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Reviews

Peter Bakewell (ed.), *A History of Latin America: Empires and Sequels, 1450–1930* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), pp. xxiii+520, £55.00, £16.99 pb; $69.95, $24.95 pb.

The task of writing any general history is an unenviable one. This is particularly the case when we are dealing with the history of an entire continent which alone comprises such a rich and extraordinary variety of national, regional and ethnic histories. The historian who opts to take on such a mammoth challenge invariably runs the risk of being criticised for either overlooking key interpretative aspects, especially when scrutinised by a specialist in one particular period or region, or of making untenable generalisations given the restrictions imposed by having to offer an overview of such a vast topic in 520 pages.

Peter Bakewell's study could, for these reasons, be criticised for awarding too much attention to Mexican history on the one hand, and for spending a greater part of the work focussing on the colonial period, especially the sixteenth century (349 pages), whilst only 46 pages are dedicated to the nineteenth century, and a mere 51 pages are allocated to the first three decades of the twentieth century. Bakewell accounts for this 'unusual balance' (p. xv) in the preface, by arguing that 'the sixteenth century is not only the most interesting but the most important period' (p. xv), admitting, nevertheless, that 'the omissions are in some measure the outcome of my own interests and biases' (p. xvi). In other words, Bakewell's history of Latin America is quite blatantly that of a specialist in early Colonial Mexico.

Nevertheless, having said this, and bearing in mind that the audience this book is addressed at is not one of specialists, Bakewell does succeed in offering a very readable general introduction to Latin American history. This reader, in particular, would very much recommend his undergraduate students to become acquainted with Bakewell's general history, as a helpful introductory text in any course which involves some knowledge of Latin American history prior to the twentieth century. Evidently, those students who will benefit most from this volume are those who are becoming acquainted for the first time with Latin American colonial history and, in particular, with Mexican colonial history. Above all, Bakewell is to be commended for the way in which he healthily combines social, political and economic historical strategies of analysis, creating a broad yet representative portrait of the different ways in which Latin America changed, progressed and evolved from the arrival of the first conquistadors to the emergence of US imperialism in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Whilst, as a nineteenth-century specialist, this reader could not help disagreeing with the importance Bakewell awards the sixteenth century, it nevertheless remains the case, that this is a lively and enjoyable introductory text which will not only benefit first-time students of Latin American history but which will probably, also enthuse them to find out more about a continent which continues to be generally disregarded in most European and American universities.

University of St Andrews WILL FOWLER

Ricardo D. Salvatore and Carlos Aguirre (eds.), *The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America: Essays on Criminology, Prison Reform, and Social Control, 1830–1940* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996), pp. xxi+279, $40.00, $14.95 pb.

Brazilian journalist Ernesto Senna was one of very few people in late nineteenth-century Brazil who had anything positive to say about the *Casa de Detenção* in Rio de Janeiro. He might have found the food good and the surroundings pleasant, but other contemporary reports by experts and inmates analysed by Marcos Luiz Bretos, one of the contributors to this pioneering volume, only found fault with the prison environments and, even more importantly, their philosophical underpinnings.

Unlike Argentina with its model penitentiary and expectations of rehabilitating prisoners, Brazil's system rested on racism, corporal punishment, and a belief in the inherent criminality of its inmates. As Ricardo Salvatore cogently observes, Brazil's system rested on both the reality and, after 1888, the legacy of slavery and a majority non-white population, while Argentina's more optimistic philosophy was linked to the presence of an immigrant European population that was rapidly diluting the country's non-white population. Without racism as an inhibiting factor, perfectability was possible.

Regardless of the racial differences, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Chile, and Costa Rica were all trying to modernise social relations at the same time that their export economies demanded the modernisation of relations of production, and cities dealt with rapid growth of population, industry, commerce, and, at least to elites, criminality. Modern prison construction and reform was seen as an integral part of modernisation efforts. In the case of Mexico, the drive for penal modernity had to be tempered due to the backlash of political and social instability engendered by the Revolution. The Porfirian model of economic and social development led to social revolution rather than tranquility, yet the post-revolutionary government, according to Rob Buffington, soon acknowledged that Porfirian preoccupation with prison reform was well intentioned. What had distorted these efforts was not liberal ideology, but rather too much power in the hands of the central government. Fine tuning and decentralisation would take care of any problems.

Today most of these countries have deplorable prison conditions. The dreams of the *fin de siècle* and early twentieth-century criminologists either withered away or were never implemented due to insufficient funding, politics, lack of will, racism directed at the lower classes, and gender prejudices.

For those interested in the history of the penitentiary, as well as seeking a theoretical explanation for social control policies directed at poor men and women in Latin America, *The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America* is a welcome addition to the burgeoning literature on the history of Latin American criminology. The editors have provided an excellent introductory essay, and the quality of the subsequent essays are generally quite high. Other topics covered in this volume are the history of female prisons in Chile, the plight of political prisoners in Mexico and Brazil, the links between prison reform and public health reforms in Costa Rica, and how racism undermined modest prison reforms in Lima.

University of Arizona DONNA J. GUY

Jonathon R. Barton, *Political Geography of Latin America* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) pp. xvi+243, £45.00, £14.99 pb.

Political geography is experiencing a resurgence within geography, partly on the coattails of changes in cultural geography. Modern political geography has extended beyond the imperial and military geopolitics that dominated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While it is still concerned with the roles of nation-states within the wider global economy, the new political geography is also interested in the forging of national, regional and local identities and the roles played by different racial, ethnic and gender groups in shaping nation-states.

In the introduction Barton reviews recent changes in political geography. Perhaps because the changes have been so recent, the review quickly switches to a discussion of wider development issues. This discussion includes a succinct review of the development theories that have been dominant in Latin America during this century, and this sets the scene for much of the book. Adopting a political economy approach, the book is essentially about mainstream development issues. Hence, a subsequent chapter focuses on the impact of globalisation, the debt crisis and structural adjustment packages and also examines regional groupings. The next chapter then shifts down to the national scale, briefly looking at the origins of the nation-state and the character of Latin American politics, before examining spatial inequalities and issues of urbanisation and land reform. While these topics would be found in any standard development text, in the penultimate chapter Barton gives greater emphasis to the role played by subaltern groups in forging their own identities and promoting social movements for change. In the conclusion he speculates that they will have an increasingly important role to play in shaping nation-states.

The text covers a lot of ground, perhaps too much in the short space. While one can sympathise with the author's wish to be comprehensive in his coverage of the topic, some of the contemporary issues could have been considered in greater depth, while the review of geopolitics which extends back to the pre-Columbian period could have been much shorter. The book is well illustrated and it contains some useful and up-to-date tables. It is a welcome addition to undergraduate texts on development in Latin America. Unfortunately, many will not realise that the book covers much broader issues than its title suggests, and I'm afraid the term political geography, particularly in a Latin American context, still suffers from its association with geopolitics.

King's College London LINDA A. NEWSON

Philip Kelly, *Checkerboards and Shatterbelts: The Geopolitics of South America* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1997), pp. ix+240, $40.00, $17.95 pb.

Philip Kelly has filled a major gap in the literature by providing an integral vision of South America's geopolitics. His view is that of an impartial outsider who accurately stresses the limits of existing national perspectives, which lack a regional doctrine or synthesis. With Cartesian logic he reviews some key geopolitical concepts dealing with the specificities of South America, of regional and Americas-wide geopolitics, of the frictions with the USA, and ends with a well-judged forward look at South American prospects.

Rather than enter into polemical general commentaries on this thorough and excellent work, in this brief review I will limit myself to noting points of omission or continuing areas of disagreement, chapter by chapter.

Starting with the first chapter, on the character of geopolitics in South America, it would have been worth stressing the existence of two competing approaches. The first derives from a conception of space, viewed as an arena of territorial expansion and frontier conflict. This is a geopolitics of confrontation. The alternative is a view of space as a vital requirement for the equitable development of the state and its capacity to deliver well-being. This is a geopolitics of development and cooperation.

The second and third chapters provide a comprehensive and well-balanced review of the writings of South American analysts of geopolitics. However, in the post-Cold War period new global developments are occurring with regional repercussions which have not been analysed, such as:

(i) the development of new transcontinental access routes to the Pacific Basin, supplementing the old sea routes through Panama and the Magellan straits. This gives rise to a new rivalry between the ports of southern Peru, and Northern Chile, and rivalry between various ports of southern Brazil that could become access points for transcontinental corridors transmitting both goods and services.

(ii) Following the Malvinas War and the end of the Cold War, the South Atlantic has lost strategic importance for Brazil. Brazil's traditional Atlanticism is gradually fading, her attention is shifting westward, into her Amazonian hinterland and the new routes to the Pacific, including closer relations with her Amazon neighbours. By contrast, as long as the Malvinas issue remains unresolved, the South Atlantic will remain important for Argentina – and this will cause her to strengthen her ties with the USA.

(iii) As regional trading blocs continue to crystallise, there will be a growing geopolitical need for Mercosur and the Andean Community to create a joint South American free trade area, in order to negotiate effectively with the USA over the prospective continental free trade area. In the long run the emergence of a South American regional trading bloc will inevitably favour the leadership ambitions of Brazil, and could lead to tension with the USA. This prospect may help to account for Washington's decision to strengthen bilateral ties with Argentina, as a way of weakening this emerging regional grouping.

Chapter four deals in particular with frontier conflicts in South America. Concerning the War of the Pacific, Kelly says that the outcome of the war was to transfer the territories in dispute to Chile. But this was not so much a border dispute as a war of conquest for the riches of the nitrate zone. By force of arms

Chile seized extensive territories belonging to Peru and Bolivia. Concerning the Marañon War, the text claims that Peru successfully annexed Marañon, and that the mediators assigned much more of the Oriente to Peru than to Ecuador. In fact, the Rio Treaty of 1941 gave Ecuador her due. She got what she possessed, her territorial integrity was not mutilated, and not a single Ecuadorean settlement passed into Peruvian jurisdiction, nor did any Ecuadorean citizen lose nationality. Ecuador has never occupied the Amazonian headwaters, and Peru's rights derive from colonial titles dating back to 1802, from rights of possession, and from the will of the inhabitants.

I endorse Philip Kelly's forecast – opposed to the views of Child and Pittman – of a new era of peace, co-operation, integration, and conflict resolution through dialogue. The traditional language of conflict has been replaced by negotiations over disputed frontiers, for example, between Argentina and Chile; and by conversations currently in progress between Peru and Ecuador; as well as between Mercosur and the Andean Community. This is reinforced by the new doctrine of co-operative Continental Security, and by the reinforced hegemony of the USA, which will not allow conflicts in Washington's zone of influence. Frontier conflicts will not disappear, but merely remain latent.

The fifth chapter describes the contrasting geopolitical traditions of the three separate parts of the Americas, compares North and South, and considers the possibility of a South American confederation. It correctly concludes that there are better prospects for integration in South America than in Central America, given the respective political convergences, cultural affirmities, and degrees of political stability. On the North–South comparison, North America's nineteenth-century expansion provides a geopolitical basis for its greatness which South America never had. On South America I endorse Kelly's view that the growth of Brazilian leadership and the convergence of Mercosur and the Andean Community will give rise to some kind of confederal outcome in South America, with the emergence of a common foreign policy similar to that of the European Union, which will strengthen the regime's trade performances and improve its bargaining power vis-à-vis other regional groupings in North America, Europe and Asia.

The concluding chapter is convincing with regard to likely developments in geopolitics at the national level. Old interstate conflicts will fade, and new issues will tend to be handled by dialogue and negotiation. Ecological problems will not diminish, but will increasingly be managed thanks to the emergence of a strengthened ecological consciousness. However, as far as *continental* geopolitics is concerned, my view differs somewhat from that of Kelly. I see no medium-term resolution of the Malvinas issue, and still less any outlet to the sea for Bolivia. On the other hand, the current conversations between Peru and Ecuador do offer prospects for an eventual resolution of the Marañon dispute. With regard to *global* geopolitics, I agree that South America will remain peripheral in relation to the major centres of world power. But I am optimistic about the prospects for an eventual free trade area from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego that would enable our region to benefit from emerging structures of political and technological power. As for the European Union, I believe its importance will be increasingly recognised by South America. It will serve as a geo-economic complement helping to consolidate the new form of US hegemony arising from the post-Cold War settling, an asymmetrical polarity with the USA as the *primus inter pares*. The information revolution is part of a geo-strategic revolution that require us to look as the world afresh, and revise the old and in appropriate models of interpretation.

Philip Kelly's book will be required reading for those who understand that geopolitical analysis must be dynamic, and can in no circumstances be reduced to the merely conjunctural, let alone the ideological.

Lima, Peru GENERAL (RETIRED) EDGARDO MERCADO JARRÍN

Elizabeth Joyce and Carlos Malamud (eds.), *Latin America and the Multinational Drug Trade* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, in association with the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1997), pp. ix+243, £45.00 hb.

This book, containing the proceedings of a conference held in Spain on 1995, is a welcome addition to the literature on the impact of drugs on Latin America. Following an introduction by Fernando Cepeda, Peter Reuter looks at consumption in the US and Europe and Augusto Pérez at drug use in Latin America. The impact of the drug trade on Colombia, Bolivia, Peru and Mexico is addressed, respectively, by Jorge Orlando Melo, Andy Atkins, Roberto Lerner and María Cecilia Toro. Anthony Maingot writes on money laundering and Elizabeth Joyce on cocaine and British foreign policy.

Cepeda argues that there is no international anti-drug strategy, even though the drug trade certainly requires an international response. One might add that such absence enhances the leverage of US policy, greatly based on domestic political concerns. Cepeda gives high marks to policies followed by Colombian Presidents Barco and Gaviria, but this point is persuasively challenged by Melo.

Reuter shows that while drug use in the USA has declined, problems associated with drugs have not. As cocaine became cheaper, it became more abused by poorer people. Unfortunately, US policy is heavily slanted towards reducing the number of users. Pérez points out that several producing countries face serious consumption problems, with few resources to address them.

