

Reviews

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Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Winds of Change: Hurricanes and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. x + 196, £14.95 pb.

Louis A. Pérez Jr. mounts a convincing case: ‘Hurricanes played an important, often decisive, role in the social and economic development of Cuba’ (p. 9). In so doing he regales us with a study that inscribes itself in the growing body of revisionist Latin American and Caribbean historiography which, from the perspectives of military, medical or urban history – or from that of food, or sport – is refocusing our approach to the region’s past.

The ‘winds of change’ in this book blow across several centuries but particular attention is paid to a succession of three hurricanes in the 1840s, a convulsed decade for other socio-political reasons. Historians of Cuba are in agreement that the early nineteenth century witnessed spectacular economic and population growth. Its development, however, was subject always to unpredictable overseas forces and distant markets: a drop in Old World prices, the outbreak of New World wars. Now Pérez alerts us to the fact that ‘ruin came in many forms and from many sources, not the least of which were the wind-borne rain-driven calamities of the Atlantic hurricanes. Repeatedly the island was subject to ruinous storms’ (p. 9). The timing and intensity of those of September 1842, October 1844 and October 1846 was history-making:

These storms permanently changed some of the dominant features of the colonial economy, including land tenure forms, labor organization, and production systems. No less important, many social relationships around which colonial society had developed were reconfigured with lasting consequences (p. 10).

Hurricanes spelt material destruction and human loss. Such calamities served as a ‘flash point’ on the colonial landscape. Recurring phenomena, natural forces that could destroy in a matter of hours what it had taken decades to build, hurricanes loomed large as a spectre of catastrophe counter to human agency. Human rather than the ecological consequences are the substance of this book, as Pérez deftly assembles both the extent of the devastation and responses to the disruption and disarray that, he argues, provide clues to the broader Cuban psyche in negotiating adversity.

Chapter headings are thoughtfully crafted: ‘where winds gather’, ‘between the storms’ and ‘a time of tempests’ lending new meaning to the Calibanesque. Readers have come to expect from Pérez an array of source material, and this he provides from the archival to the literary, from travelogue to anecdote. As an historian of Cuba who has experienced more than one hurricane in Cuba, and which meteorologists have not always been accurate in predicting, my impressionistic evidence is more of hurricanes being taken for granted, almost enjoyed (no work, no school, amazing sights, kids sliding the watery torrents

down corridors and streets). But then my experiences were from solid city buildings and with up-to-date news bulletins of state measures to carry people and livestock to safety. The ravages of coast and countryside, the toll on vegetation, crops and buildings, were mediated by the television screen.

While I confess to harbouring some doubts as to whether Pérez overstates his case, I recognise he does not lay claim to hurricanes being *the* explanation and he does succeed in making us see them as catalysts for change. The demise of coffee in the early part of the century, which is harvested in the hurricane months of September and October, is a case in point. Hitherto explained by the rise of overseas coffee competition and, in the wake of the Haitian Revolution of 1791–1804, the expansion of sugar (significantly harvested between December and April), the ruin of coffee growers occasioned by hurricane forces was as, if not more, important. Slave quarters and provision grounds and slaves themselves were particularly exposed. Large numbers perished, compounding labour shortages at a time when Britain was pressuring Spain to curb the slave trade, rendering all the more important the internal slave market out of coffee and into sugar. The enslaved and free working poor living in neighbourhoods outside the city walls of Havana were left destitute, forcing the Spanish colonial government to take special measures. The repression unleashed on the Ladder Conspiracy of 1844 has to be seen in this context.

The hurricane is perhaps most telling as one undervalued variable in the formation of the Cuban nation. Pérez quotes from Cuba's Fernando Ortiz: 'Cubanidad ... is something that makes us susceptible to the affection of our breezes and arouses us to the excitement of our hurricanes' (p. 146). The words 'huracán' and 'ciclón' are embedded in popular usage to describe individual and collective traits, 'almost an irresponsible attitude of fearlessness'. National crisis is a 'cyclone of vengeance and death'; the first three decades after the 1959 Revolution are 'treinta huracanados años'. But always, as T. S. Eliot might have put it, 'October is the cruellest month'.

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Rafael E. Tarragó (ed.), *Rafael Montoro: discursos y escritos (selección); edición facsimilar* (Miami: Editorial Cubana, 2000), pp. lii + 530, hb.

Rafael Montoro is one of the forgotten men of Cuban history. In a political culture which has long constructed a cosmology of historical 'heroes' and 'villains', Montoro found himself on the wrong side of every defining fence. In 1878–1898 'while radical separatism evolved' he was a prominent leader of the anti-separatist Partido Liberal Autonomista (PLA); between 1897 and 1917 he served in the doomed Autonomous Government (1897–8), under the two US military occupations (1898–1902 and 1906–9), and after 1913 under the pro-USA Menocal. Whatever his qualities, this record has largely condemned him to historiographical oblivion.

The present volume therefore seeks to restore Montoro to the Cuban pantheon. It does so firstly by arguing, correctly, that the stances he adopted were hardly unusual among contemporary patriotic Cuban liberals and, indeed, that most Cubans supported the PLA argument more than the dangerous propositions of separatism. That an essentially 'accommodationist' position (which, within the

discourses of *cubanidad*, saw Cuba's problem as partly the Cubans themselves, to be solved by imperial autonomy or US annexation) was dominant from the 1840s is incontrovertible, and Montoro, as a leading exponent of that position, merits re-examination and respect. This aspect of the task falls to the preface and introduction by, respectively, José Manuel Hernández and Rafael E. Tarragó. The former adds little, being largely polemical; the latter is more helpful, and, despite a tendency to hagiography and underlying assumptions about Cuba's essential 'Spanish-ness', includes a useful essay on the PLA.

