

Reviews

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Frank Graziano, *The Millennial New World* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. x + 336, £32.50 hb.

As the year 2000 came and went, most predictions failed to come true. While pundits came out to watch, millenarians stayed at home. Nevertheless, the turn of the millennium has proved to be an event in scholarship. Work by Richard Landes, Sylvia Thrupp, Eugen Weber and others has stimulated a growing conviction that millenarianism is important as well as interesting. Like most forms of violent radicalism, it usually starts among the poor and powerless, who have nothing to lose from a quasi-apocalyptic transformation of the world; but a millenarian movement may threaten peace, take power, generate influence or transmute, as early Christianity did, from a marginal cult into a major force. Millenarianism's is a history of success – not just, as we used to think, of perseverance in failure.

Though Frank Graziano insists that his book is 'an exposition more than an argument', it is a contribution to this continuing re-assessment. Into the catalogue of mad conquistadores, febrile Franciscans, messianic impostors, nativist rebels and Inca revenants he threads the story of how millennial rhetoric and imagery have repeatedly – almost continuously – shaped and seized revolutions and regimes. The result is a new fabric of Latin American history into which almost everything since the arrival of Columbus seems to be stitched. Not just Chilam Balam, Túpac Amaru, *Aprismo* and Sendero Luminoso, but also movements as mainstream as the conquest and 'spiritual conquest', the Jesuit enterprise in the *reducciones*, the independence campaigns, modern land reforms and liberation theology turn out to be inexplicable or, at least, imperfectly intelligible, except in a millennial context. Santa Anna, José Martí, Sandino, Castro and Galtieri join Quetzalcoatl, Haya de la Torre, Jim Jones and Abimael Guzmán in a catalogue of messianism.

The author does his job with great dexterity and impressive scholarship. He relies – necessarily, in a work of this scope – almost entirely on secondary sources; but nothing relevant has escaped him in historical, critical and anthropological writings (though not, perhaps, in psychology, where I am unable to judge). He integrates material from different periods and cultural contexts: a risky undertaking in which he succeeds masterfully. He courts and conquers criticism in combining, without sharp distinctions, nativist traditions of pre-conquest origin and those derived from Christian millenarianism. Theoretical passages are rather haltingly written, but Graziano is superbly fluent as a storyteller. The case-studies are related compellingly but with proper restraint.

The coverage is heroic but can be questioned both for what is included and what is left out. There is virtually nothing on the millennialism of Blacks or more recent migrants or – except in particular contexts, such as Graziano's excellent treatment of the weird political world of Efraín Ríos Montt – on the spread of

fundamentalism. On the other hand, the author's definition of his subject-matter is perplexingly wide. Though he says millennialism and millenarianism mean the same thing, he actually uses 'millennial' as a catch-all epithet which covers phenomena usually treated separately, such as assorted forms of collective mythopoeia, secular utopianism, prophetic interventions in politics, and political programmes inspired by religious enthusiasm. Exalted revolutionary optimism can sound chiliastic. Fervid political violence can look eschatological. Rhetorically inebriated caudillismo can easily be mistaken for messianism.

In consequence, some material seems out of place. The myth of the 'Land without Evil' generated movements with millennial hallmarks, but is the same true of the legend of El Dorado? Are Sandino's vapourisings about 'spiritual magnetism' evidence of the influence of millenarian tradition? Do leaders' fixations on predecessors, real and fictional – Menem's with *Facundo*, for instance, or José Rafael Carrera's with Napoleon – really suggest that they are all implicated in the transmission of messianic leadership-models? Graziano detects 'patent millennialism' in Lope de Aguirre, but it may not be patent to every reader. Bolívar acquired a posthumous stature which conforms to 'a common messianic pattern' but his rhetoric was so loose and eclectic that it seems rash to ascribe a messianic self-perception to him on the strength of some of it.

If readers feel uneasy over this, it may be because of Graziano's doctrine of sources. He seems equivocal about whether authenticity is important, on the grounds that even distorted texts – those warped, for instance, by political disinformation, reporters' agenda or the vagaries of memory – 'may evidence millennial thought'. Even so, it remains important to establish whose millennial thought is in question. To downplay 'the historicity of the events or the objective validity of the documents' and treat history as 'a contingency of actions engaging with interpretation' can lead to confusion, as in Graziano's account of Nahua attitudes to the conquistadores: he realises that 'Aztec narratives of a returning God' were probably constructed in colonial times, but this does not stop him from treating them as if they were current earlier. Still, no misgivings can occlude the power and brilliance of this provocative book.

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James Lockhart, *Of Things of the Indies: Essays Old and New in Early Latin American History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. xii + 397, \$60.00, \$22.95 pb; £37.50, £13.95 pb.

Of the twelve essays here six were published previously (1969–1998), two have been revised (chapters two and four), and four, chapters nine to twelve, are published for the first time. Space limitations dictate that this review will concentrate on the revised and new essays.

In chapter two Lockhart discriminates between what he refers to throughout as 'institutional' history and his preferences, which include a search for career patterns yielding a 'social type', and records of behaviour, 'to deduce what they thought' (pp. 71, 75).

Chapter four, 'Double Mistaken Identity: Some Nahua Concepts in Postconquest Guise', states logically that there is commonality to sedentary societies everywhere. Many pre-Columbian forms continued in Nahua society,

with a Spanish overlay, after the European invasion, especially in Lockhart's 'phase one' to the mid-sixteenth century, when there were few Spaniards among a still large native population. Thus key Nahuatl concepts such as the *altepetl* continued with new names, providing 'a large degree of local autonomy' (p. 103).

One wonders, however, if some of Lockhart's examples of this derive not entirely from a sometimes unverifiable pre-invasion past, but rather from a contextual, secular response to specific quotidian conditions. The admonitions and warnings often found in Nahuatl wills, and much less in Spanish ones of the time, may plausibly arise from insecurity and distrust in a world of disasters and weakened authority. So too with feasts as affirmations of contracts or other agreements. Apart from the tendency among illiterates to affirm pacts by communal ceremonies rather than signed documents, could these displays also be part of attempts to maintain or revive threatened elite status – a sort of potlatch – or to consume surplus locally before outside predators get at it? In other words, pragmatic responses to perceived conditions, even if transient, are as important as cultural survivals or amalgamations when assessing motivation and behaviour.

Chapter nine, 'Between the Lines', is a delightful example and explanation of the close detective work and the archival thrill of the chase experienced by researchers as they decipher documents and place them within a larger frame of reference. By conveying both the excitement and the painstaking analysis involved in this work, this essay will be an ideal template for graduate seminars in colonial palaeography and history. The three documents studied can be used then replaced by others as needed.

Chapter ten deals with certain ideas about the evolution of Nahuatl that the author has developed, and sits somewhat apart from the other essays. A core proposition is that 'the language was once characterized by short, naked, opaque roots functioning as independent words'. Over time some words became affixes, and 'awareness of their separate meaning may have faded' (both p. 285). Lockhart also contends, with examples, that nouns and verbs were much closer, intermingled even, than in European languages. His next segment discusses what he calls 'reduction', that is types of weakening or erosion, such as a shortened verb stem. The last part of the essay is a discussion of the inapplicability of the common subject, object, verb in studying Nahuatl word order. In Nahuatl, he writes, 'Which phrase refers to the subject, which to the object, seems not to be the crucial matter in phrase order. The one thing that stands out is a verb complex relative to which the rest is ordered' (p. 300).

Chapter eleven, 'Receptivity and Resistance', is Lockhart's reaction, generally critical, to the vogue for studies of revolt and resistance. He prefers 'convergence' and finds that its degree depends largely on two of his favourite factors. The first is the 'fit' between the invaders and the invaded, ranging from many shared characteristics when both groups are sedentaries through lesser convergence with invaded semi-sedentaries, to non-sedentary peoples, who 'shared a minimum of European traits' (p. 307). Thus, once the local dominant power was subdued, sedentary societies more or less accepted European rule. Mobile peoples saw that their culture was threatened by the invasion, and fought on, sometimes to extinction. Lockhart also distinguishes between riots, part of the colonial bargaining process, and rebellions against the colonial regime, which he finds only on the less sedentary peripheries. The second factor is the intensity of

contact, which is related to relative demographic strength and degree of economic activity. Here again the author refers to his three stages of adaption, using such factors as changes in Nahuatl, use of coinage and markets as examples.

The last chapter, a form of *apologia pro vita sua*, is entitled 'A Historian and the Discipline'. Paths which James Lockhart once followed and then left, such as comparative literature and policy studies, are roundly condemned; some fields such as anthropology receive qualified praise; history as narrative or as derived from the dreaded 'institutionalist version', 'simply didn't make sense' (p. 346). The career path leads ineluctably, then, to what he has written and the 'New Philology'. The reader may wonder how to assess the common autobiographical tendency to view the past selectively, *ex post facto* of course, in terms of the present, but the essay does present an interesting and productive intellectual journey.

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Richard E. W. Adams and Murdo J. MacLeod, *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas: Mesoamerica (Volume II, parts 1 and 2)* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. xv + 571 and xv + 455, £120.00 hb; \$175.00 hb.

Volume II of *The Cambridge History of Native Peoples of the Americas* comprises two parts that are dedicated to Mesoamerica. The term Mesoamerica was first defined on a cultural-linguistic basis by Paul Kirchhoff in 1943, but since has been employed more generally to distinguish the more complex Mexican and Mayan societies from their neighbours to the north and south. Other volumes in the series are defined by geographical area – North or South America – rather than culture area. One wonders why the scope of these two volumes was restricted to Mesoamerica and not extended to encompass all of Mexico and Central America. While the focus might be justified for the pre-Columbian period, it becomes less useful in understanding the history of native peoples in the colonial and independence periods. Indeed, the second volume extends the boundary of Mesoamerica to include northern Mexico. Furthermore, taking the series as a whole, societies in lower Central America receive only superficial treatment. Although they are referred to briefly in the volumes on South America – which is perhaps not the most obvious place for a reader to look – they are not discussed in the same depth as for other regions. Thus, the series falls somewhat short of its claim to be 'the first comprehensive survey of the history of the indigenous inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere'.

The first part of volume II considers prehistoric cultures of Mesoamerica. The approach of this book is set by the Richard Adams' editorial introduction. Here he argues that new methods of gathering and analysing data will achieve more than the hypothesis testing of the New Archaeology, on which he delivers a blistering attack. The chapters are written by archaeologists who, focusing on particular regions and time periods, describe and analyse the archaeological evidence available, primarily in the form of artefacts and monumental buildings. There is little integration of evidence from palaeopathology, from pre-Columbian or colonial written records or environmental research. While Thomas Charlton

does compare archaeological and historical sources for the Aztecs, it is with the aim of establishing the chronology of their establishment within the Valley of Mexico rather than understanding the nature of their culture. As such, the first part of the volume reads more like a history of field archaeology in the region rather than a history of its native peoples. Yet there are some excellent essays, and not all eschew theory. They demonstrate how much has been learned since the publication of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* in the 1960s and 1970s, and this book should be the starting point for anyone interested in an up-to-date overview of archaeological research in the region.

The first essay by Robert and Judith Zeitlin is a brilliant, thought-provoking review of the evidence for palaeoindian and archaic cultures from Mesoamerica. This is examined in the context of New World archaeological sites as a whole, of the new dates provided by AMS (accelerator mass spectroscopy), and of proposed models of the process of domestication. It clearly exposes the areas of controversy, such as the problem of Pleistocene overkill, the dating of the Chilean sites, the implications of younger dates for plant domestication at Tehuacán. Recent evidence is suggesting that the period of incipient maize cultivation may have been shorter than previously envisaged – by perhaps 2,000 years – which may be a solution to the puzzle of why this period was so much more protracted in the New World compared to Southwest Asia.

Subsequent periods cover distinct regions within Mesoamerica rather than the area as a whole. The societies in the Central Mexican highlands are considered in three chapters by David Grove, George Cowgill and Thomas Charlton, each dealing with distinct periods, while the whole period from the establishment of farming communities to Spanish conquest is considered for the other six regions. For the most part the authors adopt a chronological approach providing descriptive accounts of the major archaeological sites and finds. These accounts are up-to-date and generally signal clearly where the advances have been over the last thirty years or so. Some also attempt to indicate how the findings throw new light on wider processes (for example, Norman Hammond on the Maya collapse and Richard Diehl on the origin of Olmec culture), but there are few comparisons with societies in the wider world beyond Greater Mesoamerica. What the chapters reveal is how much of our knowledge has been augmented or revised in recent years. Regional differences within the Greater Mesoamerica area have emerged more clearly, but at the same time greater understanding of the relationships and contacts between them has been achieved. More detailed local chronologies are emerging that suggest that the simple division of Preclassic or Formative, Classic and Postclassic does not do justice to the complex patterns that existed. What research seems to be proposing is that there is greater continuity of culture in the prehistoric period. Even where it was previously held that civilisations and sites had collapsed, it is now thought that cultures were not totally destroyed but reworked and their populations redistributed. This is argued for the Southeast frontier by Payson Sheets, and it leads Norman Hammond to speculate that the Maya collapse may have occurred in the sixteenth rather than the ninth century.

The second part of the volume aims to review what is known of native peoples from the Spanish invasion. After a brief but useful overview by Murdo MacLeod, the essays consider eight regions in Mexico and Guatemala, and, with the exception of Central Mexico – for which there are two essays (one by Susan Cline

on the colonial period and the other by Frans Schryer on the post-Independence period) – they cover the whole period from the Spanish invasion to the present day. Although the objective of the essays is to examine the history of native peoples since the Spanish invasion, the majority are written by colonialists. Partly for this reason the emphasis is on the colonial period, though all authors attempt to bring the history up to the present day. A significant issue in achieving comparability of coverage in the essays, particularly from the nineteenth century, is that as a result of *mestizaje* and the privileging of class over ethnicity, it is often difficult to trace an exclusively Indian history distinct from that of peasants in general. Not surprisingly, this issue figures prominently in the discussion of post-Independence Central Mexico, but also in the studies by Eric Van Young and Susan Deans-Smith on western Mexico and the Gulf Coast respectively, where similar processes of biological and cultural change are most evident. On the whole the authors take an inclusive view of native history, though the focus is narrower in those regions, such as northern Mexico, where some peoples have retained their distinct ethnic and cultural identity.

Although adopting a clearer focus on the native experience and from a longer time perspective, the volume structurally resembles – and in many respects complements – Ida Altman and James Lockhart's now somewhat dated edited book, *Provinces of Early Mexico*. The current volume highlights even further the diversity of responses of native peoples to colonial rule and the liberalism of the nineteenth century. This diversity is not limited to differences between regions, but between different groups within regions. Due to cultural difference, geography, the timing, intensity and form of outside contact, and the nature of resistance among other things, it is clear that some native peoples have been able to survive to a greater degree than others. Particularly illuminating in this respect is Susan Deeds' discussion of differences in levels of survival among groups in northwestern Mexico.

A significant characteristic of the essays is the attempt by all authors to write history from the native perspective, where possible using indigenous sources. This is most evident in Susan Cline's essay on colonial Central Mexico and Grant Jones' on the lowland Maya, but George Lovell also makes skilful use of native testimony in his discussion of the highland Maya of Guatemala. Whether or not using indigenous texts or sources, all authors endeavour to view native peoples as actors rather than passive victims and, as such, resistance, whether manifest in rebellion, flight or accommodation, emerges as a dominant theme.

There are some presentational issues. Some of the running heads in the first part do not coincide with the chapter headings and there is a lack of consistency in the provision of bibliographical material, whether as bibliographical essays, some of which are considerably better than others, or for further reading. In the second part, Susan Deans-Smith even eschews the possibility of writing a substantive regional essay on the Gulf Coast and, given the current state of the historiography of native peoples in the region, instead opts to write a bibliographical survey. The quality of the survey is not in question, but it sits uncomfortably with the format of all other contributions in the volume. The maps throughout are clear and informative, but rather too many photographs are too dark to enable the detail to be seen.

These essays are substantive pieces of scholarship that reflect current archaeological and historical research on native peoples of Mesoamerica that will become the first points of reference for their respective audiences for some years

to come. Contrary to the underlying trend in recent research which emphasises continuity in the history of human societies in the Americas, the division of the volume into two parts, suggests discontinuity. While practical considerations may have been paramount in determining this division, what is disappointing is the lack of cross referencing and overlap between the two parts. This is especially true for the contact period when a fuller and richer view of the character of native societies can be achieved through interdisciplinary work that draws on complementary sources. Though both excellent in their own right, the parts thus stand as two distinct volumes that reflect the division of labour of two disciplines, and that will most likely attract different audiences.