Melo argues that in Colombia the causality between drugs and the weakening of social values runs in both directions – an interpretation which contrasts with that for Mexico of Toro, who suggests that institutions are weak precisely because of anti-drug policies. Two of Melo's arguments require more research to be convincing. First, he suggests that most of the income appropriated by traffickers was initially repatriated to Colombia, but this process was revised later. Second, he states that the 1983 tax amnesty was undertaken to legalise resources from the drug trade. A crucial element of US policy with regard to Colombia has been the alleged links between drug traffickers and guerrillas. Melo shows that although they have entered into a pragmatic alliance, they represent quite contradictory political projects. Furthermore, prospects for peace with the guerrillas are weakened once the public is convinced they deal in drugs.

While recognising the importance of drugs within the Bolivian economy, Atkins suggests that the role of drugs in the coup led by García Meza has been exaggerated; Bolivia had a long tradition of coups, regardless of drugs. He also argues that the increased role of the military in anti-drug policy may erode achievements in terms of advancing democracy. In much the same line as other contributors, Atkins argues that while the drug trade has increased the power of undemocratic sectors, so also have the efforts to control *narcotráfico*.

A crucial element of Toro's analysis for the case of Mexico is that, by making the trade more lucrative, policies that seek to reduce drug availability have increased trafficking. Although the analytical underpinnings of her argument are weak, she convincingly states that in Mexico the trade had political repercussions that were far more important than its economic consequences. She reminds us that eradication programmes have had little influence on retail prices. Atkins is also skeptical about crop eradication, while acknowledging that it has been instrumental in attracting foreign aid to Bolivia. Lerner points out that the only successful substitution in Peru has been in favour of opium poppy!

In addressing the question of whether traffickers enjoy safe-heavens, Maingot indicates that Anguila, with 7000 inhabitants, had 3500 registered companies, including 42 banks, and he reminds us that US authorities acknowledged that money laundering in Panama has returned to pre-invasion levels. While acknowledging that with respect to cocaine the US perception is readily adopted by other countries, Joyce shows that Britain has had a fundamentally European attitude, where cooperation is seen as a matter of law enforcement and development rather than as a security threat. She explains that the US decision to decertify a given country does not usually depend alone on the perceived quality of drug control. However, decertification has been a most effective procedure in obtaining compliance with US objectives. Of course, this in itself does not mean much, as US-induced policies have had little effect in curtailing supply.

This interesting collection leaves little doubt that the greatest threat the drug trade poses to Latin America relates to the integrity of state institutions and the probable erosion of civil rights. It also shows that if drugs in themselves are a problem, many have been exacerbated by the policies implemented in response.

Fedesarrollo,
Bogotá, *Colombia*

ROBERTO STEINER

Téofilo Altamirano and Lane Ryo Hirabayashi (eds.), *Migrants*, *Regional Identities and Latin American Cities* (Arlington, VA: The Society for Latin American Anthropology and the American Anthropological Association, 1997), pp. xiii + 180, $15.00 (non-members) pb.

This collection of essays (by Altamirano, Roberts, Hirabayashi, Mitchell, Doughty, Carrasco, Albó, Kearney) usefully reviews different approaches that have been developed on Latin American migration. The contributions unfold three different analytical notions of regional identity: as a personal sense of place, as a setting of particular social relations and as structured political and administrative units, which are at time complied with and at other times resisted by different actors. The authors illustrate metaphors and experiences of regional identities as 'passive' adaptations and active responses of migrant urban settlers as well as forms of political empowerment shaped by the state, regional and local governments. Hence regional identities are an expression as well as an integrated shaping force of urban and rural life, and a cradle of ethnic identities which can challenge the unity of the nation state (Kearney).

The nature of rural crisis is analysed in Mitchell's article and identified mainly with uncontrolled population increase, declining profitability of agriculture and the contraction of cyclical working opportunities. Then it is argued that the dialectic between rural and urban dimensions should be studied through 'an holistic view of regional dynamics and the kinds of extant linkages that tie the centre and the periphery together' (Hirabayashi, p. 62). Those regional dynamics are expressed in voluntary associations which function not only at an ascribed level, but also as an achievement of status, shared resources and self-control. Those organisations are fundamental networks during times of high stress and deep needs and should be an important focus of NGO and governmental interventions oriented toward an enhancement of migrants' empowerment (Doughty). However, the effect of the activity of those organisations is not homogeneous. Carrasco analyses a group of origin which has migrated to two different sites in Ecuador and shows how religious and community development organisations enhance different public, political, familial and cultural processes – the objectives and priorities being different and potentially conflictive. Conflicts can also be expressed in the organization of territorial and symbolic space such as in the case of La Paz/Chukiyawu (Albó). Expressions of hegemonic and contra-hegemonic formations in education, religion, and the mass media show that a specific multicultural urban dynamic could become an inspiring reality for multicultural national policies.

Finally, the book rightly addresses important issues which concern the comparison of regional identities not only in Latin America but in other continents. All the contributors stress the existence of important regional identities in Latin America as an intrinsic part of the informal economies as well as a unique process of meaning-making in conditions of widespread urban fragmentation and disintegration. The book develops and sums up important theories and data, but it leaves the reader without a clear picture of how migration processes and phenomena of cultural hybridity are situated in a wider process of globalisation and political culture so important in the Latin American scenario of the 90s. Nonetheless, this volume is interesting and recommended reading for anthropologists, geographers as well as students and researchers in population and migration studies in Latin America.

Centre for Latin American Studies VALENTINA NAPOLITANO
University of Cambridge

Héctor Díaz Polanco, *Indigenous Peoples in Latin America: The Quest for Self-Determination* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 1997), pp. xiii + 162, pb.

This book is a translation of an important work which summarises some major debates about the relations between, state, nation, autonomy and Indigenous communities in Latin America. The quest is both anthropological and historical; the book focuses on a comprehensive account of those relations from the pre-conquest and colonial periods via the formation of liberal states, and it ends with some comments on the political negotiations of the Zapatistas' movement with the Mexican state.

The author analyses the development of indigenism in three different historical periods up to the construction of modern states. Hence the book unravels some interesting parallels and differences between the processes of nation-building in Europe and Latin America. As it reflects how those processes, such as 'criollo nationalism', 'liberal centralism' and 'historical indigenism', have shaped discriminatory positions against the indigenous population, it highlights central metaphors such as 'segregationism', 'assimilationism', 'integrationism' and 'ethnicism' in national-state policies. The author also rightly points out dangerous 'ethnophagic' (his own term) tendencies, which have subtly but effectively imposed hegemonic values over diverse and multiple indigenous popular cultures.

In the second half of the book the author analyses different aspects of questions of autonomy and self-determination for the indigenous population and argues that autonomy is both a territorial embodiment and an association of people with specific demands and aspiration, as well as a politico-juridical regime which should aspire to the creation of pluriethnic regions within the context of the nation-state. So Polanco argues that autonomy cannot be understood as a dichotomy between centralism and decentralisation, but as a vital process of a 'socio-political transformation in a national scale' which consolidates national unity, solidarity and fraternity and equality among citizens and ethnic communities.

A weakness of the book is its romantic endorsement of the indigenous cause which overlooks, for instance, questions of internal hierarchies and gender inequalities within indigenous societies, especially in the pre- and post-conquest periods. Hence we are still left with a picture of a conflictual dichotomy between indigenous societies and the 'West' while it could have been interesting to dwell on the creation of consensus and dissensus within the indigenous societies themselves. Moreover, the author could have engaged in further discussion of autonomy as a socio-political transformation in a time of post-modern state/nation and globalisation. Nonetheless the book is concisely well-written, and it will be important reading for students and researchers in Latin American anthropology, political sciences and history and comparative history.

Centre for Latin American Studies,
University of Cambridge
VALENTINA NAPOLITANO

Sandra Kuntz Ficker and Paolo Riguzzi (eds.), *Ferrocarriles y vida económica en México (1850–1950)* (Zinacantepec, México: El Colegio Mexiquense, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Xochimilco, and Ferrocarriles Nacionales de México, 1996), pp. 383, pb.

This edited volume addresses several important questions in Mexican economic history. Why did the railways fail to generate significant backward linkages? What were the effects of government policy? And why did the railways' economic role decline after 1920?

Paolo Riguzzi takes on Gerschenkron's hypothesis that late industrialisers have an advantage. He argues that had Mexico began building railways in the 1830s, its own foundries could have produced rails and later followed the learning curve into more advanced products. But by the 1870s, technology had advanced too far for railway construction to stimulate Mexico's existing industrial plant. Starting late made it harder to catch up later. Guillermo Guajardo attempts to flesh out Riguzzi's story, and take it through 1952. Unfortunately, Guarjardo's chapter fails to measure up to the quality of Riguzzi's essay: its line of argument is confused, and poorly informed by economic theory.

Sandra Kuntz studies government policies, and concludes that they did little to favour exports. She finds that the price of railway transport as a percentage of the final price of domestically traded goods declined over time, and rate policies were economically rational. Arturo Grunstein convincingly argues that the federal buyout of the largest railroads in 1907 was not necessary to forestall a predatory private monopoly, and that regulated competition could have achieved the same goal at less cost. He concludes that most of the cost advantages of the new quasi-national company in fact derived from a fortuitous drop in the price of coal.

In the final chapter, Kuntz and Riguzzi document the slow increase in productivity after 1920 and the failure of the system to keep up with the growth of the economy. They carefully rule out competition from highways or deliberate government policy as causes. In a meticulous analysis, they attribute the decline to the politicisation of the national railways, the strength of the labour unions, and the indefinite status of the remaining private lines.

While the quality of the chapters is high, the volume could have benefited from a more rigorous application of economic theory. For example, Kuntz and Riguzzi base certain arguments on the railways' contribution to market integration, without ever clearly demonstrating the presence thereof. A similar point can be made about the price elasticity of demand for transport. The authors make several somewhat contradictory arguments based on implicit or explicit inferences about demand elasticity without directly calculating it.

Grunstein's essay raises several interesting topics in political economy and imperfect competition. Why did the government purchase the railways rather than continue to regulate them? Some of the evidence he presents indicates that the buyout might have been a back-ended subsidy to make up for years of low or negative profits. How intense was 'destructive competition' in the railway market? Using techniques from the industrial organisation literature to analyse data on profits, securities prices, and reinvestment would clarify both the competitive environment and investor expectations and shed light on the government's motivations.

These quibbles aside, the authors have produced a series of high-quality essays that greatly advance our knowledge about the effects of railroads on the shape and structure of the Mexican economy, remind us that John Coatsworth's seminal study by no means answered all our questions, and suggest many productive avenues for future research. This is a valuable and sorely needed contribution to the literature on Mexico's economic history.

Instituto Tecnológico Antónomo de México NOEL MAURER

Peter Lester Reich, *Mexico's Hidden Revolution: The Catholic Church in Law and Politics since 1929* (Notre Dame, IN, and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. x+193, $28.95 hb.

Although Reich claims to reveal a 'hidden revolution' between the Mexican Postrevolutionary State and the Roman Catholic Church during the 1930s, his book simply reviews the key events and participants of the religious conflict during that decade. Few Mexicanists would today argue that the process from overt ideological conflict to tacit cooperation was more gradual and involved more participants than some authors have previously described, or that the 'mutual ideological support' which the leaders of the State and the Church again began to exchange during the 1930s has strengthened both institutions (p. 67).

In this book, Reich makes numerous broad conclusions based on brief citations, which could have been strengthened with more illustrative analysis or fuller quotes. Oddly, Reich uses several 'traditional' devices he criticises in other historians' works, such as the chronology with which he divides his national and regional studies of church-state conflict (125–126 n). In many places his writing reflects the bias of sources which were published by and for the leadership of the Church, such as those he claims to have 'uncovered' at the Secretariado Social Mexicano. Reich rarely names lay Catholic activists, and those whom he does are all male, thus omitting the contributions made by women who, at its strongest, constituted roughly two-thirds of the Mexican *Acción Católica*. Fuller descriptions of the traditions, morals, and power struggles between old and new regimes and leaders would have problematised Reich's portrayal of swift negotiations occurring throughout Mexico.

Reich frequently asserts that the extremist language, policy and actions of the Church and of the State were more devices for political bargaining than representations of fact (p. 73). Yet if one examines the sources which he cites to support his argument, it is clear that he overemphasises the positive relations between government officials and Catholic leaders. This cooperative relationship, according to Reich, was periodically marred by extremists in both camps, who did not comprehend the 'political pragmatism' which underlay the fanatical statements made by their leaders, the evidence for which is found in archives and interviews. Reich's implication that those such as lay Catholic protesters, *agraristas*, unionists and government officials, who interpreted propaganda literally and used it to justify their confrontational acts simply acted in a misguided and counterproductive manner, is rather unfair. Reich does not adequately consider the fact that most Mexicans were unaware of the secret negotiations among their hierarchical leaders, nor does he ascribe much validity to the convictions or actions of ordinary Mexicans. Reich claims to represent ordinary Mexicans as determining forces in the resolution of the Church-State conflict, but devotes comparatively little attention to their activities.

Occasions of hierarchical collaboration do not necessarily imply complete cooperation, even if one were to consider the leadership of the Mexican State and the Catholic Church alone – for although they have exhibited greater degrees of coordination, the two institutions exhibit disagreement to this day. Reich believes that the non-enforcement of anticlerical laws was a 'triumph of practical politics over stated ideology' (p. 71), as were the Church's eventual exhortations for ideological support for the State. However, Reich does not ask why these 'practical politics' still had to be negotiated among the Catholic Church, the Mexican State, and their adherents, as late as the 1940s – or the 1990s – any more than his book gives a revelatory answer.

St Cross College/Latin American Centre,
University of Oxford
KRISTINA A. BOYLAN

Vivienne Bennett, *The Politics of Water: Urban Protest, Gender, and Power in Monterrey, Mexico* (Pittsburgh, PA, and London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), pp. xvii+232, £44.50, £15.95 pb.

