

## Reviews

Oscar Cornblit, *Power and Violence in the Colonial City: Oruro from the Mining Renaissance to the Rebellion of Tupac Amaru (1740–1782)* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. x + 230, £35.00.

This book contributes to the historiography of late colonial Spanish America in two ways. It adds an analysis of urban politics to a bibliography with few good urban histories or competent accounts of provincial political life; secondly, by focusing on events in Oruro during the great Andean rebellion of 1780–2, it throws new light on an important nucleus of the insurrections which swept through the highlands of Peru and Upper Peru.

The book's primary focus is upon government and politics in eighteenth-century Oruro, a provincial mining town in the Spanish empire, and Cornblit's initial purpose is to show that the town's political life, being intensely active and disputatious, bears no resemblance to the old image of the 'colonial siesta' in which Spanish American politics supposedly slumbered for centuries. This was, he rightly observes, partly the outcome of a Spanish system of colonial government which, by dividing authority between agencies and individuals with similar powers, encouraged rivalry among officials and drove them to seek factional support. Further space for confusion and contestation arose, he contends, from a legal system based on a number of conflicting codes, and from the impotence of policing powers available to central colonial authorities. These conditions tended to devolve informal powers to local officials, both royal and municipal, a situation which in turn motivated local notables to engage in the fierce conflict over office that characterised Oruro's politics in the years between 1740 and 1781.

Five short chapters describe this conflict, showing how factions in the town contested control of the *alcaldía*, the municipal magistracy which offered important powers and privileges to its incumbents and their allies. These chapters focus on the 1740s, and concentrate on showing how the principal factions formed, and fought a political contest which defied official attempts at reconciliation. Oruro's political history between 1747 and the outbreak of insurrection in 1781 merits only a short summary, designed to show how continuing animosity between rival factions provided fertile ground for violent conflict in 1781 (the author promises another monograph on this intermediate period). The gap is, however, partly filled by a chapter on the town's economic history. This relates the vicissitudes of the mining economy to the struggle for municipal power by tracing the growing difficulties of the town's miners (who were mainly creoles), and the increasing influence of the silver merchants (who were more likely to be peninsular Spaniards). This struggle, Cornblit argues, prefigured the conflict between peninsulars and creoles that became more intense and generalised towards the end of the colonial period.

The remaining five chapters of the book concern Oruro's politics during the

rebellion of Túpac Amaru. A rather sketchy review of the great rebellion indicates its main regional components and explains Indian revolt by parading the usual suspects: *mita*, *reparto*, *alcabala* and *aduana*. Of much greater interest is the description of events in Oruro during early 1781, which shows how the town became enmeshed in the wider crisis caused by native insurrections. When Oruro's entrenched antagonists sought to turn the crisis to their own personal and factional advantage, their division enabled Indians from Oruro's hinterland to invade and plunder the city. Analysis of the Indians' motives, backed by an appendix based on a substantial number of Indian trial testimonies, also give glimpses of Indian behaviour and motivation, though it has to be said that Cornblit's account of native insurrection is less detailed and convincing than that which he gives for Oruro's whites. Indeed, he acknowledges as much, again with the promise of a future monograph based on the apparently voluminous and under-utilised testimony of Indian participants in the rebellion.

The strength of this study lies primarily in its analysis of politics within Oruro's precinct. Dr Cornblit rather exaggerates the novelty of his discovery of the vitality of urban politics: a glance at the historiography of late colonial Mexico, New Granada and Quito shows that historians have long recognised the gap between the theoretical and practical power of the colonial state, the ability of local notables to wield power, and the capacity of local people to express their interests through collective action, legal and extra-legal. And, aside from the gaps in the analysis of the town's political history and the Indian's rebellion of 1781, there are some smaller lacunae. The 1739 conspiracy in Oruro, for instance, is mentioned on a couple of occasions, but neither explained nor integrated into the narrative of the years which immediately followed. References to connections with Cochabamba, Oruro's main food supplier, are made rather randomly, without clear reference to Cochabamba's own history of rebellion or clear explanation of similarities and differences of its political behaviour in this period. One also wants to know more about popular involvement in the town's political life. In other eighteenth-century Spanish American towns and cities, contests among elites seems often to have stimulated plebeian involvement in politics, which in turn allowed common people to engage in collective action, and to express their ideas and aspirations as well as those of their social superiors. Was this also the case in Oruro?

Despite these caveats, the book is a stimulating case study of colonial political life, enriching our understanding of its institutional circuits and repertoires of rivalry, and underscoring the central importance of municipal elections in shaping and expressing key features of colonial political culture. In his introduction, Dr Cornblit affirms that the book offers only one narrative among others, and prefers readers to construct their own views. However, though he does not integrate all the material into a coherent sequence, his portraits of political life in Oruro at the poles of the period 1740–81 are structured to show that politics was primarily driven by the persistent clash of factions, was strongly related to economic change, and, during the rebellion of Túpac Amaru, had fallen into a pattern which tended initially to favour the indigenous rebellion which erupted in the countryside. In the light of the evidence presented, these seem entirely reasonable conclusions, and give weight to a book which has much to interest and inform students of late colonial Spanish America.

*University of Warwick*

ANTHONY MCFARLANE

Richard Price (ed.), *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 3rd edition, 1996), pp. xl + 429, £14.00 pb.

There are certain books which, when republished, should not be re-edited substantially, precisely because those books stand as mileposts for the history of a discipline or area of study. Richard Price's *Maroon Societies* is such a book. Since its original publication in 1973, *Maroon Societies*, more than any single work, has mapped out the subdiscipline and area of maroon studies. This diverse collection of articles and excerpts has also introduced several generations of scholars of other disciplines and students to the phenomenon of marronage in the New World.

The Johns Hopkins University Press has brought forth what is actually a third printing of the 1973 edition. This printing, like the previous two, brings together an array of scholarly essays from the present century and testimonial or travel literature mostly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These selections are arranged geographically in six sections: the Spanish Americas, the French Caribbean, the United States, Brazil, Jamaica, and the Guianas. The body of the book, therefore, is the same in the first, second, and third printings.

This third printing includes Price's lengthy introduction to the first edition as well as a new preface and bibliography. This preface and bibliography expand on and update the Afterword and bibliography of the second (1979) edition. Here Price recognises the vast production of scholarship in maroon studies since the first and second editions. Since 1979 'the stream of news and publications has only increased' (p. xv). Price, wisely, has left his original collection intact and has meant to survey only the most important of recent scholarship. To do any more would have required a bibliographic volume, not to mention the edition of multiple volumes of essays and newly discovered primary sources. It thus falls to subsequent works to enlarge on the field charted by Price.

Price's new preface also acknowledges some important developments in the practice of maroon studies. For example, he notes the progress in historiography of oral cultures and in feminist scholarship that has highlighted the role of women in resistance to slavery. Moreover, there is increasing recognition of the political and cultural significance of the mythic maroon in more recent history.

Price himself has cited the major limitation of *Maroon Societies*: 'It is perhaps ironic, and certainly revealing, that so many of the published reviews [of the first edition], while favorable, voiced a single complaint: that the material in other geographical or cultural areas precluded extended coverage of the reviewer's particular area of interest' (p. xxv). For the most part, the breadth of the collection, motivated by the comparative approach, has run up against the practical limits of the possible size of the book. By and large, though, Price has accomplished his aims of demonstrating that maroon societies have histories coeval with the arrival of Africans and Europeans in the Americas and that these societies (and their descendants) can be found wherever in the New World that European and African populations have lived.

Readers, therefore, will have their appetites whetted to learn about the more recent scholarship on the regions covered in the book, and they will want to discover literature about the Andean Coast, the Southern Cone, Central America, the smaller Caribbean islands, and the borderlands of the USA – all areas under-

represented in this collection. In all, however, students and scholars alike will find *Maroon Societies* an amply rewarding introduction to the field.

*University of North Carolina*

ROBERT ANDERSON

Jorge Silva Riquer, Juan Carlos Grosso and Carmen Yuste (eds.), *Circuitos Mercantiles y Mercados en Latinoamérica. Siglos XVIII y XIX* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas – UNAM, 1995), pp. 275, pb.