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Karen Olsen Bruhns and Karen E. Stothert, *Women in Ancient America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), pp. xvi + 343, \$34.95 hb.

In *Women in Ancient America* Bruhns and Stothert present a comprehensive synthesis of women in prehistoric societies in North America (mostly in what was to become the USA), Mesoamerica and the northern part of South America (particularly the Andes). The different chapters explore themes of long-standing interest to archaeologists: the earliest Americans, the beginnings of food production, life in households, the development of complex societies, the evolution of religious systems, the exercise of power and the practice of warfare. While the extensive bibliography listed at the end of the book indicates that, in the last decade especially, a substantial number of authors have contributed to a study of gender in the Americas, what this book offers is a connected overview of women's lives in different cultures over a long period of time.

Bruhns and Stothert consider that the discipline of archaeology has been developed in an androcentric environment that excluded women and, indeed, was often written in a strangely dehumanised fashion, with neither men nor women emerging clearly from the prehistoric record. They comment on their 'personal convictions that any science that built its norms on the behavior or physical characteristics of only one segment of society (men) was scientifically and morally irresponsible' (p. xiii). Since, however, they are often dependant on synthesising the work of other researchers, the tone of their reporting is not always consistent. At times the assumptions made by the authors of their sources creep into their accounts. A case in point is provided by their discussion of the 'Chosen women' of the Inka religious cults: 'Every year a government official would inspect all the ten-year-old girls in each village in his charge, selecting those who were outstandingly pretty' (p. 150). Instead of treating the selection of the girls as an Inka beauty contest as male commentators have done, a discussion of Inka concepts of nobility as expressed in the terminology adopted by Guaman Poma in his early seventeenth-century account of the selection would have contributed a different perspective. Guaman Poma used the Spanish term *hermosa* for women, but as he described a particular Colla lady as *hermosa* and ugly in the same sentence, it would be more appropriate to translate the term as 'goodly' rather than 'beautiful' (Dransart, 'Women and ritual conflict in Inka society', in S. Macdonald et al. [eds.], *Images of Women in Peace and War*, Basingstoke 1987, p. 67).

Equally, a European woodcut described as a ‘sixteenth-century drawing of Tupinamba women and children eating the entrails of sacrificed prisoners of war’ (p. 248) is presented at face value and receives no critical commentary. An illustration that does not outwardly support the point made in the text is figure 9.5 (p. 271). It is not accompanied by a discussion of what the indigenous and European costume elements are. There exist more appropriate versions of portraits of unidentified royal Inka women that clearly show them wearing European-type sleeves under Inka garments that would have offered more support to the comment (p. 268) that some women developed strategies of collaboration with the Spanish (Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, La Paz, 1980, figures 155 and 158).

Bruhns and Stothert explain that their text is the outcome of introducing engendered archaeology into their teaching. The result is an extremely useful book for use with students. Unfortunately, it does not use a citation system that corresponds with the scholarly practices with which we expect students to be familiar. A diligent reader will be able to track down at least some of the relevant sources in the bibliography and in the section entitled ‘Notes for main references’. Not all the authors listed in the bibliography are associated with their interpretations and this serves as an impediment, especially for people new to the archaeology of the Americas. Similarly, the sources of the figures are not always given when they have been published.

There is a detailed glossary that includes archaeological, social anthropological and gender studies terms. Strangely, medical terms are excluded. Readers are expected to know what are the deltoid tuberosity, Harris lines and enamel hypoplasia when they occur in the main text. In contrast there are helpful entries on the ‘archaeology of gender’ and ‘heterarchy’.

Bruhns and Stothert are critical of interpretations that find matriarchal societies in the archaeological record. They offer a view of changing conditions in societies of the past, and of the value of women’s contributions. Since gender is a relational term, they often discuss women’s activities relative to those of men, thereby throwing light on both female and male roles. They find in the archaeology of the societies they considered evidence for the lifestyles of commoner and elite women. With the introduction of food production and urban living, women’s workloads became onerous and their health suffered. Yet there were also roles of authority and leadership for women in the most hierarchical of societies, such as those of the Mayas and the Inkas. This book is most welcome as it draws together a vast amount of material to examine the variety of women’s roles in American societies of the past.

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Frank Felsenstein (ed.), *English Trader, Indian Maid: Representing Gender, Race, and Slavery in the New World. An Inkle and Yariko Reader* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. xiii + 317, £37.00, £14.00 pb.

The story of Inkle and Yarico was well-known in England for most of the eighteenth century. Based on an account in Richard Ligon’s *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1673) of an Indian woman betrayed by her English lover, Richard Steele’s version of the story in *The Spectator* in 1711 turned

it into a popular subject for poetic and dramatic imitation, especially after it became embroiled in the debate about slavery. Largely forgotten since the early nineteenth century, the story has recently provided resonant material for students of attitudes towards Caribbean matters.

The last anthology of Inkle and Yarico material was published in 1937. Here, limiting himself to material in English, Frank Felsenstein provides a valuable new collection, thoroughly researched and impeccably presented. It contains a fifty-page introduction; twenty-two pieces – mostly poems, with one play and some prose extracts; three appendices; a chronology; ten illustrations; and a very useful bibliography. Some of this material was previously unfamiliar, even to dedicated *inklistas*. *English Trader*, *Indian Maid* should remain the standard source for at least as long as its distinguished predecessor.

Steele originally presented the story as a counter to tales of female inconstancy. Thomas Inkle, an English merchant, was attacked by Indians on the American main. His companions were killed and eaten, but he escaped and was given succour by a beautiful Indian maiden. After an amorous idyll, they were rescued and taken to Barbados, where the treacherous Inkle – weighing up his loss of time and money – decided to sell Yarico into slavery. Informed as to her pregnancy, he raised his price.

Felsenstein rightly emphasises the ductability of the story. Many of his pieces are in the form of heroic epistles from an abandoned Yarico, often described within the same poem as both Indian and black, with her homeland moved all around the globe. Stephen Duck's *Avaro and Amanda* is identified as telling the Inkle and Yarico story, despite the drastic renaming of its protagonists. The story's strong, often sentimental, connection to the campaign to abolish slavery and the slave trade is emphasised by the similarly new identification of a poetic epistle, 'Yarico to Inkle', by Charles James Fox, who four years after its publication proposed the successful parliamentary motion that abolished the slave trade in Great Britain.

The volume also contains the full text of George Colman's *Inkle and Yarico: An Opera* (1787), the form in which the story reached its greatest popularity during the last years of the century. Felsenstein's introduction puts forward the intriguing argument that the play's leading actor, Jack Bannister, was responsible for changing the play's ending after refusing to accept a climax in which he, as Inkle, was shown callously selling Yarico into slavery. The unconvincing 'happy' ending also appears in several later poetic versions and continuations.

Colman's opera expanded the Inkle and Yarico story, giving the protagonists comic counterparts in the servants Trudge and Wowski, and inventing a fiancée for Inkle in the daughter of the governor of Barbados. Despite its slapstick and its sentimentality, the opera seems to have played an important role in channelling anti-slave-trade sentiment. The well-known actresses who played Yarico, especially Elizabeth Kemble and Fanny Kelly, attracted emotionally charged comments from writers such as Burns, Hazlitt and Lamb, the latter calling Kelly's performance 'everywhere African, fervid, glowing' (quoted p. 34).

Most of Felsenstein's examples are from England, though there are a few translations and two American versions. He also includes three Caribbean versions, all from Barbados, demonstrating that the story has an afterlife as a folk-tale, even if one adapted from a literary source. A loose version of Colman's opera was also produced as *Yarico: 'The Musical'* at the Holder House Festival in Barbados in March 1999.

As a relatively simple tale of a woman betrayed by a man on the move, the beginnings and edges of the Inkle and Yarico story tend to blur. Felsenstein prints as appendices the earlier and intriguingly similar story from the French sailor, Jean Mocquet, which ends with the betrayed woman tearing her child into two pieces and flinging one into the sea after the man who has abandoned her, and Wordsworth's 'The Mad Mothers', from the *Lyrical Ballads*, which may, he suggests with due caution, have taken its inspiration from the string of Yarico epistles that Wordsworth would undoubtedly have read.

Felsenstein calls the story of Inkle and Yarico 'one of the great folk-epics of its age' and 'a defining myth of the Enlightenment' (p. xi). His impressive anthology, with its wealth of critical information, now makes it much easier for these claims to be tested.

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Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes (eds.), *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America* (Birmingham: The University of Birmingham Press, 1999), pp. xi + 304, £16.99 pb.

This collection of ten essays is a significant contribution to the 1990s renaissance in the study of Christianisation in colonial Spanish America. The two editors have both published monographs that are important to this renaissance – Nicholas Griffiths' *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (1996) and Fernando Cervantes' *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (1994). Several of the contributors to the volume have also been party to this revitalisation of the topic, most notably Louise Burkhart, who published two groundbreaking books on colonial Nahua religion (in 1989 and 1996), and J. Jorge Klor de Alva, who has published over the past two decades a series of influential articles on Christianisation in central Mexico. These and the other contributors represent – in terms of training and professional employment – history, anthropology and Spanish literature departments, all but one in the USA and UK.

Reflecting the interests of its editors, this volume is primarily focused on Mexico and the Andes, with four of the ten chapters on New Spain (three of those on central Mexico), three on Peru, one on Colombia (New Granada), and two on North America. Of the two editors, one gets the impression that the project was primarily Griffiths', as he writes a substantial introduction and contributes a short chapter, while Cervantes pens just a brief epilogue. Furthermore, the volume is more easily connected to Griffiths' work than to Cervantes', the notion of 'conversion' being a highly problematic concept best replaced by 'interaction' – with Christianisation campaigns 'characterized by reciprocal, albeit asymmetrical, exchange' between Christianity and native American religions (p. 1). Griffiths does a fine job in the introduction of historiographically contextualising this idea and how the chapters of this volume contribute to it; Cervantes' epilogue is likewise helpful in reiterating some of the key themes of the volume.

One important theme of the book is the many ways in which this 'exchange' resulted from, or was marked by, compromises made by evangelisers seeking ways to communicate with their would-be converts. David Murray mentions this

phenomenon in his essay on ‘the northeast’, as does William B. Hart in his chapter on ‘the cult of Mary among Christian Huron and Iroquois in seventeenth-century New France’, but it is Burkhart who pushes it further to suggest that Franciscans in central Mexico unwittingly opened the door to the ‘Nahuatlization’ of Christianity. Because Burkhart’s article focuses on the Virgin, it offers some interesting comparative reading with Hart’s. The essays by Murray, Hart and Burkhart, in examining persuasive techniques by evangelisers, together offer stark contrasts to the Christianisation methods described by Iris Gareis; her study of both the violence and failure of Extirpation of Idolatry campaigns in the Andes complements recent doctoral work by David Tavaréz and John Chuchiak on similar campaigns in Mexico and Yucatán respectively.

A second theme that runs through several of these chapters is that of compatibility – more specifically the phenomenon of natives appropriating aspects of Christianity that could be experienced ‘within the continuum of the familiar’ and ‘could be molded to fit indigenous’ religious concepts (p. 11). This topic is touched upon by Murray and explored by Cynthia Radding in her essay on mission communities of northwestern New Spain. Lance Grahn balances the theme with an emphasis on the material attractions that Christianity held for the Guajiro people of northern New Granada. Griffiths, Alejandra B. Osorio, and Osvaldo Pardo all cover a variant on this theme in suggesting that native healers (in Cajamarca, Lima and central Mexico, respectively) sought to appropriate not simply aspects of Christianity but its supernatural power. The theme is also implicit in Klor de Alva’s revisitation of a topic on which he has published before – indeed, his essay here has been published in Spanish and French – the confessional and its reception by Nahuas.

The book’s production values are modest. It is workmanlike, rather than handsome, in appearance, and there are no supportive visual materials such as maps, figures or tables, and only two illustrations. But this does not undermine the solidity of the scholarship or the fact that the volume will be crucial reading for all students of the history of religion in colonial Latin America. It will also be of some interest to colonialists of all kinds and to all those who study cultural encounter in the Americas.

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Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz, *Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez*. (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 3 Vols. (Vol. 1: pp. xxxv + 413; Vol. 2: pp. xxxvii + 428 pp.; Vol. 3: xxi + 476, \$275.00.

The story of what happened to Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, even by the epic standards of some of the experiences that befell sixteenth-century Spaniards in the course of New World conquests, is remarkable. Between June 1527 and August 1537, a period of ten years and two months spanning his first passage to and from the Indies, Cabeza de Vaca’s life was marked by a series of challenging events. These he himself wrote up and published in 1542 in ‘the magnificent, noble, and very ancient city of Zamora’ in northern Spain (1, p. 279). It is the Zamora edition, and not the one Cabeza de Vaca published thirteen years later in Valladolid, that Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz choose as their textual cornerstone, doing so because ‘the pragmatic character of the 1542 work’, they

believe, ‘shows its author working under the pressure of securing his precarious Indies career at its midpoint rather than seeking to consolidate its outcomes at its ends’ (1, p. xx). What was it that Cabeza de Vaca felt compelled to narrate? Why the sense of urgency? Simply put, he had lived to tell a tale of conquest gone wrong, and by furnishing an account of it he hoped to convince King Charles V to give him a second chance. The solicitation met with royal approval, and from 1540 to 1545 Cabeza de Vaca, in theory if not always in practice, served as governor of Rio de la Plata. It is, though, his sojourn in North America that has intrigued generations of scholars and on which Adorno and Pautz concentrate their attention.

The key incidents, which Adorno and Pautz succinctly temporalise in Table 4 (2, p. xvi), and then analyse at length (2, pp. 43–404) as nine discrete episodes, begin with Cabeza de Vaca’s departure from Spain as treasurer of the expedition led by Pánfilo de Narváez to conquer Florida, which in the late 1520s denoted not merely the present-day peninsula or state of the same name but encompassed, coast to coast, ‘the vast unexplored lands that lay beyond the northern frontier of New Spain’ (1, p. 23, n. 2). After wintering in Cuba, in the spring of 1528 the Narváez expedition set sail, or so it thought, west across the Gulf of Mexico towards the Río Pánuco north of Veracruz. Bad weather and poor navigation saw Narváez and his men arrive ‘at the mouth of a bay’ from which could be seen ‘certain houses and habitations of Indians’ (1, p. 33). The bay in question was most likely Tampa Bay on the west coast of the Florida peninsula, not the mouth of the Río Pánuco on the east coast of Mexico. Manifestly unaware of their true whereabouts, Narváez decided, against Cabeza de Vaca’s better judgment, to strike out on an overland trek that proved disastrous, for two reasons: (1) the richness that Narváez imagined awaited him in Apalache, turned out to be illusory in the extreme; and (2) the overland expeditionaries failed to re-establish contact with the ships that sailed up the coast to rendezvous with them.

Hopelessly lost for some five months, plagued by hunger and dissent, their numbers whittled by sickness, stress and hostile natives, Narváez and his men then built makeshift rafts and headed along the Gulf littoral in a desperate bid to meet up with their fellow countrymen in Pánuco. Disaster again stalked them, for their rafts were separated and exposed to the fury of the elements; the one carrying Cabeza de Vaca washed up on what is now Galveston Island in Texas.

What took place next (1, 99–103) was a kind of epiphany:

The Indians, on seeing the disaster that had befallen us ... sat down among us. And with the great grief and pity they felt on seeing us in such a state, they ... began to weep loudly and so sincerely that they could be heard a great distance away ... When this weeping was somewhat calmed, I ... beseeched that Indians to take us to their houses ... [T]hirty of them gathered firewood and went to their houses, which were far away from there. And we remained with the others until close to nightfall, when they took us ... to their houses. And because of the great cold ... they made provision for four or five very great bonfires placed at intervals, and at each one they warmed us; and when they saw that we had regained some strength and warmth, they carried us to the next one ... [I]n this manner we went to their houses, where we found that they had prepared a house for us and many fires in it. And an hour after we arrived, they began to dance and make a great celebration that lasted all night long, although for us there was neither rejoicing nor sleep, as we were awaiting the moment when they would sacrifice us. [But] in the morning they again gave us fish and roots and treated us so well that we were ... reassured and ... lost some of our fear of being sacrificed.

A curious relationship had begun. Living among the Indians of Texas for the following six and a half years, Cabeza de Vaca and three others became the sole survivors of Narváez's overland contingent of three hundred. Adapting his European ways to native ones better suited to deal with his predicament, Cabeza de Vaca grew to know his Indian hosts and to respect them in a manner rarely exhibited by one who came to conquer, not himself to be enslaved. Negotiating his release from captivity came about largely because of Cabeza de Vaca's apparent skills as a healer, which the various native communities he travelled among valued enormously.