Bennett's study of Monterrey's water services during the 1970s and 1980s highlights the technical, political, and social dimensions of urban water systems. Her book shows that the provision of water has been the favourite object of social and political control in Mexico's urban centres. Although this had already been suggested by previous studies, in particular in the Valley of Mexico, this book has the advantage of providing a well-elaborated methodological framework for the study of urban popular protests. Based on a wealth of empirical evidence, the author succeeds in capturing the complexity of state-society interactions at different levels in a particular field of activity: the delivery of water services. Bennett shows that although it is true that water services provide the government with ongoing mechanisms of social control, popular mobilisation and disruption were also highly effective resources in influencing public policy issues in Monterrey. The study depicts three key political actors: the federal and state executive powers, the leading private sector Monterrey Group, and organised women from the poorest neighbourhoods. According to the author, the impact of popular protest in a context of rapprochement between the federal government and the powerful *regiomontano* private sector after many decades of confrontation helped to foster long-delayed investment in Monterrey's water supply, which became a national priority in the late 1970s.

In addition to a valuable introduction to the fabric of urban water services (theory and planning), and a long-term perspective on the socio-political make-up of Monterrey's water stress, the book offers an insightful approach for studying the politics of urban services. Bennett argues that although for practical matters urban water services have become a wage good, from a socio-political perspective water (together with the rest of basic services) must be considered as a right. The gender- and class-driven mobilisations are correctly depicted as 'problem oriented' and as 'defensive collective actions'. However, the author escapes from the trap of crude empiricism by arguing that actions oriented by short-term interests (e.g. practical gender needs such as a better water supply) may have an impact on wider issues such as strategic gender needs, and foster 'an enhanced sense of citizenship', not just for women. Bennett's research illustrates how what started as protests over a daily-life concern ended up encompassing the collective construction of a panorama of rights for every citizen, thus challenging the long-standing state paternalism and the selective nature of public services provision in Mexico.

The book also touches on other important issues such as the highly centralised nature of public policy making and resource allocation in Mexico; the impact of the presidential institution and of presidential cycles on development programmes; the structural problems facing the provision of urban water services; the resort to politico-ideological manipulation by the government to calm down public unrest by explaining water stress as a result of physical-natural factors.

Finally, in the light of the ongoing processes of privatisation of water utilities in Latin America, Bennett's account offers some clues for understanding the intricacies of the public-or-private dilemma. She describes how Monterrey's water supply was managed by a Canadian-based private company which won a 100-year contract in 1909. Given that the system collapsed completely by the early 1940s, the state government confiscated the company provoking a political and legal turmoil that reached the Supreme Court, which ruled in favour of the state. However, Bennett warns against any simplification of the public/private dilemma, because during the subsequent decades the now state-owned utility did little to improve the situation and was actually responsible part for the water crisis of the 1970s. In the end, she argues, the problem is not the ownership of the water utilities (public or private) but ensuring adequate managerial accountability.

This book contributes to open the debate about contemporary water (and natural) resources management in the social sciences, which has been largely confined either to history or to the fields of hydraulic, legal and economic expertise.

St Antony's College,
Oxford
JOSÉ ESTEBAN CASTRO

Robin D. Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920–1940* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), pp. xii + 320, pb.

The historical analysis of conceptions of 'race' in the Hispanic Caribbean offers an interesting avenue for the study of the contradictions and ambivalences within definitions of national identities. Robin Moore's *Nationalizing Blackness* is a significant contribution to the understanding of the links between cultural expressions and the history of national discourses and racial relationships in Cuba. It is a very well documented book that provides an interpretative look at the rich Cuban musical universe of the early twentieth century.

The main focus of this study is the Afrocuban artistic movement of the 1920s and 1930s, with special attention to music. The author analyses the gradual incorporation to the cultural 'main stream' of Afrocuban marginal expressions, and the stylistic transformations that occurred in the process. With a particular eye on the intersections of 'race' and class in Cuba, Moore sets out to examine the social dynamics and aesthetic changes in genres such as the *teatro vernáculo* (comic theatre), the *comparsas* (carnival music), the *son*, the *rumba*, and the avant-garde concert music of the period.

Recent literature in the field of musical studies shows a discomfort with the paradigms of musicological analysis and an interest in developing a fluid dialogue with other fields of the human sciences. Robin Moore's multidisciplinary approach enhances our understanding of the role played by music and other cultural manifestations (visual arts, dance, theatre, and poetry) in the processes of development and transformation of ethnic and national identities. According to the author, the decade of the twenties marks a moment of change in conceptions of 'race' and nationality in Cuba, a process that could also be observed in other countries of Afro-American presence, particularly in Brazil. Genres linked to the black subaltern communities, like the Cuban *son* and the Brazilian *samba*, were transformed into national emblems in a way that reveals some of the complex dialogues between hegemonic national projects and popular culture.

In looking at the history of racial relationships in Cuba, Moore emphasises a 'conceptual binary opposition between Hispanic/elite/dominant and African/popular/subaltern' (p. 6). This proved to be helpful in questioning the idea of a monolithic Cuban culture, but, in my opinion, it is a proposition that needs further discussion. Recent studies have tended to suggest that processes of racial identification in the Hispanic Caribbean are strategically contextual. In this sense, racial categories could be understood as being flexible and ambivalent to a certain extent. In *Nationalizing Blackness*, Moore himself gives special attention to a wide range of cultural and ethnic 'mediators'. In fact, most of the book is dedicated to genres or musicians that the author describes as agents of symbolic negotiations between the opposite poles mentioned above.

Robin Moore, who is a faculty member of the Esther Boyer College of Music at Temple University, has been able to transform an outstanding study based on multiple sources (interviews, records, newspapers, magazines, and other archival materials) into a well written book that is accessible to a wide range of readers, while addressing theoretical issues in a sophisticated but lucid manner.

University of São Paulo,
Brazil
MAREIA QUINTERO RIVERA

Haroldo Dilla (ed.), *La Participación en Cuba y los Retos del Futuro* (Havana: Centro de Estudios sobre América, 1996), pp. 239, pb, and Haroldo Dilla (ed.), *La Democracia en Cuba y el Diferendo con los Estado Unidos* (Havana: Centro de Estudios sobre América, 1996), pp. 215 pb.

For close on forty years the claim of those in power in Cuba, and of their friends and supporters abroad, has been that the Cuban revolution of 1959 led to the establishment of a political regime distinct from, and superior to, those of the rest of Latin America. The terms of this claim have varied, from early rhetorical formulations of mass democracy and a post-monetary world based on moral emulation, through to the more institutionalised forms of *poder popular* introduced in 1976. This defence of the Cuban system was, of course, all the more intense because of the attacks to which Cuba was, and remains, subjected by the USA and anti-Castro exiles. The rejection of external denunciation and pressure was to some degree valid. What this claim downplayed, however, were two aspects of the political system in Cuba that have over time become more evident: on the one hand, the similarity between the state in Cuba and that of other revolutionary one-party systems; on the other, the development, *within Cuba itself*, of a critical reflection on this experiment.

These two volumes, edited by Haroldo Dilla for the Centro de Estudios Sobre América, mark a break in this polarised, often bleak, debate; they represent views that reject the polarised terms of discussion. *La Participación en Cuba* consists of contributions from Cuban scholars, while *La Democracia en Cuba* is the result of an international conference in which US scholars met with Cubans and other Latin Americans. Together, they mark a point of critical reflection on the meaning of democracy in general, and its relevance to Cuba in the context of pressing concerns about its political future.

A central theme in both collections is the crisis that Cuba entered in 1990 with the collapse of its partners in the Soviet bloc. This made it impossible for Cuba's state-centred political economy to continue. Unable to survive in isolation from the capitalist states and the world market, Cuba effected a belated integration into the world economy, the success of which depends on the normalisation of Cuba's relations with the USA, and, as these volumes stress, on economic and political reform within Cuba itself. While the contributors differ in their views over the optimal reform package for Cuba, they all agree that greater democracy is both urgent and necessary and that the forms of participation currently available on the island are inadequate.

Dilla's opening essay in *La Participación en Cuba* applies the critiques by Lukacs and Gramsci of the bureaucratic state that emerged in the USSR in the 1920s to Cuba. The Cuban system is in crisis and the danger is that if it is not reformed the very real achievements of the revolution, and the distinctiveness of Cuban society, will be lost. What underlies this critique is, therefore, not just an academic assessment of the Cuban state, but also a sense of urgency: in Dillas words, 'We are approaching a defining moment in the future of Cuban society, whose negative outcome would entail a historic regression over many decades...' (*La Participación*, p. 16). Dilla rejects the terms of the debate as presented in the official media in Cuba, that of market *or* state as a false dilemma. An advocate of the mixed economy and participatory democracy, he argues for a continuation of the socialist project through a revitalisation of its moribund political apparatus. The revolution has itself prepared the ground for a more active civil society on the island. Higher levels of education, upward mobility, and the political experience of the past forty years have, in his view, laid the bases for a more active democratic process.

The fact that two conferences on this theme were held in Cuba in 1993–4 is itself an indication of some official tolerance of debate on an issue which, as one of the contributors to *La Democracia* puts it, tends to provoke an 'allergic' reaction on the island. However, with hindsight, this may be seen as a moment in the flowering of the island's reformist intelligentsia. It was not to last. What followed was the disastrous shooting down of the two Cuban exile planes, prelude to the passing of the Helms-Burton Act of 1996. Increased US pressure resulted in a far less tolerant atmosphere after 1996: work at CEA was suspended, its director replaced and some of its faculty moved on to other institutions, while books by Dilla and his colleagues were withdrawn from circulation. The Fifth Party Congress did not announce any major political reforms: the proposals contained in these volumes have so far been ignored. Yet as the contributors point out, the survival of the positive aspects of the revolution depends upon some peaceful transition towards a greater pluralisation of political institutions. Despite the passing of this moment of opening in Cuba, neither the issues nor the opportunities for change have gone away.

University of London,
Institute of Latin American Studies
MAXINE MOLYNEUX

Ivelaw Lloyd Griffith, *Drugs and Security in the Caribbean: Sovereignty under Siege* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1997), pp. xix + 295, £31.50, £15.50 pb; $35.00, $16.95 pb.

Ivelaw Lloyd Griffith argues that an understanding of a country's involvement in the drug trade requires a good grasp of its geography and politics and a willingness to analyse the drug situation comprehensively in all its aspects. He then proceeds to rise to his own challenge in this wide-ranging and fascinating analysis of the Caribbean drug trade. No aspect of the Caribbean drug trade or the policies designed to address it appears to have escaped Professor Griffith's gaze. A single chapter on Crime, Justice and Public Order includes, inter alia, analysis of recent criminal justice legislation and its implications for law enforcement and civil liberties, an account of the state of Caribbean prisons and a knowledgeable discussion of the social composition of Jamaican 'posses', the violent criminal gangs whose involvement in trafficking have made them key actors in the transnational drug trade.

The author has obviously traveled widely in the Caribbean and interviewed dozens of individuals involved in either drugs or drug control. This primary research has served him well. The book has an immediacy and authenticity that only first-hand inquiries can achieve. He has interviewed policemen, development workers, politicians and doctors, as well as crack dealers and users, and offers a rich fund of anecdotes about the use and shipment of illicit drugs, including methods of doing each that are monuments to human ingenuity.

His central argument is that, however sovereignty is interpreted, Caribbean sovereignty has been undermined not just by the drug trade but also by the Caribbean states' relations on drugs with more powerful countries and with international organisations. Their subordinate status reduces the capacity to bargain in the design and implementation of drug control and consequently they 'go through the motions of bargaining, making a pretense to sovereignty'. Yet the author also argues that one of the key requisites for ending the 'drug siege' is external support, from other countries – particularly the United States, Britain and the Netherlands – and from non-state actors.

The author is even-handed in attributing causes and apportioning blame, and is blunt about the Caribbean states' corruption and lack of capacity to tackle drugs. Poverty and deprivation produce incentives for participation in crime, he argues, but so do 'greed and acquisitive materialism'. Caribbean policymakers face often irreconcilable demands and resort to 'muddling through'. His own conclusions are often more considered and incisive than those of the other analysts he quotes, and the reader is occasionally left wishing for more of him and less of them.

The book assumes no prior knowledge of either the drug trade or the Caribbean, and therefore offers readers unfamiliar with either a useful starting-point in research. The strategic studies vernacular of 'geonarcotics' and 'drugs-security matrices' will not be to everyone's taste but, although present in the book, it does not dominate. Indeed, one of the book's strengths is that is transcends in scope and attention to detail the glib approach that is so often characteristic of that genre.

The author takes the contrary step in his acknowledgements of inverting the academic author's traditional mea culpa by denying responsibility for the book's 'errors and shortcomings', instead claiming collective responsibility for the work, presumably with his interviewees and the other analysts he quotes. This is a shame because it means he will have to do the decent thing and forego sole credit for the book's strengths, all of which should be attributed to him for an original and valuable contribution to the study of the illicit drug trade.

IRELA, Madrid ELIZABETH JOYCE

Alejandro Portes; Carlos Dore-Cabral; Patricia Landolt (eds.), *The Urban Caribbean: Transition to the New Global Economy* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. xvii+260, £40.00, £15.00 pb.