One of the more significant advances in recent years in the economic historiography of Latin America has been an increasing preoccupation with the mechanisms of regional economies and their markets, hitherto somewhat obscured by the concentration upon trans-Atlantic and international trade. The fifteen essays in this volume were first presented, the brief Introduction explains, in a colloquium (with the same title as the volume) held in Mexico City in 1993; a further six papers presented there were published in *Siglo XIX*, 14, 1993.

The essays are divided into four groups. In the first – dedicated to ‘Mercado Interno Colonial’ – Enrique Tandeter and his collaborators (Vilma Milletich and Roberto Schmit) expound their now familiar interpretation of markets in late colonial Potosí. Jaime Urrutia provides a more original analysis of cloth production and marketing in Huamanga (Peru) in the late colonial period, identifying considerable dynamism; Carmen Yuste uses *alcabala* records as a means of uncovering details of the supply of Philippine/Asiatic goods to Mexico City in 1765–85, and Antonio Ibarra uses similar methods to analyse the urban market in Guadalajara in 1790–1811. The final essay in this section, that of Margarita Menegus, discusses indigenous participation in the economy of Toluca in the late colonial period.

The second section contains two essays on prices in the colonial period: Richard L. Garner and Virginia García Acosta suggested in the first that inflation in Mexico in the post-1780 period contributed to a relative fall in living standards; Jorge Riquer analyses grain prices in the archbishopric of Michoacán over a much longer period (1660–1803). Part III contains four essays on internal markets in the immediate post-independence period: Silvia Palomeque discusses commercial continuity and change in Cuenca (Ecuador), while Roberto Schmit explains the functioning of the market in the Argentine littoral in the first half of the nineteenth century. Juan Carlos Grosso and Francisco Téllez take the reader far to the north to discuss the supply of Puebla in the mid-nineteenth century, while Barbara M. Corbett provides an interesting analysis of the fiscal impact upon San Luis Potosí of the Texas revolt of 1835–6. Part IV ranges even more widely across the economic history of Spanish America in the nineteenth century, with essays by Julio Pinto on the relationship between mining and industrialisation in Chile, 1850–1914, while Daniel Campi and Marcelo Lagos investigate the labour market in the Argentine northwest, 1850–1930. Carlos Marichal explains the obstacles to the development of a capital market in Mexico and Christine Hunefeldt concludes with a discussion of the somewhat tenuous relationships in southern Peru, 1820–90, between the ‘contribución indígena’ (i.e. the old colonial tribute), capital accumulation, and political reconstruction. As individual pieces, the majority of the essays are interesting, and in several cases

original. The volume as a whole suffers severely from the lack of an analytical introduction, and the absence of any attempt to relate the highly varied contributions to each other.

*University of Liverpool*

JOHN FISHER

José Rabasa, *Inventing America: Spanish Historiography and the Formation of Eurocentrism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), pp. xiii + 281, £16.95 pb.

Beginning and ending with visual texts – Stradanus's 'Discovery of America' (1578) and Mercator's *Atlas* (1636) – Rabasa's analysis of Eurocentrism takes in major statements made in Spanish by Columbus, Cortes, and such ecclesiastics as Las Casas, Sahagún and Oviedo. It is a work keen in its deconstruction of colonialist mental frames that are still far from obsolete in the world; at the same time it weighs with much erudition and care a wealth of apparently diverse detail. Its basic claim, that America was invented not discovered differs from that made in O'Gorman's classic *La invención de América* in emphasising not so much historical cartography as intellectual authority. Rabasa's focus is on the successive centrings of a notion through which power could be deployed over territories colonised materially and ideologically, in the supposedly 'new world'.

Taking as reference points a series of major texts, visual and verbal, Rabasa follows the procedures of discourse analysis, being particularly interested in the kind of political edge developed by Ashcroft, Griffiths and the other Australians, and by those involved in the Essex 'Europe and its Others' conference (1985). He is very good at revealing strategies of humanism, and at tracing how the load of Spanish chronicles and histories was translated, in every sense, into the languages of rival European powers; in this, he provides an intellectual context sadly missing from certain recent US attempts to suggest that in America Spain was somehow never such a 'bad' coloniser as its more secular French and English successors.

In showing how 'America' was invented for specific ends, Rabasa does not for one minute wish to suggest that it has never had a history and geography of its own (a point rather evaded by O'Gorman). Rather, he takes the trouble to indicate how native American sources from the start confound all talk of the 'illiterate other', of the kind much popularised by Todorov, providing a completely different perspective on America's past, and on the experience of being invaded by Europe. In this regard, his comments on Book 12 of the Florentine Codex, and on the rigorous taxonomic suppression of indigenous knowledge, are well taken.

This is an immensely rich and informative book which should be read by everyone interested in America and the designs placed upon it by Europe.

*Indiana University*

GORDON BROTHERSTON

Núria Sala I Vila, *Y Se Armó el Tole Tole: Tributo Indígena y Movimientos Sociales en El Virreinato del Perú, 1784-1814* (Ayacucho, Peru: Instituto de Estudios Regionales, José María Arguedas, 1996), pp. 320, pb.

This book is a significant addition to the growing corpus of works on Andean rebellion and rural society in the late colonial period. Its Catalan author is already

well-published, has consulted more sources on the rebellions and revolts of the last century of colonial rule than any other scholars before her, and also brings to the study first-hand experience of the complexities of Andean culture: in the late eighties, at the height of the 'troubles', she chose to teach at the University of Huamanga, right in the eye of the storm. Sala i Vila's study is thoroughly and impeccably grounded in a wide range of original sources, which she uses adroitly to add considerable sharpness to her wider theses. The sharpness of the detail is, moreover, matched by the vividness of the author's prose.

Any summary of this book can only fail to do justice to its richness of detail, argument, and the author's eye for nuances. By region and by *pueblo*, she breaks down categories such as 'indio' and 'community' in order to demonstrate the wide variation in local social arrangements. Under the surface of such categories of domination, then lurked social compacts, adaptations and modes of resistance that confounded official attempts to set in place a universal template of forms and categories readily comprehensible to outsiders. Royal officials, Liberal reformers, peninsular settlers and old Creole families were often bewildered, exasperated and frequently contemptuous of local lifeways and strategies of survival.

Such strategies were not wholly reactive or regressive, rather for Andean groups they often demonstrated a certain ingenuity in working within the colonial system; once more, then, we see largely dispossessed rural groups creating niches for themselves in the interstices between 'moral economy' and 'political economy' approaches to the study of peasant society. It should be emphasised that this work is no mere 'ethnohistory', but rather gives full weight to local Creole and mixed-race groups who are so often ignored in modern studies and the primary sources themselves. Indeed, such hitherto marginal sectors are, if anything the key to Sala i Vila's overriding thesis, that implementation of an overhauled tribute system in the late colonial period undermined the indigenous communities and the wider *campesinado* by permitting non-indigenes to capture the network of *cacicaños*. The Crown did so both because of a perceived need to tighten security in the shadow of the great uprising and because of its own fiscal imperative, not least to finance the interminable wars in which Bourbon Spain was embroiled. A flood of Creoles, *mestizos* and even blacks and peninsulars came to control the collection of tribute, a function that allowed them access both to a mainly unpaid labour force and to communal lands and private smallholdings, which they proceeded to appropriate for themselves. These local processes, multiplied a thousand times across regions, in *pueblos* and valleys and on *punas*, provide the essential undercurrents of social and political alienation that generated the numerous (supposedly 'spontaneous') local protests and wider projects of reform or nascent separatism that were such notable features of late colonial Andean societies.

These arguments are certainly not new; several historians have demonstrated the manifold ways in which the effects of the new tribute system transformed local society – especially through the entry of a new group of self-titled *caciques* – coeval with its erosion of existing political attachments. Sala i Vila goes beyond earlier studies in fleshing out such arguments with a great wealth of detail. She also broadens the regional focus to include Upper Peru (Bolivia) and central and northern Peru. A welcome feature of the book is that it successfully integrates viceregal processes, local conflicts, and imperial policies into a coherent whole; it remains difficult to integrate the local, regional, viceregal and imperial dimensions, and the author has succeeded better than most. Similarly welcome is

the way in which the author provides detailed case histories of particular *cacicaçgos* and leading *caciques*, no mean feat given the often fragmentary nature of the sources.

