

contributors to proceed methodically and to cover a whole range of topics, including the varying logic of collective action that the surveys uncovered, individual-level participation and associational linkages to party politics, and the several repertoires employed by associations in their dealings with state institutions, labour unions and political parties. The book repays careful reading and re-reading; some of the acronyms (UP-Hub, A-Net) and multiple definitions given to ‘scaling’ (from embeddedness to nodal NGOs to flexible fronts), for example, require some time to sink in. But the various authors are careful to use their terminologies consistently across chapters (not always the case in a multi-author work), and all such efforts by the reader are richly rewarded.

Country and, perhaps even more, city specialists will find endless ideas, themes and puzzles to consider through this book. The various levels on and by which future comparative work can be generated because of Collier and Handlin’s research are endless; for example, how far can the basic arguments and conclusions concerning the switch from union- and party-based participation to associational involvement go? Do they apply not only to most other Latin American nations but to other third world and perhaps even first world nations as well? Will certain city-level factors influence the general conclusions of the book? If so, what are they, and how might they increase or decrease the likelihood that the overall argument will hold?

Collier, Handlin et al. are to be congratulated on this volume. Its scope of inquiry and the care with which the whole effort was carried through are both remarkable, and it absolutely represents a distinct step forward in our understanding of how and why mass politics in Latin America not only operates but also has changed over time.

University of Texas, Austin

HENRY A. DIETZ

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Ronald Bruce St. John, *Toledo’s Peru: Vision and Reality* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2010), pp. xxiv + 253, \$44.95, hb.

As this review was written, in advance of the April 2011 presidential elections, Alejandro Toledo’s chances of becoming Peru’s next president appeared to be fast improving. It is therefore a timely moment for a book on his first term in the job (2001–6), not least because – in common with predecessors like Fernando Belaúnde and Alan García – few would have predicted such an eventuality when his first term ended. For much of his period in office, Toledo was a deeply unpopular president whose public opinion ratings remained in single-digit territory for most of those five years, picking up only at the end when his departure was already in sight.

Ronald Bruce St. John’s book therefore helps us re-evaluate Toledo as a political actor. On balance it is a positive account, although the negatives are not swept under the carpet. Toledo is presented as a man with a vision; his problem was that he was not very good at delivering on that vision. He is seen as a genuine democrat who sought to give liberal economics *a la peruana* a ‘human face’. The book thus seeks to rise above the personal tittle-tattle that characterised much comment on Toledo during his presidency. It also projects very strongly the message that Toledo was seeking to promote in his re-election bid in early 2011.

The book deals with a number of important themes. Prime among these is the difficulty facing countries like Peru, whose comparative advantage lies in extractive industries that provide export and treasury income but which do little to boost

employment or encourage the development of other economic sectors. This is particularly problematic in Peru, where the state enjoys limited scope and legitimacy, and where it is highly susceptible to capture by key economic interests. Toledo faced tough challenges in his bid to blend neoliberal economics with the extension of social welfare. As St. John puts it, this involved 'a difficult balancing act' (p. 35) between fulfilling pledges to boost employment ('¡Más trabajo!' – 'More work!' – was Toledo's campaign slogan) and reduce poverty while pursuing policies to attract foreign capital. Macro-economic policy, at least, was oriented by the latter.

After an introductory chapter that introduces Toledo the man, his background and beliefs, St. John dedicates three chapters to the domestic policies of the Toledo administration. The first of these examines the political context, Toledo's views on economic development, and his aspirations to reduce poverty. The second looks at problems of corruption and institutional reform. The third tackles what St. John calls 'the fight for equality', including an examination of Toledo's social and ethnic policies and those relating to citizen (in)security.