The Urban Caribbean is an edited book with a difference. Rather than a collection of articles tenuously linked with a dominant theme, this is the outcome of a large, cross-cultural comparative research project into the processes and implications of urbanisation in the Caribbean Basin. As the editors rightly suggest in their introduction, this volume represents a departure from previous research in the region which has tended to focus on a single city, or on certain issues within a particular urban area, and from which often dubious theoretical statements are drawn (p. 3). Instead, *The Urban Caribbean* shares the findings from a holistic project based on a common, innovative methodology (usefully discussed in the introduction)[1], which at once allows direct comparisons to be drawn but also leaves room for cultural specifities to come to the fore. Drawing on case studies from the capital cities of Costa Rica, Haiti, Guatemala, Dominican Republic and Jamaica, the book charts the consequences for urbanisation of a shift from import-substitution industrialisation to export-oriented industrialisation and the concomitant restructuring this entails. While this in itself is significant, the other core themes and theoretical contributions are equally important. The theoretical propositions which are the cornerstone of the book, outlined in Chapter 2, include, first, that urban primacy has declined; second, that spatial polarisation has lessened as poverty and income disparities increase; and finally, that the informal sector, which is intricately linked with the formal, only has limited absorptive capacity. While the editors conclude in this chapter that blanket generalisations about contemporary urbanisation cannot be made, they suggest that the most expedient theoretical approach is one 'that combines global trends with specific national processes' (p. 48). The discussions in the case study chapters reflect this; they first discuss the findings from household surveys, followed by sections on the nature of political participation and citizenship, and on one type of informal sector activity, ranging from the production of ackees in Kingston, Jamaica, to shoemakers in San José, Costa Rica. These in-depth chapters provide a wonderful insight into life in these cities, although perhaps more use could have been made of qualitative interviews and the actual experiences of some of the informal sector workers (partially attempted in the Haiti case). The concluding chapter presents a theoretically informed account of two of the key themes of the book: political participation and the economics of popular entrepreneurship. Some fascinating cross-cultural convergences and divergences are discussed. In relation to the former, for example, there was found to be a broad discrepancy between expectations and endorsements of popular organising and actual participation in community organisations, although this was heavily dependent on the nature of the national political system. The discussion of the informal economy also usefully extends the debate on 'accumulation or subsistence' (p. 237) grounded in the work of de Soto. Emphasising the heterogeneity of informal activities, a series of opportunities and constraints faced by informal entrepreneurs are highlighted. Although the new economic order provides a number of new openings for some enterprises, especially those linked with the export economy in the United States, the broad consensus is that the majority will be limited to eking out a living from largely inefficient businesses.

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[1] Part of this innovation is in making the project detail available to the public in the form of data files. These can be found on the following website: http://www.jhu.edu/~soc/ladark.html.

Overall, *The Urban Caribbean* has something for everyone interested in urbanisation processes. While it deals with the traditional issues covered in similar studies, it also feeds into many contemporary debates, ranging from those interested in the role of 'new social movements', to the importance of social capital in bolstering informal accumulation. Indeed, my only concern is that the title of the book may deter some potential readers unaware that the volume contains case studies of areas usually defined as belonging to Latin America. This would be a shame as this is an exciting collection based on a fascinating collection of empirical data coupled with some important theoretical insights.

University of London,
Queen Mary and Westfield College
CATHY McILWAINE

Fernando Coronil, *The Magical State: Nature, Money, and Modernity in Venezuela* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. xvii+447, $50.00, $19.95 pb.

Oil played an all-pervasive role in twentieth-century Venezuela, bringing into being the Magical State referred to in the title of this book. Coincidentally, this role both started, and is ending with the century. Thus, Coronil's ambitious attempt to depict the trajectory of twentieth-century Venezuela is a very timely one. Moreover, he offers a new approach that combines an intimate understanding of Venezuelan society with a new perspective on the country's (international) political economy.

In the first two parts Coronil emphasises the need to overcome the traditional divisions in Venezuelan historiography between 'before' and 'after' Gómez, and between 'dictatorship' and 'democracy'. Nevertheless, due to their sheer weight, these divisions still leave their mark. Thus, the old tale of oil minister Torres being sacked by Gómez in 1922 because of his nationalism is repeated once more. Torres was never sacked. A new government took office, and Torres – just like others – lost his job. By the same token, the understanding of Torres' nationalism is anachronistic. In his nationalism he identified with landlords, not with the landlord state and the national ownership of the natural resource (p. 80/1). The example he followed was that of Mexican landlords and royalty owners and their attempts to use public ownership, enshrined in the Constitution of 1917, as a lever to increase their ground rents.

To overcome the traditional analytical division between 'dictatorship' and 'democracy' is not easy either. Coronil seems to share Betancourt's notion that democracy is nationalist, and dictators are *entreguista* (p. 89). Thus, dictator Pérez Jiménez is blamed for giving away billions in petroleum revenues (pp. 181–3), which is a yarn spun by Betancourt. As far as the economic facts are concerned, it is simply false. Oil nationalism is to be found everywhere in Third World oil exporting countries, and a quick look on the international scene over this century suffices to make it clear that there is no such relationship between oil nationalism and democracy.

Not surprisingly, the strongest parts of the book are those based on the author's (and Julie Skurski's) primary research, to be found in the third part. There are three case studies, all located in the boom years of petroleum revenues in the 1970s. The first two deal with the attempt, and failure, to create a national automobile and tractor industry. The third study analyses a high-profile murder and corruption case. These studies, in my opinion, offer a deep insight into what followed, and what so far has been poorly understood: the collapse of rentier Venezuela.

Coronil does not claim to offer a complete picture, but he certainly offers more than a patchwork. This stimulating book is a challenge to the reader to reflect on what the missing parts may be. In my opinion, most importantly, there is a third traditional division in Venezuelan historiography which he does not attack: the one which segregates the oil sector from the country. Hence, the foreign oil companies do not appear as actors. However, in the last part he concludes that the 1973 oil boom was a turning point, nationally and internationally. I would argue that 1973 was the year of the *de facto* nationalisation, and this was the beginning of the end of rentier Venezuela. What is more, at the very moment when the Magical State makes its exit on one side of the stage, on the other side the foreign oil companies re-enter the scene playing ring-a-ring-o'-roses, with Petróleos de Venezuela at the centre. Petróleos de Venezuela, the national oil company, Coronil manages not to mention once.

St Antony's College,
Oxford
BERNARD MOMMER

Terry Lynn Karl, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), pp. xviii + 342, pb.

This is a stimulating and thought provoking book in which the author has tried to explain that single commodity-led economic growth induces similar development strategies in countries with different cultural backgrounds and political regimes ending in large fiscal deficits and chronic bureaucratic malaise. The author illustrates her arguments by analysing such diverse oil exporting countries as Venezuela, Indonesia, Algeria and Nigeria. Karl is clearly aware that this is not an altogether new thesis with a vast literature on what has come to be known as the Dutch disease. However, she tries to put a new spin on the story that large export commodities shape not only regime types and social classes but also the 'institutions of state, the framework for decision making and the decision calculus of policymakers'. (p. 7). The book deals mainly with Venezuela with a good discussion of the country's recent oil development. It is a pity, however, that Karl is not more aware of the history of the countries she studied because it would add to her story rather than detract from it. As it is the book is dotted with off-the-cuff remarks which would irritate any country specialist. In addition, it is always a mistake to compare mining with oil as the two industries have very distinct characteristics, while the comparison between 17th century Spain, with its dependence on New World mining revenues, and modern day oil exporting countries is far too tenuous to have any real merit. On a general level Karl's central thesis appeals and applies not only to oil but to any other single commodity which forms a large component of a country's GDP. Coffee in Colombia, copper in Chile, guano in Peru, and coal in England are other examples during different historical periods which have influenced decision making policy in a general way. However, when one moves away from these generalisations the argument appears rather vacuous as the development of institutions of government in the oil exporting countries of the Gulf States, Venezuela, Ecuador, Algeria, Indonesia, Nigeria and Norway has yielded different forms of government, ranging from monarchies to dictatorship and democracy. The author has tried to explain the paradox that always strikes a visitor to any large oil exporting country which is that such vast revenues have failed to generate sustained economic progress. The answers are contained in the book but have to be ferreted out by the keen reader as the author tries too hard to show that oil is the source of all evil that affects a country's progress.

The Oxford Consultancy Group BRIAN McBETH

Richmond F. Brown, *Juan Fermín de Aycinena: Central American Colonial Entrepreneur, 1729–1796* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), pp. vii+298, $34.95 hb.

Born in Navarre in 1729, Juan Fermín de Aycinena emigrated to the Indies sometime around 1750. By 1754, Aycinena had settled in Guatemala where he remained until his death more than four decades later, and where he became a successful and influential merchant. If not the only, he was one of very few individuals in late colonial Central America whose total assets exceeded one million pesos. Aycinena enjoyed widespread commercial contacts, held important public offices, eventually came to have extensive landholdings, and was a major money lender. Named first marqués de Aycinena in 1783, he also possessed the only Castilian title of nobility in the entire province. Aycinena married three times in Guatemala, always to daughters of well-placed local families. In the independence and early republican periods, his children, and their children after them, would play key roles in Guatemalan politics. To this day, Aycinena descendants occupy prominent positions among Guatemala's elites.

Given his undisputed importance in eighteenth-century Central America, Aycinena has long merited a good biography. Richmond F. Brown's new book admirably fills this need, providing in the process a much-overdue corrective to mythical rags-to-riches accounts that until now have enjoyed general acceptance, even among professional scholars. Rather than starting with nothing but drive and determination, Aycinena was in fact born to an influential family with well-established connections, both in Spain and the Indies. Similarly, Aycinena did not so much found a dynasty in Guatemala as marry into an existing family network, which he then made his own. The large dowry associated with Aycinena's first marriage, contracted shortly after his arrival in Guatemala, provided the capital upon which he built his extensive financial empire, but such a fortunate alliance was possible in the first place only because visible and respected family connections vouched for his eligibility as a suitor.

To fashion this convincing portrait of a successful man of affairs in late colonial Spanish America, Brown has drawn heavily upon archival sources in Guatemala and Mexico, with a particular emphasis on notarial records. He has also benefited from privileged access to a significant trove of family papers, including corresponding and estate inventories, which remains in private hands in Guatemala. Brown acknowledges that he was unable to consult records in Spanish repositories. For this reason, there is probably more yet to be written of Aycinena's career, especially of his complex relationships with church and state, but this omission does not diminish the significance of Brown's accomplishment.

As a case study, this readable, well-documented biography complements and supports the findings of other recent works on merchants, including those of Louisa S. Hoberman, John Kicza, and Susan Migden Socolow. It will be useful to all students of the social and economic history of early Latin America. To specialists on Central America, it will be indispensable – as was, in his own day and to some purposes at least, the marqués himself.

Louisiana Tech University STEPHEN WEBRE

Eugenia Rodríguez Sáenz (ed.), *Entre Silencios y Voces: Género e Historia en América Central (1750–1990)* (San José, Costa Rica Centro Nacional para el Desarrollo de la Mujer y la Familia, 1997), pp. xvi+254, pb.

This collection of essays (most of which are chosen from presentations made to the 'Third Congress of Central American History' organised by the University of Costa Rica in July 1996) is intended to examine how gender identities have been constructed and modified in Central America from the colonial period to the present. By way of an introduction, Virginia Mora Carvajal's opening chapter charts the growing interest in Latin American women's history in recent years and offers a useful survey of the existing bibliography and the theoretical and methodological challenges for this area of investigation.

The following three chapters treat distinct aspects of the state regulation of gender relations and questions of public and private morality. Elizabeth Dore shows how in Dioriomo, Nicaragua, between 1840 and 1880, the advent of coffee altered prevailing gender regimes in relation to land ownership. The ways in which the *ladino* municipal authorities intervened to reinforce certain family values and reject others were part of a local process of state formation and as such represented a cultural revolution for the Indian *pueblos* of rural Nicaragua. Eugenia Rodríguez Sáenz's examination of domestic life in Costa Rica's *Valle Central* (1750–1850) also suggests that the regulation of gender relations was integral to the process of Liberal state formation. With the development of a civil judicial apparatus after independence, the state increasingly intervened in questions of domestic morality, previously under the remit of the Church. While this enabled lower class women to seek redress against violent or abusive husbands, it also bound these families into a bourgeois model of conjugality whereby the state 'civilised' rather than eliminated the patriarchal power of the husband. A further issue in the '*problemática social*' confronting the Costa Rican ruling elite by the late nineteenth century, the phenomenon of abandoned children, is examined in a piece co-authored by five local scholars.

While most of the contributions concentrate on women, two essays specifically address the ways in which male gender identities have been historically constructed. In her account of quotidian working life in the exclusively male world of Costa Rica's railway (1872–1890), Carmen Murillo Chaverri shows how all aspects of this work reinforced social constructions of masculinity. From a very different perspective, Rocío Tábora uses textual and discourse analysis to explore masculine identity and the culture of political violence amongst the Honduran political elite in the period 1883–1949.

Further chapters address the role of the Church in providing a public space for women beyond the domestic sphere in Las Palmares, Costa Rica, 1880–1930 (Yamileth González García and María Pérez Iglesias), the Panamanian feminist movement of the 1920s (Yolanda Marco Serra), and continuities and change in women-headed households in Mexico and Costa Rica between 1982 and 1994 (Sylvia Chant). Seeking to provide an historical explanation for why so many women supported Arnaldo Alemán in the 1996 Nicaraguan elections, Victoria González presents an engaging account of how women organised in support of the Somozas and the *partido liberal* between 1936 and 1979 which adds further weight to Jeffrey Gould's thesis on the populist origins of the early dictatorship.

As the editor points out in her rather brief introduction, gendered historical studies on Central America have been scarce, and Costa Rica continues to lead the field in the limited research that has been done. Nevertheless, given the remit of the volume, it comes as something of a disappointment that neither Guatemala nor El Salvador are represented. Similarly, one might take issue with its stated chronological compass. since only one contribution deals at all with the colonial period, and then only fleetingly. The above points notwithstanding, this collection constitutes a useful addition to the literature on Latin American gender history, and is suggestive of the different ways in which gender might be incorporated into future historical research on Central America.

University of London, ANNA VINEGRAD
Institute of Latin American Studies

Ils Abshagen Leitinger (ed.), *The Costa Rican Women's Movement: A Reader* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), pp. xix + 366, $49.95, $22.95 pb.

