is the high rate of church attendance and of compliance with the obligation to donate regularly to the church, and also the close association between health and family crises and conversion. The churches also show an impressive ability to deliver the votes of their congregants to the preferred candidates of the leadership. On the other hand, we find surprisingly large numbers taking part in the election of pastors (contradicting some assumptions about authoritarianism), a widespread use of contraception, and more tolerance than one might expect with respect to homosexuals and unmarried mothers. But these results vary, especially when the Assemblies of God are contrasted with the high-profile and controversial neo-Pentecostal Universal Church, whose members are more right-wing in their votes, less participatory in church management, and less fertile. These results are presented in the form of a report which has been widely circulated, but they require to be contextualised and raise all manner of interesting questions: we await the deeper analysis by a highly talented team of researchers.

University of Cambridge DAVID LEHMANN

Wendy Hunter, *Eroding Military Influence in Brazil: Politicians against Soldiers* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Pres, 1997), pp. xiv + 243, $39.95, $18.95 pb.

In this book Wendy Hunter seeks to answer an important question: 'What impact did the regime changes of the 1980s have on the role of the military in politics?' She lays out the political science theory of 'rational choice', that she sees fulfilled at most points of decision. Then she shows how Brazilian politicians reduced military roles in four case studies on prerogatives, labour rights, national budget allocations, and Amazonian programmes. Her main thesis is that 'electoral competition creates incentives for politicians to reduce the interference of a politically powerful and active military, and that broad popular support enhances their capacity to do so' (p. 2). Her argument rests on the reasonable notion that politicians are motivated by self-interest, rather than national ideals. Her discussion of the analytic themes of the study tacks tightly to the literature.

But she would have done better by reading more deeply into the history of the development of Brazil's earlier constitutions. It would have led her to ask

important questions and to avoid unfounded assertions. It is *not* true that this '*was the first time in the making of any Brazilian constitution since 1891* [emphasis added]… that the military as an institution [actually there are three separate institutions not one] launched an active and systematic defense of its corporate interests' (p. 44). Even a quick reading of the debates and news reports related to the constitutions of 1934 and 1946 would have prevented such a statement. Moreover, generals had a fair amount to say about the infamous document of 1937. As for questions, if she had asked why the army was concerned with oversight of the states' *polícia militar*, she might have seen the debate as more than one over 'military prerogatives'. As the agent of a centralising federalism the army had sought from early in this century to gain control over the historically disruptive state 'armies'. The officers' historic worry has not been control of public security in the states, but rather the prevention of state-level armed challenges to the national government. If the federal government had not gained control over the state forces in the 1930s the map of Brazil might well be different today.

In the 1988 constitution, she fails to note a very significant change from earlier national charters in the shift of the 150 km deep border security zone from military to civilian federal police responsibility. Her case study of Amazon development policies appears to question the legitimacy of Brazil defending its territorial sovereignty (pp. 116–38). Such an approach causes Brazilians, including military officers, to suspect the motives of foreign researchers. The Brazilian record on treatment of native peoples is far from perfect, but for an army minister to say that 'Indians must become Brazilians' (p. 124) is no different than the national policy of the author's own country.

She said that the military had 'a clear victory' in preserving the three service ministries and preventing creation of a new inclusive ministry of defense. True, the new ministry was not included in the constitution of 1988, but the president has the authority to modify the cabinet ministries and a Defense Ministry under a civilian is included in the cabinet structure which Fernando Henrique Cardoso announced in December 1998.

Throughout Hunter writes as if the armed forces were monolithic, only here and there does she note differences among the services. Throughout there is an assumption that 'group think' prevails and she made no effort to probe for differences of opinion among officers. Her bibliography has only two articles from the army's leading journal *A Defesa Nacional* and none from the other services. This book is not the last word on the military and politics in post-1985 Brazil.

University of New Hampshire FRANK D. MCCANN

Celina Souza, *Constitutional Engineering in Brazil: The Politics of Federalism and Decentralization* (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), pp. xiii + 211, £45.00, hb.

The decision to decentralise power to states and municipalities in Brazil in 1988 was made, unusually, by elected representatives and subnational powerholders rather than by authorities at the centre. In Souza's view, this exacerbated a tendency towards paralysis at the national level by reinforcing negative 'veto power' at different levels. The result was a 'peripheralized federalism', driven as

ever by 'the need to accommodate the demands of conflicting elites and to cope with great regional inequalities' (p. 20). In the absence of a clear and consensual national project throughout the process of democratisation and constitutional reform, a significant feature which Souza brings out with admirable force, 'decentralization was adopted without a definition of what was to be achieved' (p. 93). Four aspects of the constitution-making process combined to promote decentralisation: the overall context, shaped by a desire to shift power from a centre still associated with military control; the weakness of the executive after the death of Neves; the membership of the constitutional assembly, dominated by representatives of regional elites but subjected at the same time to a variety of direct popular pressures; and the manner in which the constitution was put together, through relatively independent committees and subcommittees, and successive rounds of negotiation. Not only were resources shifted to states and municipalities while responsibilities remained with the centre, but at the same time Congress gained considerable leverage over the budget-making process – a leverage increasingly exploited to pursue regional or local goals through the exercise of group and individual veto power. The result was the emergence of a 'paralyzed competitive arena' at the centre, but the impact of decentralisation outside Brasilia is another matter, and is less well understood. Souza explores the process at national, regional and local levels, incorporating case studies of Bahia, its capital, Salvador, and is largest industrial municipality, Camaçari, and keeping a consistent focus on shifting patterns of power and resource distribution and their impact on political practices.