There is a downside. There are many surprising gaps in the book's bibliography, and thus it is sometimes difficult to separate the author's own *aportes* from those of other scholars, for all that Sala i Vila takes pains to engage with the existing literature. Moreover, while social and political aspects are usually convincingly treated, some broader economic features such as the structure of landholding – who, when, how much – and the impact of changing patterns of commerce sometimes beg several questions. So, too, is treatment of more properly cultural elements is often sporadic, so that at times there is a reductionist feel to the argument.

Nevertheless, such doubts and demerits do not detract significantly from the worth of this outstanding book. It deserves wide currency, and will certainly be much discussed and debated in the next few years. For the moment, though, it is enough to welcome the appearance of this important study.

University of New South Wales

DAVID CAHILL

Silvia M. Arrom and Servando Ortoll (eds.), *Riots in the Cities: Popular Politics and the Urban Poor in Latin America, 1765–1910* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1996), pp. x + 248, \$45.00, \$16.95 pb.

This is a book of essays, reprinted from leading historical journals, intended for use in an undergraduate classroom. The essays provide accounts of popular protest movements in urban centres of Latin America from the late eighteenth until the early twentieth centuries. Silvia Arrom's Introduction compares the scholarship on rioting in Latin America with the pioneering work of Eric Hobsbawm, George Rudé, Edward Thompson and other historians of crowd behaviour; while Charles Tilly's Conclusion attempts to place Latin American riots in a schema that departs from the European model he helped to popularise.

Anthony McFarlane's excellent essay on Quito, David Sowell's on the *Bogotázo*, Avital Bloch and Servando Ortoll's on anti-US rioting in Guadalajara and Arrom's on the Parián Riot of Mexico City offer fascinating explanations of crowd behaviour. João José Reis's essay is a wonderful discussion of funerary procedures and cultural values surrounding death and burial in Salvador; however, it makes little mention of the riot. Those by Sandra Lauderdale Graham on the Vintem Riot in Rio de Janeiro and Jeffrey Needell on Rio's vaccination riot in 1904 largely focus on the political and cultural attitudes of leading military and governmental figures who confronted the disturbances.

Despite the merits of the individual essays, the volume has several problems. Although attempting to draw conclusions about Latin American urban violence, three of the seven essays are on Brazil, two others on Mexico, leaving lonely Ecuador and Colombia to round out the picture. One wonders why the authors did not replace one of the pieces on Mexico and one of those on Brazil with something from Chile, Argentina, Peru or Cuba? The lack of breadth (two articles on Rio de Janeiro alone) undermines the book's usefulness, especially since the articles are readily available in journals.

Secondly, Silvia Arrom's Introduction unnecessarily sets up Hobsbawm and Rudé as 'straw men'. On the one hand she argues that riots described in this

volume resemble European disturbances as expressions of ‘broadly shared beliefs and attitudes’ (a definition so vast no one would disagree). On the other hand, she states that these particular essays show that riots in Latin America ‘cannot simply be reduced to the “economic” category emphasised by these Marxist historians’ (p. 3). In fact, Hobsbawm, Rudé and Thompson show quite the opposite: there are no simply economic explanations. Hobsbawm and Rudé argue instead that the dislocations inherent in periods of transition, enclosure of the estates, imposition of market economies, etc. have produced violent, and *on the surface* inexplicable and counter-productive reactions among the poor. The legitimacy of the crowds’ actions becomes clear when careful cultural and political analyses replace simple economic determinism. As for Thompson, did he ever accuse the mystical Johanna Southcott and her deluded followers of operating from simple economic motives?

Another problem is Arrom’s call for the resuscitation of the ‘social compact’ as an explanation of how ‘peace was maintained in Latin American cities with minimal force during the colonial period and nineteenth century’, which allowed urban officials to ‘bargain with the poor rather than repress them’ (p. 5). But widespread discontent only occasionally erupts in mass violence and periods of calm do not necessarily signal the absence of state and individual repression.

Finally, Charles Tilly’s Conclusion astutely probes the weaknesses in the pre-modern/modern schema, which has been the basis of most of his own work, and offers a new, but unfortunately not very helpful, typology. He locates riots according to criteria of Disorder (impulse from social stress), Progress (consciousness from political mobilisation), and Struggle (shared understanding from continuous struggle) (p. 234). However, these categories are so broad, and encompass so much, that they explain little. Like Arrom’s ‘social compact’, they either eliminate the centrality of history, or sidestep what Hobsbawm et al. showed: that one must understand the complicated nature of historical transformations, and the multiple levels on which they affect people, in order to make sense of their responses.

*Union College*

TERESA MEADE

Torcuato S. Di Tella, *National Popular Politics in Early Independent Mexico, 1820–1847* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), pp. ix + 383, \$55.00 hb.

This is a welcome, albeit uneven, contribution to studies in early Independent Mexico. The period covering the first three decades following the achievement of Independence has, until very recently, attracted scant attention from scholars, and few have been those who have actually tackled the complex issues of deciphering the political complexities of these so-called forgotten years, by analysing the ideological impact the social background of the different members of the divided Creole elite had on the political development of Mexico, concentrating on their inter-reaction with the popular classes. Di Tella’s greatest achievement lies in the way he succeeds in delineating the extent to which the Mexican elite were unable to forge the kind of hegemonic policy that was experienced in Argentina, Chile or Brazil at the time, through their contradictory need to coopt the masses in the political struggle which emerged between their various factions. In other words, Di Tella demonstrates how for any government



to survive in power there was the need to appeal to the masses, whilst at the same time the majority of Creole politicians feared awarding the people too much power; in particular, following the raid of the Parián market of 1828. In this sense, Di Tella is to be commended for his lucid and eye-opening exploration of the importance the middle, but above all, lower middle classes had on national politics during this period. Di Tella provides us with a sense that society in independent Mexico was essentially made up of small cultivators, petty bourgeois entrepreneurs, upwardly mobile Indians or castas, and threatened artisans. The ease with which this lower middle sector could plummet into an intolerable state of poverty is highlighted, illustrating in the process, the extent to which Mexico's politicians could not ignore their demands and protests, given the fact that they made up 42–48% of the population.

However, there are four substantive issues which undermine the virtues of this study. The first is Di Tella's anachronistic use of terms such as 'right-wing' or 'left-wing' to differentiate between the political tendencies of a number of factions. Likewise, Di Tella also labels the different politicians or fractions of the 1820s as conservatives or liberals, at a time when the term 'conservative' was not in use, and all of the politicians defined themselves in one way or another as liberals. This use of anachronisms is more misleading than clarifying, given that the use of the twentieth-century political terms imposes unnecessarily inaccurate and subjective twentieth-century values on the period's politics. The second flaw, is the title's claim to analyse national popular politics, 1820–47. In essence, whilst this volume offers a thorough and exhaustive analysis of popular politics between 1820 and 1834, the subsequent thirteen years are dealt with superficially in a mere 29 pages. In terms of the actual analysis of the first decade following Independence, it could also be said that Di Tella probably awards too much importance to the writings of José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. Finally, there are a number of careless mistakes which this reader found particularly distracting. To name but a few: Valentín Gómez Farías appears as Vicente Gómez Farías (pp. 111, 281); Anastasio Bustamante's (1837–41) presidency is stated to have started in 1836 (p. 188); and the faction of the pedracistas is misspelt throughout with a **z** in lieu of a **c**.

Nevertheless, having said this, Di Tella's study is worthy of praise for having provided the historiography with an important insight into the importance the conditions of the lower middle classes had on influencing the elite's politically contradictory and divided behaviour. The political elite found itself having constantly to attempt to appease and coopt the popular classes. As a result, the extent to which power could be awarded to a high percentage of a population, which, in essence, was seen to pose a threat to the elite's hegemony following Independence, gave rise to the divisions which characterised its lack of cohesion or consensus, and which consequently gave rise to Mexico's (overstated) instability during this period.

*University of St Andrews*

WILL FOWLER

Pedro Santoni, *Mexicans at Arms: Puro Federalists and the Politics of War, 1845–1848* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 199), pp. xi + 223, \$29.50.