This last decade has been vital for the Costa Rican Women's movement. Important legislation on women's rights and against domestic violence has been enforced, and special police have been trained to deal with the legal problems related to these issues.

This book powerfully reflects the historical development and the current state of women's issues in this Central American country. In the process, however, the weaknesses and inconsistencies of women's organisations are also reflected in the unequal quality of the different chapters: The Varying Faces of Costa Rican Women's Movement and Costa Rican Feminism; Making Women Visible in Costa Rican History; The Quest for Women's Equality; Women Suffering Discrimination; The Women's Movement and Feminism in the Arts; and The Constantly Evolving Status of Women's Studies.

Unfortunately, in a few cases, the facts are somewhat twisted to make them fit a prefabricated interpretative mold. For instance, in the chapter dedicated to the *Alianza de Mujeres Costarricenses*, supposed to be the oldest women's movement in Central America, the fact that it was founded as a legal sister organisation of the Communist Party, and was for many years financed and dominated by that political organisation is never mentioned. Another case in which facts are forced to fit the authors' wishes, is in Yadira Calvo Fajardo's article. Calvo, a lucid Costa Rican feminist, repeats an argument long ago stated by Angela Acuña, the first Costa Rican lawyer and a combative suffragist. Acuña named Manuela Escalante (1823–1849), a learned, intelligent, upper class lady who wrote a few literary pieces and shone in society parlours of her times, as the first Costa Rican feminist. Yet doña Manuela cannot properly be called a feminist, either for her works or for her actions. This seems to have been done only for the purpose of establishing an earlier birth date for the Costa Rican feminist movement.

Nevertheless, the ensemble of these articles transforms their volume into an illuminating work, which should be read by everyone who is interested or related to the women's movement in Costa Rica. It is certainly the most comprehensive book on the topic published so far.

San José, Costa Rica MARJORIE ROSS

Jeffery M. Paige, *Coffee and Power: Revolution and the Rise of Democracy in Central America* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. xv+432, £29.95. and Deborah J. Yashar, *Demanding Democracy: Reform and Reaction in Costa Rica and Guatemala, 1870s–1950s* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), xix+319, £37.50, £13.95 pb.

In the tradition pioneered by Edelberto Torres-Rivas and other Latin American sociologists, Jeffery Paige and Deborah Yashar account for the origins of democracy and authoritarianism in Central America. The conventional wisdom about the region emphasises the existence of a powerful landed class and serf-like relations of production in Guatemala and El Salvador to account for why they developed brutal authoritarian systems. The absence of such factors, along with the existence of a sizeable class of small and medium coffee producers, are said to explain why democracy emerged in Costa Rica. Along with recent work by, among others, James Dunkerley, Héctor Pérez-Brignoli and Robert G. Williams, both these texts further this approach by modifying some of its claims and presenting new facts to explain how the upper classes formed the political systems of modern Central America.

In *Coffee and Power*, Paige adds a series of powerful insights about the evolution of Central American political regimes. His principal empirical contribution is a series of in-depth interviews with members of the coffee elite in Costa Rica, El Salvador and Nicaragua. His most daring argument is that the convergence of all countries toward representative democracy and neoliberal economic policies after the 1980s stems from the emergence of an agro-industrial elite that helped break the back of reactionary agrarian elites, a process which itself, Paige implies, is a product of changes in demand for agro-exports by the world system. Coupled with this claim is another: that the socialist revolutions from below made this schism possible, even if their own revolutionary project largely failed. Both claims require Paige to update the conventional wisdom; while the well-known structural differences between these cases explains their dissimilar political systems before the 1980s, the triumph of the agro-industrial elite accounts for their subsequent political convergence by the 1990s. While I differ with Paige's interpretations, I find his book to be one of the most engaging attempts to put twentieth-century Central America into historical perspective.

In *Demanding Democracy*, Yashar argues that the political divergence of Costa Rica and Guatemala after the 1940s is a product of the way elites responded to subaltern classes in the 1940s and 1950s. In Costa Rica, she claims, dominant classes divided in the face of popular demands for participation, in Guatemala, by contrast, they remained sealed. The result was the institutionalisation of Costa Rican democracy and the continuation of authoritarianism in Guatemala. By suggesting that choices that can lead to divergent political outcomes, she nicely shows how dominant classes can shape political trajectories.

Part of what makes it difficult to assess these arguments is that in comparisons of countries as diverse as those in Central America, a multiplicity of factors, social structural or otherwise, can be correlated with such dissimilar political outcomes. But, because the cases are limited to those in the isthmus, it is difficult to assess the generalisability of Paige and Yashar's arguments. True enough, both authors underpin their interpretations by relying upon works like Barrington Moore's classic, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Neither, however, addresses the implications posed by the Chilean case, where a long-term democratic regime developed in a society very much more like Guatemala's than Costa Rica's. Perhaps, as Arturo and J. Samuel Valenzuela suggest, a way to make sense of such developments is by taking political agency and institutions more seriously.

A related problem of selection bias threatens Yashar's generalisations. It is a product of her bold argument that Costa Rica and Guatemala were remarkably similar until their political crises of mid-twentieth century (pp. 6–7). While the Costa Rican political system was hardly democratically pristine prior to the 1950s–60s, asserting that it was similar to Guatemala's overlooks some profound and relevant differences between both countries. Between 1870 and 1950, elections in Costa Rica were regularly-scheduled and competitive, if fraud-ridden. Dictatorships had ended by the 1900s, even if politically-inspired violence took somewhat longer to disappear. Guatemala, by contrast, was dominated by several long-term authoritarian regimes, including those of Justo Rufino Barrios (1875–85), Manuel Estrada Cabrera (1898–1920) and Jorge Ubico (1931–44).

Faced with these differences, even Yashar distances herself from this argument. In the latter parts of her book, she concedes that differences in upper-class behaviour in these cases do stem from social structural differences and from, curiously enough, the nature of pre-reform political systems. Perhaps, then, dominant class reactions to mass politics are part of a complex chain of causation that led to the continuation of very different sorts of regimes in Costa Rica and Guatemala. Her research design probably makes this conclusion unavoidable: by restricting her attention to such disparate societies, she cannot do more than point to a multiplicity of factors that are causally related to divergent political outcomes.

It is not clear why Paige excludes Guatemala from as much treatment as Costa Rica, El Salvador and Nicaragua. Since he chooses cases 'to minimize the underlying variability among cases (p. 6)' – by which he means that they all cultivate and export coffee – conversations with coffee elites in the largest republic in the region would have shed further light on his provocative convergence thesis. For, if it can be said that the Arbenz-led coalition of reformist military officers, labour and peasant movements of the early 1950s and the Marxist guerrillas of the 70s and 80s failed to restructure their societies, then Paige's thesis is placed in doubt. Despite being vanquished by the army, perhaps their mere existence forced agro-industrialists to help construct another neoliberally-inclined, (but troubled) democracy in the region.

Arguing that '…the key blow that fractured the agrarian agro-industrial alliance of the coffee elite was provided by the armies of the left (p. 321)' becomes even more difficult to accept for Costa Rica. This conclusion is persuasive if its 1948 civil war was some sort of left-wing revolutionary event or even a bourgeois insurrection. Paige shies away from the latter contention, but implies that the former is the case. But, doing so is highly debatable, especially in light of the fact that the communist party was an ally of the reformist government that lost the war. Although the victors in the war did try to push for a social democratic project, and ultimately succeeded in doing so, this way of interpreting the consequences of these events is functionalist in character. Asserting that the victors 'acted on behalf of a nascent agro-industrial bourgeoisie in the making (p. 325)' infers causes from consequences. Even if such a class became hegemonic in the decades after the civil war, it does not mean that victors intend to promote or actually advanced the interests of such a class during their 18 month *de facto* tenure in office. An explanation of the success of the social requires understanding how the institutional framework of Costa Rican politics encouraged the formation of progressive electoral and legislative coalitions to expand, as Steven Palmer demonstrates in a forthcoming book, a welfare state already under development. Doing so also is important to comprehend how social democrats, in the absence of an autonomous military, survived the attempts of their class *as well as* political opponents to overthrow them, when they returned to power during the 1950s.

In the end, what these provocative books suggest is that we need to complement largely materialist conceptions of Central American politics with overtly political ones. It may be useful to entertain the hypothesis that the region's different histories with democracy may stem equally as much from the way that electoral laws, executive–legislative and civilian–military relations shaped (and shape) the behaviour of presidents, legislators, parties and military officers. There is now an ample body of theory and evidence, after all, that suggests that political agents do not simply choose to be authoritarian or democratic. Their decision to comply with either system hinges upon the nature of institutional arrangements and upon the strategies pursued by rival competitors for state power. And because so many of these organisations are political, their interests are shaped the rules and procedures for obtaining the state, an institution whose interests are defined by, as Margaret Levi argues in *Of Rule and Revenue*, a search for secure sources of revenue.

As *Coffee and Power* and *Demanding Democracy* suggest, class structure does shed light on fundamental issues of political design. Both books advance a sociological interpretation of regime change by furnishing new facts and insights about elite behaviour in the region. Yashar's emphasis on decision-making is a welcome addition to a literature dominated by class interests and social structure. Paige's convergence thesis, in particular, is insightful, provocative and merits systematic evaluation. If we are to make sense of the twentieth century in the region, however, materialist conceptions of political change must be complemented with those that take the interests and institutions of politicians and military officers more seriously.

Center for the Study of Institutions,
Population and Environmental Change,
Indiana University
FABRICE EDOUARD LEHOUCQ

Leigh Binford, *The El Mozote Massacre: Anthropology and Human Rights* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1996), pp. xix + 263, $45.00, $19.95 pb.

In December 1981, nearly a year after the Salvadorean civil war had begun in earnest, news leaked out of something particularly horrific amongst the daily atrocities familiar to observers of army and death squad activities in the country. The news told of a massacre of almost an entire village; as many as 1000 people had been killed by the army. But not just any part of the army. It was a new elite batallion, specially trained in counter-insurgency by the United States and called the Atlactl Batallion. This was El Salvador's My Lai.

Persuading international opinion of this was, however, extremely difficult. The USA quickly denied the story, although Raymond Bonner of the New York Times and Alma Guillermoprieto of the Washington Post both investigated and publicised it. The story, as Binford's book shows, faded very quickly from the news, dismissed as another alleged atrocity. But allegations of a massacre on such a scale had not been made before. This was a new departure. Indeed, only now can we fully understand either the massacre or its origins. A private conversation was recently recounted to me, between a former guerrilla leader and a member of the Salvadorean armed forces involved in the massacre. The latter responded to a question on why it had ever taken place with the words: 'it was doctrine'. There is no coincidence, as Binford shows, that El Mozote was perpetrated by recent graduates from US training in counter-insurgency doctrine on how to terrorise potential or actual civilian support for the guerrillas.

Leigh Binford's book does an admirable job in meticulously reconstructing the events which led up to the massacre. He is intent on making the victims of the massacre real human beings with lives and livelihoods, not an anonymous mass of people. His broader aim is to show how quantifying human rights statistics can dehumanise the victims and desensitise people to what is actually involved. His anthropological study is the most interesting part of the book. It shows that ironically, El Mozote was not a village with a history of active support for the guerrillas. It was simply a village with a strong community life, which had managed to achieve through its own efforts a few humble, but in the Salvadorean context, very significant improvements, such as a school and a chapel. The Church of the Three Kings, as it was called, was built with no government assistance but through the efforts of the community inspired by a local merchant, Israel Márquez. Later, the community added a one-room sacristy.

In 1993, in this very sacristy, 143 bodies of the estimated 1,000 dead were found buried in rubble by Argentine forensic experts brought to El Salvador after a great deal of pressure from human rights organisations to investigate the massacre. In some of the most sobering statistics you could read from the history of the Salvadorean civil war, the average age of the dead was found to be six years old. There were only seven adults amongst the dead, of whom only one was a man. Leigh Binford's account of the life and death of the people of El Mozote is a vital contribution to that country's historical memory which the political and military elite would undoubtedly have kept deeply buried if they could.

Department of Peace Studies,
University of Bradford
JENNY PEARCE

James Boyce (ed.), *Economic Policy for Building Peace: The Lessons of El Salvador* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp. xvii + 359, $49.95.

This collection of papers, commissioned by the United Nations Development Programme, explores the economic difficulties and dilemmas of a country emerging from prolonged civil conflict. Most contributors highlight the lack of coordination between reforms supported by the UN in the peace process on the one hand, and macroeconomic stabilisation and structural adjustment policies pursued by international financial institutions on the other. This disjunction has resulted in, amongst other things, insufficient concern about income distribution. Constant themes in the thirteen chapters are that peace in El Salvador is impossible without redressing wealth inequality and that redistributive reforms are not only compatible with economic growth, but also one of its causes. The policy recommendations in the final chapter include increasing the tax-to-GDP ratio, further agrarian reform, greater public investment in human capital, cutting military expenditure, and reversing appreciation of the real exchange rate.

Three contributions deserve special mention. Boyce's informative essay stresses how international donors to the peace process appeared to prefer granting trade-related assistance to supporting key objectives such as creation of the National Civilian Police (PNC) and the land transfer programme. Additionally, the Bretton Woods institutions should have imposed aid conditionality linked to the peace accords, for example through insisting that the government reduce the budget of the armed forces. Segovia's analysis is a reminder that both international aid and remittances from abroad have artificially supported economic growth in the short term, but are unsustainable in the long term. The chapter by Barry and Rosa emphasises that neither the economic nor the political reforms of the 1990s considered the relationship of the environment to development and democratisation. Policy-makers have been unaware that El Salvador's ability to renew its most basic natural resource – water – is fast disappearing, and that effective soil-conservation techniques must be introduced.