As the complementary studies of Bahia, Salvador and Camaçari show, the politics of democratisation and decentralisation at those regional and local levels were complex. Bahian politics was dominated, though never entirely monopolised, by Antonio Carlos Magalhães. He controlled a significant proportion of deputies elected from the state, and placed his modernising faction at the unconditional service of Sarney, Collor and Cardosa successively, while building a national position through strategic media alliances. This in turn prompted an alliance between the PMDB and the old PDS, giving rise to a triangular pattern which continues to shape state politics today. In the meantime, the orientation of state resources towards industrial development and those of Salvador to cosy deals with private building contractors starved health and education of support, pushing responsibility for the latter increasingly to the municipal level. Here as elsewhere, patronage politics dominated, with the provision of low-paid public employment the continuing priority. Municipal bankruptcy in Salvador and neglect of popular concerns in Camaçari occasionally prompted the election of radical politicians, but lack of resources and dependence on federal benevolence doomed them to failure, and in some cases to rescue by resort to the deep pockets of Magalhães. Overall, the return to democracy and the new dispensation arising from the 1988 constitution made depressingly little impact on political trends in the state – except that local politicians, interviewed in the early 1990s, detected a rejection of the old politics of clientelism, and a new interest in the efficient delivery of services. The tendency of incumbents to lose at all levels, and for the state governor and the mayor of Salvador to come from opposing parties, also suggested a growing scepticism with all political options.

This valuable study offers a coherent picture of the lack of national direction in the 'decade of democratization' from 1984. At the same time, amidst much

loose talk these days of a new 'politics of the governors,' it conveys well the significance and complexity of state- and local-level politics, and the intricacy of their connections with national power. Similar investigations of the political economy and institutional forms of local, regional and national coalitions across Brazil since 1994 would make a welcome change from endless Brasilia-based laments over the incoherence of the national party system.

University of Manchester PAUL CAMMACK

Joseph L. Love, *Crafting the Third World: Theorizing Underdevelopment in Rumania and Brazil* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. ix + 348, £50.00, £16.95 pb.

This is an eccentic text, and on conventional criteria it fails to achieve its purpose. But there is an old-fashioned integrity about it, and it repays reading. Love sets out to compare thinking about economic development in Rumania between 1880 and 1945 and Brazil between 1930 and 1980, and to contribute to the history of ideas, partly through a focus on the 'trade theory' developed by the Rumanian corporatist and fascist Mihail Manoilescu. His influence on protectionist and corporatist thinking in Brazil in the 1930s plays a role in the story, but the focus turns more broadly to the general context of heterodox economic thought in Latin America in the 1930s and 1940s, with an emphasis in an extended central section on Prebisch (Part II). This broadens the focus to the Keynesian revolution, and to the related work of Kalecki, Balogh, Kaldor and others of their Cambridge circle. At the same time, Love is interested in the intersection between structuralism on the one hand, and orthodox and revisionist Marxism on the other, so comes to focus in his discussion of Rumania (Part I) and Brazil (Part III) on the 'peasant question', and its implications for the status of the bourgeoisie and the prospects for revolution.

The principal problem which arises is the lack of fit between Marxist debates about the peasantry in each country on the one hand, and the narrative about development economics on the other. The structure of the book reflects this. In the Rumania section, two chapters on debates between populists and Marxists (featuring principally Stere, Racovski, Dobrogeanu-Gherea, Zeletin and Patrascanu) give way after a bridging chapter to two chapters on Manoilescu's work on unequal exchange, internal colonialism and corporatism. Part II, with its focus on Prebisch, follows, and the Brazil section opens with chapters on the post-1930 context in economic thinking, and on Furtado's structuralism. At this point Marxism and the peasant question return, in a discussion that ranges over dependency theory and mode of production theory from the 1960s onwards. The outer shell – on the peasant question – requires broader treatment, as there is no direct connection between Rumanian and Brazilian debates on the peasantry, class structure, and prospects for local capitalism or revolution. Equally, the inner core demands fuller treatment of heterodox theory in the period. For example, Love mentions Prebisch's book on Keynes repeatedly, but offers no account of how Prebisch interpreted Keynes, or presented him to a Latin American audience. He is scrupulous in assessing and largely rejecting evidence for Manoilescu's direct influence (with the well-known exception of his appeal to Simonsen and other

supporters of protection around Vargas in the 1930s), rightly attributing more influence over Prebisch to Kindleberger along with the Cambridge school. But this in turn undermines the key role Manoilescu plays in the conception and structure of the book. Whatever the merits of Manoilescu's view that low productivity in agricultural production in itself justified a switch to protected industrialisation (derived anyway from Soviet debates in the 1920s), Love shows that Prebisch's concerns were quite different (tied up with trade cycles and relative propensities to import, for example), and they emerged in a quite different context. Whichever way one turns it, then, the overall structure of the book is highly idiosyncratic, and unsatisfactory.