Despite mutual accommodation and understanding, all through his lengthy stay in Texas Cabeza de Vaca never abandoned the idea of one day eluding his custodians and reaching his compatriots in Mexico. This he and Castillo, Dorantes and Estevanico eventually accomplished after a year-long hike during which they left the Texas coast and followed a sweeping trajectory that took them to Spanish borderland settlements in the Pacific region near Culiacán. It was a feat of astonishing human endurance, though the joy of reuniting with Christians was short lived. Cabeza de Vaca had this to say (1, pp. 249–251) of the situation when he finally encountered his own:

[W]e suffered many annoyances and great disputes with [the Christians] because they wanted to enslave the Indians we brought with us ... We had great difficulty convincing the Indians to return to their homes and secure themselves and sow their maize. They did not want but to go with us until leaving us with other Indians, as they were accustomed to doing ... and going with us, they feared neither the Christians nor their lances. The Christians were disturbed by this, and they made their interpreter tell them that we were of the same people as they, and that we had been lost for a long time, and that we were people of ill fortune and no worth, and that they were the lords of the land whom the Indians were to serve and obey.

It was May 1536. The long journey was over; the tricky business of telling about it, however, had just begun.

If, since its first public airing in 1542, the gist of the story is reasonably well-known, why do we need an elaborate, and expensive, three-volume edition devoted to its minute dissection? Precisely because, despite the fact that at least 'forty-four editions of the work have appeared since 1922' (1, p. xv) alone, problems abound in the portrayal, interpretation, and reception of the 'great themes' Cabeza de Vaca takes on, which Adorno and Pautz identify as 'quest and adventure, freedom and bondage, empire and colonialism, miracles and shamanism' (1, p. xvi).

The bulk of volume one is devoted to transcribing Cabeza de Vaca's original 1542 text and translating it into English, the first such translation since Fanny Bandelier's pioneering endeavour in 1905.¹ Adorno and Pautz lend Cabeza de Vaca a commanding presence in English; we hear him request of the king at the outset, aware that his missive is far from the norm, 'I ask that it be received in the name of service, because this alone is what a man who came away naked could carry out with him.' Anyone who has toiled with Cabeza de Vaca's often nuanced, elliptical prose in Spanish, will be indebted to Adorno and Pautz for their skilful translation, just as first-time readers are in for a narrative treat.

¹ Fanny Bandelier, trans., *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and His Companions from Florida to the Pacific, 1528–1536*. Edited and introduced by Adolph F. Bandelier. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1905.

Volume one is rounded off with a superb biographical discussion, in which Adorno and Pautz piece together a bit of Cabeza de Vaca's family background, with its origins in venerable stock from Jeréz de la Frontera in Andalusia. Anchoring the man in his esteem for his ancestors and relations allows Adorno and Pautz to challenge what they consider the 'erroneous portrait' of him as a 'tragic, romantic figure', for them an image that is largely the concoction of twentieth-century sensibilities. Instead, Adorno and Pautz champion getting at what made the man tick by engaging 'the incalculable factors of honor and prestige' that, though 'difficult to measure', are nonetheless 'impossible to ignore'.

Similarly, Adorno and Pautz refute the image of Cabeza de Vaca proffered by Morris Bishop in his 1933 biography, that he died 'in obscurity, shame, and the conviction of failure'.² To the contrary, Adorno and Pautz argue that, following his return from further calamity in Rio de la Plata, Cabeza de Vaca was not only 'spared by king and court from defeat by his enemies' (1, p. 405) but also enjoyed, as a man of status and substance, 'the fraternity of life at court' (1, p. 406).

Volume two sees Adorno and Pautz at their erudite best, offering a fine-grained reading of Cabeza de Vaca's problem-ridden text that is a model of critical research. They define their goal as providing readers 'with the foundations of an analysis that will facilitate (but not mold) construction of their own interpretations' (2, p. xxii). They oppose 'frequently repeated claims' for the most part mouthed by researchers 'from the fields of literary and cultural studies' that 'Cabeza de Vaca's account has little to do with any attempt to represent an experienced reality'. Adorno and Pautz instead contend that Cabeza de Vaca 'took considerable pains to represent as best he could the American world that he experienced' (2, p. xv). They comb through his words with savvy caution, at all times wary and on the alert. At one juncture they advise the reader to think of the maps they construct to illustrate Cabeza de Vaca's zig-zagging peregrinations as 'uncertain best guesses' (2, p. xviii). They also avoid entangling themselves in the geographical sleuthing that characterises much of the literature, especially the issue of figuring out the route taken crossing over from the Gulf Coast of Texas to the Gulf of California.

Volume three is a historiographical tour-de-force as well as an informative and helpful synthesis. Three chapters examine the textual history of Cabeza de Vaca's account, with Adorno and Pautz crediting Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo with a pivotal role in having recorded the contents of the now lost 'Joint Report', a document composed by three of the survivors, including Cabeza de Vaca, in Mexico City in 1536.³ Another three chapters contextualise, in turn, (1) Spanish exploration in and around the Gulf of Mexico, part of the 'North Sea'; (2) Spanish exploration in the Pacific or 'South Sea'; and (3) Spanish exploration of Northwest Mexico, particularly the brutal conquest of Nueva Galicia by Nuño de Guzmán, which Cabeza de Vaca stumbled into on his return to Christendom. The entire fabric of his life, Adorno and Pautz insist, is very much linked to a complex, interactive dynamic of time, place and historical circumstance.

And yet, as Haniel Long emphasises in his 'interlinear' version of the affair, only by transcending the shackles of time, place and historical circumstance could

² Morris Bishop, *The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca* (New York, 1933), p. 290.

³ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar oceano [1525-1548]* 4 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1855), Book 35, Chapters 1-6 pertain to the 'Joint Report'.

Cabeza de Vaca do what he had to do in order to survive.⁴ For Long, the ‘marvellous adventure’ in which Cabeza de Vaca found himself taught him the virtues of empathy and encouraged him to think of humankind, despite abundant evidence to the contrary, as worthy in all its guise. If ever an age had something to learn from the experience of Cabeza de Vaca it is surely ours.

Any reputable university library in the English-language world must consider this handsomely produced set an obligatory acquisition, even if resources are scarce. Scholars of imperial Latin America and comparative colonialism will no doubt equivocate because of the price of purchase, but I urge them to dig in their pockets nonetheless. They will not be disappointed. The University of Nebraska Press is to be congratulated for taking on what was presumably a demanding project from a publisher’s point-of-view. So too, apparently, is Spain’s Ministry of Education and Culture. As for the hard work it all represents for Adorno and Pautz, one hopes that a distinguished prize invokes their names for a mammoth task carried out from beginning to end with flair, commitment and dazzling scholarship.

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Enrique Florescano, *The Myth of Quetzalcoatl* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. xii + 287, £35.00 hb.

The ‘plumed serpent’ Quetzalcoatl, the object of this new study by Enrique Florescano, takes him deeper into a topic he has aptly termed *memoria mexicana*. Amplifying the scope of previous students of the history of his country, he delves at length not only into Spanish chronicles but also the most indigenous of histories and narratives in the tradition established many centuries before Cortés by the screenfold books and inscriptions written in native script. Especially impressive is the information he gleans from recent decipherings of inscribed moments at Xochicalco, Izapa, Teotihuacan and several Maya archaeological sites. As a result he makes a major statement, original in many respects, which pulls together what have been left as the disparate threads of the Quetzalcoatl story or ‘myth’.

Florescano’s principle concern is to integrate Quetzalcoatl into the larger narrative of cosmogony, the story of the world ages shared by cultures throughout Mesoamerica, and for that matter by many beyond. Hence, he focuses on this figure’s significance in terms of the great human achievement celebrated in that cosmogony, in the development of agriculture, especially maize. His cross-references between the bird snake figure and notions of vegetal renewal, from most ancient times, are highly suggestive. And he concludes by making wide-ranging comparisons on this basis with cultures from other parts of tropical America (a subject which historically has been grossly neglected), and, finally, with the Old World, in the style of Frazer’s *The Golden Bough*, a book which has held a treacherous fascination for diffusionists for a hundred years.

Florescano’s range of sources enables him, first of all, to set the primary Quetzalcoatl in an appropriately cosmogonical context, as the feather snake found likewise in the *Popol vuh* under the name Gucumatz (an exact equivalent in Maya-Quiché) who literally embodies the forms of future species. For this reason an

⁴ Haniel Long, *The Marvellous Adventure of Cabeza de Vaca* (London, [1939] 1982).

integral part of the world ages that make up the creation story in Mesoamerica, as in other regions of the continent, Quetzalcoatl goes on to become the epic hero who travels to the underworld. In turn, the name of this same figure had become institutionalised as a title among the priesthood at Tenochtlan and other cities by the time Europeans reached Mesoamerica in the sixteenth century.

The first great strength of Florescano's study is the way he argues for and demonstrates the depth and coherence of Mesoamerican culture, especially with respect to cosmogony and agriculture. He shows a healthy scepticism towards those who would balkanise the entire area, in the style of many modern US archaeologists; and, at the same time, towards the centralist and hegemonic tendencies of what might be called the neo-Mexica, which prefers to forget the cultural continuity that extended far to the east for millennia before the Aztecs reached the highland Basin.

For just this reason, it would have been good to see Florescano makes more of his evolutionary reading of Quetzalcoatl, along lines already pioneered by other students of tropical America. In this context, the plumed serpent figure had his closest zoological counterpart in feather snakes that play a key role in Amazonian cosmogony, explicitly prefiguring the subsequent story of vertebrates that is also told in the Maya *Popol vuh*. At the same time, in the vegetal/agricultural register which Florescano detects in the Quetzalcoatl story, it might perhaps have been useful not to have overlooked key differences between maize (which cross-fertilises) and manioc (which does not) as they were discussed over a century ago, for example, by Eric Wolf, with respect to reproductive processes and associated ideologies and religious cults.

In all, this is a rich and provocative work, which will stimulate interest in a central topic of American studies. It has been ill-served, however, by its translator into English. The list of basic errors is long and includes such oddities as the 'Borbonic' Codex normally known as Borbonicus; Venus as the 'afternoon' rather than evening star; and 'snail' as opposed to shell trumpets.

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GORDON BROTHERSTON

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Jack Jackson (ed.), *Texas by Terán: The Diary Kept by General Manuel de Mier y Terán on his 1828 Inspection of Texas* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000), pp. 300, £26.95, £13.50 pb.

Anybody interested in the history of Texas, whether it is from a US or a Mexican perspective, must read this book. It is indeed amazing that it has taken this long for the diary written by General Manuel de Mier y Terán during his 1828 inspection of Texas to be published. It is lucidly edited, introduced and contextualised by Jack Jackson, beautifully translated into English by John Wheat, and contains some useful botanical notes by Scooter Cheatham and Lynn Marshall. The inclusion of the letters Mier y Terán wrote to the different ministers in Mexico City at the time, as well as extracts from contemporary sources on the state of Texas in 1828, provides the reader with a particularly rounded and complete interpretation of the province. This would not have been the case had the diary been published on its own. The inclusion of a number of contemporary maps and illustrations is also extremely useful, giving an important visual dimension to the written word. This volume provides a vivid portrait of

Texas at the end of the 1820s, on the eve of its independence from Mexico in 1836.

Through Mier y Terán's highly educated and sensitive eyes, we are able to engage in his intimate impressions of Texas. It becomes only too clear that as early as 1828 the majority of people who lived in Texas were of Anglo-American descent. Likewise, it becomes evident, much to Mier y Terán's chagrin, that with the exception of Stephen Austin's colony, most US settlers refused to abide by Mexican law. Unless a high proportion of Mexicans were sent to Texas to colonise the land, it was transparent that the province would be lost with time. Matters were not made any better by the fact that such Mexican authorities as did exist in the region were, overall, corrupt and incompetent. Mier y Terán laments that if the US settlers thought that the government in Mexico City was run by the same kind of people, it was not surprisingly that they are unwilling to cooperate with them. In this sense, it is both amusing and telling that on a number of occasions when the general was introduced to the Texans, most of them could not believe he was a Mexican. They thought he was French or Spanish, unexposed as they were to the enlightened creole political class that swarmed the corridors of power in the capital.

Mier y Terán also gives us an insight into the different lifestyles of the settlers. The abominable excesses associated with slavery are movingly depicted. Needless to say, the Texan dependency on slaves would be one of the main causes for the 1835 Texan revolt, given that the end of the Federal Constitution represented the imposition of the 1829 abolition upon the region. The encounters Mier y Terán had with the different Native American tribes that moved to Texas offer an equally vivid picture of Indian demands, customs and plight at the time. We witness the industrious characteristics of the US settlers and the contrasting unindustrious features of their Mexican counterparts, something which both pains and disturbs the general. And beyond the window the diary opens up for us, enabling us to see the changing socio-political context of Texas in 1828, Mier y Terán's personal fascination with the flora and fauna of the province results in a particularly informative as well as, at times, lyrical description of the landscape.

For those of us who remain both intrigued and disturbed by Mier y Terán's dramatic suicide in 1832 – he was the greatest president Mexico never had – his diary is unfortunately more concerned with Texas than with his personal grief. However, one cannot overlook his entry on January 16 1829. The depth of feeling, perhaps despair, that overcame him when thinking about Mexico's situation (p. 140), shows how close to the edge he was, three years before he lunged into his sword in the main square of Padilla. Jack Jackson and John Wheat are to be commended for having brought Mier y Terán's diary to our attention.

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WILL FOWLER

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Patricia Arias and Fiona Wilson, *La aguja y el surco. Cambio regional, consumo y relaciones de género en la industria de la ropa en México* (Guadalajara, Universidad de Guadalajara, Centre for Development Research, Guadalajara, 1997), pp. 47, \$45.00.

In an innovative, gender-sensitive historical study of female participation in the clothing industry, Arias and Wilson trace the path of industrialisation in this key

sector in two mid-sized Mexican cities during the twentieth century. Through anthropological research and use of secondary sources, the authors place the *persona* of the seamstress centre stage, viewing the transformations of clothing production and demand through her eyes. They attempt to understand how complex industrialising processes based on homework and regional development shape female workers' lives. They navigate the largely uncharted waters of the interrelationship between economic restructuring and transformations in the workplace *and* in the home.

Drawing on their long-standing collaborative efforts to link regional development, changes in gender relations and industrialisation in central-western Mexico, Arias and Wilson bring to bear their training as geographer-anthropologists to weave a tale of spatial and economic reorganisations that have underlined the zig-zag pattern of the clothing industry. Their analysis suggests that the Mexican case is of particular interest in that it presents at least three distinctive features when compared to English working class history. First, while the two cities selected for this study, Aguascalientes and Irapuato, share a manufacturing tradition dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries respectively, in both cases agricultural and commercial activities are also important. In this sense, they do not fit the model of sweeping industrialisation that beckons droves of workers out of the fields and into the factories. Rather, a more nuanced and contradictory history emerges. Agriculture, commerce and industry all interconnect, managing to prosper at different points in time. For example, Aguascalientes' position as central Mexico's railroad hub contributed to the development of both grape and brandy production. Second, foreign investors, manufacturers and merchants (from England, Spain, the USA, the UK and Lebanon) played key roles in launching clothing factories and workshops in Mexico. Finally, emigration (especially of men) from the countryside to major Mexican cities and to the United States is another common thread in the history of the two cities, one directly linked to women's entry into the paid labour force.

A key finding stressed by the authors is the ambiguous nature of women's work – the need to cajole and wrangle 'permission' to work from husbands, fathers and other figures of masculine authority; the ensuing battle for recognition of the value of that labour; the difficult juggling of responsibilities in the midst of an ongoing struggle to maintain respectability. This point is particularly well-illustrated in the case of the 'aguilitas', as the female employees of the Aguila tobacco company studied by Arias in Irapuato were known. Initially criticised and even socially ostracised for leaving their homes to enter the workplace, these women were forced to prove their integrity and value both on and off the shop floor. In time, families began to accept the fact that female workers' contribution to family income was crucial both to survive and to raise living standards; they consequently eased social control measures.

While other research supports this conclusion, readers would have benefited from additional description and analysis of household composition, life cycle stage, and family dynamics further to substantiate the authors' claim of constant conflict on the homefront regarding women's work. Another shortcoming is the lack of a detailed description (either in the text or in a methodological appendix) of the fieldwork supporting this characterisation of working class homelife. One can only assume that their conclusion is based upon observations and interviews, although details about the settings observed and the persons interviewed are

sketchy. Moreover, one could validly pose the question: how have the lives of workers – the decisions made or not made – affected the organisation of production and ultimately the path of industrialisation? This needs to be explored further. One of the book's most surprising features is the lack of maps. Even for a Mexican readership the volume would have required several maps graphically revealing the invisible strings tying industrial homeworkers to capital.