While making clear and concise policy recommendations, the authors in this volume rarely signal the potential difficulties of implementing their proposals. In particular, there is almost no discussion of the political and economic power of the domestic business elite, represented in ARENA and organisation such as the National Association of Private Enterprise (ANEP). Will these actors be willing to accept progressive taxes on income and property? Are they likely to welcome a higher minimum wage? What is their attitude to further agrarian transformation? Historically, Salvadorean oligarchs have maintained their privileges in relation to property, tax and labour. Whether they can continue to do so in the post-conflict setting is an issue which cannot be ignored. In partial response to these problems, the essay by Wood amongst others does mention the lack of 'political will' to implement reforms. Yet such vague assertions require more detailed elucidation.

Despite these shortcomings, the analyses provide a comprehensive overview of the economic problems of post-conflict recovery in El Salvador. Although written by economists, this is not a book only for economists. The language is accessible, graphs and tables are largely self-explanatory, and there is not a single equation to baffle the mathematics-phobic non-specialist. Scholars in the fields of politics, sociology and international relations will benefit from a direct confrontation with the economics of peace, and will find the thirty-page statistical appendix particularly useful.

One cannot help but feel pessimistic after reading *Economic Policy for Peace Building*. The Salvadorean peace process may be celebrated as a successful 'negotiated revolution', but the failure to tackle the root causes of civil conflict leaves the country with an uncertain stability. New political structures appear to be emerging and consolidating, yet the underlying inequalities of land and income remain largely unchanged.

Department of Government,
University of Essex
ROMAN KRZNARIC

France Winddance Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil* (New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press, 1997), pp. xiii + 175, $49.00. $17.00 pb.

Twine has produced an excellent account of Brazil's 'racial democracy', how it functions and why it continues to have some credibility in the 1990s, despite many challenges. Her book is a community-based study of Vasalia, a town in the state of Rio, and it recalls Charles Wagley's edited volume *Race and Class in Rural Brazil* (1952). Many of her findings echo that book with worrying similarity, given the forty-year separation. The first two chapters place the study in relation to previous literature on race in Brazil and introduce the town. Twine's claim to novelty lies in an account of how ordinary Brazilians understand racism and racial inequality. This claim is not wholly warranted, since various studies (e.g., those in Wagley's book, those by Florestan Fernandes and Thales de Azevedo) were based on ethnography and/or interviews, covering non-elites as well as elites. Most of the material presented will not surprise those familiar with the literature. Still, Twine gives us an up-to-date picture of the everyday working racism in a so-called racial democracy which has great detail and compelling force.

The third chapter explores how 'racism' is generally thought by people in Vasalia to consist only of public exclusion and strict segregation, rather than the existence of racial inequality and denigrating representations of blacks in the media. Many people point to quasi-adoptive relations between richer white families and poorer black girls (which are little more than humanised relations of domestic service) to deny that racism exists. Twine seems to run the risk of asserting that racial inequality must be due to racism (and that her interviewees must therefore be blind not to see it as she does) and indeed she sails close to the wind when she says, for example: 'none [of the Afro–Brazilians interviewed] commented upon the *exclusion* of Afro–Brazilians from the universities when asked to define racism' (p. 59, my emphasis). Lack of a presence in higher education is not automatically due to exclusion, of course, so her informants were not perhaps quite as dumb (or brainwashed by hegemony) as they might appear. However, by referring to Hasenbalg and do Valle Silva's work (which does rigorously separate the effects of race and class on educational outcomes), Twine convinces us that exclusion is a real process.

Twine then looks at how people rationalise the absence of Afro–Brazilians in Vasalia's elite. They claim that class inequality accounts for this, or that it is a legacy of past inequalities. They generally deny the impact of racism, saying that since everyone is 'mixed' racism cannot operate or that it might exist, but only in other places. The ideology of whitening is examined next: first, in terms of ideals of beauty that valorise whiteness and a generalised preference for whiter mates; second, in terms of how people obliterate blackness and Africanness from collective and personal memory. White people actively hid or erased Afro–Brazilian ancestry and most black people were reticent or even broke down in tears when asked about their black ancestors. Twine's descriptions of this are very compelling and really bring home the immense stigma attached to blackness in Brazil. The same goes for the final chapter which details how Afro–Brazilians in Vasalia skirt round issues of racism by avoidance and denial. Again, Twine's account of how professional Afro–Brazilians, when outside their work places, virtually lock themselves into their private domestic domains is haunting. All this is testament to how well Twine connected to these families and managed to talk to them about difficult and personal topics.

I found a slight tendency to understand the 'reality' of race from a US point of view, attributing the Vasalians' denials of racism to false consciousness. The power of hegemonic ideologies cannot be denied, but it is also true that real aspects of people's lives underwrite their belief in racial democracy – inter-racial marriages may be difficult, but they do happen with some frequency; poor whites and poor blacks do live together in the same social networks. Also, I would have welcomed some comments on the place of Vasalia in Brazil as a whole. How does it compare to Bahia? How does it relate to the black social movements in the country? These matters aside, Twine has produced a powerful and revealing account with its feet firmly on the ethnographic ground.

University of Manchester PETER WADE

Jörg Meyer-Stamer, *Technology, Competitiveness and Radical Policy Change: The Case of Brazil* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, in association with the German Development Institute, 1997), pp. 336, £24.50 pb.

The role of technology in promoting Latin American economic development has received increasing attention over the past 20 years. Authors have employed a variety of approaches, ranging from detailed case studies of individual firms (e.g. Schmitz, 1982) to more general examinations of the development of national technological capabilities (e.g. Adler, 1987). A uniting feature of much of this work has been its reluctance to offer readily generalisable policy conclusions. Jörg Meyer Stamer's new book is both unusual and welcome in that it draws broad lessons from Brazil's past experience, while offering a series of fairly detailed policy prescriptions. At a moment when technology policy within Brazil is entering a new phase, Stamer's contribution could not be more timely.

The book divides into two main sections. The first constitutes a general overview of Brazil's experiences in building up technological capabilities under the pre-1990 import substitution regime. The second section examines the experiences of OECD countries and attempts to consider their implications for the future direction of technology policy in Brazil. The section also offers some evidence on the nature of Brazilian industrial restructuring after 1990.

The first section is particularly effective in analysing the causes of Brazil's distinctive pattern of technological development. Although Brazil managed to develop pockets of genuine technological self reliance these were very much the exception rather than the rule. In most cases, import substitution policies led to the development of technological dependency and inertia among industrial sectors. That this was the case reflected macro economic instability and the peculiar nature of incentive structures associated with inward orientated industrial development. The state, being over extended and lacking institutional capacity, was incapable of counteracting these unfavourable conditions.

The discussion of the OECD countries' experiences in the second section offers the reader a concise and readable survey of an extensive subject area. Drawing on this survey, Stamer identifies a number of policy conclusions with direct relevance to the Brazilian case. In order to encounter greater success in the future, Brazilian technology policies would have to take a much broader view of technology than was the case in the past. Specifically, much more attention would need to be paid to the roles of informal knowledge and human capital. In addition, new policy initiatives would have to take into account the complex relationships that exist between basic research and applied research and development. Very importantly, future policies would have to promote the development of technology networks encompassing users, producers and other agents in the research and development process. Finally, the potential for regional (as opposed to national) technological initiatives would have to be explored.

This book offers a convincing explanation of why Brazil's earlier technology initiatives usually met with failure and advances a series of persuasive policy recommendations for the future. There is no doubt that this book constitutes a major contribution to the literature and should further stimulate the extensive policy debate in Brazil. Although the book's strengths are numerous, there are two areas where improvements could be made.

First, the book offers the reader relatively little by way of 'hard data', relying instead on summaries of empirical work undertaken by the author and others. Given the relative scarcity of such studies in the English Language literature, this is a pity. Secondly, the book does not pay sufficient attention to the new technology policy initiatives ushered in after 1993 by Law 8661. The Law has radically changed the policy environment by offering a wide range of incentives aimed at encouraging research and development in the private sector. Rather than exploring these significant developments, the book's discussion of post 1990 events mainly confines itself to the less technologically supportive Collor period. Despite these shortcomings, the book's virtues are such that it could be strongly recommended to all readers interested in contemporary industrial and technological development issues.

Centre for Brazilian Studies, EDMUND AMANN
University of Oxford

José Carlos Chiaramonte, *Ciudades, Provincias, Estados: Orígenes de la Nación Argentina (1800–1846)* (Buenos Aires: Compañía Editora Espasa Calpe; Ariel Historia, 1997), pp. 645, $39.00 pb.

This book is the first of a series published by Ariel entitled 'Biblioteca del pensamiento Argentino', which consists of the study of politics and ideas during five different historical periods of Argentine history. The collection is directed by Tulio Halperín Donghi, and each book includes an extended introduction, entitled '*Estudio Preliminar*', written by the author of each volume, together with a selection of documents that the author considers most relevant or interesting for the understanding of the particular period.

The study of history of ideas in Argentina is always welcome, and Halperín has teamed up some of the most competent local historians to take part in this much-needed collection. In the case of this first volume, the choice of José Carlos Chiaramonte as its author could not have been more fortunate. For the last ten years or more, he has been working on a wide variety of topics related mainly to the study of ideological trends and political practices during the first half of the nineteenth century in Argentina. This particular period is probably the least explored by local and foreign historians, and that is especially so in the area of the history of ideas.

The very extensive '*Estudio Preliminar*' in this volume (261 pages) revolves largely around the same issues Chiaramonte has dealt with in his most recent works, namely questions related to the creation of the state, federalism, the formation of local governments, and the emergence of a national identity in Argentina, at that time called the 'Provincias Unidas del Rio de la Plata'.

In the opening chapters of the introduction, Chiaramonte provides a convincing analysis of the main ideological trends of the Spanish and European political thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (mainly contained within the Enlightenment tradition), and their reception by some of the future protagonists of the 1810 revolution in the Rio de la Plata provinces. This section also includes a treatment of the Spanish Viceregal institutions and their visible legacy throughout the first ten years of independence.

Chiaramonte's prime concern throughout this text, as in his other recent work, is to emphasize the lack of a clear national consciousness or consensus amongst most of the early revolutionaries and political actors in Argentina during this period. These people tended to conceive the question of 'nationality' in a more rationalist and contractualist scope, and for influential 'porteño' characters such as Mariano Moreno (deeply influenced by rousseaunian principles), the concept of 'Nation' was considered as a synonym of 'State'. Furthermore, the provinces rarely regarded themselves as belonging to a nation called 'Argentina', and they were rather more inclined to consider themselves 'americanos', unlike most Buenos Aireans, who seemed more willing to identify with the former notion. Only with the arrival to the Rio de la Plata of Romanticism and the emergence of the authors of the 'Generación del 37', such as, Echeverría, Sarmiento and Alberdi, would modern conceptions of nationalism begin to appear in political debates.

These considerations allow Chiaramonte to sustain his scepticism regarding the federalist structure of the country during the early stages of its national organisation. However, at times one feels that Chiaramonte overemphasises the lack of commitment towards national sentiments in Argentina during this period. One would have thought that a more thorough analysis of the effects of the wars (these years were plagued by them) and of the complexities present in the economic situation would have allowed him to shed more light on this subject. Nonetheless, the selection of documents is most interesting, and many of Chiaramonte's conclusions in this very useful book are firmly grounded.

Universidad Torcuato di Tella KLAUS GALLO

Loris Zanatta, *Del estado liberal a la nación católica: iglesia y ejército en los orígenes del peronismo, 1930–1943* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1996), pp. 413, pb.

It is now clear that Argentina between the military interventions of 1930 and 1943 experienced a major cultural and political paradigm shift; that Church and Army were crucial elements of this shift; and that, furthermore, the origins of the Peronist state should be located not so much in the traditionally-posited emulation of contemporary European movements, but rather in the new choices offered by the change in *mentalité* at home. 'Liberal state to Catholic nation' neatly summarises that shift, not because the Peronist state was conspicuously clerical (recent studies have stressed the competitive, rather than complementary, nature of the Church-state relationship in 1946–1955) but because Perón in 1945 would appeal to the values and priorities of a new self-definition predicated on values outside the liberal tradition. And the most potent source of these values, as Zanatta emphasises, was the Church.

This is an elegant and thorough attempt to trace the emergent symbiosis of Church and Army, which places particular emphasis on both ideas and institutions as instrumental factors in the relationship. Zanatta thus offers a rich compendium of discourses and key moments, on which students of the period can draw for greater understanding of the crucial developments in Argentine political culture, without which an understanding of Peronism will always be superficial.

The author acknowledges that he has made liberal use of ecclesiastical sources, in contrast to military documents to which his access was blocked. This is reflected in the weight given to Catholicism in the text, so that the two institutions are not as equally treated as the subtitle would suggest. This should not lead us to question his conclusions, however: compared to the Church, the Argentine Army before the 1960s was always short on doctrines and ideas beyond narrowly institutional concerns.

Certainly 'la Iglesia es la gran ausente de la historiografía sobre la Argentina de nuestro siglo' (p. 20), and this book does much to make good the deficit. But while existing studies, some of which cover much similar ground, are acknowledged in the Bibliography, they are not referred to in either the Introduction or the body of the text. It is not always clear what the author is adding to fields already ploughed, and the greater part of his commentary – if not the detail – can be found elsewhere.

In an otherwise judicious conclusion, the author blames the Church for promoting an 'anti-politics' which assumes that 'state laws are subject to a pre-existent metaphysical order' (p. 391). But it is hard to imagine (except perhaps in totalitarian regimes) how a state can be a self-enclosed metaphysical system. It is true that 'the masses entered into Argentine social and political life in the most illiberal of contexts' and that Army and Church were the agents of this integration. But it is also true that Argentine liberalism before 1943 (and subsequently) was hegemonic in politics, exclusive in economics, and culturally aloof. The broad perception, to which Perón made an effective appeal, was that a true, inclusive democracy had to be 'illiberal'. It is futile to blame either the conservative/liberal or the Catholic/nationalist traditions for Argentina's stunted democracy; both traditions have both pluralist and absolutist elements. The failure to develop sound mediating institutions between state and society meant that these two traditions would always countervail.