The second means for re-examination is by republishing those of Montoro's works deemed revealing of his evolving philosophy. There are those – for example, his first Cortes speech, in 1886, and his 1894 Ateneo lecture – which eloquently outline his belief in Cuba's destiny within a reformed Spanish structure – based on Spanish promises, principles of equal Cuban citizenship, and the evolving Canadian model. There are intriguing declarations of loyalty to the Spanish monarchy, placing Montoro's liberalism within a constitutionalist, rather than ideological, tradition. There are plentiful declarations of his commitment to peaceful gradualism, especially his 1895 justification for accepting the Abárzuza decentralisation law, which, coinciding with Martí's rebellion, paved the way for autonomy. There is a consistent commitment to the principles of legality and of balance, on one occasion (despite his intuitive liberalism) arguing for a necessary balance of conservatives and liberals to mitigate the potential for extremism in each position. Yet there is also constant evidence (most clearly in his 1882 speech to the PLA) of Montoro's personal patriotic commitment to Cuba, an entity defined as *patria* and never *nación*, which was a label reserved for Spain.

Of all the texts, perhaps two are most revealing. The first is his 1892 Tacón speech, justifying both acceptance of only limited electoral opportunity after 1878 and the subsequent abstentionism, but also displaying the characteristic dilemma of this position, wavering between loyal faith in Spanish promises and a frustrated but always conditional withdrawal. The second is Montoro's long and detailed April 1913 piece on the autonomist position of 1866–7. Of the other texts, his 1891 attack on the newly signed Reciprocity Treaty between Madrid and Washington, which he rightly saw as condemning Cuba to a loss of potential economic independence, is intrinsically interesting.

Overall, however, the volume is disappointing. Structurally, a more chronological presentation (rather than ordering the works by type) might have conveyed a better sense of evolution against the events then unfolding in the Cuban-Spanish-US relationship. The gaps are also regrettable. There are no pieces from 1895–1913, giving us no evidence of his views about the two US occupations, the 1895–8 war itself (given his gradualism and his loyalty to both Spain and Cuba) or the Autonomous Government. Of course, these views may be omitted precisely because they would do little to correct his reputation, given the significance of those events in Cuban political culture. There is also a disappointing gap between 1913 and 1929, and the inclusion of his 1929 essay *Nacionalismo bolchevique* makes little sense, except to make a somewhat extraneous point about his supposed perspicacity about Soviet events in 1989–91 and, more importantly, the evidently expected collapse of the current Cuban system.

To some extent, therefore, a valuable opportunity has been missed. The position that Montoro represented for some fifty years or more was certainly typical and even popular, and deserves recognition. So too, however, does the

fact that such a position was increasingly trapped in a dilemma and a blind alley. A more balanced argument about that dilemma, and a broader range of his publications and speeches, might well have done more to restore his reputation than this rather unnecessarily politicised and selective anthology.

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Robert Whitney, *State and Revolution in Cuba: Mass Mobilization and Political Change, 1920–1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. xii + 255, £41.95, £15.95 pb.

Although several important works of scholarship dealing with twentieth-century Cuba have been produced in recent years, the historiography of Cuba's republican period (1902–1958) is still in great need of rigorous empirical research. Many historians have studied the republic, particularly its many failures, as prologues to the 1959 revolution led by Fidel Castro. In the process the complex and fascinating changes that did take place in Cuban society and politics during this period can be easily overlooked. One of the purposes of Whitney's *State and Revolution in Cuba* is to correct some of these flaws in the historiography.

The book's main argument is stated explicitly: 'the transition from oligarchic rule to the modern state came primarily because of the mass mobilization by the *clases populares* against oligarchic capitalism' (p. 8). Few students of Cuban history will dispute this claim, and some may even argue that it is not novel enough. What is novel, though, is Whitney's careful, well-written and balanced assessment of how the *clases populares* and others mobilised, who were the most important actors involved in these mass movements, and what were their motivations and goals. Also novel is the author's emphasis on studying the formation of the modern republican state as a process driven by the political actions of various social groups, not just as the abstract outcome of the so-called revolution of 1933.

The study of this process begins around 1920, when a new generation of middle-class activists started to question some of the central features of the oligarchic republic, and ends in 1940, when a new constitutional democracy was established in the island. The rationale behind this chronology is sound and convincing. *State and Revolution* shows that it was the failure of the 1920s reformism, particularly of the Veterans' and Patriots' Movement of 1923–24, that bred a 'younger generation of Cubans' who 'began to formulate new ideas about how to change Cuba's neocolonial status' (p. 35). In the late 1920s some of these young nationalists would indeed formulate radical alternatives as the only antidote to the moral bankruptcy of republican institutions and to the corrupting effects of US influence in Cuban affairs. Among these radical youngsters were some of the best-known political activists of the period, such as Julio Antonio Mella and Rubén Martínez Villena, whose trajectories are studied with some detail in chapter two of *State and Revolution*. Whitney also delves into the less studied influences of international events (the Mexican and Russian revolutions, for instance) and ideas (*aprismo*) in the formation of these nationalist activists.

It was precisely the entrance of these 'nonpolitical elements' (p. 62), as the United States ambassador referred to students, workers and middle-class professionals, into politics that defined the crisis of the oligarchic state under President Gerardo Machado (1925–1933). This crisis was characterised by

extensive mass mobilisation which new leftist organisations such as the Communist Party, the National Confederation of Cuban Workers and others, tried to lead and control. Although the communists established contacts with some local unions and participated in the labour struggles of the early 1930s, Whitney cautions against exaggerating their role. In many cases strikes and other forms of mass mobilisation were local, spontaneous events with concrete and short-term demands. The communists and their unions gained in strength and organisation between 1930 and 1933, but their ability to lead popular struggles remained limited.