Despite these shortcomings, the Arias and Wilson collaboration makes an important contribution to our understanding of industrial homework, that link in a subcontracting chain long an integral part of clothing production in Mexico and in other countries. By delving into the black box of homework done on a massive scale and the intricate networks of supply of materials and finished products (a diagram would have been instructive here), the authors debunk the myth of the resulting fragmentation of the productive process as a happy ending for workers, employers and consumers alike. Indeed, arguments such as this were prominent in image manipulation during the early 1990s in favour of the North American Free Trade Agreement that would later link Canada, the United States and Mexico. As the authors show in their historical chapter on homework in Mexico, reality is far removed from such an idyllic conceptualisation.

The book's fresh analysis of clothing industry labour unions in regional settings is a second contribution. Rather than either emphasising or downplaying the role of formal worker organisations, the authors describe a mixed history. While unions were crucial in mobilising employees of several Irapuato firms, in Aguascalientes the low ratio of members to workers (around 12 per cent), the high rate of job rotation and the generalised lack of interest of union leaders in the plight of the homeworkers who dominate only in numerical terms are all key pieces of the puzzle painstakingly assembled by Arias and Wilson.

Perhaps the most innovative aspect of this far-reaching volume is the chapter reflecting upon clothing as a marker of social identity. Here the authors attempt to tease out the relationship of this characteristic of the commodity to consumer demand for particular types of garments, and ultimately to the organisation of their production. Taking issue with the portrayal of women as succumbing to the changing dictates of fashion, Wilson and Arias argue that in fact they have made momentous decisions and statements regarding their feminine identity through the clothing they have designed, sewn or woven or embroidered, and worn.

El Colegio de Michoacán

GAIL MUMMERT

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David E. Lorey, *The US–Mexican Border in the Twentieth Century* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1999), pp. x+195, \$55.00, \$17.95 pb.

Lorey's book proposes a localised approach to the geographic area surrounding the US–Mexico frontier. The text focuses on social, economic and cultural topics in the history of the border region from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the 1990s. His narrative encompasses multiple perspectives which explore the interlocking nature of both countries' historical evolution and development. The USA–Mexico border area is depicted as a locus of struggle between both countries' societies and economies, resulting in interdependent political,

economic and social relationships. Indeed, the book concentrates on the ways in which the USA–Mexico border region closely ties the past and present of both the south-western USA and the northern part of Mexico, the author arguing that isolated studies of the US southern border or of Mexico's northern area are of limited value. From the colonial period and through the nineteenth century, characterised by the gold rush and the introduction of the rail transportation system that connected the Mexican north with the US south west, the book takes the reader on a historical journey that culminates in the enactment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which has sealed the economies of these two countries.

The book constitutes a narrative of historical events that bound both sides of the border. It moves from general macro-level phenomena to micro-level regional conflict and policy issues. A main theme throughout is the varied nature of the economic inter-dependence of the northern Mexico frontier and the US southwest. Such description covers times of economic boom and bust on both sides of the border. Lorey touches upon various important historical features of the twentieth century, including World War II and its legacy in the area. The boom in agriculture of both sides of the border after the war and the arrival of US maquiladoras in the northern part of Mexico are themes that are discussed in detail. The latter part of the book deals with the consequences of rapid growth in the border region and contemporary US–Mexican relations. Social and cultural change from the mid-twentieth century until the 1990s is described as having been highly influenced by factors such as migratory trends and urbanisation.

On the whole, Lorey presents a sound argument for the frontier between these two countries being a cognitive whole despite the insularity produced as a result of the various colonial rules of European metropolises. He prefers to stress instead those historical commonalities that have shaped and identified contemporary studies of the border. The lack of attention to literary antecedents written in Spanish greatly understates Mexican historical accounts of the period he considers, and indeed the role of many other northern Mexican academics in the field from other disciplines. At another level, while modern literature abounds on the Border Industrialisation Programme (a Mexico government scheme which gave free entrance to mostly US assembly industries to northern Mexico), Lorey situates the programme within a developmental pattern of interdependence between the two countries with historical traces dating to the colonial period and before. Such a provocative approach may present the 'maquiladorisation' phase as being particular to this part of the world and I would have welcomed somewhat wider analysis of assembly industries under global capitalism. The patterns of economic, social and cultural development of twenty-first century northern Mexico and the US south-west are likely to be influenced not only by the region's historical antecedents but also by a new relationship between the two countries that goes beyond the geographical border alone.

Despite Lorey's reservations about the lack of diversity in the area, the challenge of elucidating complex localised cultural processes, found in the distinct regions along both sides of the border, will be left to forthcoming publications. The author's main objective is to highlight the uniformity of history that surround the area, but he also asserts that 'the border culture ... takes myriad forms' (p. 140). The book is an easy-read study of the border region and a much-needed contribution to the area of USA–Mexico studies. Its clarity and

photographs help to place the reader in the many historical conjunctures addressed by the author. The book will prove very useful for undergraduate courses as an introductory text to historical debates on the USA–Mexico border.

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CAROLINA LADINO

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Charles D. Ameringer, *The Cuban Democratic Experience: The Auténtico Years, 1944–1952* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp. 229, \$49.95 hb.

Charles Ameringer's *The Cuban Democratic Experience* makes the simple but important argument that between 1944 and 1952 Cubans experienced a flawed yet genuine democracy. These rough and tumble years were 'the only time in their history when Cubans had the opportunity to be free' (p. 15) and despite the fact that the *auténticos* 'failed the Cuban people miserably ... they gave Cuba a period of freedom it had not experienced before or, up to now, since' (p. 185). Ameringer's objective is not to defend the *auténticos*; rather, his intention is to highlight the failed potential of Cuban democratic sentiment after the revolution of 1933.

Ameringer's book is an excellent narrative of how Cuban politics had both altered greatly and remained the same after the revolution of 1933. Corruption and violence dominated political life as they had before 1933. But, after 1933 the popular sectors were less frightened, they had new memories and traditions of struggle, and they possessed new forms of political practice. Most important, by 1944 Cubans had new leaders who promised them that a democratic state would represent all Cubans and not just a powerful oligarchy whose main loyalty was to the United States and its 'imperialist trusts'. Cubans had fought for years to have the state take their demands and rights seriously, and though we know in hindsight that their expectations were denied, the seeds of a potential and a radical transformation of Cuban society had been planted. Exactly how this potential was to be realised and who would tap into it was by no means clear, but in the years from 1944 to 1952 it was up to the Partido Revolucionario Cubano-Auténtico (PRC-A) to make Cuban popular expectations for democracy a reality. After a brief overview of the revolution of 1933, the book follows the evolution of Auténtico rule from the heady days of Ramón Grau San Martín's government (1944 to 1948) through to the second Auténtico government of Carlos Prío Socarrás between 1948 and 1952. Most of the writing on this period of Cuban history glosses over the social, political and economic complexity of these years, preferring to concentrate on the corruption and violence that so dominated political life. In contrast, *The Cuban Democratic Experience* goes a long way in highlighting what actually did change in Cuba and why people cared so much about these changes. Not the least of these changes was a free press, the right to organise unions and the belief that elections, though far from perfect, were not a complete fraud. Cubans expected economic liberation and social justice; and though these expectations were increasingly 'betrayed' and cynically manipulated by corrupt politicians and by gangsters who claimed to be revolutionaries, Cuba was more democratic than anyone could have imagined before 1940. Grau's *auténticos* would feel the strain of these contractions and in 1948 Eduardo Chibás and his followers split away from the PRC-A to form the Cuban People's Party

(Ortodóxo) in an attempt to reclaim the ‘true’ ideals of 1933 and 1940. Ameringer concludes his book with a chapter on how, by 1952, the *auténticos* under Prío had lost both the credibility and the will to defend democracy, thus leaving the door open to first Fulgencio Batista and then to Fidel Castro. Cuba’s brief and chaotic democratic experience was over.

Given the teleological nature of much of the writing on Cuban twentieth century history, Ameringer’s book helps refocus our attention on this critical period for its own importance and not just as a ‘prologue’ to the revolution of 1959. In this sense, *The Cuban Democratic Experience* is a significant addition to the historiography. Nonetheless, the author cannot help but take swipes at Castro throughout the book, a habit which detracts from the overall argument. It is one thing to argue that Cuba was more democratic between 1944 and 1952 than ever before, but to imply (without seriously arguing) that the Auténtico years were better than the post-1959 period opens up quite another debate. By implying that Cubans were better off under Grau and Prío than under Castro, Ameringer sounds as if he is doing what he promised not to do early in the book: write defensively and apologetically about the *auténticos*. The author should have either made a systematic argument comparing Auténtico rule to Castro’s regime, or leave it out entirely. Had he done the latter Ameringer could only strengthen his case by permitting the reader to judge *Auténtico* rule on its own merits and without the author’s political innuendos about a regime what would come to power eight years later.

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ROBERT WHITNEY

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Joaquín Roy, *Cuba, the United States, and the Helms-Burton Doctrine: International Reactions* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp. xxii + 281, \$55.00 hb.

In mid-March 1996 the US Congress enacted, and President William Clinton signed into law, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, better known as the Helms-Burton Act after its formal principal co-sponsors, Senator Jesse Helms (R.-NC) and Congressman Dan Burton (R.-IN). Some Cuban-American political lobbies, most notably the Cuban-American National Foundation led by Jorge Más-Canosa, and their allies in the US Congress had long advocated its enactment. But the passage of the law with broad-based support can be traced to the Cuban Air Force’s shooting down of two unarmed aircraft over international waters on 24 February 1996; the pilots of the planes had minutes earlier violated Cuban air space.

Joaquín Roy has written a comprehensive, informative and thoughtful narrative about the Helms-Burton Act, its origins, its consequences and the politics that surrounded all of these aspects. Among the most valuable aspects of this book is its detailed explication and assessment of the various chapters of the law. Roy reviews systematically and fairly the political science, legal and policy scholarship regarding Helms-Burton to complement his own. Notwithstanding his own critical stance toward Helms-Burton, Roy’s capacity to describe the arguments of the Act’s supporters in terms that they would recognise is admirable. The book also narrates the complex political entanglement created by the Helms-Burton Act and the manifold efforts by the European Union (EU),

individual European governments, Canada and most Latin American governments to resist and counter the law, to seek its effective neutering and to argue for its repeal.

Two broad arguments about Helms-Burton's dénouement, sketched at various instances in this work, merit attention. The first underlines the fact that most participants in the disputes swirling around Helms-Burton's implementation could claim partial victory. US hardliners call attention to the deterrence of certain investments in Cuba. The Cuban government focuses on its sustained survival, and even the continuation of international investments, despite Helms-Burton. The Clinton White House emphasised its capacity to pressure the Castro government while preventing a serious breakdown in US relations with its principal trading partners. The EU, Canada and the Latin American and Caribbean countries cherish their triumph in helping to prevent the implementation of virtually every item in Helms-Burton (except for the denial of US visas to a very few international executives whose firms play a major role in Cuba).

The second noteworthy argument is that the key goal of most governments, including Cuba's, was to avoid a serious confrontation with the US executive branch. Canada and Mexico acted, at times boldly, but were always careful not to rupture NAFTA. Cuba continued to honour its bilateral migration agreements with the United States, and in the late 1990s facilitated the visits of tens of thousands of US tourists per year. The EU and the White House reached a marvellous understanding in 1998. They made promises to each other which neither wished to fulfil and which both were certain that neither would implement; in turn, each partner was excused from fulfilling its side of the bargain because the other one had failed to act. (Roy does not put this conclusion as I just did, but I believe that it is a fair rendition implicit in his work.) The understanding allowed the EU to drop its proposed retaliatory acts against the US government.

There is a third generalisation not highlighted by Roy but supported by much of his empirical evidence. The key policies of every democratic government toward the Cuban government have failed to bring about their desired outcome, namely, to foster a change in Cuba's political regime. The most obvious failure is Helms-Burton's. True, the Cuban government has suffered some economic pain but the political regime became stronger in the second half of the 1990s than it was in the first half of the decade. However, the attempts by Canada, the EU or various individual European governments to foster gradual, peaceful political change in Cuba by means of international policies of 'constructive engagement' have also failed.

In the late 1990s the Cuban government decided to forego all the 'carrots' offered by the EU (a cooperation agreement or entrance as a beneficiary member of the EU's Lomé Convention) because the EU required Cuba's democratisation as a condition for partnership. Similarly, the Canadian government's bold engagement with Cuba would eventually be curtailed because the Cuban government refused to democratise as Canada's government had hoped would happen. Most strikingly, Spain's policies toward Cuba in this regard failed three times in the 1990s. Cuba made no domestic political change either in response to the González government's constructive engagement or the Aznar government's temporary (1996–98) hard-line approach; in 1998 the Aznar government returned

de facto to the previous Socialist government's Cuba policies, again with no political success. The difference between the US failure and that of others should also be recorded: European, Canadian and Latin American business firms made some money trading with and investing in Cuba while most US business firms did not. The US failure was, therefore, rather comprehensive whereas the failure of the others was more narrowly confined to political objectives.

'The Revolution has not yet started.' Roy quotes this remark from President Fidel Castro on 1 January 1999, the thirtieth anniversary of President Fulgencio Batista's overthrow. Through these and other words and actions, President Castro has signalled again and again his willingness and capacity to resist the US hard-line and the European, Canadian and Latin American soft-line endeavours to induce or to force change in Cuba's political regime. Most Cubans might be puzzled by that declaration, to be sure, wondering just what had been going on during the preceding thirty years. For President Castro, the subtle mixture of irony, triumph and defiance in those remarks calls proper attention to his unwillingness to change the basic characteristics of his rule.

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JORGE I. DOMÍNGUEZ

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 33 (2001). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01346266

Félix V. Matos Rodríguez, *Women and Urban Change in San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1820–1868* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1999), pp. xi + 180, \$49.95 hb.

Historical interest in the vicissitudes of commercial agriculture has occupied a major place in the historiography of the Caribbean. The study of Puerto Rico's agrarian-commercial revolution expanded significantly in the post-1970s, but its coverage has tended to emphasise rural over urban themes. Although the Puerto Rican capital of San Juan had been an early promoter of sugar production, its urban growth had been hampered by spatial limitations and an undeveloped infrastructure. The sugar crisis which struck the island after the 1830s, owing largely to declining supplies of slave labor, had important, but less understood, repercussions in San Juan.

Félix V. Matos Rodríguez probes the relationship between this economic downturn, urban development and changes in gender relations in San Juan around the middle of the nineteenth century. The book's main argument is that San Juan's ecclesiastical and secular officials, alarmed about what they viewed as the city's increasing urban and socio-economic decay, launched an ambitious, multifaceted modernisation programme which they hoped would curb the spread of vagrancy, concubinage, petty crime, anti-colonial agitation, slave resistance and labour shortages. They sought not only to reconstruct San Juan through urban renewal projects, but also to reform the ethnic, racial and gender identities of its poor residents by checking prostitution, expanding schooling, enforcing housing ordinances, supervising eateries, marketplaces, wells and recreational areas, and by establishing reformatories for the mentally ill, the incorrigible and the idle. These efforts at physical and social engineering, while couched as spiritually, aesthetically, sanitarily and economically necessary, reveal the colonial elite's critique of the city's subaltern groups: female street vendors, washerwomen, rented slaves, the indigent.

Matos Rodríguez focuses his attention on the impact of these changes on the city's female population by gauging their participation in entrepreneurial activities, home ownership, labour, litigation and social activism. He found that women both benefited and lost ground during the period 1820–1868. As a result of the expansion of plantations and trade, upper and middle class women in San Juan became active in slave trading, mercantile companies, agriculture, real estate and small retail businesses. Following the 1840s sugar crisis, however, some wisely turned to legal recourses and other tactics to salvage their fortunes; others sought new careers in the expanding fields of teaching and beneficence. While the latter gained at best a precarious foothold in San Juan's 'public sphere', some apparently succumbed to the conservative agenda of the capital's secular and religious officials, who hoped that female participation in such nurturing roles would help them counter the alleged social, moral and economic degeneration of the urban masses. Beneficence institutions were not simply rehabilitation centres, but also served as places of confinement, workhouses and labour recruitment agencies. Individuals whom the state deemed dangerous, troublesome or idle, as well as prostitutes, orphans, abused women and slaves awaiting court cases were commonly 'rehabilitated' by being hired out to local employers.