University of Leeds AUSTEN IVEREIGH

Robert A. Potash, *The Army & Politics in Argentina 1962–1973: From Frondizi's Fall to the Peronist Restoration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. xv + 547, £40.00.

The book under review needs no introduction to students of Argentina and its twentieth century history of military-dominated politics. Neither does its author, Robert A. Potash, whose formidable presence casts a shadow over all other researchers doing fieldwork on Argentine military politics: he is the yardstick by which the *militares*, retired and serving, decide whether one is worth talking to.

This is the third volume of Potash's monumental study of the Argentine Army and its history of political intervention since 1930. It covers an important period in Argentine political history, from the overthrow of the administration of Arturo Frondizi in 1962 to the return of Peronists to the Casa Rosada in 1973. If there is one theme that dominates this period, it is the attempt by the military to deal with the Peronists, an enduring electoral majority that would have constituted the natural party of government if allowed unrestricted political participation. Since a return of Juan Domingo Perón to power was anathema to the military, they proscribed any overt political organisation by Perón's supporters while trying to wean them away from their exiled leader through increasingly convoluted manoeuvres. The military tried everything short of free and fair elections: *de facto* military rule behind a civilian façade (José María Guido, 1962–63), civilian democratic politics minus the Peronists (Arturo Illia, 1963–1966), military-backed corporatism (General Juan Carlos Onganía, 1966–1970), the farce of military rule behind a military facade (General Roberto Marcelo Levingston, 1970–1) and direct military rule (General Alejandro Lanusse, 1971–1973). The total failure of the military either to assimilate or to eliminate Peronism during this entire period led to the holding of free and fair elections in 1973 and the return of Peronism to power. While the final discrediting of military rule in Argentine political culture had to await the barbaric brutality of the '*Proceso*' years (1976–1983), the ineffectiveness of military rule was more than adequately demonstrated during the years covered in this volume. Indeed, the notion that military rule is natural and necessary – openly expounded by some and held tacitly by many during these years – permeates the book and makes for rather quaint reading.

Potash gives us a wealth of detail on several episodes in the military politics of this period, some well known, others rather obscure. In so doing, he buttresses the conventional opinion on some events, such as the Azul–Colorado clashes of 1962–63. On other periods he offers a fresh assessment: for instance, the presidency of José María Guido is presented as being something more than an interregnum between the Frondizi and Illia administrations. However, some conventional wisdoms are left unchallenged. In particular, Lanusse emerges from this version of Argentine history as quite the hero. Potash is by no means the only scholar to paint the cavalry general in such glowing tones, a testimonial to Lanusse's charm and unfailing courtesy towards academic researchers. Public relations apart, Lanusse's Gran Acuerdo Nacional (GAN) was a total failure: it was unable to prevent the return of Peronism to government, and just three years later the military intervened to suppress brutally precisely those political forces that the GAN was designed to marginalise and eliminate.

The book finishes with the electoral victory of the Peronists and the inauguration of Héctor Cámpora as president in 1973, a particularly unsatisfactory point at which to end the narrative. The reader is left wishing for Potash's assessment of the Proceso period and its two 'wars', one chilling, the other pathetic. Potash suggests in his preface that younger scholars must carry the story after 1973 further. It will obviously not be easy gaining the sort of access that Potash enjoyed within the Argentine Army; perhaps democratic consolidation and the demilitarisation of Argentine politics will make access to military personalities and archives easier for scholars in the future.

Many readers will have reservations about the constricted notion of politics found in the book. Potash's focus is extremely narrow, and is almost exclusively on the military institutions, particularly the Argentine Army. Nevertheless, the value of such focussed scholarship is self-evident for anyone who has tried to research closed social groups like military institutions. Unless the individuals and institutions being studied accept both the scholar and the research project, it is highly unlikely that a research product of any relevance, whether enduring or transitory, will result. While this does not mean that the scholar has to internalise the values and beliefs of the military, it does imply that at least some of the perspectives of the military must be used as a point of departure. By carefully researching the actions, motives and alibis of Argentina's army officers during this period, Potash has provided the building blocks that other scholars can use to write political history that is broader in content and concept. Scholarship is a collaborative enterprise.

At the end of his trilogy, Potash does not offer an overall assessment of the period 1928 to 1973. A historian cannot be asked to address the various theories of military intervention and civil-military relations that are floating around in the discipline of Political Science. Nevertheless, a historian can legitimately be expected, within the confines of the historical analytical tradition, to sum up the main findings, trends, contradictions and puzzles of his historical research. This Potash does not do. Barring a few exceptions – his assessment of Juan Domingo Perón, for instance – Potash is also clearly unwilling to pass *judgement* on the individuals he has studied.

However, in the larger picture of what this book represents, these criticisms pale in significance. Potash's trilogy on the *Army & Politics in Argentina* is a monument to a lifetime of sustained scholarship, an awe-inspiring notion in our squalid world of 'publish or perish'.

Jawaharlal Nehru University,
New Delhi and Centro de
Investigación y Docencia Económica,
Mexico City
VARUN SAHNI

Ariel C. Armony, *Argentina, the United States, and the Anti-Communist Crusade in Central America, 1977–1984* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1997) pp. xxii+301, $26.00; £24.95 pb.

This book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the Central American tragedy of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Ariel Armony here provides the most detailed account to date of how the Argentine military, in particular the army intelligence community, supported counter-revolutionary efforts in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, and played a key role in organising and training the motley band of former National Guardsmen, insurrectionary peasants and disillusioned Miskitos who were to become the US-backed 'Contras'.

This was not initially done at the request of Washington, as has been widely assumed. Quite the contrary, one of the main motives was to carry forward the anti-communist crusade throughout Latin America in the face of Jimmy Carter's perceived abdication of US responsibility; and at a time of some tension in US–Argentine relations. Another autonomous motive was the more direct transplant of Argentina's internal conflicts, in the form of an attempt to hunt down Montoneros and other enemies of the regime taking shelter in Sandinista Nicaragua. In many cases, economic benefit was also involved.

In reality, the US 'bought into' the Argentine operation following the election of Ronald Reagan. Although, as Armony points out, the first incident of covert collaboration between the CIA and the Argentine-backed anti-Sandinista forces took place in Costa Rica in December 1980, there was a short period of cooperation, which suffered a blow when the US failed to support Argentina over the Falklands/Malvinas in 1982; the Argentine presence ended with the return to civilian rule in Argentina in 1984.

Armony's work is a valuable further step in drawing, and securing acceptance of, a more complex picture of what happened in Central America. While highlighting the Cold War fixations of the Reagan administration, he also points to the multiple internal origins of the anti-Sandinista movement and the ideological rigidities and domestic insensitivities of the Sandinistas. Furthermore, his work illuminates one of the several cases in which outside problems were superimposed on the raw material of conflict provided by Central American reality. The 'East–West' confrontation is but the most obvious. We now see more clearly how Argentina's internal problems made their own contribution. And, as Armony briefly mentions, there were others too, notably the Arab–Israeli conflict.

Thomas Walker's effusive and self-critical foreword exaggerates the novelty of these revelations. The basic facts of Argentina's autonomous role and interests in the making of the Contras have been long known and are stated in, for example, Shirley Christian's *Nicaragua. Revolution in the Family* of 1985, and Sam Dillon's *Comandos. The CIA and Nicaragua's Contra Rebels* of 1991. Also, Armony provides rather less detail and analysis than one might hope for. Of the 301 content pages only 174 are text and much of this is made up of background summaries and repetitions. Nevertheless, this book provides important details about a dimension of the Central American conflicts that has been insufficiently studied. It must therefore be recommended to all those interested in deeper and more precise understanding of Central America's recent conflicts.

European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht EDWARD BEST

Peter Lloyd-Sherlock, *Old Age and Urban Poverty in the Developing World: The Shanty Towns of Buenos Aires* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997), pp. xv+261, £50.00 hb.

As affirmed in the opening lines of this book, many developing societies are undergoing a rapid increase in demographic ageing at a time when the reduction of the state poses crucial questions about the welfare of the elderly, and other groups who are outside the formal workforce. Yet attention to population ageing and elderly welfare remains scant in the academic literature on developing countries. These themes are also conspicuously absent from debates in the international policy arena. The 1994 World Population Conference failed to make even indirect mention of the aged in its 15 key principles for future population policy (p. 2). Such neglect is in dire need of remedy, when by the year 2025, one-eighth of the population in developing regions will be 60 years old or more. Argentina, which has one of the highest concentrations of elderly people in the South, represents an ideal location for a case study given that its own experiences in the current decade 'may prefigure future developments' (p. 8).

Lloyd-Sherlock's use of Argentina as a quasi 'test case' is grounded in a much wider discussion of population trends in developing regions and the broader literature on ageing and social welfare. This material is mainly given in Chapter One, and is impressive in its scope and detail. Chapter Two documents ageing and poverty in Argentina, tracing demographic and economic changes during the 1990s, and the evolution of social security over time. Again this chapter is concise, informative and well-written. No less informative are the next three chapters which take the story through from macro- to the micro-level. This entails an account of social security and other income strategies available to the elderly in Buenos Aires in Chapter Three, the analysis of initiatives for the elderly in three low-income neighbourhoods (*villas miserias*) of the capital in Chapter Four, and case studies of individual elderly *villeros* in Chapter Five. While I have no problem with this progression and accept the author's view that detail on the local and the personal are vital in a country where macro-statistics are often too aggregated to illuminate the condition of the elderly, the complexities of overlapping systems, agencies and actors make some of the minutiae rather hard to digest. This is not helped by the length of Chapters Three through Five, each at over 50 pages long. Lloyd-Sherlock's concise and insightful conclusions at the end of each chapter do help to unclutter the mind of the reader, but Chapter Three, in particular, is rather heavy going and may usefully have been split into two separate chapters dealing with social security and 'other income strategies' respectively. This apart, the author's carefully and sensitively collected material on community-level initiatives for the elderly, and on the ways in which different elderly persons 'get by' in conditions of poverty, makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of the survival and welfare of vulnerable urban groups. His findings regarding the gender dimensions of old age and poverty are particularly illuminating, not only for understanding the greater poverty of women but also with regard to prospects for elderly people in general. At present, women are much less likely than men to be eligible for pensions given their lower levels of contributions during the life course. One important reason is the greater tendency for women to be engaged in informal, irregular and/or part-time work. Given that neoliberal economic restructuring is provoking increased deregulation of the labour market and growth of the informal sector, this does not bode well either for pension entitlements nor for the capacity of working household members to contribute to the living costs of elderly kin. While Lloyd-Sherlock is concerned to stress that elderly people by no means constitute a group whose 'dependence' on others is exclusive or one-way, new policies need to be devised in order that population ageing is prevented from becoming 'the next social crisis to face the developing world' (p. 231). His suggestions include the targetting of households (rather than individuals) for welfare assistance, the streamlining and simplification of bureaucratic procedures that dissuade applications for, and/or delay the delivery of, financial transfers, and greater support for local participatory grassroots organisations for elderly people.

Sound argument, thorough research and in-depth tackling of an immensely topical issue for developing countries make this a valuable resource not only for academics, but also for planners and policymakers. In respect of its role within the Latin American literature it may well come to assume the status of a benchmark text on what, to date, has been a sorely neglected area of enquiry.

London School of Economics SYLVIA CHANT

Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation 1640–1750* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. xiii+337, $55.00; £45.00 hb, and Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), pp. xx+368, $37.50 hb.

The publication of these two excellent books will transform our understanding of Andean religion and the impact of Christianity upon it during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are several important issues on which both authors agree. Firstly, both confirm that the campaigns to 'extirpate' idolatry were by no means over in the 1670s, as was commonly assumed, but that they persisted well into the eighteenth century.

Secondly, they both adopt a method of analysis reminiscent of that first applied to similar developments in Mexico by Nancy Farriss and Serge Gruzinski and which, in Mills's words, avoids the 'search for signs that Christianity was "replacing" Andean religion…or that a syncretic synthesis had been reached'. (p. 15). Rituals, practices and explanations 'were neither a disjointed nor a residual assortment of beliefs'. *Huacas* (the elusive and ubiquitous Andean sacred entities) were 'present embodiments and reinterpretations of a long cultural past'. They represented 'an otherworldly stability and permanence, but they were simultaneously active and living forces…[whose] fixity was possible because of their fluidity'. Their relevance to their adherents 'depended upon their ability to conceal much of themselves, absorb innovation, and prove an integral part of the emerging colonial religious reality' (pp. 41, 46, 55). Griffiths concurs: the two religions, he argues, were 'articulated into a symbiotic relationship'; so much so that the Christian attempt to dismiss all Andean sacred entities as 'things' may well have failed because such materialistic reasoning was – in a deep irony which Griffiths evidently enjoys – incompatible with the Christian faith (pp. 215–17).

Finally, both authors are at one in their view that religious specialisation was an integral part of the Colonial Andean system. The chief difficulty in representing it as such, Mills suggests, stems from 'the Spanish Christian inclination towards placing specialists in some loathsome and fearful periphery'; but the truth is that they were part of a wider religious network where evil was 'more ambiguous than constant' and where 'spells, maledictions and divine displeasure represented the coherent explanations of adversity and affliction' (pp. 126, 133–4). Again, Griffiths agrees: 'if the extirpation failed to destroy the native religious system', he writes, 'it was because it was unable to substitute the role of the religious specialist…, his vocation as *curandero*…or as shaman (p. 233).