Nevertheless, the scholarly apparatus (over a hundred pages of notes and bibliography) bears witness to the sustained research which underpins the project. Love is a good and careful historian, and each section, as a result, has its own independent merits. The debates he recounts about class structure and paths of economic development in newly-independent, grain-exporting Rumania in the late nineteenth century will be of considerable interest to historians of the same period in Latin America, though Love himself is not familiar with the relevant comparative material. Part II, in turn, opens up a fascinating research agenda on Latin America in the 1930s and 1940s. In particular, the paragraphs (pp. 124–30) on Prebisch's ideas and international activity in the period preceding the founding of ECLA suggest the potential for a major contribution to current debates on globalisation and international political economy. In contrast, Love is rather too brief on Furtado's major work to offer a good overall assessment of his contribution, and the account of subsequent Brazilian debates is extremely compressed. But again, there is more than enough here to recall the vitality of structuralist and Marxist scholarship in the 1960s and 1970s, and to provide some perspective on the excessively foreshortened view propagated in much of the contemporary literature. This book has strong virtues as well as structural faults, then, and it will be for the reader to decide whether the latter outweigh the former.

University of Manchester PAUL CAMMACK

H. P. Klepak (ed.), *Natural Allies? Canadian and Mexican Perspectives on International Security* (Carleton, Ontario: Carleton University Press and Canadian Foundation for the Americas, 1996), pp. 208, pb.

Canada has finally cast aside its 'traditional aloofness from the rest of the hemisphere' (p. 139) and discovered Latin America. In the last decade Canada has joined the Organisation of American States (after contemplating such a move since the turn of the century), has signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (with the United States and Mexico), and in the last six years has seen three high-profile trade missions to the region led by the Prime Minister. Trade with the region has increased noticeably, Canadian troops have been involved in peace-keeping and humanitarian missions there, and both tourism and cultural connections continue to grow.

In many ways Canada's natural ally in these ventures to the south is Mexico. Sovereignty is extremely important for both countries, although there are other shared interests – ensuring national security and promoting trade, for example. And of course the issue of 'security' increasingly involves a number of less

traditional concerns – from narcotics to corruption, migration patterns to vast socio-economic disparities. Finally the presence of a common, powerful neighbour is reason in itself to consider coordinating approaches on security measures.

The book, based upon a series of presentations given in a conference held in Mexico in 1994, is divided into three sections. The first deals with the context for Mexican and Canadian approaches to traditional security questions; the second analyzes current positions on their most pressing international security matters; and the third assesses future prospects or bilateral cooperation. The participants were a combination of academics and diplomats who together have fashioned a balanced anthology of essays on this topic.

By far the most interesting is the second section, with five first-rate contributions. Here the contributors seek to redefine the shifting sands of security concerns in the late 20th century. It is time now, argues one contributor, to develop the 'orientation and rules of the game for sharing power within the hemisphere during the coming decades' (p. 132). There are differences in concerns over the most pressing security issues, and clearly differing agendas in Ottawa and Mexico City (the threat of social unrest in Mexico and the challenge of underdevelopment, for example are clearly not major security concerns in Canada).

Nevertheless, there are many areas where regional and bilateral cooperation are both desirable and necessary. (The issues of pollution, immigration, narcotics smuggling, and money-laundering spring to mind). The clear trend since 1989 to strengthen links along a north–south axis, and to rebuild connections between centre and the periphery, clearly indicate the desirability of such a strategy in the case of Mexico and Canada. Brian Stevenson emphasizes Canada's pursuit of 'cooperative security', an innovative approach of internationalist values that seems pertinent for the modern period.

It is clear that there are indeed converging interests, with mutual benefits for both countries, in the post-Cold War era. It is also apparent that these two countries have more in common than is widely thought. As Klepak notes with some insight, 'One cannot escape geography, but bilateral efforts aimed at maximizing linkages between Canada and Mexico would gain from the absence of asymmetries and historical baggage' (p. 185). The fundamental question which remains to be addressed, however, is whether Canada and Mexico are ready to overcome vast cultural differences – and a long-standing tradition of ignoring each other – in order to devise a shared security agenda. This book argues, and argues convincingly, that there are indeed significant reasons for the political leaders of both countries to work closer in pursuing this goal. One hopes that they are listening.

Dalhousie University JOHN M. KIRK

Lars Schoultz, *Beneath the United States. A History of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. xvii + 476, £24.95, £12.50 pb.

Written with a sharp sense of humour, Lars Schoultz's *Beneath the United States* is a strong criticism of US policy towards Latin America for almost 200 years. Schoultz's work integrates the most popular interpretations of US policy and

gives them order and coherence by arguing that US hegemony, implemented in a variety of styles, was ultimately shaped by the belief of Latin American cultural inferiority. Schoultz depicts the policy of a powerful country, pursuing specific interests such as the protection of its citizens, trade, investment and security, that turns out to be the wrong policy because it was designed and implemented in terms of US interests and objectives only, and based on erroneous assumptions about Latin Americans' identities. By this formula, the region's own reality and goals are ignored. Thus Schoultz places US policy-makers in a vicious cycle in which they consider Latin Americans to be inferior because they cannot achieve what they think is good for them while, at the same time, Latin Americans cannot achieve it because they are inferior. It is a book about misperceptions, narrow definitions and ethnocentrism that accurately depicts training and sensitivity deficits about Latin America in the minds of most US policy-makers.