The Mexican–American War (1846–8) has attracted a number of studies, although most of them, at least in the case of those written in English, have tended to centre their analysis on the military and political preoccupations of the

United States army and politicians, paying little attention to the situation in Mexico during the conflict. With a couple of Mexican exceptions, e.g. the work of Josefina Zoraida Vázquez and Jesús Velasco Márquez, scant attention has been awarded to the internal turmoil which affected Mexican politics during the war. Thus, Pedro Santoni is to be commended for reversing this fundamental gap in the historiography with what is a compelling and thorough interpretation of the divisions which surfaced and characterised the ideas and behaviour of the main political factions of the period in Mexico during what would become one of the most traumatic wars in Mexican history, with the resulting loss of half of Mexico's national territory to the United States.

Santoni's study, namely of the activities, intentions and divisions of the Puro Federalists, which incorporates an eye-opening interpretation of Valentín Gómez Farías' uneasy relationship with General Antonio López de Santa Anna, the santanistas, and above all, with General Manuel Gómez Pedraza and Mariano Otero together with other leading moderates, provides us with a much needed portrayal of the political and personalist issues which dominated Mexican politics at the time – issues whose importance cannot be stressed enough when it becomes evident that they were far more important to the Mexican political class at the time than the actual defence of the nation.

What emerges from this volume, is a fascinating insight into how federalism came to be perceived by Gómez Farías and the Puros as a means to achieving stability together with the reconquest of Texas, providing, what should have been a strong and united national defence against US expansionism. However, the fact that the Puros were unable to dominate the government, having to rely on Santa Anna, meant that it became impossible for the Mexican government to create a united front, which might have presented the invading army with a far more effective resistance. It is evident that Santoni's study will become a key text not only in terms of the historiography on the Mexican – US War, but also in terms of Mexican politics during the early national period. In brief, one of the main achievements of this work is that it provides a far-reaching interpretation of the issues which prevented the political class which came to power following independence from achieving the kind of consensus which would have enabled the formation of a long-lasting and stable constitutional framework before and after the 1846–8 War. There is no doubt, in the mind of this reader, that any future study of early nineteenth-century Mexican politics will benefit greatly from Santoni's study.

*University of St Andrews*

WILL FOWLER

Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs. Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1996), pp. xiv + 373, £35.00.

World's Fairs captivated the imagination of men and women in the nineteenth century. Certainly, the exhibitions called the attention of intellectuals. Marx, for example, considered them to be the best example of the abolition of national boundaries by capitalism. Early in this century, World's Fairs appeared to Walter

Benjamin as the modern temples of the new god *Commodity* turned into a spectacle and an object of public admiration. Focusing on the production of power, some scholars, like Robert Rydell, have recently begun systematically to study World's Fairs as concentrated images of the 'capitalistic utopia': an homogeneously white middle-class society of consumers. Following this line of analysis, Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo traces a picture of World's Fairs as they were seen from the particular perspective of a peripheral nation, like Mexico, which was attempting to forge an image of itself as a 'peculiar' entity (predominantly non-white) and, at the same time, as a fully cosmopolitan country. Laterally, he describes the process of formation of a specialised bureaucracy.

The exhibition teams would eventually become not only an elite of technically apt bureaucrats but also, and fundamentally, a group of ideologists in charge of developing an image of Mexico's Indian past which would be compatible with the demands of modern progress. In doing so, they simply nurtured Europe's hunger for exotic objects and people; but this allowed Mexicans to be part, albeit briefly, of the cosmopolitan concert of nations. Participation in World's Fairs had thus a representational function as well as a *performative* dimension. According to Tenorio-Trillo, during the Porfiriato the Mexican 'wizards of progress' were both a highly competent and an inefficient group. Mexican participation in the 1889 World's Fair in Paris (the central topic of Part I) exemplifies this. The exhibition team mounted a huge display. The Aztec Palace built for the occasion was the best architectonic synthesis of Mexican nineteenth-century indigenism, the incarnation of the concept of 'patria mestiza' as was being elaborated in the great historiographical works of the period. But if considered in terms of prizes obtained, the results were disproportionate to the effort and expense put into it.

The exhibitions were always torn apart by internal divisions. However, the common devotion to Díaz, who acted as the final arbiter of the disputes, provided a sense of unity to the group. As Tenorio-Trillo shows, the fundamental reason for the poor results is that until 1910 Mexicans never managed to forge an acceptable image of themselves as a nation, that is, to develop a concept of a modern Mexico without causing public controversy. Conspiring against this goal was the elite's distrust in the local population: the idea of 'patria mestiza' never overcame the status of an unstable combination of Indigenism and Darwinism. More importantly, conflicting images of Mexico as a nation actually co-existed in Mexican society (Hispanism, indigenism, liberal indifference, cosmopolitanism, etc.). The fate of the Aztec Palace is symptomatic: turned into an object of bitter criticism, it was never rebuilt in Mexico City, as was planned. Very different architectonic principles presided over the construction of the Mexican pavilions in subsequent World's Fairs; and none of them could gain reputation as representative of the true Mexican art.

Against the widely accepted dichotomous view that opposes the Revolution's nationalism to Díaz's cosmopolitanism, for Tenorio-Trillo post-revolutionary participation in the World's Fairs (the subject-matter of Part II) reveals both continuities and breaks. The old motives forged under Díaz's regime were reiterated, as well as the tensions of the nineteenth-century images of Mexico as a nation (the differences between José Vasconcelos and President Obregón in the preparation of the 1922 World's Fair exemplifies this). However, the breaks were at least as relevant as the continuities. The same old motives acquired a very different meaning (serving as a nice example of what Gehlen called *Entlastung*):

in the context of revolutionary turmoil, nationalism turned from mostly an object of consumption by the elite into a basic instrument of social cohesion. Previous ideological tensions now found a point of suture in the Revolution itself, which had become the symbol of the Mexican nation and a unifying myth. 'Revolution' revitalised the Indian past and propelled it into the future; all preceding historical time could then be seen as preparation for the great event that served as Mexico's passport to modernity. This new balance, however, was also catalysed by the transformations in the nationalist concepts produced all over the world, and, particular, the collapse of the Western European models.

In short, *Mexico at the World Fairs* is a very interesting book showing how nationalism was built and rebuilt in a process of negotiation amidst a plurality of actors and agendas, involving both national and international factors, resulting in ever changing images of the Mexican nation as a single, homogeneous and stable whole.

ELÍS JOSÉ PALTÍ

*University of California at Berkeley – Universidad Nacional de Quilmes*

Darío A. Euraque, *Reinterpreting the Banana Republic: Region and State in Honduras, 1870–1972* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. xxvi + 242, \$39.95, \$18.95 pb.

Honduras was one of the few Latin American countries where a reformist military institution emerged during the 1970s to guide state policy. In a provocative new book, Darío Euraque offers an interpretation of this phenomenon that stresses the transformatory power of dynamic regions within such countries. Building on the work of Robert G. Williams, which deals with the role of coffee-producing townships in transforming Central American state structures, Euraque argues that Honduras's post-World War II progressive movement in general and the military reform period in particular were the product of banana production and associated North Coast dynamism.

Euraque accepts the basic premise of scholars like Edelberto Torres-Rivas who argue that Honduras's integration into the world economy through banana production meant that the country never developed a powerful oligarchy. However, he parts company with them when it comes to explaining the roots of the military reform movement. From the perspective of members of the dependency school such as Torres-Rivas, these reforms were part of a broad nationalist reaction to perceptions of subservience to foreign banana companies. Euraque believes that they are better explained as resulting from the autonomous regional growth processes of San Pedro Sula's emerging bourgeoisie.

The San Pedro Sula bourgeoisie is the subject of most of this book's substantive chapters. Euraque describes the circumstances under which Palestinian Arab Christians moved to the area, and their subsequent interaction with regional banana companies and political leaders in distant Tegucigalpa. He makes the point that this emerging bourgeoisie was able to forge political alliances with North Coast labour unions because it had weak economic and familial ties to the banana producers and to local representatives of Tegucigalpa's political class.

To sum up his historical argument, Euraque suggests that a political class had emerged in Tegucigalpa by the early 20th century that rather unsuccessfully attempted to govern the country in the absence of a strong oligarchy. This class became vulnerable as a result of North Coast economic growth following World War II. New alliances were forged between the local bourgeoisie, organised labour, and portions of the emerging military establishment that eventually resulted in their 'capture' of the state.