The author contrasts the moderate but significant advancement of well-off women in business, education and charity work with the mounting plight of their lower-class counterparts, who became a frequent target of the authorities. Many held menial occupations as peddlers, street vendors, food sellers and domestics, which often brought them into contact with a wide range of people whom the state distrusted: visitors, travellers, sailors, soldiers, vagrants, pamphleteers, dissidents, slaves and unemployed workers. The public places in which they worked, conducted business, or socialised, as Matos Rodríguez writes, 'were ... considered suspicious locales where the underclass could meet to engage in rowdy or immoral behavior or where seditious or revolutionary activity could breed' (p. 86). Because many earned a living in the public world, they 'were open prey for any kind of abuse: verbal, physical and sexual' (p. 93). Lower-class women frequently contested the city's efforts to control their activities through strikes, negotiations, petitions to the cabildo and civil disobedience.

Some readers might object to the author's frequent usage of *sanjuaneras/os*, a term denoting a community of interests, which as his book shows, was not the case. The relationship between San Juan's modernisation programme and liberal-conservative political struggles in Spain and in Puerto Rico could have been more developed. These comments aside, the book is a commendable attempt to bridge the disciplines of agrarian, urban and feminist studies, and a major contribution to the social history of nineteenth-century Puerto Rico.

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J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 33 (2001). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01356262

Raanan Rein, *Peronismo, populismo y política: Argentina 1943–1955* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano, 1998), pp. 282, \$26.00 pb.

This is a book that will be useful to students newly confronting that perennially elusive subject, the true character of 'historic' Peronism (that is, in 1943–1955). For veterans of the topic it is a timely reminder that Carlos Menem's much

maligned ‘neoliberal’ translation of Peronism will in time be recognised for what it was: a much-needed attempt at breaking with the populist shackles that were, not inconsiderably, responsible for Argentina’s depressing and deplorable second half of the twentieth century.

In the introduction the author poses the rhetorical question ‘why another book on Peronism?’, but his reply (‘because certain aspects of his foreign and domestic policies have been insufficiently analysed’) lacks conviction. Focusing on the ‘Peronisation’ of Argentina (p. 16), the author chooses education (chapter three) and sport (chapter four) to highlight the totalitarian (my word) reflexes and policies of Peronism. Chapter three provides an excellent and detailed illustration of Peronism’s anti-liberal and anti-pluralist aims. Yet while the whole book can easily be read as an indictment of Peronism, Rein seems at pains not to condemn Perón explicitly. Chapter one, on second-ranking Peronist officials, is arguably the best in the book, even though it subverts the author’s attempts at appearing unbiased towards Perón and Evita, whose ruthlessness in her treatment of those who displeased her is here amply illustrated. Chapter two (on Bramuglia and his role in the 1948 Berlin crisis while he held the chair of the UN Security Council) reminds us of the formulaic and legalistic behaviour of the Argentine *cancillería* at its worst, blithely indifferent to the power relations in the real world. The effect of such autistic tendencies result, unsurprisingly, as Rein remarks, in acts which are irritating and disconcerting to other players. Perhaps the best example of this can be found in Perón’s contradictory attitudes to the United States. While Perón remained decidedly anti-Yankee when addressing supporters, in private exchanges with the US ambassador he repeated his support and admiration for the country the latter represented. It is hardly surprising that foreign diplomats found difficulty in figuring Perón out and doubted his sincerity, honesty and frankness.

Chapter four reminds us that Perón went beyond the usual politician’s temptation to bask in the reflected glory of sporting celebrities, and helps explain why it is not aberrant to attach the label ‘fascist’ to Perón’s motivations, attitudes and the ensuing results, even though Rein himself shies away from using the word. In the foreign arena, the theme of chapters five (the Perón-Franco alliance) and six (Peronist nationalism and the Hispanic legacy) were the subject of a previous book by the same author (and of this reviewer in this very journal). And chapter seven, on Argentina and the partition of Palestine, does not add anything to what we already know from previously published scholarly research.

But this book is a reminder of how difficult, if not outright impossible, it would have been for a middle class, liberal and progressive person caught in the passions of World War II, to support Perón. Reading this book, one understands the need to revise the label ‘gorila’ attached to all anti-Peronists, and equated to being ‘anti-popular’. And this brings us to one of the many wounds inflicted by Perón on Argentine society: a Manichean view which so successfully identified Peronism and ‘the People’, whilst anti-Peronism was associated with traitors, oligarchic exploiters and sundry others.

It is to be lamented that there is no epilogue to bring this patchwork together. Instead, the book is brought to an abrupt ending with the chapter on the Israeli press. The lack of unity in the book does not detract from its general usefulness, which is as a reminder of how awful Peronism could be.

Even if the author makes huge efforts to be balanced, this reader remained unconvinced. In every chapter there is a repeated phrase on ‘industrialisation and

modernisation' as the policies of the government, but the illustrations provided and the documents quoted all point towards the least attractive traits of Peronism, and none is used to support the positive claims that are merely stated. Most civil liberties, and many human rights as defined today (including minority rights and the right to justice), were unknown in Perón's Argentina. Who, other than those who benefited directly from a largesse from which the country has not yet recovered, could describe him/herself as Peronist in Argentina in 1950? For those who still have doubts, I recommend Rein's book.

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CELIA SZUSTERMAN

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Iván Molina and Fabrice Lehoucq, *Urnas de lo inesperado: fraude electoral y lucha política en Costa Rica (1901–1948)* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1999), pp. 216, \$18.00 pb.

This book centres on electoral fraud in Costa Rica from 1901 to 1948. The first five chapters study fraud during the period in which there were both second-degree ballots (from 1902 to 1912) and direct and public ballots (from 1913 to 1924). The following six chapters deal with fraud after the ballot was designated secret. And the last four chapters are about the turbulent period from 1940 to 1950.

The authors study the links between the different types of electoral fraud, the legal reforms that were promoted to reduce this and the political dynamics that surrounded the issue. They focus on the extent to which democratisation of electoral procedures altered the relations between the powers of the state and the political parties, and between the latter and the electorate. Their interest is also in the changes in the methods of electoral fraud, its regional specificity and the scope in which they influenced the ballots.

The sources for the book are primarily the claims of annulment of elections presented by political actors. The legal prerequisites for the formulation of such complaints, the role of the Comisión de Credenciales of the Congress in the investigation of the claims, and the rule making it compulsory to publish them in the official journal (*La Gaceta*), have all made it possible for the researchers to corroborate each legal action and to quantify the degree of fraud. They also studied the certificates of elections emitted by the electoral commissions in each province.

This work is, however, only a preliminary and partial result of wider research on Costa Rican democracy from a comparative perspective. The way facts are presented is rather repetitive and difficult; and the practices of fraud are viewed without regard to the ideological and political context inherent to liberalism, in which governance clearly prevailed over representation and transparency.

The analysis of elections is detailed and precise, but the sources used (restricted to electoral procedure and legal aspects), though easier to quantify, may well lead to conclusions at variance with real behaviour. Many of the frauds were not documented, even if their perpetrators later participated in the illegal actions. Fieldwork, centred on those political actors who are still alive and willing to talk, could have documented what has been inside knowledge in the political class for many years. This is particularly true regarding the study of the elections in the '40s, where Molina and Lehoucq reach the conclusion that, even if it is true that

there was fraud in 1944 and 1946, it was perpetrated by ‘government’s sympathizers as well as their adversaries’, though ‘probably official fraud was somehow larger than the one done by their opponents. But it is also clear that electoral fraud was not decisive to define the result of the ballots’. Their conclusion, that the citizens perceived a greater fraud than really existed because there was a growing discontent with the political system, is unsatisfactory, to say the least.

The book, nevertheless, brings down many myths, and does so on the basis of official documents and other significant data. If the grounds for some of the authors’ theses are not altogether satisfactory, the work is, however, provocative, well researched and useful.

CIAPA, Costa Rica

RODOLFO CERDAS CRUZ

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 33 (2001). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01376265

James P. Brennan and Ofelia Pianetto, *Region and Nation: Politics, Economy, and Society in Twentieth-Century Argentina* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), pp. xvii + 233, \$45.00 hb.

Easily the most glaring and widely acknowledged weakness of Argentine historiography is its tendency to treat Buenos Aires as a proxy for the nation as a whole while neglecting the rest of the country. Not only are provincial studies rare, but many historians, particularly those writing in English, have sought to construct national narratives on the basis of research limited to the capital city. In recent years, a new generation of Argentine scholars has begun to correct this bias, but their work remains largely unknown outside Argentina.

In this context, *Region and Nation* represents an extremely valuable contribution. Brennan and Pianetto, whose own scholarship on labour in Córdoba has significantly advanced the cause of regional history, have assembled seven essays by Argentine and North American historians covering six of Argentina’s provinces and a broad range of issues from throughout the twentieth century. Since the essays are not organised around any one particular theme, the book does not offer a coherent historiographical vision. Nevertheless, by bringing together insightful and original work on diverse topics, the editors have succeeded in demonstrating the rich potential of regional history to cast new light on issues of national significance.

Several of the essays make the case for significant historiographical revision by examining familiar developments from a provincial perspective. Nicholas Biddle demonstrates that Hipólito Yrigoyen’s strategy during the presidential campaign of 1928 was developed in the province of Salta, where the behaviour of Standard Oil created a receptive audience for the Radical leader’s oil nationalisation schemes. However, Biddle convincingly argues that Yrigoyen won in Salta not because of the oil issue, but because he was able to present himself as the democratic alternative to a reactionary oligarchy that continued to dominate provincial politics through violence and fraud. Similarly, by examining the relationship between Catholicism and Peronism as it played out in Córdoba during the 1940s and 1950s, Jane Walter provides an important new perspective. Walter reveals the extent to which many people were able to reconcile their Catholicism with their Peronist loyalties, and she traces the way Catholics of various classes experienced the growing rift between Perón and the Church.

Mónica Gordillo picks up the question of working-class consciousness in Córdoba during the 1960s. She explores the social origins of the distinctive brand of militant radicalism forged by automobile workers in that province.

Two essays in economic history – Marcelo Lagos' analysis of the sugar industry in Jujuy and Gabriela Olivera's examination of forestry in La Rioja – provide a useful corrective to accounts that focus exclusively on the agricultural and pastoral economy of the Pampas. These essays suggest that at least in some provinces, Argentina's experience of export-led development more closely paralleled that of other Latin American countries than is sometimes thought. While Jujuy's *ingenios* monopolised land, used extra-economic means to coerce labour and exercised enormous political influence in order to penetrate the domestic market, La Rioja's *obrajes* proletarianised much of the local population, used debt peonage to maintain this labour force and created conditions of landlessness that eventually encouraged significant outmigration. Similarly, Joan Supplee's discussion of the use of political patronage and repression by conservative elites in Mendoza during the decades before the electoral reform law of 1912 paints a picture that will be familiar to scholars of other Latin American countries.

Marta Bonaudo offers another analysis of the period of clientelist, oligarchic government, providing a careful, nuanced account of politics in the province of Santa Fe. In one sense, Bonaudo echoes the conclusion drawn by Hilda Sabato for the case of nineteenth-century Buenos Aires: *santafesinos*, particularly segments of the agricultural colonies and of the Rosario bourgeoisie, found ways to engage actively in politics outside the formal electoral arena. However, Bonaudo uncovers something quite different as well. In Santa Fe, the mobilisation of civil society during these years led to the development of new notions of citizenship, ideas that culminated in the formation of the Liga del Sur, Lisandro de la Torre's regional political party.

Unfortunately, the economics of academic publishing in the United States have made it much more difficult to publish regional studies of Argentina than, say, Mexico. This state of affairs makes the publication of *Region and Nation* all the more important. One can only hope that its appearance will stimulate new research on Argentine regional history. I do have one quibble: a book that aims to introduce a group of important scholars to a new audience ought to have included a note on contributors. Notwithstanding that minor oversight, the best essays in this volume will force historians of Argentina to revisit and revise long-held interpretations.

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J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 33 (2001). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01386261

Mario Valenzuela Lafourcade, *El enigma de la Laguna del Desierto: una memoria diplomática* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1999), pp. 255, \$6.750; US\$ 12.27 pb.

The study of territorial and border disputes in the Southern Cone of the Americas has, with the exception of the Malvinas/Falklands and Antarctica, largely been left to the realm of geopolitics. It is an area which has been overwhelmingly dominated in Latin America by observers and theorists of a militaristic and/or nationalistic stripe. Never was this more true than with respect to the long-running border and territory dispute between Argentina and Chile over the

Laguna del Desierto area in the southern Andes. The author, who held a post in the Chilean embassy in Buenos Aires in the mid-1960s, sets out to provide a slightly different perspective from the norm.

Utilising a case study of the lesser known dispute between the two republics over the Palena-Rio Encuentro zone in the 1950s, Valenzuela highlights elements which were to resurface with powerful effect both during the 1965 confrontation between armed forces at the Laguna del Desierto, and in the actual arbitration process from 1991–95. Firstly, he stresses the autonomy with which specific military institutions acted, particularly with regard to the publication of maps of the region. Secondly he draws attention to the involvement of politicians lacking expertise in this issue. As Valenzuela highlights, both factors were to prove prejudicial to Chilean aspirations toward the zone in the long term. Countless newspaper articles, books and journal articles – often published in highly influential military-linked journals such as *Estrategia* – dedicated themselves to an exposition of the undeniable rights of one or other of the two countries to the possession of the zone. Often referring to precisely those Chilean maps published without the authorisation of the elected government, articles in the Argentine media were a source of serious concern in the Chilean embassy in Buenos Aires. As Valenzuela consistently argues, the maps themselves, and their appearance in the public domain, were to prove crucial factors in the eventual resolution of the dispute in favour of Argentina. The author was not only a privileged observer but also a secondary actor in the events of 1965 which sharpened the profile of this dispute. As such, his notes from the time, published here along with more recent observations, bring a primary historical source into view.

The deteriorating political situation in Argentina, as seen from the Chilean embassy, provides the background to the confrontation between Argentine *gendarmes* and Chilean *carabineros*. The role of various military actors on each side is highlighted. Although the political intrigues of General Onganía on the Argentine side were clearly recognised by both Chilean diplomats and Argentine politicians, the less overtly political but nevertheless damaging influence of Chilean general of *carabineros* Vicente Huerta is made clear by Valenzuela. The notable distinction between conduct agreed between state officials at the highest level – in this case presidents Frei and Illia – and that which was practically possible or negotiable amongst competing areas and levels of the state and various opposition forces, is starkly outlined in the timetable of events of late 1965. While the fall of Illia came quickly, competing agendas amongst diverse areas of the Chilean state – less overt in 1965 – did not have their conflictive potential realised until 1973. Valenzuela's work suggests that the relative difficulty the executive experienced in asserting authority over military subordinates in 1965 was a foretaste of more profound civil–military conflicts in years to come.

The resolution of this dispute was finally made possible thanks to provisions included in the 1984 Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the two nations. It reached a full conclusion only in 1995, when an arbitration panel of five Latin American jurists rejected the Chilean appeal against the award of the whole area in question to Argentina. Political elites in both nations projected this resolution as a successful step on the road to integration, and observers on both sides of the border welcomed the removal of a possible focal point for nationalist and military discontent with the process of redemocratisation. Nevertheless, opposition to both the arbitration process itself and to the manner in which governments in

both countries seemingly ignored legitimate concerns (in the Argentine province of Santa Cruz, for example), did not simply disappear with the agreement to go to arbitration.

Valenzuela's negative attitude towards the arbitration process is unsurprising, given the implications for the Chilean claim of his own assertion – possibly unique for a Chilean analyst – that the 1965 confrontation took place at least officially on Argentine territory. His scepticism towards the Chilean defence strategy in the arbitration is underlined in the suggestion of the apparent incompetence of the team presenting Chilean evidence to the Arbitration Tribunal in Rio de Janeiro, notably with regard to the aforementioned Chilean maps. Valenzuela is withering in his criticism of the presentation, which suffered in comparison with the case presented by the Argentine team led by Suzanna Ruiz Cerruti.

Valenzuela insinuates that he was deliberately frozen out of the process of deciding the fate of the zone. However, he avoids seriously considering why this might be the case. Perhaps a fear of allowing a fuller debate within Chile on this issue was a fear of the destabilising effects it might have at this delicate stage in the democratic transition. If this was indeed the case, it signals a rebalancing of priorities in foreign policy which went hand in hand with democratisation in both countries. While the transition to democracy in Chile was still compromised by the manner of Pinochet's retreat from executive power, the possibility of this issue being utilised by nationalist sectors to threaten representative institutions meant both the Aylwin and Frei governments treated the issue with extreme caution. Fortunately for both, on the other side of the cordillera successive Argentine governments also recognised the disruptive potential of the Laguna del Desierto, allowing a redefinition not only of the way the issue was treated *per se*, but a marked avoidance of confrontational or competitive discourse.