The collapse of the *Machadato*, the failure of the US mediation efforts and the rise of Fulgencio Batista and the army as national power brokers are covered in chapters four to seven. Whitney claims that 'Cuba's transition to a nominal democracy by 1940 cannot be explained without taking into account the state violence unleashed against the *clases populares* and the various opposition groups' (p. 123). Batista was able to curb popular mobilisation through repression, but by the late 1930s he needed popular support in order to legitimise his rule and advance his political career. Whitney's analysis of Batista's corporatist ideas and reformist plans are important contributions to the historiography. He notes, for instance, that Batista's three-year reformist plan launched in 1937, which covered issues from education to agrarian reform, generated 'widespread popular expectations' (p. 158) and that some of his reforms affected the interests of foreign and domestic investors. As with the republic more generally, Batista's political evolution has been frequently glossed over and, particularly in light of his dictatorial regime of the 1950s, characterised as simply authoritarian. Whitney studies Batista's complex evolution on its own terms and points out the need for a scholarly biography of this 'enigmatic figure' (p. 122).

Identifying areas in which additional empirical research is needed is one of the merits of this book. These areas include the oligarchic state and the system of *caudillismo* and *caciquismo* on which it was based, the local activities and effectiveness of the unions, and the political influence of sugar interests in national and regional politics. In sum, *State and Revolution* represents not only an important contribution to the historiography of Cuba and to the literature of state formation more generally, but also suggests ways in which our knowledge of the Cuban republic can be furthered.

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H. Michael Erisman, *Cuba's Foreign Relations in a Post-Soviet World* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp. xiii + 270, \$49.95 hb.

Cuba's foreign policy has been an important focus of its development since 1959, yet there are few full treatments about the assumptions behind Cuba's international relations or the way in which these have manifested themselves in Cuban behaviour. H. Michael Erisman has made notable contributions before on the subject, and here he updates his earlier work by analysing Cuba's foreign policy of 1999.

Erisman's thesis is straightforward and unassailable. As he argued in earlier works, he asserts that the primary goal of Cuba's foreign policy has been the

survival of the regime. The Cuban revolutionary government has consistently perceived two major threats to the regime's survival – the United States and dependency on external powers – and it has organised its foreign relations to secure itself against these twin dangers. What Erisman adds to this work is a more nuanced notion of 'counterdependency' by elaborating the idea of 'political space' that he introduced in a 1991 work with John Kirk in their edited volume, *Cuban Foreign Policy Confronts a New International Order*. The problem of securing freedom to manoeuvre is one faced by all small states today in the face of global capital. Erisman argues reasonably that Cuba has tried to manoeuvre around the demands of its post-Soviet trading partners by seeking to diversify its dependency.

Indeed, this was Cuba's ambition during the Cold War as well, though its ties to the Soviet bloc through military aid and trade agreements significantly constrained its behaviour. In turn, those links enhanced the US perception of Cuba as an enemy, which in effect shaped US, Soviet and Cuban Cold War relations into a triangle. Thus when the Soviet Union seemingly became less threatening during détente, it was possible for the Ford and Carter Administrations to seek a new *modus vivendi* with Cuba. On the other hand, Cuban ties to Third World revolutionaries helped to destroy US-Soviet détente. The United States viewed Cuban support for the MPLA in Angola as Soviet bad faith, by challenging supposed US interests in southern Africa. Meanwhile Cuba's ties to the Soviet Union helped to undermine its hopes for Third World leadership as head of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), because Cuba felt obliged to support the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan despite overwhelming NAM opposition.

The most useful details in this book concern Cuba's current efforts to develop its South-South relations, and especially Cuba's relations with Caribbean and South American countries. But as Erisman notes, there are structural limits to the potential for development in this strategy, because most of these countries are in Cuba's circumstances and face the same problems. They also are trying to negotiate their own *modus vivendi* with the colossus of the North.

US-Cuban relations appropriately takes up a large portion of the book. But it is weaker on this subject than on Cuba's relations with the South, in part because Erisman does not make use of the full literature available and he does not capture the dynamic change in pressures on the US government. Despite the Helms-Burton Act, President Clinton did issue orders that relaxed the embargo. (As the book was published the Congress also passed a new law that weakened food and medicine sanctions.) What is puzzling, and what Erisman does not help us understand, is the vehement Cuban rejection of these positive overtures.

We might speculate that the Cuban leadership is suspicious of any and all US concessions, but that has not always been true. Cuba was willing and able to work out agreements on immigration, and has worked well with US law enforcement agencies on drug interdiction. It may be that Cuban leaders fear that with an end of the embargo Cuba would be overwhelmed by US capital and tourists. But Cuba could control both, and its openness to US corporate leaders suggests it would favour some US trade and investment. Given Erisman's framework – that the US threat remains a major Cuban concern – Cuba would logically seem to need reduced tension with the United States and would want to encourage these openings. Yet, in practice, Cuba has rejected positive signals and exacerbated

tension with its rhetoric and cavalier arrests of seemingly insignificant dissidents. Erisman offers little insight into this behaviour, and there is too little here about the people or processes involved in making Cuban foreign policy.

Cuba is no longer a small country with a great power's foreign policy. But its foreign policy is worthy of study if for no other reason than that it has contributed to a remarkable achievement: Cuba's peaceful transition to a post-Soviet economy and society. Though its GNP declined by at least forty per cent, and it had to restructure fundamentally its international economic relationships, Cuba has regained its momentum and did not experience violent domestic upheavels. *Cuba's Foreign Relations in a Post-Soviet World* is a good starting point to appreciate this accomplishment.

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PHILIP BRENNER

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Damián J. Fernández, *Cuba and the Politics of Passion* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000), pp. xv + 172, £26.95, £12.50 pb.

Damián Fernández's interesting and perceptive book should bury once and for all efforts to explain Castro's Cuba in terms of a formal political paradigm premised on Marxism-Leninism. Although Fernández does not claim that formal politics is irrelevant, he persuasively illustrates the vitality of what he defines as *lo informal*; societally grounded networks and norms.

The evolution of Fernández's thinking began when he visited Cuba, the country from which he had emigrated as a child, in 1979. He encountered a different Cuba to the formal system he had read about in college. To make sense of the 'real Cuba', one needs, in his view, a conceptual frame that incorporates emotions, particularly what he calls the 'politics of passion' and the 'politics of affection'. This frame helps to explain not only contemporary Cuba, during the crisis period following the collapse of Soviet aid and trade, but also Cuba in the pre-Castro period.