Schoultz has resorted to one of the most difficult types of research: that of evaluating mentalities, not even ideologies. Without neglecting variables such as the international system or domestic politics, he turns to individuals to explain US policy. It is US policy-makers' (*mis*)perceptions which have determined the nature of 'Hispanic culture' and, therefore, what Latin American countries *should* aim towards and how they should ultimately behave. *Beneath the United States* is an interesting mixture of first-image analysis – although exclusively concerning the hegemon – and basic realist propositions. In Schoultz' words: '[I]t is about the way a powerful nation treats its weaker neighbors' (p. xii). Hegemony implemented as military intervention, 'Dollar Diplomacy', the Good Neighbour Policy, containment or the defence of human rights, has always been pervaded by US officials' mentalities, that is their explicit or implicit convictions that Latin Americans are inferior. By failing to recognise Latin American diversity and the legitimacy of regional leaders' particular understanding of their own problems and search for solutions, US policy has rarely succeeded.

The unavoidable question suggested by *Beneath the United States* is of course, why do US policy-makers keep misunderstanding the problems of the region and trying to fit them into a pattern apart from what Latin Americans necessarily want or require? How is it possible that officials of the regional hegemon, resourceful and capable, have not seen that problems and policies towards Latin America might be understood and implemented other than via 'the American way'? Or is it that a certain arrogance of power blinds them? In effect, Schoultz's argument leads us to consider that the ultimate research question should be why have US officials not been able to understand Latin American reality, rather than the more traditional question of why particular US policies have been interventionist, patronising, arrogant, etc.

The author concludes that the state in which Latin American countries found themselves after Independence, not their Hispanic legacy, was a recipe for instability. So a power asymmetry existed from the beginning of the national histories of the hemisphere, but not for reasons assumed by US policy-makers. Thus, given the differences in power and development between the US and Latin America, how different could US policy be? What would have happened had US officials in the nineteenth century or early twentieth century not blamed Latin American 'Hispanic' character for political instability and economic stagnation? The story told by Schoultz does not answer these questions, perhaps because Latin America is considered a passive object by the author. US policy

has certainly been designed and implemented mostly by Washington but we cannot forget that there is a recipient, and that in several occasions this recipient, Latin America, asked for or encouraged US intervention, military and otherwise. Whatever the division of responsibility between the US and Latin America may be, Schoultz' work is essential reading for students of US foreign policy and US–Latin American relations for it provides a powerful and barely used argument about the (recurring) failure of US policy towards its southern neighbours. *Beneath the United States* contributes to the advancement of knowledge by making it clear that the literature about US policy towards Latin America still has many hypotheses to prove.

El Colegio de México ANA COVARRUBIAS

Scott Mainwaring and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.), *Politics*, *Society*, *and Democracy: Latin America* (Boulder, CO, and London: Westview Press, 1997), xiii + 266, $65.00, hb.

Politics, *Society and Democracy: Latin America*, is one of four volumes compiled in honour of the writings of Juan Linz, with particular reference to his work on Latin America. Through a collection of scholarly essays, the book engages with a number of areas of study undertaken by Linz over the years. The authors in this volume draw on the various themes of his work which have prompted some of the more prominent lines of academic research and debate in the contemporary study of Latin American politics and society.

Linz's work on authoritarian regimes forms the basis for three of the contributions in this book. Miguel Angel Centeno uses the scholar's well-known typology of non-democratic regimes as the starting point for a characterisation of Mexico's political system, with its unique format of authoritarian but elected presidentialism. For Carlos Huneeus, Linz's model of authoritarianism provides a useful tool of analysis in his comparison of Franco's Spain and Pinochet in Chile to evaluate both the development of these regimes and their long-term impact. Of particular interest is Susan Eckstein's chapter on Cuba which takes Linz's discussion on totalitarian regimes further, with a view to focusing less on state ideology, and more on the constraints imposed on the state by international conditions, the resistance tactics of society itself, and the contradictions and conflicts within the state bureaucracy.

Juan Linz's path-breaking work on democratic breakdown, and subsequently democratic politics has been a major influence on the literature on transitions to democracy and regime consolidation which has dominated the study of contemporary politics in Latin America in recent times. For Linz, democracy is to be valued for its political dimension, beyond (but not irrespective of) social and economic outcomes. His work is reflected in the various characterisations of transition moments, the study of the strategic choices and political behaviour of political actors at key moments during regime transformation, and then the development of institutional and constitutional options and outcomes. Hartlyn's chapter on democratic transitions in Latin America engages in the discussion on the connection between the mode of transition and the nature and quality of subsequent political processes. The author develops a conceptual disaggregation

of the process of regime change which helps to explain why similar transitions modes have yielded such different outcomes.