The suggestion that Chile somehow 'lost' the Laguna del Desierto, by agreeing to arbitration at all, indicates two things. Firstly, that for Valenzuela, Chile could not have 'won' in arbitration. (Although as the Argentine media were quick to point out in the aftermath of the award, it was in fact Argentina who had previously 'lost' territorial arbitration.) Secondly, such a 'loss' implies that international relations conform to a clearly defined set of rules and outcomes. Such limited, realist perceptions of what constitutes success or failure in the international environment are of little value in assessing the utility of international conduct, as both international relations theorists and policy-makers have long recognised. Even a relatively 'straightforward' international issue such as this dispute over a remote and sparsely populated area of relatively little practical importance can become the focus of complex political and social movements and motivations.

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João Pacheco de Oliveira (ed.), *Indigenismo e territorialização: poderes, rotinas e saberes coloniais no Brasil contemporâneo* (Rio de Janeiro: Contra Capa, 1999), pp. 310, pb.

Brazil's Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI), established in 1967 (but made operational only with the 1973 Indian Statute), had five years to identify and demarcate 'indigenous land'. FUNAI failed miserably in its 'territorialisation'

mandate. By 1998 one-third of 518 indigenous areas had not been 'identified' or entered the first phase of 'territorialisation'. Approximately 37.5 million hectares of indigenous land had been 'identified', while 32.1 million hectares had been delimited. Only 4.8 million hectares, with estimated indigenous population of 213,400, had reached the final demarcation and approval phases (p. 50). Still, in 1981 FUNAI had registered only 308 indigenous areas covering 40 million hectares (p. 14).

Why did FUNAI fail? The essays in *Indigenismo e territorialização* make a devastating critique of the Brazilian institutions and public policies that should have provided territorial security to the country's indigenous peoples. During the 1980s administrative power moved to other state institutions. The laws and directives that defined FUNAI were contradictory and its staff were unable to meet the simultaneous demands of the territorial claims by indigenous peoples and legal requirements of the judicial state. FUNAI was slow to respond to requests from Brazil's Instituto de Colonização e Reforma Agrária (INCRA), which was responsible for separating unclaimed public lands (*terras devolutas*) from private land claims, and needed to know whether private claims included indigenous land. FUNAI's poor institutional co-operation with INCRA allowed land claimants to usurp thousands of hectares of indigenous land (pp. 140–2). A shameful episode in the northeastern state of Paraíba revealed how FUNAI's legal team were poorly equipped to defend indigenous groups faced with land-possession lawsuits. 'Precarious' land titles were more effective in court than claims of the indigenous people involved (pp. 162–3). Finally, FUNAI's mandate to 'territorialise' indigenous peoples contradicted 'indigenist' policies that had 'fixed' groups in areas removed from 'traditional' lands, thus forcing officials into a doomed search for a 'past territory [*território pretérito*]' that could never be defined legally (pp. 183, 220, 245).

In addition to these specific criticisms of FUNAI, more general themes appear in the book's essays. The contributors want to destroy the myth that the creation of indigenous territories was a technical and apolitical process. In its place they demand critical study of the 'territorialisation' process, especially of relevant bureaucratic institutions, as a political phenomenon. In this regard the essay by Oliveira and Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida may become a classic. Oliveira and Almeida show how FUNAI's poorly-managed working groups, established to carry out the crucial 'identification' phase, had the impossible task of documenting what the law demanded: 'historical consensus' on the 'timeless occupation [*posse imemorial*]' by indigenous groups of discrete bounded land units (pp. 88–9).

The essays also comment on the role of anthropologists in the process of creating indigenous territories. According to the regulations governing FUNAI, working groups involved in studying indigenous land claims had to include an anthropologist and a surveyor. Yet specialists from other disciplines and 'social science' generalists often substituted for anthropologists. More importantly, anthropologists, when they participated, were prevented from using oral history and were unable to spend significant time with indigenous groups, yet, by law, they were forced to produce ethnohistorical accounts of territorial claims.

Finally, the many criticisms in *Indigenismo e territorialização* should inform new public policies to improve land-access security of Brazil's indigenous groups. The contributors' conclusions, for example, are directly relevant to debate on a recent

proposal for an Indian and Indigenous Community Statute that would replace the 1973 Indian Statute. But the main target is FUNAI itself. The authors agree that FUNAI could be reformed by more active participation of anthropologists, institutional changes from within and expansion of FUNAI's decision-making powers. The strength of the criticisms, however, suggests that FUNAI will be incompatible with the gravity of its mission and magnitude of land-use threats to indigenous land.

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J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 33 (2001). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01406262

Peter R. Kingstone, *Crafting Coalitions for Reform: Business Preferences, Political Institutions, and Neoliberal Reform in Brazil* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1999), pp. xxvii + 284, £37.35, £13.90 pb; \$60.00, \$22.50 pb.

This book provides a valuable record of the 'crisis of the state' showing how fiscal, constitutional and inflationary pressures contributed to the breakdown of past business support for the state, and opened space for new growth and organisational strategies. It contains a good overview of the challenges facing business associations, including traditional and corporatist ones, such as FIESP, as well as new and modern ones, such as PNBE and IEDI. It also discusses how the successive democratic governments of Collor and Cardoso sought to implement an agenda for 'neoliberal' reform by crafting pro-reform coalitions (including business, when expedient) within the given institutional context. Kingstone competently illustrates his point with the help of three sectors: pulp and paper (internationally competitive), machine tools and equipment (one of the most challenged sectors) and auto parts (including both competitive firms and those endangered by market liberalisation). He shows how market structure, history and state linkages influenced each sector's role in the support coalition for 'neoliberal' reform. Crucially, he notes business tolerance of incremental (and in some cases incomplete) reform, and the need for the executive constantly to re-craft coalitions. Kingstone points out, that although 'democracy had not improved the quality of politics', businesses were neither naïve about the challenges of policy reform, nor about the possibility of them effecting electoral politics.

The book makes an important contribution in two areas: (i) it shows how shifts in the ownership structure of firms, especially related to links with foreign capital, influenced the firm's position and strategy with respect to market liberalisation (firms that chose partnership with foreign capital usually locked their strategies into commercial opening); and (ii) the need to develop a dynamic understanding of winners and losers – a firm should not be seen as static over the medium- or long-run, since it may opt for a new strategy or area of business, adapting to the changing circumstances and opportunities that the reform agenda offers.

However, the book does suffer from weaknesses. Firstly, I am not convinced about the appropriateness of the terms 'neoliberal' and 'ISI-corporatist model' as applied here to Brazil. Were Collor and Cardoso truly implementing neoliberal

reforms, that is, reducing to a minimum the state's role in the market? Although there was a certain amount of trade liberalisation and privatisation in the years covered by the study, it would be an exaggeration to call this neoliberal reform. While Brazil, no doubt, remains largely corporatist and protectionist, the ISI phase is long past, and it is incorrect to claim that Brazil was generally implementing ISI policies in the 1980s and 1990s. Secondly, many observations are temptingly dangled before the reader, but not explored in greater detail. For example, Kingstone notes the tendency of Brazilian business to express optimism about the future. It would have been useful to learn some more about this. Given the economic instability, why is business consistently optimistic? Is it the stability of the institutional structure? Or the belief that business–state networks guarantee particularistic communication and subsequent benefits? Are businesses satisfied that the state favours them and will do nothing to jeopardise their long-run profitability?

Thirdly, Kingstone does not look into the implications of questions related to political capital and political will, and how these may be linked to political institutions and credibility. It would have been interesting to see some analysis of what combination of these factors might have led to the formation of stable coalitions for reform. All in all, the book is a useful addition to the literature, because it is one of the few studies that uses the micro/sectoral level to illustrate a macro/economy-wide outcome. Unfortunately, however, it does not rigorously develop the analysis at the theoretical level.

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MAHRUKH DOCTOR

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 33 (2001). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01416269

William F. Sater and Holger H. Herwig, *The Grand Illusion: The Prussianization of the Chilean Army* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), pp. 247, £34.00, hb.

Put simply, this book tells readers that Prussian military missions after 1886 did not turn Chileans into Germans nor the Chilean army into the Prussian army. It likewise tells readers that Chilean society and economy were too different from Prussia's to allow the 'grand illusion' of military Prussianisation to succeed. Chileans were mostly illiterate, of illegitimate birth, plagued with disease – many congenital – and the elite, both conservatives and liberals, even opposed vaccinations. Chileans died like flies from syphilis, tuberculosis, alcoholism and many childhood ailments (pp. 33–4). The country did not have the technological or industrial capacity of Prussia in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century and its political system reeked of corruption: 'Sadly, venality had become the hallmark of Chile from 1891 to 1924, and the army could hardly escape it ...' (p. 176).

The authors affirm and reaffirm that the Prussians came, beginning in 1886, primarily to sell arms, not to make Chileans into Germans or to gain allies. The German ambassadors in Santiago were arms merchants as much as they were diplomats. German officers bribed and influenced Chilean politicians and officers to secure weapons and supply contracts. Emil Körner, the great hero of the Prussianisation story according to the Chilean army, made himself rich by pandering to the Krupp enterprises. As the authors conclude, 'it seems utterly

inexplicable that Körner, who had served in one of the world's most technologically advanced nations, should create a military that relied on civilian provisioners to sustain itself. The reason for such a policy, like the reason for purchasing German weapons, was simple: greed' (p. 182).

By the time the reader reaches midway in this story of corruption, incompetence, and chicanery, German and Chilean politicians, diplomats and military officers stand naked, exposed for their sins of omission and commission. And the 'grand illusion' – if it ever existed – is dispelled. The three chapters preceding the conclusion, 'How Körner's Army Failed', 'The Art of the Deal', and 'Domestic Corruption', scathingly and sarcastically chronicle the shortcomings of military modernisation in Chile. Some of these included failure to standardise weapons, poor maintenance systems, lack of draft animals and transport wagons, an almost non-existent medical corps, no mobilisation system, poorly trained conscripts, little combat training and pompous officers who slavishly aped all things German (though Körner 'failed in his attempt to increase the standard length of the "goose step" from sixty-five to seventy-five centimeters' (p. 84).

Sater and Herwig find much irony in this story: 'Ironically, a nation whose post office could barely deliver the mail founded an air force ...', 'Ironically, even if the army had repaired or replaced all of its defective weaponry, it still did not have enough horses or mules to transport the artillery and the men who fired them into battle.' The last sentence of the book also begins with irony: 'Ironically, the goose step and the spiked helmet are perhaps the best metaphors for don Emilio's [Körner] efforts: ephemera' (p. 208). Beyond the irony, bashing Körner's historical image in Chile seems a main point of the book: 'Körner rarely deviated from a policy of milking his supposedly beloved adopted mother-land. He instituted so-called reforms, such as conscription, not because Santiago needed a large draftee-based army but because a larger military would consume more weapons and supplies, to his own enrichment' (p. 206).

In the tradition of muckraking investigative journalism, Sater and Herwig offer convincing, well documented and sometimes entertaining accounts of the 'art of the deal', domestic corruption in Chile and Germany, and the 'business' functions of German diplomats and military officers in Spanish America. But some misleading characterisations creep into the social and economic background. For example, characterising the Chilean rural workforce in the 1890s, and especially the resident tenants (*inquilinos*), as 'debt peons' (p. 33) contradicts the historical evidence. Rural labour was highly mobile in Chile, migrating with ease to mining camps and towns in the north, regional towns in the central valley, ports, and to Santiago. Landowners frequently punished workers by evicting them from the haciendas; no equivalent to the Mexican *rurales* hunted down the Chilean campesinos, thousands of whom had gone from the countryside to Peru to build railroads before 1879 and to the nitrate fields after the War of the Pacific.

A more serious problem than occasional errors and questionable characterisation of events – a nine-month civil war in 1891 that left perhaps 10,000 dead was caused by a 'squabble' between the president and the congress [p. 45] – is that the authors leave the reader without a comparative frame for their German- and Chilean-bashing. How did this Chilean story compare with the experiences of nation-building, military modernisation, and the growth of the

armaments industry in nineteenth-century Europe and North America? Where in the world were the military establishments created in the modern era *not* associated with corruption, influence peddling, contract overpricing, exaggerated claims of weapons' performance, falsified test firings and sacrifice of the troops' welfare to officer convenience and business profiteering? Do the authors believe that the Chilean story is unique or even very different from the role and impact of European missions elsewhere in Latin America, Africa and Asia?

This last question leads directly to a more obvious one. If Prussianisation was a 'grand illusion', from 1886 to World War I, what have been the long-term consequences of the German missions for the Chilean army and political system? Other authors (Nunn, 1976; Quiroga and Maldonado, 1988) have argued that the Prussian missions imprinted values, attitudes and particular orientations towards politics and politicians into the doctrine and military lore of Chile's army. Volume seven of the Chilean army's official history (1985, 425 pp.) is dedicated *entirely* to 'Reorganisation of the Army and the German influence'. This suggests that the 'illusion' continues to have some importance and appeal within the Chilean army.

Sater and Herwig conclude that 'like a pungent perfume, German influence lingers on' (p. 207) but they do not tell us how the allure of the 'grand illusion' scents present-day Chilean civil-military relations. Limiting the story here to the failed reforms, corruption, and lack of Chilean military preparedness from 1900 to the 1920s misses the long-term impacts of the Prussian missions for Chileans and Chilean politics in 2001 – impacts much more enduring than those of a 'pungent perfume' or the details of Körner's business deals. As *El Mostrador* (the most important all-electronic internet daily in Santiago) reported on September 20 2000, the day following the annual military parade: 'the Leopard tanks, the [1912] Krupp cannon, and the uniforms in the style of the German Wehrmacht made clear, still again, the German influence that dates from the end of the nineteenth century, when Prussian captain Emilio Körner...began the modernisation of the army.'

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BRIAN LOVEMAN

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David M. Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Trade and Investment: American Economic Expansion in the Hemisphere, 1865–1900* (Columbia, MO, and London: University of Missouri Press, 1997), pp. ix + 457, £35.95 hb.

David Pletcher furnishes a comprehensive survey of US trade and investment throughout the western hemisphere during the last third of the nineteenth century. He traces the growing investment of private US capital in timber, minerals and branch factories in Canada, in railroads, mines and telegraph lines in Mexico, in banana plantations in Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and in sugar-growing estates in Cuba. He also notes that the United States exported increasing amounts of agricultural products and industrial goods to Canada, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean. Despite these impressive gains in nearby areas, however, US commercial and financial penetration remained relatively small in the distant regions of South America. Pletcher emphasises the fact that efforts to promote US economic expansion often met with failure. Strong

advocates of protective tariffs among influential US interest groups and their representatives in the Republican Party blocked proposals for a commercial union with Canada and undermined repeated attempts to negotiate and maintain reciprocal trade agreements with Latin American countries. At the same time, proponents of free trade and their spokesmen in the Democratic Party defeated proposals to subsidise US shipping lines to facilitate trade between the United States and distant countries like Argentina and Brazil.

Pletcher advances a central thesis: US policymakers did not formulate and implement a grand plan for the establishment of an informal empire of trade or investment. He characterises US economic expansion as a tentative, experimental process rather than as a deliberate, consistent policy. He argues that disunity in US business circles, passivity in the White House and partisanship in Congress prevented the development of a well-thought out programme of economic expansion. In other words, personal and political considerations as well as conflicts among economic interest groups meant that US diplomacy would be marked by confusion and uncertainty. Pletcher regards the US reaction to the Cuban revolution, for example, as an improvised response to a pressing situation. Pointing to a tangled mixture of motives influencing government officials in Washington and the divided state of US business opinion, he asserts that it would be unreasonable to claim that economic factors played an important positive role in the decision made by President William McKinley in 1898 to ask Congress for a declaration of war against Spain. He concludes that there were sporadic efforts in the United States to promote economic expansion but there was no systematic drive to build a US commercial empire.

Pletcher bases his interpretation upon a vast array of primary and secondary materials. He has examined the records of the State Department at the National Archives of the United States in Washington and the papers of the British Foreign Office at the Public Record Office in London. Furthermore, he has investigated the private correspondence of many important policymakers in the manuscript collections at the Library of Congress, and he has mined several MA and PhD dissertations scattered in university libraries across the United States. In addition to these unpublished sources, Pletcher has reviewed a great many published documents that reveal the attitudes and actions of both the legislative and executive branches of the US government. He has also studied a large number of pamphlets, addresses, newspapers, magazines, farm journals and business periodicals. Finally, he has digested numerous books and articles dealing with various aspects of his subject. The breadth of his research is impressive.