Some interrelated comments are merited here. Firstly, because the focus is on Toledo, insufficient credit is given to the achievements of the short but crucial Paniagua interim presidency prior to Toledo taking office. Not only was Paniagua responsible for administering free and fair elections in 2001, but it was his administration that set in motion the key reformist impulses which Toledo inherited and then developed. Toledo seems to have even resented Paniagua's contribution, and is quoted by St. John (p. 38) as saying that it deprived him (Toledo) of his political honeymoon. Secondly, more could have been done to explain why, within the first 18 months of his term, so much of that reformist agenda had dissipated, and the book's examination of the opponents of reform and the often underhand methods they used to block it – in the judiciary, the police, the army and so on – could usefully have been developed further. Finally, more could have been said about the deficiencies of Toledo's party, Peru Posible, and indeed about the extreme weakness of the party system as a whole and the implications this has for democracy in Peru. Although St. John mentions the cronyism that characterised Peru Posible, it would be interesting to know much more about how the party operated in practice and the influences that operated within it. As the book points out, it was not just Toledo's shortcomings that undermined his presidency but those of the people around him who jumped on the Toledista bandwagon at the end of the Fujimori period.

It was often pointed out that Toledo struck a very different pose in his foreign relations than in domestic politics, and this comes across clearly in St. John's account. Curiously for a personality who had famously started off life as a shoe-shine boy in provincial Peru, Toledo appeared to be someone much more at home on the international stage than on the local one. The last two chapters of the book deal firstly with his policy towards Peru's neighbours in Latin America – Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Brazil and Chile – and subsequently with Toledo's role in projecting Peru further afield, specifically his policy towards key economic partners: the United States, the European Union, and towards China and the Far East. The approach adopted in these chapters is somewhat pedestrian, and there is little here by way of new information, but they provide a useful summary of Peru's foreign relations at this time, describing how, in conjunction with the foreign ministry, Toledo managed to improve Peru's international image following the debacle of the Fujimori regime.

St. John's book will be a slight disappointment to those seeking to probe behind what is already known about the Toledo administration, particularly in understanding

the relations of power between different actors as Peru moved back into a more democratic orbit. The text is based overwhelmingly on secondary sources, mostly standard US and Peruvian newspaper and magazine articles. Added to these are a number of interviews, mainly with Toledo himself (interviewed on eight separate occasions) and key members of his cabinet and entourage. These add value to the text, though their tone is self-justificatory rather than critical. It would have been useful to interview other figures not so closely associated with the regime. The text is well written and presented and the book contains photographs of Toledo, often in traditional garb and embracing grateful citizens and smiling children.

Latin American Centre, University of Oxford

JOHN CRABTREE

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John Crabtree and Laurence Whitehead, *Unresolved Tensions: Bolivia Past and Present* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), pp. ix + 309, \$65.00, \$26.95 pb.

The landslide election of Evo Morales to the Bolivian presidency in December 2005 constituted a milestone in the landlocked country's historical development. It signalled the conclusion of a long crisis that had defined, for a quarter of a century, the liberalisation of Bolivia's state and society. The outright majority enjoyed by the political party Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement Towards Socialism, MAS) in general elections was an unprecedented occurrence since the emergence of representative democracy in 1978. It endowed Evo Morales, the first elected Latin American president explicitly identifying himself as indigenous, with an exceptional legitimacy and significant political space for the drastic reorganisation of Bolivian society. It also symbolised a popular disenchantment with, if not acute bitterness towards, the policies implemented by successive Bolivian governments since the hyperinflationary crisis that hit the country in 1985.

The Morales government's reform project, centred on a new constitutional order, land and welfare reform, the renationalisation of the hydrocarbons, telecommunications and mining sectors and the development of a so-called 'Andean' form of capitalism, attracted unprecedented international academic attention. Sympathetic observers hailed Morales' investiture as heralding a revolutionary change in the Bolivian state-society complex. The MAS constituted something new, something more than a political party: an inclusive, grassroots organisation unifying a wide variety of historically oppressed urban and rural social forces, which successfully sidelined the racist alternative on its flank (the indigenous Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti (Pachakuti Indigenous Movement, MIP)). Marxists, on their side, actively criticised the government's reformism, pointing to its protection of private property of the means of production, its conservation of the liberal state form and its dissociation from organised labour. Others still challenged the occultation of internal relations of domination (class, gender and race) in indigenous movements. Temporarily overshadowed by these 'radical' debates, orthodox commentators struggled to explain the manifest lack of 'viability' of liberalisation efforts in Bolivia over the preceding two decades.

It is in this context that John Crabtree and Laurence Whitehead, both respected observers of Bolivian politics, joined forces to edit *Unresolved Tensions: Bolivia Past and Present* seven years after their ill-timed *Towards Democratic Viability: The*