The reflections by Arturo Valenzuela, and by Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugard attest to the importance of the debate on institutional forms that was inspired by Linz's critique of presidentialism, and that has been of considerable consequence in recent discussions and even decisions of constitutional reform in Latin America. Michael Coppedge draws on Linz's work on political parties in Spain to develop an explanatory framework of analysis for the paths of formation and development of party systems in Latin America. Joseph Love's piece on federalism in Brazil reflects the impact of Linz's writings on Spain for the study of regionalism. The final chapter by Samuel Valenzuela draws useful lessons in the art of comparative analysis from Linz's theoretical and methodological approach to the study of politics.

The analytical and conceptual insight combined with the breadth and historical depth of Juan Linz's work both on Spain and Latin America has stimulated academic debate and discussion on a broad range of political themes and issues. The chapter contributions presented here meet the standards of scholarly work set by Juan Linz, and undoubtedly rise to the occasion of this tribute, presenting a valuable volume for both students and scholars of contemporary Latin American politics.

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PILAR DOMINGO

Georgina Waylen, *Gender in Third World Politics* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996), pp. xi + 163, £45.00, £14.99 pb.

Georgina Waylen's *Gender in Third World Politics* is a thoughtful and concise introduction to the growing field of comparative women's political participation. Waylen's strength is that she clears away the underbrush. She begins by justifying the use of 'third world' as a category of states, then crisply compares the major feminist approaches to the study of women and politics (radical, socialist and liberal) and the views of those who criticise these theories for overgeneralising about 'women'.

Waylen finds elements of Joan Scott's defence of gender as an analytical category useful here, adopting her view that 'gender is a way of signifying relationships of power' and that identities, 'constructed through "experience" and "discourse" (p. 9)' are critical. Because gender relations of power are negotiated across the social spectrum, the study of gender and politics cannot be confined to the study of formal institutions. Indeed, few of the conventional terms of analysis are serviceable: '…ostensibly neutral political processes and concepts, such as nationalism, citizenship and the state, are fundamentally gendered' (p. 5).

Waylen then looks at how women have fared in four very different political contexts: under colonialism, revolutionary regimes, authoritarianism, and democracy. Each chapter provides a brief review of the relevant literature on these regime types, noting that gender has been virtually ignored by mainstream texts, but drawing on a wealth of case study material to fill the gaps. Waylen

brings women into view as a fundamental part of the dynamics of colonial economic exploitation, legal regulation and political control in Africa. She shows that African women developed economic alternatives in the informal sector, used legal strategies to resist and challenge colonial regulation, and organised collective actions that were often brutally repressed and usually misread and misunderstood by colonial rulers.

Socialist ideology and the increasingly active participation of women in guerrilla armies made the status of women an issue for revolutionary movements. But, as Waylen shows, revolutionary regimes in Africa and Latin America did not fully integrate women politically or economically. The Marxist tenet that the oppression of women could be explained by capitalist economic exploitation allowed the revolutionary leadership to mobilise women to meet regime goals while avoiding 'strategic' issues of gender and power. The absence of independent women's organisations doomed any real progress on these issues.

The chapters on authoritarianism and democracy rely heavily on Waylen's work in Latin America and particularly on her detailed knowledge of Chile. The chapter emphasises how military repression in the name of conservative religious and family values had the effect (ironically) of politicising many women and giving organisations like the Madres of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina important, if often symbolic, roles in the democratic transitions.

Waylen's chapter on democracy, though quite good on its own terms, illustrates what I think is the key weakness of the book. Although there is some discussion of the transitions to democracy in 'neo-patrimonial' African regimes, this chapter shows most clearly the lack of a broader empirical base. *Gender in Third World Politics* is primarily about women in Africa (under colonialism and in some revolutionary regimes); the material on women in authoritarian regimes and democratic governments is largely from Chile and Brazil. Important regional differences – in the kinds of authoritarianisms women face, in their organisational and political strategies, and in their personal and political identities are not explored, and the potential for comparative analysis suggested by the title is never developed. Nonetheless, this is a very useful beginning, and an excellent supplementary text for graduates and undergraduates who will benefit both from Waylen's clear prose, her knowledge of political economy, and her analysis of the literature. It whets the appetite for more.

Occidental College JANE S. JAQUETTE

Lynn Stephen, *Women and Social Movements in Latin America: Power from Below* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997), pp. xiii + 332, $37.50, $16.95 pb.

Lynn Stephen's book on popular or grass roots women's organisations revisits, from the perspective of the 1990s, earlier debates over how to analyse the significance and variety of women's social movements. The six case studies which make up the volume are diverse in character, and, as Stephens points out, not easily categorised. The 'motherist' Co-Madres and ex-FMLN Dignas of El Salvador work for human rights as well as for changes in gender relations; CONAMUP, an urban survival movement in Mexico is concerned as much with feminist agendas as with issues of survival, and the three associations of rural

women workers – an indigenous *ejido* union and two rural wage workers organisations – (the MMTR in Brazil and a seasonal workers union in Chile) combine struggles for fair treatment at work with wider agendas for social reform. This leads Stephens to conclude that attempts to differentiate between women's movements on the basis of their goals, their interests, their feminism, or their class, are doomed to fail. The case studies appear to confirm the now well established view that women's identities, however strongly rooted in conventional sex roles, do not exclude other identifications of class or political allegiance, and do not simply or necessarily translate into identity politics of the classic kind.