Yet the results of this research are mixed. On the positive side, Pletcher analyses in a single volume all the major debates and developments involving US economic expansion in the western hemisphere during the Gilded Age. His monograph provides the general reader with much useful information about attempts to reform the US consular service, about rival proposals for the construction of an isthmian canal through Nicaragua or Panama, and about many other specific projects as well as a general overview of the transition in US foreign policy toward an emphasis on commercial expansion rather than territorial acquisition. On the negative side, Pletcher does not present any bold, exciting or provocative reinterpretation concerning the evolution of US diplomacy during the decades following the Civil War. His study diligently covers old ground but

offers few new insights for scholars working in the fields of Canadian, Latin American or United States history.

By focusing on differences over means and ignoring the emergence of a broad agreement concerning ends, Pletcher fails to recognise that the intellectual foundations for the rise of the modern US empire were laid during the last third of the nineteenth century. William A. Williams and his students at the University of Wisconsin have persuasively argued that economic expansion culminated during the depression of the 1890s in a basic consensus among agricultural leaders, business executives and government officials who regarded foreign trade as the solution to the problem of domestic overproduction. Believing that the continental frontier had closed and fearing that widespread unemployment might spark a social revolution, policymakers in Washington sought foreign markets for the surplus products of US farms and factories in order to preserve capitalism in the United States. Their expansionist outlook influenced the shaping of US diplomacy throughout the twentieth century and continues to fuel current desires to extend the North American Free Trade Agreement to cover the entire western hemisphere.

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PATRICK J. HEARDEN

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 33 (2001). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01436261

Thomas F. O'Brien, *The Century of U.S. Capitalism in Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), pp. xiii + 199, \$19.95 pb.

Intended specifically for student readers and drawing on his earlier more detailed work, Thomas O'Brien's text provides a concise and timely summary of the evolution of US business involvement in Latin America from the late eighteenth century to the present day. The main focus of his book is, of course, the twentieth century, and the author rightly notes that the economic framework in which the region is now operating bears at least some resemblance to that in place at the century's commencement, a situation for which US capitalism bears considerable responsibility. The present position of US enterprise in the economies of Latin America, and its relations with governments and citizens there, have not, however, emerged as the inevitable results of a wholly coherent process of penetration and domination. The activities of US enterprise and the policies of successive administrations have elicited varying responses from Latin American governments, elites and popular sectors, and it is for his analysis of the interaction of these that O'Brien's readable illustrated book should be recommended to a student audience.

Adopting a chronological approach, O'Brien first describes how, in the first century of their country's independence, US businessmen attempted to promote trade with Latin America while seeking to imbue their supposed racial inferiors with the virtues of republicanism and Protestantism. A desire for territorial expansion eventually gave way to a re-emphasis on commercial relations, as it became clear that Latin American elites shared many of the perspectives and prejudices of US business. Providing brief but entertaining vignettes of some of the key personalities involved, the author details the decisive contributions they made in railways and plantation development, as well as in more traditional mercantile activities. Underlying their activities was a mission not merely to make

Latin America a profitable arena for US entrepreneurship, but also to transform the very attitudes toward work, discipline and consumption of Latin Americans themselves.

This ‘revolutionary mission’ intensified in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as US employers extended their control over agriculture, mining and petroleum in Latin America. Nevertheless, their deep-rooted racial pessimism meant that the presumed benefits of US-sponsored technological and organisational change accrued chiefly to North Americans, whether expatriate technicians and managers or financiers resident in New York. By the 1920s Latin Americans from all social classes were explicitly, and sometimes violently, rejecting attempts to ‘Americanise’ them. The Depression of the decade that followed witnessed a coalescing of these dissident and disparate social forces into a new populist project threatening to challenge US corporate domination. Confronted by nationalists such as Cárdenas, the US federal government began to play a more active role in the defence of business interests, compromising where possible, but at the same time making clear, as in the case of Cuba, the limits of its tolerance of radical nationalism.

Populist governments, while articulating the widespread resentment of US power in the years after the Second World War, witnessed a determined effort on the part of the US government, corporations, foundations and, where necessary, the CIA to intensify their mission of transformation. In the 1950s manufacturers, aided by ECLA-inspired industrialisation policies, began to enjoy an involvement in the expanding industrial sector unparalleled by that of their predecessors in the primary sectors. Here too, the attempt at transforming the practices and attitudes of Latin American workers was more intense, as US corporations attempted to turn those workers not only into good producers, but into good consumers as well. The commodities they produced and promoted were more than mere objects of desire, they represented a whole new (US) way of life.

Of course, not all Latin Americans were able to share in the spoils of US business success. Economic and social inequality, coupled with a sense that these were at least partly a consequence of US hegemony, led to renewed radical attempts to change society, but, in the 1960s and 1970s, on the basis of socialist rather than populist perspectives. By the end of the century, however, with the exception of a beleaguered (and dollarised) Cuba, triumphalist neoliberalism reigned supreme and US hegemony was, if anything, even more secure. It should not be assumed, though, that this can be guaranteed, as, in the first year of the new century, popular opposition to the imposition of neo-liberal policies and the adoption of the dollar by the government of Ecuador demonstrates.

Much of the detail in O’Brien’s book is well known, but he is nevertheless to be praised for his skill in summarising a considerable amount of research, both his own and that of others. Perhaps inevitably in a short text, some issues will be neglected. He refers frequently, for example, to the creation of a consumer society in Latin America without pointing student readers to the copious scholarly literature on this slippery concept. The struggle with rival industrial powers, notably Britain, also merits some discussion. Those recommending this book to students will need to make it clear that this is a good starting point, but by no means the final word.

University of Wolverhampton

PAUL HENDERSON

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 33 (2001). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01446268

David J. McCreery, *The Sweat of their Brow: A History of Work in Latin America* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2000), pp. viii + 209, \$61.95 hb.

This book sweeps through five hundred years of Latin American history covering the main trends in the organisation of work under colonial and post-colonial regimes. It is mainly based on secondary accounts, with some primary references scattered in. As its main objective seems to be coverage and synthesis, the object succeeds quite well. Indeed, in 200 pages the author manages to cover a great deal of ground without committing any major mistakes or dipping into sour generalisations. Specialists will not find original detail or interpretation in this book – but they are not the target audience.

McCreery breaks down the main phases of Latin American development into the conventional sequence from the encounter to import substitution industrialisation. The overarching theme is that work has, to a very large extent, been organised by economies governed by Latin America's relationship to the world market as well as by local circumstances. The latter are mainly shaped by the availability of workers to service the region's export needs and the allocation of property which affords workers alternative livelihoods. Where workers are relatively scarce or enjoy alternative means to make ends meet, they can withstand the demands for their labour from the colonial and export sectors. This sensible balance of global and local forces is carried through the major changes from the 1500s to the post-World War II years.

The author's approach to synthesis is not to try to compress the region into a single typology of labour regime – to say, for instance, that unfreedom has been the condition of work since Columbus. The working world is one of constant negotiation, resistance and bargaining. At the same time the author goes to some lengths to consider women's as well as men's work – though there is less attention paid to household work *per se*. Indeed, the current exploration of the importance and persistence of independent household production – even under the harshest of chattel slave systems – does not earn much attention in this text. Still, a book of this size would be hard-pressed to exhaust the coverage. As it is, the effort is a success. Anyone looking for a useful primer or introduction to the various systems of work in Latin America could very effectively start here.

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JEREMY ADELMAN

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William H. Beezley and Linda A. Curcio-Nagy (eds.), *Latin American Popular Culture: An Introduction* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2000), pp. xxiii + 255, \$55.00, \$21.95 pb.

The so-called 'new cultural history' of Latin America has created considerable controversy even as it barely emerges from its infancy. For example, the editors of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* devoted an entire issue to its 'problems and possibilities ... promises and pitfalls' Mexican studies [*HAHR* 79:2 (May, 1999)]. Underlying the discussion are irreconcilable disagreements about what this new field comprises, what it does, and how it does it. Although its essays are illuminating and innovative, and as a whole it will enchant the student audience at which its editors aim, *Latin American Popular Culture: An Introduction* resolves none of these outstanding issues.

Professors Beezley and Curcio-Nagy define popular culture as 'the set of

images, practices and interactions that distinguishes a community, and often serves as a synonym for national identity.’ To them the ‘oral traditions, music, visual imagery, dance, and family food represent the unique community character’ that defines ‘everyday culture’ (p. xi). They also propose several important notions about popular culture: it encapsulates the pleasure of daily existence; it makes life memorable; it has a raw, vulgar edge; it is filled with humour; and, finally, it engages in a constant give-and-take with elite culture.

The book’s thirteen essays examine ‘different expressions of popular cultures, how such expressions emerged, who used them, and what changed them’, focusing especially on ‘expressions of people’s preconceptions and passions’. The editors identify five overall themes: ‘1) the invention of traditions, 2) the creation of national identity, 3) the formation of gender roles, 4) the prevalence of ethnicity, and 5) the dynamic interplay between textual deconstruction and performance analysis that is neither one nor the other but the relationship of the two’ (p. xix). The editors present the essays in chronological, not thematic, order. One chapter illuminates the colonial era, eight the nineteenth century, and four the twentieth century. Geographically, four cover Mexico, two Brazil, two Argentina, two Peru, one Ecuador, and one Trinidad and Tobago. Topics range from food to funerals, from monuments to public seduction.

The essays are chock full of fascinating material. Of particular interest are the chapters on death rituals – Pamela Voekel’s study of burials in Veracruz and Matthew Esposito’s work on the funeral of Mexican politician Manuel Romero Rubio – the story of singer-actress Carmen Miranda by Darien J. Davis, and Lauren Derby’s provocative treatment of dictator Rafael Trujillo’s very public adultery. Voekel explores the deep split in Catholics’ views on piety and how they connected with social hierarchy and laid the foundations of post-independence Mexican political ideology. The carefully planned state funeral of Romero Rubio ‘degenerated’ into ‘sporadic spurts of crowd-induced chaos’ by subalterns who sought to demonstrate that they, too, had the right to participate in civic celebrations. Davis uses Carmen Miranda as a metaphor for the transformation of the samba from its Afro-Brazilian roots to an integral part of the white construction of Brazilian identity. Derby translates Rafael Trujillo’s scandalous sex life as a crucial political instrument of his rule. She proposes that his great popularity among Dominicans lay with his achievement of status of ‘tigre’, a man who rose from rags to riches, rejecting bourgeois values, and seducing the daughters of the powerful.

Criticism of the new cultural history aims at its alleged homogenisation of identity and experiences into what Susan Socolow calls an ‘undifferentiated mass’. There is also a sense that the new cultural history tends to attribute far too great a rationality and manipulative ability to subaltern people. The harshest reproaches, however, aim at the lack of evidence for its conclusions. There are a number of passages in these essays, which propose interpretations, sometimes brilliantly, almost always plausibly, but provide little or no evidence. In his excellent essay about Romero Rubio’s funeral Matthew Esposito maintains that the purpose of the funeral (and other public spectacles) was to promote political legitimacy and state formation. They were used as ‘didactic tools’ (p. 88). Nowhere is there a citation of a primary source for these assertions. The note for ‘didactic tool’ cites two secondary sources about France. How does Esposito know what government officials and elites thought? Fanni Muñoz Cabrejo similarly proposes that Peruvian elites believed that ‘diversions – sport

and recreation – had an educational function ...’ (p. 158). She cites no primary source for this assertion. Lauren Derby’s essay, perhaps the most impressive of the volume, is also on a shaky evidential base in some of its analyses of what Trujillo was thinking. Nonetheless, each of these essays is enormously convincing and insightful.

Lastly, and this may be a curmudgeon’s point, much of the anthology is not really about popular culture, but rather the construction of popular cultures to further the projects of elites and government officials. To my mind ‘popular culture’ indicates origins among the country and city poor and middle classes. It is generated from below. Relatively speaking, the authors of these essays discuss the upper echelons. In fact, mostly these essays examine elites trying to eliminate subalterns from culture and history. John Charles Chasteen’s chapter on the tango, Blanca Muratorio’s work on Indians and Ecuadorian identity and Darien Davis’s examination of the samba greatly illuminate this process.

Clearly, the debate about cultural history will continue to all of our benefit. Professors Beezley and Curcio-Nagy have brought together some of the best of the best in a valuable collection quite worthy of use in the classroom.

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

MARK WASSERMAN

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 33 (2001). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01466260

Thomas Fischer and Michael Krennerich (eds.), *Politische Gewalt in Lateinamerika* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 2000), pp. 328, DM 58.00 pb.

Political violence in Latin America can be considered both a historical and an actual phenomenon, embedded in the social structures of the sub-continent. With the new democracies, there were rising expectations that increased political participation would lead to politically motivated violence which finally would become a past issue. While this generally seems to be true – only in Mexico and, especially, Colombia does political violence continue in an organised form – other forms of social violence persist in some Latin American countries. The issue of relatively strong macroeconomic reforms followed-up by the partial social reform attempts is often mentioned in this context.

The present volume on political violence brings together a wide spectrum of thematic and country studies, mostly by German scholars. The first section deals with root-causes, background factors and manifestations of political violence, with an introductory chapter by Krennerich on political violence in Latin America, followed by studies on Central America (Krennerich), Peru (García-Sayán), Colombia (Fischer/Cubides C.), Mexico (Schulz), Haiti, including the UN aspect (Börnsen et al.) and, on a more historical note, the role of violence during military dictatorships in South America (Imbusch)

In the second part of the volume responses to political violence are considered, ranging from the discussion of conditions for a peace settlement in Colombia (Krumwiede, Romero), the relationship between democracies and civil military relations in South America (Lauga), the role of judicial reform (Ahrens), impunity and how to overcome it (Ambos), to the role of truth commissions in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile and Argentina (Fischer). A key issue discussed by Nolte focuses on the difficult choices to be made by politicians over how to deal with past human rights violations.

In his introductory chapter, Krennerich distinguishes between inter-state violence, state and para-state repression violence, insurgent violence and, most relevant, a ‘generalisation and diffusion of violence’ which has become a resource for many private and state actors on a lower than political level. Especially interesting on the latter category is the contribution by Fischer and Cubides on the origin and present development of paramilitarism in Colombia. Originally these books were created by certain social actors (mainly landowners), and later – in the 60s – by the military for counter-insurgency purposes. While their programmatic statements are fairly weak, concentrating on the inability of the armed forces to win the war against the guerrilla, today they enjoy a certain social support by their displacing ‘enemies’ and conviction of criminals. In terms of human rights, they are the single most important violator, acting often in alliance with military commanders in various regions of Colombia.

This is a comprehensive selection of well-informed contributions on the difficult issue of political violence, both past and present. A few critical points might be noted: a more thorough treatment of the police would have been helpful (some investigation has been undertaken on this under-researched topic). There is little consideration of crime policies with the exception of the discussion by Ambos and by Ahrens. And there is little concern about more concrete strategies for the new democracies to respond to old and new forms of political violence, but that might be a good topic for a new volume.

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Davide Grassi, *La democrazia in America Latina: problemi e prospettive del consolidamento democratico* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1999), pp. 208, L. 32.000; E 16,53 pb.

Davide Grassi, a young professor at the Università di Torino with a PhD from the University of Chicago, has written an interesting but uneven book on a challenging topic. Leaving aside the implicit reference to de Tocqueville in the first part of the title, the main thrust of his analysis is aimed at explaining why certain Latin American countries have been more successful than others at consolidating a democratic regime after suffering from autocracies of different types for different periods of time.

Those specialists in Latin America, and general students of democratisation who speak Italian, are likely to find by far the most interesting middle section, in which he applies *Qualitative Comparative Analysis* to a sample of 12 Latin American cases. This technique, pioneered by Charles Ragin of Northwestern University, has rarely been applied to this part of the world and it seems, at first glance, to be especially appropriate to unravelling the complex issue of regime consolidation. It involves transforming a raw data set into dichotomous variables in which each country either has or does not have some specific trait and, then tracing with Boolean algebra the ‘causal’ path whereby it came to have (or not have) the dependent variable – in this analysis to have or not to have succeeded in consolidating a democratic regime.