While Euraque offers a convincing overall explanation for the military reform process, there are several points of analytical ambivalence. First, while he believes that the San Pedro Sula bourgeoisie played a critical role, it is unclear as to whether he views this role as materially or ideologically important. At some points in the analysis, he emphasises the bourgeoisie's material power and interests, while at others he stresses the transformatory power of its progressive ideas.

In a somewhat similar vein, Euraque is ambivalent concerning the relative explanatory weight attaching to structural factors versus human agency. On the one hand, he frequently suggests that the reform process was the product of changing national socio-economic formations. On the other, he emphasises the critical personal role played by General Osvaldo López Arellano and his regional colleagues such as General Omar Torrijos of Panama.

It is also doubtful whether Euraque definitively sets his work apart from that of the above-mentioned dependency theorists, in that North Coast growth (and resultant reformism) can be treated as a second-order consequence of dependency. However, in spite of these minor reservations, I strongly recommend this book. Euraque significantly contributes to the ongoing debate over the reasons for progressive change in Central American countries.

*University of Wyoming*

STEVE C. ROPP

Jan M. G. Kleinpenning, *Peopling the Purple Land: A Historical Geography of Rural Uruguay, 1500–1915* (Amsterdam: Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation (CEDLA), 1995), pp. xv + 355, \$32.00.

The catalogues of Uruguyan presses, e.g., Banda Oriental, Fin de Siglo or Trylce among others, show that during the last decade literature on Uruguay has taken a leap forward. The focus and themes of growing literature vary from literary criticism, history, sociology, to political science. Cultural and gender studies have also prospered, all of which have contributed to re-visit well-established perceptions about the country and its people. In the United States, several doctoral dissertations now in the making add to this growth. Kleinpenning's book is a welcome addition to this growing literature.

The author offers a solid and detailed study on colonisation that spans the period stretching from the first Spanish military settlements in the *Banda Oriental*, to the José Batlle y Ordóñez' administrations in the 1910s. The data base consulted makes this book one of the best contributions to date for those studying demographics and immigration in relation to the rural economy. Although other literature has pointed to the complexity of labour relations in the

countryside and the impact of immigration, Kleinpenning goes further in demonstrating a complexity that traditional historiography has long oversimplified when considering the rural areas as a domain almost exclusively ruled by *gauchos* and *estancieros*.

Despite all these virtues this reviewer, however, has been slightly troubled by the absence of an overall argument which could tie Kleinpenning's findings with issues that have long been at the heart of a lively debate concerning rural Uruguay. Did the patterns of immigration and colonisation analysed in the book affect institutions and political culture? Could we detect anything in this study that would justify or disprove the claims of those who have long argued for an exceptional status for the country? How did Kleinpenning's findings combine with the puzzling reforms of the 1910s, a period that is perused in the book? An abundant list of references is used, but the book seems only slightly connected to the major issues that lay at the core of most literature. Some brief reference to other case(s) in the region, for instance, could have also helped the reader to place the pattern described for Uruguay within a larger context, and therefore enhance the specifics of the colonisation and demographic trajectories the book so well studies. Despite the brief reflections about the overall consequences of demographics, colonisation, and immigration found in the Epilogue (pp. 307–14), the reader is left largely unassisted when concluding about the impact and magnitude of the findings presented.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

FERNANDO LÓPEZ-ALVES

Barbara Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920–1964* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), pp. xvii + 435, \$59.95, \$24.95 pb.

Barbara Weinstein has written an impressive piece of scholarship which shows her work to be that of a master historian. Her book is about the industrialist leadership in São Paulo – the largest industrial centre in Brazil – and how it sought to shape the main aspects of a society under the heavy strain of very rapid urbanisation, industrial growth and emergent working class – through centralised organisations, from the 1920s onwards. Weinstein addresses her subject in a genuinely original fashion, by focusing on the two main initiatives of Paulista industrialists in industrial training and social policy: the National Service for Industrial Training (or SENAI) and the Industrial Social Service (or SESI), both set up in the 1940s.

The author traces the origins of these two agencies back to the 1920s, when a new industrialist elite began to face the problems of rationalisation, scientific management and productivity rise in an as-yet backward industrial landscape. The book provides a full account of industrialists' early conceptions of industrial training, the alternative views espoused by Estado Novo technicians, and conflicts regarding the scope, control and funding of the industrial training programme. Weinstein documents how the industrialists' view prevailed and was incorporated into state policy with the setting up of SENAI in March 1942, at the height of the Estado Novo. From then on, funded by a federal tax but entirely controlled by industrialists, SENAI would become the realisation of a long-

nurtured industrialist outlook: on the one hand, there should be rational intervention in factory life; and on the other, that area was seen as the exclusive prerogative of the industrialists themselves.

The same model would be applied to the creation of SESI, in June 1947. Established within a context of strong labour mobilisation in São Paulo between 1945 and 1947, SESI was always intended as a weapon to fight the mounting influence of the left among labour in the critical post-war conjuncture. Weinstein shows how Paulista industrialists found in the Dutra government, a wholehearted cold warrior, a more than willing supporter for their particular project: a social assistance agency which could fight for the hearts and stomachs of non-aligned workers and trade unionists. Again, the industrialist leadership won full control over a vast amount of public resources, in which neither government nor trade unions were to have a say in terms of management and goals.

These large-scale initiatives thrived in São Paulo's environment of industrial growth and labour conflicts over the 1950s and 1960s. Particularly relevant for the author is the image projected by SENAI and SESI ideologues about workers and their capacity to participate in the rational society depicted in industrialists' discourses and programmes. In this respect, Weinstein reveals the particular framework in which the industrialist project was erected; one in which there was little room for workers to have their say, either on the shop floor or in free trade unions which could challenge the predominant notions of discipline, distribution or rights. This 'social peace' project ended up as conspiracies and full support to the overthrow of the constitutional government in 1964.

Readers will certainly take issue with a number of interpretations and opinions expressed by Weinstein – for instance, her challenging approach to the matter of worker resistance and control over the labour process during the 1920s and 1930s. One can feel particularly uneasy about her assertions regarding the industrialists' success in preserving 'the workplace as their nearly exclusive domain' (p. 306), even well into the 1960s. Weinstein, in this case, endorses the conventional view which dissociates the institutional sphere of trade unions from grass-roots, often informal, organisation on the shop floor. However, she indulges in this view while lacking any substantial information about the issue, at a stage in which there is already some evidence that workplace organisation in São Paulo (in the 1950s, for example) was apparently much more significant than previously assumed.

Overall, this is an outstanding book, not least because of its handling of an enormous amount of archive material from many sources which are scattered and difficult to trace. In the acknowledgements, Weinstein provides a glimpse of the difficulties confronted by the historian of industrial relations in Latin America's largest industrial centre. She regrets, among other things, that SESI's main archive had been moved far away from its headquarters and re-housed in an obscure site due to 'lack of space'. Before her book was published, however, that rich material was destroyed when an avoidable accident burnt to ashes decades of history. These unexpected events, combined with her scholarly approach, make Weinstein's book a remarkable contribution to the study of Brazilian contemporary history.

*St Antony's College Oxford and Unesp-São Paulo* RENATO PERIM COLISTETE

Victor Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), *The New Economic Model in Latin America and its Impact on Income Distribution and Poverty* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with University of London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1996), pp. xiii + 370. £45.00, £19.50 pb.

In the last ten years virtually every country in Latin America has embarked on a quite dramatic change in development strategy. Clearly it is still early to make definitive judgements on the success or failure of the new economic model (NEM) since in many countries the reforms only started after 1990, and their effects are difficult to disentangle from the effects of the general economic recovery that occurred in most countries after 1985. Yet this careful evaluation of the early evidence advances our knowledge of the processes at work and is a useful and welcome addition to the literature on both the model and the topic of distribution and poverty in the region.