The two modes of politics may complement or contradict one another. The politics of passion, according to Fernández, is a crusade for absolute moral ends for the community-at-large. It is premised on intense affective and personal engagement and a normative agenda driven by moral imperative. The politics of affection, in contrast, is premised on an instrumental and affective logic that justifies breaking state norms to fulfil personal and family needs. It revolves around who you know. Both forms of politics have emotional intensity, with emotions embedded in *lo informal*.

In highlighting the role of emotions Fernández challenges the utility not merely of Cold War regime paradigms but also of fashionable post-Cold War rational choice conceptions of politics. He does not dispute the role of instrumental and self-interested driven political decision-making. Rather, he argues for recognition and analysis of 'affective rationality', which includes emotions. While analysts of 'traditional societies' have pointed to the role of affect, Fernández argues emotions are central to modern politics as well. To his credit, Fernández's conception of rationality is embedded in culture, not in the ahistorical individual reductionism of rational choice analyses.

Fernández argues that the politics of affection becomes more salient during

periods of crisis, such as in the 1990s. In situations of scarcity people turn to their informal networks of friends and relatives, to the private over the public realm. In contrast, during this period the politics of passion faded, a situation that does not bode well for the regime. Cubans are turning to popular religion and *sociolismo*, away from socialism. They are turning to *lo informal* and resisting official rules and regulations. As a result, the politics of affection is having a corrosive effect on formal politics and regime legitimacy. It can have such an effect because *lo informal* is a repository of discontent and of alternative networks and norms.

While correctly pointing to nonrational aspects of politics, Fernández's book is not flawless. Methodologically, for example, he claims his analysis is inductive. In fact, it is interpretative, for the empirical base of the book is rather thin and mainly illustrative. His thesis is based primarily (or so it appears) on his reading of secondary and selective primary sources (how systematically combed he never informs the reader). At one point he refers to an interview, in Coral Gables – with what sort of person, why him/her, and why apparently no other persons? Such methodological shortcomings do not necessarily negate the validity of his interpretation, but alternative, empirically richer and more systematically scrutinised data in principle might lead to different conclusions and might allow his thesis to be testable.

And precisely because his conceptualisation is interpretive, he asserts characteristics of the politics of passion and affection that have no logically derived or empirically abstracted base. For example, he claims that Cuban history since independence has been grounded in distinctive mixes of liberal, corporatist and *lo informal* elements. Yet, the first two operate at different levels to the latter. And how does a particular mix of the three explain why Cuba alone in Latin America instituted a socialist political economy? The politics of passion and affect can help explain the revolution, but not to the exclusion of explanations of structural and leadership features. Fernández, in his effort to explain Cuban politics historically, suggests *lo informal* to be a greater force on the island than elsewhere in the region. With the informal economy flourishing throughout the region, currently and historically, and with formal politics reflecting elite but not mass interests, this claim is both unsubstantiated and unconvincing: Fernández does not offer a thesis that explains why organisational features of *lo informal* vary in different times and places and how networks are structured. Networks are embedded in community and in race and class/status dynamics. In contemporary Cuba emigration has meant that these networks are increasingly internationally, and not merely nationally, based. A more detailed analysis of *lo informal* would reveal more than 'personal networks' at play. Fernández, claims that *lo informal* is based on people who know and like each other. But cannot the black market, a component of *lo informal*, once established, operate according to impersonal forces, just as formal markets do? People merely need to know where to go, when, for what. They need not know or like the people with whom they transact. This is especially true because today's producers and sellers in the illegal economy may (and many were) yesterday's participants in the formally sanctioned economy, before the state taxed self-employed ventures.

In the quest for 'being scientific' the scholarly community has focused on the more readily observable and quantifiable formal features of politics, leaving aside undocumented and unexplained informal and covert activity, often more

meaningful to the people involved. Fernández is not the first to point to the importance of *lo informal*, but he has conceptualised it imaginatively and highlighted a serious weakness of most political analyses of Cuba to date.

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Susan Kaufman Purcell and David Rothkopf (eds.), *Cuba: The Contours of Change* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), pp. xii + 157, £11.95 pb.

Although, since 1991, there has been much academic and political speculation about a post-Castro Cuba, the constant fluidity of the Cuban situation means there is always something new to be added to the debate. One therefore reads this collection with some disappointment, since, although its intention – to present a debate on the future by pairing opposing viewpoints (on the economy and US policy) – is admirable, it ultimately offers little new thinking.

Andrew Zimbalist's study of the economic future is the exception, presenting an almost apocalyptic vision of social and political breakdown, lamenting a Cuban intransigence on indigenous enterprise which he sees as leading to a violent and destructive end, instead of a peaceful transition through a mixed economy and accompanying political liberalisation. In the process, Zimbalist presents a welcome and admirably clear analysis of the complexities and problems of the economy which, alone, is worth the book price. The counter-argument by Miguel Pastor does not really challenge this perspective, also seeing a mixed economy as desirable, albeit with a larger state role to protect gains, guarantee gradualism and preserve stability. However, he more optimistically sees the economy's underlying strengths – following the 1991 'shock treatment' and subsequent reforms – as capable of surviving the current threats and moving towards a market economy.

The other 'debate', over the embargo and US policy, is more familiar. Susan Kaufman Purcell's essay surprisingly but convincingly defends the effectiveness of a somewhat discredited economic weapon. Her argument is that the two post-Cold War measures to tighten the embargo – the 1992 Cuba Democracy Act and the 1996 Helms-Burton Law – have been more effective than the alternative of dialogue and engagement. The former by virtue of its 'twin track' approach which, by allowing unprecedented low-level human contact with ordinary Cubans, has helped separate people from government, foment dissidence and force economic reforms, and the latter in its deterrence of investment.