The book is organised in four main parts corresponding to the countries where the movements have arisen with background introductions setting the historical and political context for each. Each case study describes the origins and evolving aims of the movements and each is accompanied by extracts from interviews with leaders and activists. Not all are equally detailed, with fuller accounts on the countries Stephen knows best, Mexico and El Salvador. But the format provides a useful contextualisation with information on both the subjective and structural elements of these movements as they developed during the period the research was conducted (1989–95).

This was a time in which women's movements became increasingly institutionalised and began, albeit in a hesitant manner, to deal with the state and with questions of law and policy. As the trajectories of the six organisations show, there were other common themes in their evolution. Most of the founders had left some other activity or organisation feeling that their needs and interests as women were not being addressed. They established their woman-centred organisations the better to meet this need, and while many did not identify with feminism *per se*, they presided over the progressive expansion of their associations' agendas to embrace demands and issues which are nonetheless those associated with feminism's historic claims – including sexual autonomy and reproductive rights. This evolution is often explained in the literature on women's movements as resulting from the greater autonomy women's associations enjoyed, and from the empowering experience of collective activity within 'women's spaces'. Important though these factors undoubtedly are, Stephen's cases show that such a progression also depended on politics and on other external influences. The leaders of these organisations had some prior involvement in the *basismo* of Catholic radicalism, or in left and trade union politics and, even though they came to criticise their treatment as women within them, they were to some degree formed politically by that experience. Of equal, perhaps even more, significance is the fact that they were also exposed to feminist ideas as they spread through the continent and gained in international significance in the 1980s and 1990s. The more romantic end of the social movement literature and that on women's movements has too often ignored or played down the role of politics, feminist or otherwise, in the evolution of grass roots activism and organisation. Yet it often makes the critical difference between what goals and agendas are formulated.

Stephen's research was based on collaborative methods and empathy with the movements studied. She is critical of some of the theoretical analysis of women's movements, and rightly so of oversimplified categorisations which when applied in doctrinaire manner to political projects are especially counterproductive. But in arguing that 'abstract categories' of any kind should not be applied to grass roots

mobilisations on the grounds that reality is more complex, she is on more questionable ground. The analysis of the character of the goals and agendas of women's movements and of their broader political significance is a valid enterprise, and one which depends as much on the application of 'abstract categories' as on empirical research. Stephen's book is a welcome contribution to the study of Latin America's notable history of female activism, but there remain important issues of analysis in relation to 'popular feminism' that while suggested here, need further exploration.

Institute of Latin American Studies, London MAXINE MOLYNEUX

J. J. Thomas, *Surviving in the City: The Urban Informal Sector in Latin America* (London: Pluto Press, 1995), pp. xvi + 156, £35.00, £11.99 pb.

This book tackles one of the most debated problems in Latin America during the 1980s and the early 1990s: the urban informal sector. The author is interested in analysing in the light of the last decade's crisis the group that does not work in the modern sector and is not unemployed. He seeks out its main characteristics, asking if this is an homogeneous group or not, how its members survive and asks whether governments should promote their activities or not. Thomas begins by locating these phenomena within informal economic activity, which he defines as all activity of an economic nature that are not completely reported in the national accounts. So after the home, the irregular and the criminal sectors, the informal urban sector (IUS) appears as that which produces and distributes legal goods and services in a 'quasi-legal' way. Starting from this premise, issues such as the size of the informal sector and its relations with the formal sector are tackled. A series of problems such as poverty and gender are subsequently considered in terms of how they are articulated with informality. Finally the future of the sector is discussed.

Thomas' analysis of this complex problematic has three virtues. The first is the careful revision of the different approaches to this phenomenon: the anthropological, that of ILO/PRELAC, the simple mercantilist production model and Hernando de Soto's proposal. Thomas persuasively points out that there has been no real debate between these approaches, and there has instead been a dialogue of the deaf. According to Thomas, this is a result of growing specialisation in the social sciences. The author feels close to the focus of PRELAC, where an analytical framework that is consistent with the reality of the region has been elaborated. This has then been contrasted with the empirical data, and changes have been monitored during a long period. This is a fair recognition of an approach that has not always received a fair treatment from other academic sectors in the region.

Another virtue of the text has to do with the analytical emphasis given to the problems of articulation of the IUS with the formal sector (FS). This interpretation is undertaken in terms of backward and forward linkages, but the greatest richness is found in the discussion of the relationship of both sectors in terms of exploitation and symbiosis. The author's conclusion is prudent, postulating that although the IUS is in a subordinate position, complementarities exist between both sectors and these relationships must be analysed through time because they are constantly changing.

Finally, the importance given to the heterogeneous nature of the IUS is a distinct virtue of the text. This is very important in terms of policy because it raises the need to think in terms of different models of intervention. Thomas' interest is located on the side of supply, relating a series of issues with the IUS: poverty, gender and age. He concludes that there is a need for disaggregated analysis of the data by categories.