The book has two main sections: the first, a discussion of the effects of each of the main components of the reform packages, and the second, a set of four country case studies (Brazil, Chile, Honduras, and Mexico). E. V. K. FitzGerald leads off with an analysis of the effects of trade liberalisation. Standard trade theory predicts that liberalising trade in a two-factor world should be progressive for Latin America because it should increase the relative demand for unskilled labour in the expanding export sector and shrink the demand for skilled labour in the protected domestic manufacturing sector. Neo-Keynesian pessimists believe that the reforms are likely to lead to falling real wages, slow growth and increased structural unemployment. For FitzGerald, the evidence seems to support the pessimists. He does not think the reforms have been as far-reaching as apologists for the NEM claim, and he finds that in only two countries (Chile and Colombia) have exports or investment responded strongly. Furthermore, there has been little change in the structure of exports away from natural resource-intensive products. Yet I believe that the most recent data to an important extent contradict this pessimistic interpretation. Export growth in real terms between 1990 and 1995 exceeding the rate of growth of the economy in 19 of the 22 countries in the region. As to the investment share, it grew over the same period in 16 of the 22 countries. Trade reforms quite clearly are changing the structure of production. Manufacturing is a lagging sector as would expect in the move away from heavy protection, but by the same token, exports are a leading sector. If they have not expanded faster in some countries, that may have more to do with exchange rate appreciation caused by the large capital inflows in response to other elements of the reform package.

A second key element of the NEM is fiscal reform, analysed in this volume by Laurence Whitehead. For Whitehead fiscal reform means putting in place a system of public revenues and expenditure commitments which provide necessary government services, protect the interests of the poor, reduce government deficits and establish a stable system of incentives for outward-looking investment and growth. He acknowledges that a good deal of progress has been made in this regard, but has some doubts that it is sustainable, or that it is consistent with returning the level of social expenditures to the amounts *per capita* prior to the debt crisis. While such doubts are undoubtedly justified, again consider the record across the region. Taxes as a share of GDP have risen since 1990 in all but three of the 22 countries of the region. Current saving as a share of GDP has risen



in 17 of those same countries. Clearly, there has been a quite pronounced shift away from fiscal deficits and inflationary finance. Whether or not it is sustainable, one cannot say with total assurance. But the behaviour of democratically elected governments all over the region seems to indicate that, for now, the hard lessons of fiscal responsibility and the dangers of hyperinflation have been thoroughly learned.

The goal of the labour reform module of the NEM is to increase the ability of the private sector to move productive resources in response to changes in conditions, i.e. increase flexibility. This is to be accomplished by reducing the cost of dismissal, encouraging short-term contracts and subcontracting and reducing the power of labour unions. Jim Thomas in his essay on labour market reform uses the evidence on falling real wages and rising informalisation and unemployment to support his claim that the overall effect of these reforms has been regressive. There is little doubt that real wages have fallen and that workers have been pushed into both open unemployment and the informal sector. What is much less clear is how much this has to do with the labour market reforms. First, not much progress has been made in implementing these reforms in most countries because of the political difficulties of doing so. Second, during the 1980s movements in real wages and unemployment were for the most part driven by inflation and recession rather than labour market reform.

The Raúl Fernández essay on financial reform is slightly mislabelled. He does not really analyse the liberalising of internal financial markets. Rather he looks at the effect of inflation and inflation control on the wealth distribution. That is, he estimates the inflation tax, and finds that this tax was regressive in Latin America. True, but not very interesting. A far more significant effect of inflation, particularly hyperinflation, is its effect on real wages and the distribution of income. One of the main lessons learned from Latin experience in the 1980s was the tremendously regressive impact of high inflation on the poor because of its effect on real wages. Conversely in those countries like Argentina, Peru and Brazil that had hyperinflation, the fiscal and monetary reform that stopped inflation had a net progressive effect that outweighs all the other distributional impacts of the NEM put together.

One of the purposes and expectations of those who adopted the NEM was that it would enhance the flow investment capital to Latin America. Quite clearly this has happened, indeed countries such as Chile have received more foreign capital than they wanted. Stephany Griffith-Jones in an interesting essay discusses the effect of these external capital flows on poverty and distribution. She argues that in the short-run the capital inflows were positive, not so much because they lowered domestic interest rates as because they removed the balance of payments constraint and permitted economies to expand. But there are at least two problems. First the flows increase the exposure of the economy to destabilising capital outflows. They increase potential volatility, as was seen recently in the Mexican debt crisis. Second, large capital inflows have caused domestic currency appreciation and that has had negative output effects, particularly in the very export industries which were the goal of the NEM in the first place. In my view, the least satisfactory element of the NEM is its assumption that foreign capital is good and that capital controls are bad. Griffith Jones rightly reminds us of the dangers that can accompany the use of this instrument. They have less to do with distribution than with the overall stability of the economy.

The last selection of the book takes up the recent economic history of Brazil, Chile, Honduras and Mexico ostensibly to establish some sort of link between the adoption of the NEM and rising or declining poverty and progressivity. Chile is the ideal country for this sort of study. Most of the NEM reforms were adopted during the seventies, the economy is now on a steady-state growth path, and we have national observations of poverty and distribution starting in 1985 to give us a good idea of what has happened. Scott makes able use of all this information in his useful essay on Chile. He shows that poverty and inequality have both been falling since 1985, and particularly since 1990 under the Christian Democrats. The progressive trends in the primary distribution of earnings have been complemented by well-targeted and significantly expanded social expenditure, again mostly under the Christian Democrats. While these trends are welcome and hopeful, it is almost certain that both poverty and inequality are higher than they were in 1970 prior to Allende and prior to the application of the NEM under Pinochet. Taking all the evidence together, Scott's conclusion, somewhat at variance with the tone of the rest of the volume, is that 'In the long-run steady-state conditions under a democratic government, the NEM in Chile has been remarkably successful in providing both rapid growth and improved equity since 1990' (p. 180).

Unfortunately, the remaining three case studies (Brazil, Honduras and Mexico) are not particularly well suited to the task of linking the NEM reforms to trends in distribution and poverty. In all three, recent trends in poverty and distribution seem to be more related to short-run macroeconomic disturbances or events than they do to the reforms. Furthermore, for Brazil most of the reforms were implemented after the latest data in the study (1990), so there is no way to link the two.

In Honduras there has been very little growth and very little reform. What poverty reduction there has been seems to be more related to the economic cycle and to agriculture than to anything else. Poverty rose between 1985 and 1990 when output was falling, and fell between 1990 and 1993 when there was a short-lived recovery in the economy. Both of these cycles are related to the coffee and banana sectors, and the author is unable to show any link between either of them and what reforms there were. The dominant fact in Honduras seems to be the overall stagnation in the economy since the early 1980s. Even in the short-lived recovery of 1993, *per capita* income was 2% lower than 1980.

Brazil, too, is an awkward case simply because it is a late reformer but all the observations available to the authors come from the period 1981–90. As in Honduras, the dominant factor is the state of the economy rather than the reforms. Poverty rose in the early 1980s when Brazil had its balance of payments adjustment, then fell sharply between 1983 and 1986 under the populist and poorly executed Cruzado Plan, and then rose sharply again at the Sarney and Collor governments attempted unsuccessfully to control fiscal deficits and inflation. Some reforms were implemented in the early 1990's, but it was not until the Cardoso government successfully stopped inflation that one could begin to see the possible effects of the NEM on poverty and distribution. Data for the 1993–5 period suggest a more optimistic conclusion about the NEM than one gets by looking at the 1980s alone.

Mexico is a somewhat different case, though here again macroeconomic conditions appear to dominate. The study reports results from the 1984, 1989,

and 1992 household surveys, and we now also have observations from 1994. What these surveys show is a sharp rise in both poverty and inequality between 1984 and 1989, then a leveling off in inequality and a slight improvement in poverty afterwards. How much has all this to do with the NEM? Other than trade liberalisation, most of the reform package was implemented by Carlos Salinas after 1988. Prior to the tequila crisis in December 1994, what Mexico got for its reform efforts was a weak recovery, a reduction in inflation and some slight improvement in both poverty and distribution. It is virtually impossible with the evidence at hand to disentangle the effects of growth and lower inflation from the other effects of the reforms. Even so the authors are pessimistic. They do not think that the NEM will bring adequate growth to Mexico, and even if the growth rate does go up, they do not think that much of it will trickle down to the poor. I think that this conclusion may be too pessimistic. In part it seems to be based on aggregating the two subperiods in their study together and then looking at 1984–92 for which we know that poverty and inequality both went up. But these two periods should not be aggregated. The first had a quite severe recession accompanied by inflation, the second a recovery with falling inflation. Poverty and inequality went up in the first and down in the second. And we now know that both continued to decline (slowly) until the tequila crisis.