This argument, however, fails to question three underlying assumptions: that the United States has a right to force change in Cuba; that Cuba alone in Latin America should still deserve sanctions; and that change in Cuba only comes from the outside under pressure. Such a neglect of the different factors which generated reform in the 1990s, or of the internal pressures to adapt the system to the new challenges is regrettable, and places the essay in something of a time-warp. David Rothkopf's equally eloquent rejoinder is less surprising and more familiar. He opposes the embargo both as a hypocritical anachronism (due to the disproportionate power of the Cuban-American lobby and the symbolic importance of Castro, rather than because Cuba is the only or worst non-democracy in the region) and also because of other considerations: the dangers

from any internal ‘meltdown’, relations with the USA’s allies and the significantly greater threats posed, such as drugs.

There, however, the ‘debate’ ends, since the internal political dimension is tackled by one single analysis, by Jaime Suchlicki, curiously mixing a one-dimensional picture of a regime in terminal crisis with recognition that the system will continue to survive. However, rather than attribute this, even in part, to internal factors (such as political success, levels of residual popular commitment or tolerance, or popular fears of the alternatives), Suchlicki explains it almost exclusively by coercive power, especially by the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (FAR), which he sees as the inevitable inheritors of a post-Castro Cuba. While his picture of the FAR is subtle and well-informed, his *a priori* postures lead him to some unsubtle judgements – for example, attributing popular passivity solely to fear or resignation, and underestimating the strength and complexity of the Party as a political force. It also leads him to echo Kaufman Purcell in asserting that Castro has resisted change for forty years, thus ignoring the long process of evolution, adaptation and even change since 1959.

However, one of the greatest disappointments concerns the role of William LeoGrande, whose elegant but brief introductory and concluding pieces do little more than offer a balanced overview, rather than giving us new thinking. This is a missed opportunity, since LeoGrande’s knowledge of Cuban politics is extensive and subtle, and a more argumentative essay might have provided both challenging ideas and a useful alternative to Suchlicki’s vision. Overall, that must be the abiding judgement on this volume. As a coherent exposition of the different familiar positions on Cuba it is well done, but it misses a series of valuable opportunities to tell us something new.

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José Alvarez and Lázaro Peña Castellanos, *Cuba’s Sugar Industry* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. xxii + 160, \$55.00 hb.

Cuba’s sugar sector sank into crisis when the Soviet trading system collapsed in 1990–91, and since then, despite a host of reforms, it has remained depressed. Discussions of the problems of the industry have been extensively reported in the Cuban press, but a clear strategy has still not yet emerged. Although it is not as important to the Cuban economy as it was in 1990, researchers following the progress and prospects of the Cuban economy will be eager to read this comprehensive study of the state of the industry and the evolution of sugar policy, written by two sugar economists, one from Cuba and the other from the USA.

Most of the book is arranged chronologically, starting with the history before 1990, followed by a description of policy since 1990 and ending with some ideas for the future. The first two chapters provide an overview of policy between 1959 and the end of the 1980s, when a brief attempt to move away from sugar dependency in the early 1960s was followed by a series of efforts to increase production for export within the framework of the Soviet trading system. Chapter three outlines a series of innovations in the 1990s including decentralisation, new incentive systems, efforts to increase agricultural and industrial yields, mill closures, improved financing arrangements and diversification. Having established that the reforms of the 1990s have yielded poor results,

chapters five and six make a set of proposals for the future. There are many useful facts and references, making this book – a groundbreaking collaboration between research centres in Havana and Florida – a useful reference tool for students of the Cuban sugar economy.

However, the analysis has serious limitations. The history of the sugar sector before 1990 has been thoroughly studied before, and there is little new here. The rising costs and falling yields arising from the ‘extensive model’ before 1990 have been well documented in earlier studies. The data are often poorly presented, and some of the technical discussions flawed. Just as there is nothing original in the analysis of the past in the previous chapters, most of the proposals offered for the future amount to reinforcing the reforms of the 1990s, the results of which have been persistently disappointing. As the argument develops it becomes increasingly clear there is a gaping hole in the analysis because the big question – whether there is really a future for Cuba’s sugar industry on its current scale – is evaded.

In his brief preface, John M. Kirk, the series editor, puts the central issue for the Cuban sugar industry clearly: ‘Like coal mines in the United Kingdom, pineapple plantations in Hawaii, or the cod fishery on the eastern seaboard of Canada, in many ways its days appear to be numbered’ (p. xii). He claims that the book shows that this may not be the case, but there is no convincing reason given as to why the industry should recover. In chapter four, which breaks from the chronological account to describe trends in the world market for sugar, it is demonstrated that Cuban sugar production costs (on the basis of the frustratingly incomplete information available – a more rigorous discussion would have been welcome) are much higher than the global average, and that Cuba is a price taker in a world market where prices are below global average costs and falling. That is, Cuban sugar – which was able to make positive returns even with inefficient production methods when it had a high guaranteed price under the Soviet trading system – is a loss-making industry and its losses will grow unless costs fall. The policy response suggested by the authors centres on efforts to improve efficiency, and to find ways to secure higher prices, either through quota agreements or by diversifying into higher value-added sugar-based products. However, the possibility that the scale of the industry should be reassessed in the light of the post-Soviet price shock is never considered. Instead of tackling this issue the authors present a spurious calculation to show that Cuba should aim to produce 7–8 million tonnes of sugar because it could sell that amount, regardless of the relationship between price and cost (p. 94). The rest of the argument proceeds on the basis that the case has been made for production of 7–8 million tonnes, leaving policy only concerned with improvements in methods of production, diversification, financing and marketing with output at this scale. This despite the observation elsewhere in the book that the trend towards liberalisation makes it increasingly unlikely that trade agreements can be secured to guarantee a price above cost.