The validity of such a technique obviously hinges on the plausibility and accuracy with which the cases can be assigned a plus or a minus on the relevant independent and dependent variables. Unfortunately for Grassi, the distribution on consolidation of democracy is not so unequivocal. Taking a long-term

perspective, only three countries according to him merit a ‘+’ – Colombia, Venezuela and Costa Rica. The first has long had more than half its national territory under martial law and the second manifestly ‘deconsolidated’ itself shortly after Grassi closed his scoring exercise (1993). The third is his only truly ‘safe’ case of a well-entrenched liberal democracy and hardly provides adequate material for drawing any general inferences. Recognising the problem, Grassi switched to a shorter timeframe and classified all of the above plus Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Bolivia and Ecuador as ‘initially consolidated’. That only leaves Paraguay, Peru and Mexico in the negative box. For reasons that are not clear to me, Grassi seems not to regard the other Central American countries as worthy of inclusion, nor are the former Spanish, French, Dutch and English colonies in and around the Caribbean even mentioned.

Oddly, after a lengthy discussion of the concept in the first part of the book, Grassi settles for a surprisingly banal operationalisation of this key (and much disputed) variable – all those who get an average score of more than 2.5 on the Freedom House indicators of political and civil rights for more than eight consecutive years are considered ‘consolidated’. And even then he has to fudge a bit in order to give Chile a ‘+’.

The result is a rather skewed set of successful cases – with either not enough or too many to bring out a significant contrast in outcomes. That might not be so bad if there were not some peculiarities in the dichotomised treatment of independent variables. I am sure that specialists are going to be surprised to learn that Argentina and Uruguay are inferior producers of ‘social expenditures’, having been beaten out by Ecuador and Colombia. Somehow, despite dividing the sample according to the average rate of economic growth, eight of the countries score high and only four low. I simply cannot understand how Brazil can be said to have had a pacted transition and Bolivia and Mexico not even to have attempted one – when both of the latter negotiated quite well-publicised inter-party (and, in the case of Mexico, inter-class) agreements on rules during their respective transitions while no such thing occurred in Brazil – just a lot of prudential behaviour by both incumbents and opponents.

Despite these ‘operational’ difficulties, Grassi does an impressive and inventive job of teasing out three distinctive patterns of successful consolidation in the region. Each has its different ‘causal’ elements and (implicit) time sequences. Chile, Brazil and Ecuador do it one way; Argentina and Uruguay another; Colombia, Venezuela and Costa Rica yet another; Bolivia emerges in a class by itself. No single condition – economic, cultural or political institutional – is necessary for all the patterns and, needless to say, no single set of conditions is sufficient to explain a successful outcome. With all my reservations about dichotomisation and the procedures he used to arrive at certain scores, I am prepared to accept the basic wisdom of this ‘equifinal’ conclusion. Whether it has as much to do with constant and objective conditions as Grassi thinks, or reflects significant differences in time period and sequencing (as I suspect) is another matter.

I will not say much about parts one and three of the book. In the former, Grassi goes through the tortuous literature on the consolidation of democracy without contributing very much of his own in either a critical or a syncretic fashion. At best, his treatment mirrors the conceptual confusion that reigns on this subject and one can (almost) sympathise with him when he subsequently settles for such an atheoretical operationalisation of it. In part three, he presents

a competent but basically descriptive account of regime consolidation in Venezuela and Argentina that contributes little or nothing to substantiating (or questioning) the much more original and provocative inferences drawn from the quantitative/qualitative analysis in the middle section. One does not even understand why he selected these two cases for more detailed treatment, except for the claim (p. 174) that the former was the most consolidated of Latin American democracies and that in the latter democratisation was only ‘precariously initiated’ – not really very reliable or convincing grounds for comparing the two.

My hunch is that this book (and the articles spun off from it) is not going to attract much attention from Grassi’s fellow Latin Americanists. The technique may be novel in its application to the region, but there are simply too many dubious elements in the way in which variables are operationalised and the two case studies cover well-known material by relying exclusively on secondary sources. What is potentially exciting about the book is the prospect of replicating its findings with cases drawn from other world regions. Students of democratisation in eastern Europe, the republics of the former Soviet Union, Africa and Asia are the real potential beneficiaries of Grassi’s innovative effort. Even if his three patterns of consolidation and their related ‘causal’ structures do not hold up, and even if some of his ‘pet’ conclusions concerning levels of development, growth rates and previous democratic history turn out to be much less relevant elsewhere, he will have been responsible for having introduced a new element of methodological rigour and empirical substance into the heretofore ‘proto-scientific’ study of ‘consolidology’.

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Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Market, Socialist, and Mixed Economies: Comparative Policy and Performance – Chile, Cuba, and Costa Rica* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. xxiv + 707, £58.00 hb.

This is a remarkable book, even by the exacting standards that Carmelo Mesa-Lago has set himself over his long and distinguished career. It offers depth as well as breadth combined with a mass of detailed statistical information that has been honed carefully to ensure comparability across countries. Mesa-Lago begins by reminding us that comparative systems analysis is very poorly developed for the countries of Latin America. During the Cold War it was not uncommon to find works comparing Latin America with communist countries; the modern equivalent looks at economies ‘in transition’ and compares them with other parts of the developing world. However, studies of different systems within Latin America itself are not common. Furthermore, Mesa-Lago takes to task those few studies that have been carried out for their lack of a clear or common methodology.

Part one of the book is therefore devoted to the methodology of comparative systems research, and Mesa-Lago offers us a rigorous framework of analysis. His idea is to seek a series of socio-economic variables that are comparable across countries and which can be given a cardinal ranking. The indicators themselves can then be grouped to provide an ordinal ranking of countries (first, second, third, etc.) depending on the system of weights used. It is an attractive approach and one that deserves careful consideration. It is also significantly more subtle

than the rather crude amalgamation of indicators used by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Bank.

The choice of Chile, Costa Rica and Cuba for the comparison used in this book is justified by the different systems in place since 1960 (1973 in the case of Chile) and their comparability in terms of GDP per head. There is no doubt that the three systems are different, although the difference between Chile and Costa Rica has narrowed considerably in the 1990s. However, the similarity of the countries in terms of GDP per head depends very much on the initial point of comparison. Chile is now in a different league on both an official and a purchasing power parity exchange rate basis.

The three case studies form parts two to four of the book. For Costa Rica and Cuba, they cover the period from 1960 to the mid-1990s while that for Chile starts after the fall of Allende. These parts of the book can be read in their own right and provide a wealth of information about each country. In all three parts there is a statistical appendix with a mass of tables that inform the argument throughout the text. In the case of Cuba the tables are invaluable as Mesa-Lago has no rival when it comes to assessing the reliability of official figures and has used only those about which he feels confident. The tables on Cuba alone form 55 pages of the book and provide a bridge between the new methodology employed by the Cuban authorities in the 1990s and the earlier period when Soviet-style accounting was practised.

Part five contains the conclusions and is the most ambitious part of the book, as Mesa-Lago seeks to answer the question regarding which system has served its people best. The results are summarised in Table V.31 (p. 660) where indicators are first grouped into four clusters (1. Domestic macroeconomic, 2. External economic, 3. Distribution and employment, and 4. Social standards) for different years and then weighted to give an overall index. There are no great surprises, but the deterioration of Cuba on every indicator except social standards is striking, while Chile improves sharply in almost every cluster.

Not everyone will be satisfied with the application of this methodology to cross-country comparisons, since external circumstances for all three countries have been so very different. The author has done his best to control for most of these, but as shown by the impact of Nicaraguan migration to Costa Rica, this is not always possible. Nevertheless, Mesa-Lago has done an excellent job in asking difficult questions and exploring answers through a consistent approach that sheds light on each of the countries examined. And the case study of Cuba in particular will merit the attention of specialists on that country for many years to come, even if they are not interested in the comparisons with other parts of Latin America.

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VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS

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Melissa H. Birch and Jerry Haar (eds.), *The Impact of Privatization in the Americas* (Coral Gables, FL: North-South Center Press, University of Miami, 2000), pp. 256, £19.95 pb.

Since the late 1980s Latin American economic policies have been dominated by privatisation. This volume adds to the extensive literature analysing the policy issues regarding the implementation of divestiture across different countries. It

examines both the micro- and macroeconomics of achieving privatisation, the policy measures introduced, and factors affecting the implementation of sell-offs. Edited volumes often suffer from a lack of easy comparability across different contributions, a problem that is minimised in this case by imposing a broadly similar framework. In the chapters covering the largest countries and the ‘champion’ of market-friendly economic policies, Sebastián Galiani and Diego Petrecolla (on Argentina), Juarez de Sousa (on Brazil), Rolf Lüders (on Chile), and Miguel Ramírez (on Mexico) cover the historical background to privatisation, the details of the institutional setting, and the impacts. The chapters on the smaller nations contain some significant differences. Mauricio Cárdenas, in particular, focuses on regulation and labour adjustment in the public utilities (telecommunications and electricity) in Colombia, whereas Gerver Torres in his analysis of Venezuela places natural emphasis on the petroleum industry. The chapter on the Caribbean, and the section on Jamaica in particular, is particularly interesting since this area is seldom included in analysis of economic reforms in the Americas.

A positive aspect of this book is certainly the authors’ success in avoiding jargon while ensuring that the content is of high scientific quality. The editors do a very good job of synthesising the chapters and identifying the most important lessons from experience, namely, the need to regulate, monitor and manage the aftermath of the change of ownership. The main limitation of this text resides in the fact that its title, by including the word ‘impact’, promises much more than it actually delivers. The analysis of quality and quantity of supply, employment, wages and productivity is interesting, but the contributors do not explain while they fail to utilise some of the more sophisticated methodologies such as that introduced by the World Bank’s *Welfare Consequences of Selling State-Owned Enterprises*. The empirical literature on the impact of privatisation is still in its infancy, and indeed a general (or partial) equilibrium approach is the only one available. A different methodology to analyse the impact of privatisations would look at the institutional implications, namely in terms of the evolution of competition and regulatory policies, and at the evolution of the game between the regulators and the enterprises. Here again this book does not add anything fresh to the existing literature, not least because the evidence stops in 1996, a serious problem for a book being published at the dawn of the new century.

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Carla Macario, Regis Bonelli, Adriaan Ten Kate, and Gunnar Niels, *Export Growth in Latin America: Policies and Performance* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), pp. vii + 183, £37.50 hb.

Strong and sustained growth of manufactured exports is the ultimate indication of the efficiency of an economy’s manufacturing sector. Highly unfavourable comparisons have been made between Latin America and East Asia, with the suggestion that ‘export substitution’ through the replacement of primary products by labour-intensive manufactures has largely been absent, to the detriment of jobs and growth. This short book concurs with this disappointing picture, and it suggests that only in Mexico has there been significant success with

manufactured exports in recent years. The book, originating in Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC) studies on innovation and competitiveness, is organised around four country chapters on Mexico, Chile, Brazil and Colombia. In each country a small number of exporting firms were interviewed in the mid-1990s about aspects of their operations and the effectiveness of export promotion policies. Each chapter reports their comments and discusses the details of export policies for various countries. The primary focus is on how policies can be used to promote export growth. The export support system in Mexico is commented upon favourably relative to that in operation in the other countries.

Although the book is clearly written, its overall impact is disappointing. The country cases are solely descriptive and have no quantitative analysis. Export policy in each country is discussed, but there is an overall similarity since all countries have pursued broadly similar policies in recent years. Export promotion is interpreted in the 'market-friendly' sense that has become orthodox in the region. Export growth is to be supported through a competitive, stable exchange rate, import tariff refunds (or preferably exemptions) for imported inputs used by exporters, investment in infrastructure, the availability of finance to provide export credits and the provision of information on export opportunities by state agencies. Governments should streamline their bureaucracy in dealing with exporters and seek preferential trading arrangements with neighbouring countries. The implication is that this has worked in Mexico and will work elsewhere if implemented properly.

This view of the world may be accurate, but, of course, it is not the only model available. The new international trading order as set out in the Uruguay Round now rules out direct export subsidies for Latin American economies, and the chapters stress the need for compliance with its terms. However East Asian export promotion is widely recognised as having involved considerably more than the list of policies noted above. The book would have been of more general interest if alternative perspectives on export promotion policies had been discussed. It would also have benefited from some econometric evidence on the causes of export growth. Other studies have found that real exchange rates and the pressure of internal demand are major factors explaining export growth with trade liberalisation policies having only a modest influence. How far this generalisation stands up for Latin American experience in recent years is an issue well worth further exploration.

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Barbara Stallings and Wilson Peres, *Growth, Employment, and Equity: The Impact of the Economic Reforms in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2000), pp. xiv + 252, \$22.95 pb; £16.50 pb.

When the reform process began in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) in the mid-1980s, the results were at first meagre in terms of growth, equity and environmental impact. It was argued, however, that more time was needed in order for the reforms to work. Today, after ten to 15 years of reform in most

countries, there is a substantial body of evidence that can be used to evaluate the process and to assess its impact at both a macro- and micro-economic level.

That is the purpose of this excellent book by Barbara Stallings and Wilson Peres, two economists at the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). Using the latest data and quite sophisticated techniques, the authors have produced a comparative study of great value that draws upon case studies of nine countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Mexico and Peru. As is increasingly common in ambitious projects of this nature, the published book is merely the tip of the iceberg. There are five additional comparative volumes, each covering a theme in more detail, nine case studies and 77 working papers.

The study by Stallings and Peres is by way of a conclusion to the project as a whole and looks at the impact of the reforms on growth, employment and equity. First, however, the authors set out their methodological stall in chapter one, where they argue for a consistent approach to all the countries in the study at the quantitative level while allowing for country specifics at the qualitative level. This works well, as does their insistence that the reform process be evaluated in terms of its microeconomic as well as macroeconomic impact.

There follow two chapters on the international context and the reforms themselves. The latter is the more interesting, and in it the authors develop a 'reform index' based on five components: trade reform, financial reform, capital account, privatisation and tax reform. This index, and its components, is a modification of the work done by the Inter-American Development Bank. Interestingly, in view of the attention paid to it by international agencies, the index does not include labour market reform.

The authors conclude that the depth of reform in Latin American and Caribbean countries is in large part a function of the conditions prevailing at its inception. Countries facing economic disaster (e.g. Argentina) are shown to have been more aggressive reformers than those where initial conditions were less traumatic (e.g. Colombia). The psychology behind this argument is eminently plausible, although it is not clear how well it stands up when non-case study countries are included. Nicaragua, for example, despite the dreadful initial conditions, has not pursued aggressive reforms while El Salvador is probably the closest to a textbook set of reforms in the 1990s at a time when the high level of remittances might have tempted its governments to advance cautiously.

The impact of the reforms on growth, investment and productivity is evaluated in chapter four. The 'control variable' is provided by performance between 1950 and 1980 – each country's performance after reforms began is compared with its performance in the three decades before the debt crisis. The results are not particularly impressive (only Chile scores better on all three counts) and the authors are a little generous in their interpretation of their own data. Furthermore, the data end in 1998 (before the regional recession induced by the Asian financial crisis and the Russian default) and the authors' positive interpretation depends quite heavily on the Argentine results, which would look very different if 1999–2000 were included.

Employment and equity are the themes of chapter five. The picture painted by the authors is not a pretty one, and it is hard to disagree with this. While the reforms are shown to be positively correlated with an improvement in labour market conditions and income distribution in Chile and Costa Rica, the opposite

is the case for Argentina, Brazil and Colombia. In the other four cases employment and equity moved in opposite directions. Since the Chilean case is fraught with problems – it depends crucially when the starting date is set for reforms and the pre-1987 data are not comparable with the later numbers – the ‘good news’ depends rather too heavily for comfort on Costa Rica – a country that is not only the most democratic in Latin America but also constantly upbraided by international agencies for its failure to reform properly (privatisation, for example, is still far from complete).

This book will not be the last word on the impact of the reform process in LAC countries, but it is the best that we have at present. The authors have tackled a complex subject with sensitivity as well as rigour. The concluding chapter is full of good ideas on ‘reforming the reforms’ and giving operational content to the second generation of reforms that is now firmly on the national and international agenda. I would have liked to see more on the role of regional integration as a possible channel for improving the impact of reforms on employment and equity as well as reducing volatility. There is also a glaring absence of any consideration of the environmental impact of the reforms (no longer a marginal issue). These limitations notwithstanding, this is a fine piece of research that should be compulsory reading for anyone interested in the impact of reforms on Latin American and Caribbean societies.

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The caption to the review of Gabriel Marcella and Richard Downes (eds.), *Security Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Resolving the Ecuador-Peru Conflict* (Coral Gables, FL: North-South Center Press, 1999) that appeared in the February 2001 issue of the *Journal* identified Lynne Rienner Publishers as the publisher of the book. The publisher is in fact North-South Center Press at the University of Miami, and the title is distributed by Lynne Rienner Publishers.