I think that it would be more reasonable to conclude that in the Mexican case, while poverty is as highly responsive to a growth as it is elsewhere, what is still unknown is whether the NEM will be able to deliver a sustainable growth rate of at least 2–3 % per year *per capita*, as the old ISI model did for so many years. If it can, poverty and distribution will improve. In other words, the real question in Mexico and for Latin America as a whole is whether the NEM is a good growth model, not whether it is a good distribution and poverty model. This is essentially the conclusion of Victor Bulmer-Thomas in his insightful concluding chapter. He tends to be pessimistic about the growth potential of the export-driven, private sector-dominated NEM. So far in Latin America Chile is the only clear success story. But Brazil is now a more promising second case than it was when this book was written. So are Bolivia and Colombia. But Argentina, Mexico and Peru are still struggling and still in transition. Firmer conclusions will have to wait for more data.

*Inter-American Development Bank*

SAMUEL A. MORLEY

Ricardo Hausmann and Liliana Rojas-Suárez (eds.), *Volatile Capital Flows: Taming their Impact on Latin America* (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank, 1996), pp. v + 107, £12.50 pb.

This very important book is based on an Inter-American Development Bank Conference held four months after the Mexican peso crisis. It consists of two parts. The first paper, written by Gavin, Hausmann and Leidermann, deals with the macroeconomics of capital flows to Latin America. Comments are provided by Bruno, Cavallo, Perry and Summers with a small conclusion written by Frenkel. Informal comments were provided by Calvo. Thus, the views of many of the key analysts and actors on this important issue are represented in this section, which certainly adds to its interest.

This first paper is excellent in several aspects. It provides a very good overview of stylised facts on capital flows to Latin America and to the major countries,

using graphs very effectively to present a large amount of interesting information. It also provides a crisp, balanced and perceptive presentation of what we have learned from capital inflows to Latin America in the early 1990s and the Mexican peso crisis. The policy issues highlighted include the exchange rate regime, where the authors rightly argue for an intermediate regime (à la Colombia and Chile), with rules contingent, in reasonably predictable and well understood ways, on unforeseen macroeconomic developments. This allows for changes in the exchange rate, which are not perceived as violating policy commitments or rules of the game (and thus avoids negative perceptions of financial markets as occurred with the Mexican 1994 devaluation which was seen as breaking a commitment). They also rightly stress the importance of debt management, including the risks of large short-term foreign debt. This paper makes very original contributions in its discussion of fiscal policy, and its links with policy rules and institutions that deliver quick responses.

As regards regulating capital flows, the paper (similarly to post-Mexico crisis publications by the other main international organisations such as the International Monetary Fund, Bank for International Settlements and World Bank) recognises the value of regulating short-term capital flows, not as a panacea, but as one of several policy instruments to be used to reduce volatile capital flows, and their problematic macroeconomic consequences; before the Mexican crisis there were already some voices arguing for measures to discourage short-term capital flows, but after the crisis their desirability as one of a package of policy measures became more evident. Surprisingly, some Latin American governments have not yet followed the change of perception in Washington and Basle.

The second paper, written by Rojas-Suarez and Weisbrod, deals with another very key issue: stability in Latin American financial markets in the presence of volatile capital flows. The comments and summary again add interest to this study. Both in this and in previous papers, Rojas-Suarez and Weisbrod have made important contributions to our understanding of the important links between domestic financial market stability as well as crisis and volatility of capital flows. In several aspects, their work has been really pioneering.

The book is extremely valuable for experts on Latin America, as well as for the region's policy-makers. Specialists on Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa, as well as on international finance, would also greatly benefit from reading it.

*University of Sussex*

STEPHANY GRIFFITH-JONES

Sandor Halebsky and Richard L. Harris (eds.), *Capital, Power and Inequality in Latin America* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1995), pp. viii + 324, £48.95, £14.95 pb.

Taking up this book is like returning in analytical time to the early 1970s, when social scientific approaches to Latin America were strongly influenced by different strands of structural Marxism. Conceived in self-conscious imitation of Cardoso and Faletto's *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, the book seeks to reduce all social and political phenomena in Latin America to the 'multidimensional, multilevel, comprehensive and integrative... concepts of capital, power and inequality' (pp. 2–3); and, at first, this unpromising project leads to some

resonant but rather dubious assertions, of the kind that ‘power is exercised in Latin America primarily through the use of force’ (p. 8).

However the book’s real context is the present decade of globalisation and neoliberalism, and its real focus is the process of economic restructuring in Latin America, and its effects on social movements across the region. Although strong residues of the 1970s persist, therefore, with these new developments recurrently being read as a result of world capitalist conspiracy, the concerns are now more complex, and the political actors both more popular and more differentiated. Both the editors and some of the authors belong to the Old Left associated with the journal *Latin American Perspectives*, and this inevitably constrains their language. But they address the new issues in a serious fashion, so that – contrary to the majority of edited collections of social science essays on Latin America – the book finally delivers more than it promises.

There are essays on women and workers, as well as on environmental movements, church-based movements and indigenous movements. There are essays on change and survival in the countryside and in the city. Nearly every essay is sensitive to national and international contexts, and most are well-documented and well-executed. Of the eleven essays in the collection, two stand out on merit. One is Jorge Nef’s account of ‘Demilitarization and Democratic Transition in Latin America’, which provides a forceful and wide-ranging critique, often implicit, of both the democratic transition literature and the current state of democracy in the continent. The other is Judith Adler Helman’s explication of ‘The Riddle of New Social Movements’, which contrives to make good sense of a field of study where it is usually lacking, and consequently overturns much of the received wisdom about the social movements themselves.

If there is an overall thrust to this collection it is to be found in its opposition to the neoliberal project in Latin America, or, more particularly, to its social and economic effects. And here the self-conscious radicalism of the early 1970s, which sounded so tired and stilted at first, tends to prove quite salutary. At the very least, the radical certainties of the 1970s pose an appropriate challenge to the smug certainties of the defenders of neoliberalism. So it is that the sheer persistence of the Old Left of *Latin American Perspectives* may finally reap the political and analytical rewards that have for so long eluded them. Even old dogs deserve their day in the academic sun.

*University of Essex*

JOE FOWERAKER

Duncan Green, *Silent Revolution: The Rise of Market Economics in Latin America* (London: Cassell, 1995), pp. 259, £35.00, £11.99 pb.

This is a highly informative book which chronicles the incorporation of Latin America into neoliberal market economics over the last twenty years or so. It is written in a way that combines the general analytics of neoliberal policies for countries and sectors as a whole with the outcome and fortune of affected individuals via enlightening descriptions of real situations, making it possible to appreciate the micro consequences of macro strategic policies. The author does understand the complex issues and it shows in the many nuances, shades and caution with which the book is presented. The book moves from a discussion of the ups and downs of import-substituting industrialisation and the role of the

state to the neoliberal framework for export promotion and its politics, passing through the role of international institutions like the IMF and the World Bank, the evolution of neoliberal policies since 1982, the human and environmental costs of adjustments, and trade and the world economy. In addition, a last chapter examines alternative pathways to development, and a couple of appendices provide the main economic indicators for each country in the region and a general presentation of the principal analytics of the main rival policy schools.

This relatively short book contains a wealth of well-analysed and well-presented information. It does not overwhelm the reader with reams of disparate material in an impressionistic way. The aim is more stringent than that. It seeks to give fundamental understanding of the many issues in hand, and for the most part it does succeed. The economic level, albeit non-technical, is both fairly analytical and well grounded. The book analyses economic policies in their societal context, which makes it a well-achieved exercise in political economy. The wealth of citations and sources, organised in an attractive manner, show a well-documented work which avoids biased generalisations. As a bonus the book is both well written and highly entertaining. This book should be a must for any student of contemporary development issues, whether from an economic perspective or not, in both developed and developing countries. It should also be part of the background knowledge of any policy-maker and politician.

*Queen Mary & Westfield College*

J. M. ALBALA-BERTRAND

Javier Martínez and Alvaro Díaz, *Chile: The Great Transformation* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution and Geneva: The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1996), pp. xii + 156, £27.25, £11.75 pb.