Kirk attributes the continued efforts to rebuild the industry despite its low returns to ‘reasons of economic development and social need’ and ‘reasons of pride’. The economic development and pride arguments are hard to defend: why should Cuba, with its advanced technological capacity, be proud to adopt a strategy for economic development based on production of primary agricultural commodity that was developed as a slave crop within a colonial economic system? The social need argument is more convincing: half a million Cubans are

dependent on the industry, and many of the sugar jobs are in areas where there is little alternative employment. This is a valid reason for a gradual shifting out of sugar production, in line with the search for alternative uses of land and labour which offer higher returns in the long run. There have been significant developments in the 1990s which deserve to be considered in this context, including successes in organic agriculture, ecological tourism and industrial regeneration.

In 1990 sugar accounted for over 70 per cent of Cuba's export earnings (goods and services); in 2000 it was only 10 per cent. That makes the present a good time to move away from sugar dependency. The book on the Cuban industry that still needs writing is one that asks what size of sugar industry Cuba should retain, exploring the possibilities for crop substitution and alternative employment within the context of Cuba's development objectives. These issues urgently need to be addressed, and it is a disappointment that this study fails to do so.

The Economist Intelligence Unit

EMILY MORRIS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02286447

John Lynch, *Latin America between Colony and Nation. Selected Essays* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, and London, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2001), pp. viii + 256, £45.00 hb.

John Lynch has collected in this volume nine essays from the last two decades, of which the first offers an admirable overview of his 'personal quest as a historian, from intendants, via revolutionaries and liberators, to caudillos, religionists and visionaries', a quest which 'as ignorance receded and curiosity grew [...] has followed where opportunity occurred and the subject led'.

As the essays themselves prove, the career of this master historian followed a less eclectic course than this enumeration of subjects would suggest: when Lynch first approached the colonial history of Spanish America he was already aware that its 'moving force was the interaction between the metropolis and its colonies'; it was this insight that – as he reminds his readers with understated and fully justified pride – allowed him more than thirty years ago to question 'the existence of an economic depression in seventeenth century Latin America', and to launch the 'concept of colonial autonomy'. And it is the latter, which more recently was to inspire so many innovative contributions to Spanish American historiography, that is frequently and very effectively put to use in these essays in order to make sense of, among others, 'the trends of social and racial relations, the reasons for colonial rebellion and the germs for future independence'.

Thus, in the two very important pieces on the colonial state and on the colonial roots of independence. In both it is the demise of the 'Creole state', that had achieved a balance 'between the demands of the Crown and the claims of the colonists, between imperial authority and American interests', and its replacement by an absolutist regime that strove to concentrate power and resources to the advantage of the Crown (but also of a new breed of imperial administrators and merchants of metropolitan origin), that puts in motion the process that will eventually lead to the breakdown of the Spanish empire.

In Lynch's view, this fateful shift did not reflect a change in political paradigms, with absolutist notions replacing the one that conceived the link between the King and his overseas subjects as based on a pact. The interpretation suggested here is more subtle: while accepting that the consolidation of the

‘Creole state’ was the result of ‘fiscal failure and flawed administration’, due in part to the introduction of the sale of offices to sustain Olivares’s ambitions of European hegemony, Lynch also recognises that, for all its dire fiscal consequences, this arrangement favoured the creation of a consensus between the central administration and the colonial elites that was not to survive unscathed the later transition towards absolutism.

It is against this new background that Spanish America enters the era of revolution. That central subject in Lynch’s *oeuvre* is here represented by two very substantial essays on Bolívar. The first is an extremely nuanced rendering of his relation to the ideas of the Enlightenment and to revolutionary ideologies; a complex and even ambivalent one that Bolívar himself simplified perhaps excessively when he argued that his main concern was to make them compatible with the local conditions of countries where depotism had provided the only preparation for liberty. It was his conviction that this was the case for Colombia, and that for this reason the British institutions came closest to what that nation-in-the-making needed.

The second essay, on Bolívar and the caudillos, is in this reader’s opinion a brief masterpiece. It suggests the extent to which Bolívar’s view of local realities was filtered by a political culture that depended on a classical and European frame of reference. When inveighing against the obstacles to the consolidation of his institutional projects, the Liberator had much to say against demagogues and pedantic planners of *repúblicas aéreas* that echoed what he had learned about overseas experiences. But he refrained from including among these obstacles the caudillos, who were to strike the decisive final blow against these projects. Was this silence an oblique way of recognising that in them he had finally found the obstacle that he would never be able to overcome? His readiness to accept the rebel Páez back into the fold suggests as much.

The subjects that have most recently attracted Lynch’s curiosity are the links between culture and religion, and those between ‘popular’ religion and millenarianism, with which he deals in his admirably subtle and illuminating last essay. Here the basic intuition that inspired so much of his previous work brings him to highlight the counterpoint between the continuous influence of a vernacular legacy and the impact of a Catholic Church that in responding to the revolutionary challenge had become more centralised than ever in the past.

This lucid presentation of a bafflingly complex issue completes a collection that, by offering a distillate of the views that sustain Lynch’s major works, from his early *Habsburg Spain* to his most recent *Massacre in the Pampas*, provides the best possible introduction to the massive contributions that the Latin American field owes to their author.

University of California, Berkeley

TULIO HALPERÍN-DONGHI

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02296443

Austen Ivereigh (ed.), *The Politics of Religion in an Age of Revival* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2000), pp. viii + 223, £12.00 pb; \$19.95 pb.

This timely essay collection focuses on the Catholic revival, a nineteenth-century ‘success story’ too often neglected in the historiography, and quite as important as liberalism and other secular doctrines in shaping modern politics. In a sparkling introduction Austen Ivereigh distinguishes between the different

strands of Catholic thought, the varying national strategies of the Catholic Church, and the different modalities of Liberal response to the Catholic revival. He questions many of the myths about the place of the Church and religion during the nineteenth century: that society was becoming less religious, that liberalism was popular and the clergy elitist, that identification with a secular nation-state grew at the expense of attachment to the Church, that anticlericalism was to response to clerical privilege, that the Church retarded the transition to democracy. Each of these myths is tested in subsequent chapters, making this fifth volume in the London Institute's 'Nineteenth-Century Latin America Series' perhaps the most closely-focused and well-integrated to date.