The last chapter is perhaps the least convincing. In it Thomas tackles the future of the sector, but his view is based on the premise that the crisis of the 1980s and the subsequent structural adjustment processes have not meant real changes, and that it is therefore possible to continue working with the same segmentation of the urban labour market in terms of the division between formal and informal. I would argue that substantial and continuous transformations question the interpretative frameworks of the informal sector. The present technological revolution based on micro-electronic development means that that technological development is no longer associated with the size of the company as in the Fordian model. Today it is possible for small companies to be technologically advanced. This questions PRELAC's position where the technological level associated with size was the main segmentation criteria between IUS/FS. In the same way, the regulationist approach is affected by the growing deregulation of labour markets that produces a generalised precariousness of work as the barrier between regulated and unregulated occupations becomes increasingly diffused.

Informality should be understood in terms of the process of globalisation and its logics of inclusion and exclusion. In this sense it is possible to think of different scenarios of a new informality, an economy of poverty that would receive the collection of excluded informal activities; a subordinated integration that would be expressed in phenomena such as sub-contracting (to which Thomas has given great attention), and the more autonomous integration expressed in groupings of small companies where socio-territoriality would play a main role. This is the direction in which discussion of the informal sector should be heading.

FLACSO/Costa Rica JUAN PABLO PÉREZ SÁINZ

Robert Grosse (ed.), *Generating Savings for Latin American Development* (Miami: University of Miami, North–South Center Press, 1998), pp. ii + 183, £19.95, pb.

With the passing of the 1980s debt crisis and a renewed concern in Latin America to stimulate long-run economic growth, there is a definite need for research on the savings process. The main lesson of the debt crisis was the need to avoid such a high level of dependence on foreign portfolio capital in the future, requiring instead greater attention to domestic savings and direct foreign investment.

This book, edited by Robert Grosse (well-known for his earlier work on multinational companies in Latin America), sets out to explain saving patterns in the region while providing at the same time evidence on new forms of investment finance through case studies of Brazil, Chile and Colombia. Unfortunately, with the partial exception of the chapter on Chile, it does not achieve its aims.

In chapter two, Evan Tanner offers three explanations for the alleged decline in national (i.e. domestic) savings: lagged savings are correlated negatively with

current increases in income; private savings have fallen as public savings have risen; and there is a strong negative relationship between government expenditures and private consumption so that savings can be expected to fall as government expenditures decline.

Both the statistical and econometric evidence for these arguments is extremely weak. In Table 1 (p. 15) Tanner provides data showing an increase (not decrease) in the national savings rate from 1986 to 1993. He then makes much of the decline in the saving rate in three countries (Argentina, Mexico and Peru), but applies his econometric model to all Latin American countries. The first hypothesis he tests depends crucially on how inflation-adjustment is carried out and this is not treated satisfactorily; the second hypothesis – that private and public savings are substitutes – does not explain why national saving rates should have declined; the third hypothesis – the negative correlation between government expenditure and private consumption – is more plausible, but the explanation is almost certainly different: the reduction in government expenditure, where it has occurred, is linked to a reduction in inflation rates and this has lowered the inflation tax with a predictable impact on private consumption.

I have dwelt at some length on this chapter, because it encapsulates many of the weaknesses of the book. There is insufficient attention to the quality of the data (a big problem in the case of savings), there is a misreading of the data presented and there is no acknowledgment of earlier research (e.g. by Musgrave) that is still relevant. Many of these criticisms can be applied with equal force to other chapters in the book.

The chapter on the Chilean pension system by Erik Haindl Rondanelli offers a robust defence of the thesis that the rise in the Chilean national saving rate can be attributed to the privatisation of pensions. Indeed, the author's econometric model shows that two-thirds of the rise in the saving rate can be explained by pension reform. This is almost certainly an exaggeration and the author makes no reference to the recent revisionist literature arguing that pension reform has not had any significant impact on aggregate savings. The revisionists claim that savings are simply responding to a rise in investment, rather than the other way round, a view that receives no support in this book.

The chapter by Grosse provides a brief overview of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Latin America coupled with a regression analysis that shows almost no relation between FDI and domestic savings. Grosse is surprised by this, although it is not obvious why they should be correlated. What is surprising is the negative correlation he finds between DFI and the growth rate of GDP; this result is inherently implausible since it implies that a decline in GDP will lead to an increase in DFI.

The two chapters on Brazil (Clarice Pechman) and Colombia (Roberto Curci and Fernando Jaramillo) are written from a somewhat different perspective and contain a great deal of information about news forms of international finance. American Depository Receipts (ADRs) in particular receive much attention. ADRs have proved a popular way for Latin American companies to tap into global capital markets without the need for the full disclosure required by those firms seeking a listing on the New York stock exchange.

The saving process is one of the most complicated in explanations of economic development. Economists are still deeply divided on the causal links between saving, investment and growth. The Asian financial crisis has also drawn

attention to the possibility of saving and investment being excessive. It is good to see these issues once again receiving attention in the Latin American context, but this book does not take us very far in our understanding of these issues.

Institute of Latin American Studies, London VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS

Rosemary Thorp, *Progress, Poverty and Exclusion: An Economic History of Latin America in the 20th Century* (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Bank and the European Union, distributed by The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. xii + 369, £20.50, pb.