Once again, Chile is the model country. Under the government of President Eduardo Frei (1964–70), Chile was the shining example of reform under Christian Democratic auspices. During the tenure of Salvador Allende (1970–3), the country became the test case for the creation of socialism through democratic means. In the subsequent years of Augusto Pinochet (1973–90), Chile stood out for the efficiency of its authoritarian regime and the economic model fashioned by the Chicago Boys. Now it is touted as the most successful case of neoliberal, market-friendly economics combined with an inordinately smooth transition to a stable democracy.

Although this book is as slender as the country, it is similarly packed with lessons. Javier Martínez and Alvaro Díaz provide a sociological analysis of the complex economic transformations not only during the military regime but also over the last thirty years. Their balanced, thoughtful study shatters some of the myths of the Chilean model.

The authors argue that the capitalist revolution under Pinochet benefited from the reforms presided over by Frei and Allende, such as the expropriations of the great estates, numerous industries, and the copper mines. They also contend that the successes of the dictatorship's free-market economics were due mainly to its autonomy from propertied interests rather than its coercion of its adversaries. Furthermore, they claim that the transition back to democracy was not the result of *laissez-faire* economics but of the resistance of the masses and their political

parties to the continuation of authoritarianism. Finally, they insist that the development of classic liberal economics and politics was carried out by the state, not against the state.

Martínez and Díaz show convincingly that the downfall of Pinochet began long before the climactic 1988 plebiscite. The erosion commenced with the social protests of 1983–4, ignited by the economic crisis of 1981–2. When the economy recovered in 1984–5, the turbulence in the streets subsided, but the political parties had been roused from their enforced slumber and then led the discontented majority on to victory in 1988. The authors' thesis is persuasive, but the economic factors behind the eruption of the protests, their cessation, and Pinochet's defeat in the plebiscite deserve more emphasis.

This book also offers an insightful analysis of the social consequences of neoliberal economics, especially changes in the labour force. Under the restored democracy, the labour movement remains weak, surrounded by the informal and service sectors. While record economic growth has reduced absolute poverty, severe income inequality persists.

At times, Martínez and Díaz oversimplify the complex history of thirty years, assuming a great deal of prior knowledge on the part of the reader. Some of their arguments are not new; for example, part of their treatment of the sociology of the economic transformation under Pinochet recycles the older work of Guillermo Campero, Juan Gabriel Valdes, and Ricardo Lagos. The wafer thin bibliography omits scores of valuable studies on the period from 1964 to 1994. Nevertheless, Martínez and Díaz have written a pithy and provocative account of those years.

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Sarah Radcliffe and Sallie Westwood, *Remaking the Nation: Place, Identity and Politics in Latin America* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 196, £45.00 hb, £13.99 pb.

In *Remaking the Nation*, Sarah Radcliffe and Sallie Westwood set out to examine the construction of nationalisms and identities in Latin America through the prism of post-modernist and post-structuralist theory. Understanding the ideological construction of national identities as a dynamic and contested process, they advance the proposal that the current context of globalisation has led to a 'de-centring' of power which, in turn, has critically affected constructions of the nation at a symbolic and discursive level. An important focus of their enquiry is the way in which indigenous movements across the region are challenging official discourses of nationhood and citizenship (such as the 'fictive ethnicity' of *mestizaje* or discourses of racial democracy), a process which is generating new national identities and conceptions of democracy from within and beyond the boundaries of existing nation-states. An essential part of this challenge, as Radcliffe and Westwood rightly signal, are the historical imaginings, or the 'rethinkings' of historical relationships between peoples, places, communities and nations which form part of the discourse of social movements – particularly indigenous organisations – in Latin America today.

In their case study on Ecuador, the authors employ a multi-disciplinary approach to explore both the construction of 'official' nationalisms and popular

reactions and counter-constructions, the latter through over 700 semi-structured interviews and an overview of selected dimensions of popular culture. A central aim – taking their cue from Clifford Geertz’s notion of ‘thick description’ – is to uncover lived meanings and perceptions of identity and attachment to the national, and the ways in which these are articulated with official nationalist ideology.

Radcliffe and Westwood’s methodology usefully borrows from Foucault’s notion of ‘sites’: by examining a series of different places and contexts within which national identity formation occurs, including the imaginary, the body, discursive practices and the spatial, the authors explore the impact of region, class, gender, race and ethnicity on popular culture and identity formation. In this broader sense place (or ‘positionality’?) is understood as central to a sense of belonging and thus as a ‘defining marker of the national experience’. This analytical emphasis on place, something Radcliffe and Westwood term the ‘geographies of identity’, is an important contribution to the literature: there are many thought-provoking elements here, such as the idea of ‘racialised geographies’ (Andean region = indigenous = backward) highlighted in chapter two, or the impact of migration and military service touched upon in chapter five; one only wishes they had been developed further.

However, while *Remaking the Nation* makes a number of highly original contributions to debates on identity and nation-state formation, the reader is not aided by the often impenetrable jargon employed. This reviewer gave up trying to understand what ‘correlative imaginaries’ meant after being faced with the following sentence: ‘correlative imaginaries generate and sustain an ideational horizontal integration with a shared space, through a form of interpellation which correlates subjectivities and social spaces.’ (p. 28). This kind of language neither elucidates nor enlightens, but merely confuses and is singularly unhelpful in a text which, one presumes, is destined for teaching purposes.

Unfortunately language is not the only problem. Radcliffe and Westwood state that they employ a case study in order to get away from highly theoretical and textual post-structuralist analyses and to examine *in situ* the ways in which the ‘imaginary of the nation [is] discursively constructed’ (p. 4), undoubtedly laudable aims. However, their Ecuadorean case study ultimately lacks historical and analytical depth, ending up more as a disjointed series of research notes where theoretical reflection sits uncomfortably with often flimsy empirical data. Historians have long focused our attention on the role of local specificities and identities, and of hegemony and resistance, in the process of nation-state formation; despite all the post-modernist hyperbole, these are not new concerns. *Remaking the Nation* rightly focuses our attention on such processes, but never really engages with Ecuador (to which at least half of the book is devoted). A more successful end result might have been achieved if the authors had either concentrated on the theory, refining and developing some of the perceptive and original points they make – and relying less on endless citations from other texts, or taken a more conventional inductive approach through the Ecuadorean case study, something which inevitably would have required more time than the dominant ‘research culture’ seems to allow at present.

The above criticisms notwithstanding, *Remaking the Nation* is a lively and engaging book which has much to recommend it to scholars working in a wide range of disciplines. Perhaps most importantly by insisting on the role of re-



imagining citizenship in the construction of more genuinely pluri-cultural and multi-ethnic democracy, Radcliffe and Westwood make a valuable contribution to a more politically engaged, post-modernist academic enterprise.

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Frances Hagopian, *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. xx + 317, £45.00 hb.

The central chapters of this timely monograph confirm beyond doubt that in Minas Gerais the pre-coup political elites of the PSD and the UDN were swiftly courted and thereafter barely challenged by the military regime which came to power in 1964; that they became key agents in the politics of rampant state clientelism from the mid-1970s on and that they took full advantage during the protracted transition to democracy to entrench themselves even more firmly in control of local and regional politics, largely by transferring to the PMDB in large numbers under the benevolent patronage of Tancredo Neves. The once unfashionable argument that the military regime only momentarily challenged the conservative 'political class', and itself relied heavily on official clientelism, is now generally accepted, and Hagopian is surely right to claim that in broad terms the picture revealed in Minas is good for the country as a whole. The fortuitous accession of Sarney and the dramatic failure of Collor turned the screw further, and Cardoso himself, opponent and arch-critic of the politics of clientelism, came to power through precisely the same compact with conservative politicians sustained by privileged access to state resources.

So far, so good. But what does all this mean, and what are its implications for Brazil and for comparative politics? At this level the overall impact of Hagopian's argument, useful though it is as a corrective of earlier confusion, is limited by a number of analytical weaknesses. The first of these is the persistent use of the term 'traditional' to describe the political class she examines. This turns out to be an umbrella term to cover politicians with a lengthy ancestry, ideological opponents of Vargas after 1945, and even second-generation political actors. It is hard to see what useful meaning can be derived from so broad and heterogeneous a definition, and the contrast of traditional with modern proves a blunt instrument. Whether linked to illustrious forbears or not, all the politicians considered were actors in and products of a politics in which populism and state intervention played a significant part. Failure to consider this merges with a failure to distinguish systematically between 'private' and 'public