Like other titles in the series, the volume begins with essays on Europe before exploring particular regional and nation contexts in Latin America. Margaret Anderson's authoritative 'Divisions of the Pope' explores the European Catholic revival comparatively, and traces its relationship to political modernisation and democratisation. She stresses the role of the Catholic intelligentsia and revived Catholic institutional life in endowing the Catholic revival with intellectual weight as well as popular patina: 'intellectuals, missions, schools, milieu and sacrament inculcated in nineteenth-century Catholics not only faith but an identity.' In northern Europe, where Catholics were generally in a minority, the Catholic revival and democratisation could march hand in hand. In Holland, Germany and Belgium, Catholic 'confessional' parties, representing multi-class electorates, competed successfully within secular, constitutional regimes. In states where Catholics were in majority – France, Italy, Spain, Portugal – the relationship between the Catholic revival and democracy was much more problematic. James McMillan explains how in France after 1848 the Catholic revival and republicanism parted ways, and he offers a pathology for the anti-clericalism that infected so much republican discourse and politics. The threat of 'clericalism', McMillan argues, was largely imaginary: 'Republican anti-clericals were in effect the apologists for an alternative religion of secularism.' Similarly, Frances Lannon highlights modern aspects of the Catholic revival in Spain, particularly its relationship to the emergence of regional nationalisms. Yet, the very success of Spain's Catholic revival – its involvement with regional nationalism, the appropriation by the Right of a retrospective, Catholic version of Spanishness, the failure to form a Catholic party to compete with resurgent republicanism in the aftermath of the crisis of 1898 – ensured that Catholic modernity would not result in democratisation; rather its opposite.

The collection crosses the Atlantic with a chapter by Eric Van Young on popular religious manifestations during the Mexican Insurgency, a terrain ripe for missionary activity and Catholic revival which acute political conflict would delay until the 1880s. Van Young's aim is not to measure the gulf between folk and orthodox Catholicism, but to demonstrate, by reviewing cases of popular monarchism, mystical kingship, messianism, peasant hispanophobia and localised insurgency, the chasm between the ideas of Creole directorate and the beliefs of the peasant masses. David Brading's chapter on Michoacán's intransigent, ultramontane cleric, Clemente de Jesús Munguía, helps us understand why the relations between Church and state in Mexico became so stormy. The separation of Church and state, Brading suggests, owed more to Munguía than to Benito Juárez or Melchor Ocampo. Mexico's Catholic revival, led in great part by Munguía's students, also owed much to this brilliant but troublesome cleric. In Colombia's frontier province of Antioquia, the Catholic revival faced none of

political and cultural obstacles that so delayed it in Mexico. Patricia Londoño's comprehensive survey of Antioquia's exuberant and dynamic associational life reveals the Church and Catholicism to have been at the centre of the nineteenth-century, civilising and modernising project. If in Antioquia the Church was welcomed as the natural custodian of the school, and Catholicism provided the obvious core to any curriculum, in Argentina the removal of religious instruction from state schools during the early 1880s was considered a necessary mark of modernity and mature republican nationhood. Against a survey of the *longue durée* of Church–state relations in Argentina, Austen Ivereigh subjects the heated congressional debate over the issue of religious education in school to close analysis. Victory for the secularisers – the 'triumph of monistic liberalism' – had, in Ivereigh's view, fateful consequences. In Argentina and Spain the Catholic revival failed to find accommodation within conservative parties, with unfortunate consequences for democratisation, but in Chile it found a more comfortable relationship with the Conservative party, which acted much like a European Catholic party. In the concluding chapter, J. Samuel Valenzuela and Erika Maza trace the nineteenth-century roots of the Christian Democratic Party (1957) in the social-Christian associationalism, particularly the mobilisation of women, linked to the Conservative party: 'there were as many, if not more, elements of continuity in the transformation from the Conservative to the Christian Democratic Party as there were of rupture.' This democratic tendency within Chilean Catholicism would be demonstrated after September 1973.

University of Warwick

GUY THOMSON

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02306448

Alfred Moreno Cebrián, *El virreinato del marqués de Castelfuerte, 1724–1736. El primer intento borbónico por reformar el Perú* (Madrid: Editorial Catriel, 2000) pp. 671, Pts 12,480 hb.

This is an important book. At present the early eighteenth century is probably the least-known period in all Spanish-American history, and Alfredo Moreno Cebrián's study of the Marquis de Castelfuerte's viceregency is the first major monograph devoted to the period in Peru to appear for many years. One of the last major works on the subject was Moreno's study of one of Castelfuerte's successors, the Conde de Superunda (1745–1761), published in 1983. Taken together, the two works firmly establish him as the leading authority on the period in Peru. The current volume's bibliography is almost comprehensive for its subject; my 1998 thesis on early Bourbon Peru is a notable omission, although it is (mis-)cited in a footnote in the text.

The book follows the format of Moreno's earlier work on Superunda, comprising a long study of the administration (334 pages), followed by a full edition of the viceroy's *Relación de gobierno*. Castelfuerte's administration was arguably the most significant of all early Bourbon vicereencies in Peru, and it is here justly presented as marking the transition to recognisably Bourbon rule in the viceroyalty. The major aspects are dealt with in chapters broadly mirroring the structure of the *Relación*, from Castelfuerte's duel with the Peruvian clergy, to his vigorous anti-contraband campaign and promotion of the last of the Portobelo trade fairs, to the suppression of the revolt of the Paraguayan Comuneros. The *Relación* itself is one of the longest and most remarkable documents of its kind, written for the viceroy by the Peruvian polymath, Pedro

de Peralta Barnuevo. Behind its convoluted prose lies a basic source for the history of early Bourbon Peru; Moreno Cebrián's careful edition makes it newly available to scholars after over a hundred and forty years, superseding the flawed edition published by Manuel Fuentes in 1859.