Despite these similarities, and the convergence of subject and materials, the two books are very different and in some respects complementary. *Idolatry and its Enemies* is much longer and consequently richer in the meticulous analysis of a large number of cases, many of them truly fascinating, and in the imaginative sympathy with which the author speculates about grey areas and surprising paradoxes. (An apt example that comes to mind is the incident of an extirpator who thought he had found a *huaca* that Indians worshipped in secret, but what he really found was the remnants of a cross planted there by a previous extirpator! [p. 275]). *The Cross and the Serpent* displays similar virtues, but Griffith's interest centres much more on the extirpation itself, and the book succeeds in presenting a learned, clear and persuasive analysis of its ideology and its inherent contradictions. Central to this analysis is Griffiths's comparative awareness with New Spain, where the extirpation was always officially discouraged, and with Spain itself, where a unique tradition of scepticism with regard to witchcraft and magic was prevalent. In such a context, it comes as no great surprise that the campaigns of extirpation in the Andes should have been scattered and intermittent. As Griffiths demonstrates, they always depended on favourable patrons and they relied excessively on the initiative of individual archbishops or viceroys. Thus, although the determination to eradicate native religious deviance survived undiminished into the third decade of the eighteenth century – as, indeed, was the case in New Spain – the extirpation itself was an extraordinary occurrence and its advocates were always in a minority. The great majority would have been happy to see the Indians as 'passive', rather than 'active' idolaters; or, in theological parlance, as guilty of 'material' idolatry (through ignorance or confusion), rather than of 'formal' idolatry (through pertinacity). 'It was' Griffiths asserts, 'the interplay between these two currents of thought that determined the intermittent occurrence of campaigns of extirpation within the archdiocese of Lima as well as the infrequent extension of these campaigns beyond its confines' (p. 63). Griffith's provocative suggestion that the ideology behind the advocates of extirpation was specifically indebted to the Jesuits seems somewhat overstated; but the central point is well made and it highlights just how misleading can be the tendency to take the information that emerges from extirpation as representative of the whole Christian experience in the Andes.

The hypothesis becomes all the more persuasive in the light of Griffith's analysis of the extirpation at work. The Spanish tradition of regarding witchcraft as intrinsically fraudulent inevitably subverted the notion of idolatry as diabolical or even heretical and created a fundamental contradiction within the ideology of extirpation. Moreover, idolatry trials were often manifestations of a 'tripartite power struggle' (p. 147) that involved the Christian priest, the native religious specialist, and the local native chief (*kuraka*). The result was that the trials could be easily manipulated to serve the political ends of different factions. Accusations, for instance, were often acts of revenge by the priest against his parishioners. For their part, *kurakas* tended to play a double game: outwardly acquiescing with Christianity while continuing to patronise native ceremonies and obstructing potential investigations. When *kurakas* became the priests' antagonists, charges of idolatry became the most effective means of disqualification. They were perfectly able to manipulate idolatry trials against the priests, but they could also find themselves charged with idolatry by their own subjects; and the Indians often used the Spanish judicial system against their own authorities.

This role of idolatry trials within native communities as a means of resolving internal disputes, tended to render them useless as punishment of indigenous religious practices. As a result, most cases ended either without a final solution or with the absolution of the accused (pp. 147–84). In the eighteenth century, moreover, the Indians seem to have become exceptionally adept in their manipulation of Spanish law. Their recurrent claims that they were 'new Christians' or 'recent converts' threatened to undermine the whole edifice of idolatry trials by exposing the malicious motives behind many of them, and by highlighting the extirpation's own contradictions in failing to settle the status of Indians as apostates and to provide legal safeguards against the invalidation of accusations by the testimony of enemies. Not surprisingly, the late-eighteenth-century shift of power from *kuraka* to *alcalde*, which in turn tilted the balance in favour of the priest, made recourse to idolatry accusations increasingly unnecessary (pp. 232–43).

This persuasive argument poses an interesting challenge to Mills's more traditional view that the extirpation, especially after the idolatry investigations were shifted to the central ecclesiastical court in Lima, became 'perhaps the most sustained religious persecution of indigenous peoples in Colonial Spanish America' or, as Duviols would have it, 'an inquisition for Indians'. (p. 170–71).

For, if Griffith's argument is correct, Mills's assertion that the extirpation was 'an implicit rejection of the missionary approach as an adequate means of bringing Andeans securely into the Christian fold' (p. 172) is a clear overstatement which results from concentrating unduly on extirpation evidence at the expense of many other levels of interaction that must have existed between native Andeans and European Christians. Ironically, Griffiths himself is not entirely free of this tendency to present a simplistic and somewhat monolithic picture of Spanish Catholicism. The Spaniards, he tells us, 'resorted to a Manichaean vision of the universe', and considered that their priests and missionaries were the 'only legitimate interpreters of the supernatural' (pp. 247, 6). But these are minor quibbles in what are undoubtedly two of the most fascinating, intelligent, and important contributions to have hitherto appeared on the religion of the Andes under Spanish domination.

University of Bristol FERNANDO CERVANTES

Karsten Paerregaard, *Linking Separate Worlds: Urban Migrants and Rural Lives in Peru*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), pp. xi+292, £34.95, £14.95 pb.

Until relatively recently, the standard explanation by economists of why those living in rural areas chose to migrate to the cities was extremely simplistic. Based on the work of Harris and Todaro (J. R. Harris and M. P. Todaro, 'Migration, unemployment and development: a two-sector analysis', *American Economic Review*, 60 (1970), 126–42), it was assumed that, as a result of the maximisation of opportunity, subject to the constraints of the model, the flow of migrants to the city would continue until the expected urban wage fell to a level equal to the rural wage, which was a given in the model. The important features of the Harris–Todaro model are that (i) the decision on whether to migrate or not is taken by the individual and (ii) the decision depends only on economic considerations.

In recent years, the work of Oded Stark in analysing migration has become very influential (see O. Stark, *The Migration of Labour*, Basil Blackwell, 1991). Stark's approach differs from the earlier economic analysis of migration in a number of important ways. First, the decision concerning whether an individual will migrate may be the decision of a group, such as a family. Secondly, migration is not merely a response to wage differentials, but depends on other factors, such as income uncertainty, relative deprivation, diversification in the face of risk and the remittances of migrant children as a source of capital.

For economists who favour the Stark approach, the book under review represents a fascinating case study that illustrates many of the features of the approach.

The author, Karsten Paerregaard, is a Danish anthropologist who carried out fieldwork between 1986 and 1995 in Tapay, a village of about 900 persons, situated in the Colca Valley south of Arequipa in Peru. Only primary-level schooling is available in Tapay, so one major motivation for migration is the desire to obtain a higher level of education. Villagers

> 'regard Quechua as their spoken language, to be used in rural areas among relatives and fellow villagers, but associate Spanish with the official and literature Peru.

> Accordingly, by sending their children to school in the city rather than in neighbouring villages in the Colca valley, Tapeños not only hope to offer them a better education but also to provide them with the linguistic and cultural skills necessary to become full Peruvian citizens.' (p. 71).

In Tapay, barter is the dominant form of exchange and the villagers make little use of money and the 'only products that can be purchased with cash are alcohol, cigarettes and coca leaves' (p. 99). Among reasons given for the continued preference for barter over money are (i) barter is not subject to price fluctuations and economic instability; (ii) the barter economy includes a greater variety of products, whereas the money economy tends to make the market more homogeneous and (iii) barter engenders a moral commitment among the direct producers to satisfy each others' needs. (p. 123). Chapter 4 contains an interesting account of how climatic differences in the Colca valley have led to specialisation in the production of fruit in Tapay to be bartered for cereals, animal products and salt produced in other parts of the valley.

The majority of the migrants live in the shanty towns in Lima or Arequipa and work in the urban informal sector as street sellers, small middlemen, workers or employees. Here they are part of the money economy, but those involved in circular migration move between the two systems with ease:

> Rather than a choice between two incompatible life-styles, they conceive of the two worlds as distinct options open to the individual at different stages in his or her life-cycle.…From this perspective, migration is a strategic method whereby Tapeño households exploit economic niches in two separate worlds. (p. 85).

A short review cannot do justice to the cultural richness of the analysis and the reviewer can only urge economists with an interest in migration to read this book.

London School of Economics
and Political Science
JIM THOMAS

Ann Miles and Hans Buechler (eds.) *Women and Economic Change: Andean Perspectives*. (Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association, 1997). pp. viii + 102, $10.00 pb.

Andean women and men are deeply embedded in the dramatic transformations that characterise peripheral economies in the globalising late twentieth century. In contra-distinction to a touristic imagery of remote 'indian' communities, Andeans take part in flows of capital, population, signs and meanings that link them integrally with other places; as Miles documents in her chapter, Ecuadorian rural ex-peasantries are migrating illegally to the United States in ever larger numbers. Remittances are invested in well-being and consumption, in turn transforming non-migrant women's lives, whose gender identities and relationships become more open to negotiation. Other chapters describe the conditions for market women (Babb), political organisation among traders and producers (Buechler), changing temporal organisation among migrating small farmers (Weismantel) and the intersection of work and gender relations (McKee), following an introductory chapter by the editors.

It is with the intersection of political economy, gender relations and identities, and cultural frameworks that this collection is concerned. Utilising a largely

(Gramscian) socialist feminist framework, the contributing anthropologists – each with extensive research experience in the Andes – analyse the directions of change for women, their 'struggles for empowerment' and the intersection of Hispanic and Andean ideologies of gender. Hispanic and Andean models of gender relations are compared and contrasted in the introduction, and the varied outcomes of their interaction subsequently documented. To my mind, the introduction problematically implies that patriarchy (along with capitalism) comes from outside the region, as if it were separable from both capitalism and regional patterns of male dominance. In effect however, the chapters engage much more closely with the ways in which gender is constitutive of ethnicity (Weismantel), class (Miles), politics (Buechler) and the nature of work (McKee). By focusing on the ways in which social identities are (re)constructed through political economic change – in the context of hierarchical ethnic relations – the chapters document how women are active agents in change yet their experiences can vary through positive to negative, via ambiguous (p. 7). For example, McKee argues that there is a synergy between Andean and Hispanic patterns of masculine power, such that women's work, although increasingly market-determined, is made successively more invisible.

Overall, the collection fails to engage with the recent and growing literature on *gender* relations and masculinities in Latin America; although men appear in the book, the mutual constitution of male and female work/identity is not examined explicitly or critically. Many of the chapters have references which date from the 1970s and 1980s, with few pieces from the mid-late 1990s: this affects the rather dualistic interpretation of cultural change, and the lack of detailed analysis of exactly what *has* been happening in the mid-1990s as Latin American economies reconfigure around feminised labour in the global market.

Department of Geography, SARAH A. RADCLIFFE
University of Cambridge

Karl S. Zimmerer, *Changing Fortunes: Biodiversity and Peasant Livelihood in the Peruvian Andes* (Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1996), pp. xi+308, $45.00; £35.00.

Late twentieth-century thinking is restricted by out-dated disciplinary boundaries that increasingly fail to provide adequate analyses of social, economic and ecological problems. This is very clear in evaluations of 'agriculture', which inevitably becomes translated as 'modern agriculture', thereby ignoring the local adaptations of ancient land and resource management practices aimed at the sustainable and efficient use of plants and animals for food, medicine, building materials, and cultural artefacts. In fact, (modern) agriculture is frequently identified by ecologists concerned with biodiversity conservation as one of the major causes for the extinction of floral and faunal species, not to mention local and indigenous communities. It has only been in the post-1992 Earth Summit era that 'agrobiodiversity' has become an important focus for international environmental debates. This has led to a rediscovery of the rich agricultural traditions of indigenous and traditional peoples, who still rely on an enormous variety of folk varieties and land races that comprise an impressive array of biodiversity. The political shift has cast a dark shade over agro-industry, while painting an all-too-romantic view of traditional or peasant agricultural practices.

Changing Fortunes is dedicated to providing a counter balance to any romanticism through a detailed historical and scientific evaluation of agriculture amongst Quechua farmers in the Cordillera Paucartambo region of the Peruvian Andes. This is a well-researched book that combines sophisticated analyses of history, ethnohistory, and interdisciplinary field work to provide one of the most scientific and detailed profiles of a traditional agricultural system that I have encountered. Zimmerer is Associate Professor of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and his style of writing and breadth of evaluation reflect the intellectual inheritance of Sauerian cultural geography.

Zimmerer's main point is that the simplistic (romantic) notion that local agriculture is 'ideally' adapted to micro-climatic conditions hides the more sophisticated scientific questions of how agricultural systems have had to adapt to complex political, social and economic conditions. Adaptation, therefore, is not just to micro- and macro-climates, but rather to powerful regional pressures that mold natural conditions and often provoke considerable and differential destruction on socially differentiated residents. The book is a study of how changing 'fortunes' have affected peasant livelihoods and, in turn, the diversity of traditional crops and crop varieties that survive today.

First, we must recognise that massive threats to local agricultural traditions did not begin with the Spanish Conquest, but with the Inca empire(s). Inca rulers might have tolerated diverse traditional crop varieties, but they were mainly interested in high-yielding (and easily stored and transported) varieties that met the growing needs of expanding empire. The Spanish had similar interests but different tastes, which affected selection of different species that dominated regional colonial agriculture. Today, Peruvian agricultural policies and economic globalisation favour different varieties that, in turn, marginalise landraces and folk varieties that might have enjoyed past favour. Through it all, local farmers have managed to provide for the whims of passing empires, while clinging to a treasury of crops and crop varieties (potatoes, quinoa, chile, arrachacha, swuash, lucuma, oca, yacon, amaranth, maize, to name but a few). This took not only sophisticated knowledge of the local environment, but also clever political manoeuvering, adaptation, and survival strategies.

The result is a view of Quechua agriculture that is less fragile and fine-tuned than often assumed; for Zimmerer it is more flexible and dependent on modified environments and changing management by farmers. He concludes that 'by acknowledging farmers, such as the Quechua in Paucartambo, as architects of diversity's fortunes, although not solely for their own design, … policies and programs [can be established] that can contribute towards biological conservation and sustainable development'. Indeed, it is this view that now motivates major international political efforts through the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Food and Agricultural Organisation to recognise, protect, and reward traditional farmers for their contribution to agrobiodiversity and environmental stability.

Centre for Brazilian Studies,
University of Oxford

DARRELL ADDISON POSEY