Rosemary Thorp's lively review of the economic history of Latin America in the twentieth century is the centrepiece of an ambitious project sponsored jointly by the Inter-American Development Bank and the European Union. It is supported by 14 consultancy papers and by three 'companion volumes' of related papers.[1] It includes a comprehensive Statistical Appendix prepared for this study by Pablo Astorga and Valpy Fitzgerald. Rosemary Thorp organised the project and wrote this volume individually, drawing on many of these accompanying studies in her discussion.

The book's main themes emphasise the costs of reliance on primary exports as the dominant engine of growth up to the depression of the 1930s, the depth and persistence of inequality, the need for state leadership to guide development, the growing disequilibria of the state-led model in its later stages, and the widely diverse national responses to the 'new paradigm' of economic liberalism following the debt crisis of the 1980s. This orientation runs counter to, and helps correct, the tendency in much recent analysis to condemn the strategy of state-led development as a total failure and to portray the liberalisation and structural reforms of the last decade as adequate solutions. For Rosemary Thorp, state-led development achieved significant gains. Recent structural reforms, though potentially helpful, can be damaging. Both economic and political strains can be worsened when reforms are 'radicalized in a neoliberal direction' (p. 259).

In this interpretation, the course of economic change was shaped by the particular characteristics of the exports in which each country specialised in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Commodity composition and geography played dominant roles and help explain the region's exceptionally high inequality. 'From the late 19th century on, export economy expansion increased land concentration and reinforced social and political inequalities' (p. 25). It is not that racial prejudice, lack of educational opportunities, and political dominance by privileged minorities themselves explain inequality; instead, 'racial prejudice, or attitudes toward education, were generated by the particular set of social and economic structures' (p. 30).

The export economy allowed some industrial growth but 'there is a great difference between industrialisation that reflects the export sector interests and

[1] E. Cárdenas, J. A. Ocampo and R. Thorp (eds.), *The Export Age: The Latin American Economies in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*; R. Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s*, 2nd ed.; E. Cárdenas, J. A. Ocampo and R. Thorp (eds.), *Industrialization and the State in Latin America: the Black Legend of the Post War Years* (all published by Macmillan Press and St Antony's College).

industrialisation that leads the economy, backed by a state taking on new functions' (p. 125). Under state leadership, beginning in the 1930s for most of the larger countries, industry replaced exports as the leading sector. Poverty was greatly reduced, inequality stopped worsening and in a few cases may have lessened, and other social indicators show marked progress. What happened to undercut these promising changes? Many things, differing among countries, but principally a turn toward 'debt-led growth' following the sharp rise of oil prices from 1973. The oil importers borrowed to pay for the higher cost of imports and the oil exporters borrowed heavily too, out of overconfidence both on their side and on that of external lenders. Over-abundant external finance masked growing disequilibria that led to the debt crisis of 1982, the costly setbacks to growth of the 1980s, and the region's shift to the 'new paradigm' of liberalisation and structural reform.

These interpretations are qualified and given substance by a great deal of attention to differences among countries. Much of this material on distinctive national experiences, especially in chapter eight dealing with the consequences of the new paradigm, is of exceptional interest. But the effort to explain many different country experiences without going into excessive detail does not always succeed. Some of the paragraphs on individual countries are miracles of condensation; others are frustrating short-circuits that cry out for amplification. Issues that would be fascinating if fully brought out get summarised so succinctly that they practically disappear. As an extreme example, the Allende period in Chile gets a total of one sentence.

The study is notable for its attention to institutional issues in the broad sense of social capital, practices and legal structures that favour negotiation among multiple interests, mutual trust between government and business, and managerial experience in both the private and public sectors. 'The issue goes deeper than whether the present emphasis on the market is appropriate. It turns on the fact that there is no substitute for the long haul of building or rebuilding frameworks … transforming newly found stability and continuity into something more profound is very much a matter of a mature political system' (p. 273).

The author's emphasis on institutions and structural conditions is a healthy reminder for those of us who persistently overstate the scope for choice of economic policies and the significance of their consequences. That tendency can distort reality and can also foster an impatient criticism of real or supposed populist excesses, or simply ill-advised choices, as if Latin America's problems could be readily resolved by more coherent decisions. Rosemary Thorp does not do this: her sympathy with the goals of state-led development makes for understanding rather than a judgemental attitude toward methods. That generosity comes at some cost. Greater concern for analysis of policy alternatives could have enriched the picture.

The strong defense of state leadership to escape dependence on the primary export model seems to accept an inward-looking strategy as the only alternative, neglecting consideration of how much stronger Latin American development might have been if it had been directed more toward effective competition in export markets for industrial products. The discussion does not bring out the ways in which the urban-centred character of import substitution, and its protection of monopolistic positions, worked against reduction of inequality. Many countries ran into avoidable problems of inflation, external deficits, and

paralysed growth well before the debt crisis. Explanation of the constraints on choices of economic policy is a vital part of history; explanation of why particular choices are consistently costly, for systematic reasons, could conceivably lessen the chances that they will be repeated.

This study is enormously informative about the factual record. It achieves a rare balance between realism about entrenched problems and hope for the future, brought out with exceptional clarity in the concluding chapter, 'Reflections on a Century of Light and Shadow'. Its institutional sponsorship did not lead to a bland committee-style result: it is written with vigour, authority, and generosity.

Williams College JOHN SHEAHAN