Moreno's study of Castelfuerte's administration is richly detailed and the depth of his research is impressive. He appears to have used most relevant documentation in Spanish archives, complemented by more superficial use of papers in American collections. He can be quite indiscriminate in his selection of material; at times the detail obscures the main points of his story, and the text is over-encumbered by lengthy footnotes. Nor is this an exhaustive treatment of the subject. These comments do not, however, diminish the significance of the work. Both the study of Castelfuerte's administration and the edition of the viceroy's *Relación* should be required reading for scholars of early Bourbon Peru. With the work on the early Bourbon period which Alfredo Moreno and other historians are now undertaking, this book may come to be seen as marking the start of a great leap forward, capable of transforming our understanding of the early eighteenth century in the Spanish colonies over the course of the next few years.

University of Liverpool

ADRIAN J. PEARCE

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02316444

William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Cocoa and Chocolate, 1765–1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. xiv + 319, £55.00 hb.

There is no better way of understanding the economic history of developing countries than to study the main export products with which they have been associated. Almost all developing countries have been linked to a handful of primary product exports that have influenced deeply not only their economic performance, but also their social dynamics and even political change. Some export products have received the attention they deserve. Oil has been abundantly studied and there are many good monographs on coffee in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as bananas in the last century. There are also a number of specialised works on single export products for particular countries, such as copper in Chile and bauxite in Jamaica.

The one product that seems to have escaped attention is cocoa. This handsome tree, so well described by Jorge Amado in his novels set in Bahia, has played a key role in a number of developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Fortunately, this lacuna has now been filled to a large extent by William Clarence-Smith's impressive study of cocoa and chocolate from the end of the Seven Years War to the outbreak of the First World War.

It turns out that the lack of attention to cocoa has a very simple explanation – the lack of data for the period in question. While other products are quite well served in terms of basic statistics on production, exports and prices, in the case of cocoa, there is a great gap for the years covered by this book. A large part of Clarence-Smith's research was taken up with preparing a consistent series for cocoa prices (appendix one), exports (appendix two) and output (appendix three). Some of the assumptions required to complete the series are heroic, but one can only admire the tenacity with which the author has dug deep to mine all the available information. After a brief account of the commodity chain, taking the 'youthful' cocoa began to the 'maturity' of the final product, Clarence-Smith turns his attention to the demand side of the industry, i.e. the consumption of

chocolate. This is an excellent idea, as too many studies of tropical commodities limit themselves to the supply-side only. There is also a detailed study (chapter four) of the chocolate industry, which has been dominated by a handful of companies, including the Quaker companies of Cadbury, Fry and Rowntree. Clarence-Smith dismisses allegations that a cartel was in operation for much of the period, and he is sceptical of claims that tariffs on cocoa-products stifled industrialisation of cocoa in developing countries.

The rest of the book is taken up with an analysis of the supply-side looking in detail at credit (chapter five), access to forested land (chapter six), modes of cultivation (chapter seven) and labour inputs (chapter eight). Throughout these chapters Clarence-Smith tries to come to terms with a central dilemma of cocoa. In principle, it is no better or worse than other primary products and therefore there is no reason why it should not have led to economic development and structural change as happened in the case of coffee in Costa Rica, meat in Uruguay or grains in Argentina. Yet there are no countries where cocoa appears to have played a significant transformative role during the period in question. Specialisation in cocoa in Venezuela, Ecuador, Dominican Republic and Haiti appears to have had little long-term beneficial effect as these countries were still among the poorest in Latin America at the end of the period studied. Clarence-Smith has no single answer for resolving this dilemma, but he believes that state preferences for large estates were in part to blame. Cocoa, it seems, is not subject to economies of scale and may in fact be subject to diseconomies of scale. Thus, the advent of the large estate was economically undesirable and its impact on tropical forests has been an environmental disaster. Smallholders, argues the author, were much better suited to the production of cocoa and much more able to practice sustainable agriculture without environmental damage.

Clarence-Smith tries to conclude on an optimistic note, arguing that cocoa could have, and perhaps still can, play a positive role in economic development. Yet he is too good a scholar to withhold from the reader the evidence that points in the opposite direction. The coercion of labour, the inefficiencies of the large estates, the concentration of credit in a small number of hands and the ‘cascading’ of tariffs by the cocoa-importing countries to protect their chocolate industries suggests an economic activity that was always going to struggle to have a beneficial impact on development. The book is not limited to Latin America, and Clarence-Smith has included all the major cocoa-producing countries in the world as well as studying consumption patterns and the chocolate industry in the developed world. However, the student of Latin America will find much of interest in this book. There is also an excellent bibliography that brings together sources written in many different languages (Clarence-Smith has a working knowledge of French and Dutch as well as Spanish and Portuguese).

Royal Institute of International Affairs, London

VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02326440

Ramonina Brea, Rosario Espinal and Fernando Valerio-Holguín (eds.), *La República Dominicana en el umbral del siglo XXI: cultura, política y cambio social* (Santo Domingo: Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra; Centro Universitario de Estudios Políticos y Sociales), pp. 548, pb.

As long as we don't see it, we think it is not there. The Dominican Republic, after Cuba the largest country in the Caribbean Basin, with a population (c. eight

million) larger than that of all former British, French and Dutch colonies in the area combined, is only recently coming into sight of the powerful telescopes based in metropolitan academia. Starting a few decades ago, successful tourism campaigns proclaiming the country to be the 'best-kept secret' of the Caribbean, did much to make it better known. Over the same period, hundreds of thousands of Dominicans moved to New York, Chicago and Miami, helping to concentrate the North Americans' mind. Over time, this led to a growing number of young Dominican-Americans entering the US academic establishment where they could help to redirect its telescopes slightly. And finally, in the last forty years the country, in an atmosphere of relative political freedom, has multiplied its Gross Domestic Product as well as its population; its large urban population today sustains a vibrant cultural life (both 'high' and popular), and more universities – several, alas, of debatable quality –, more publishers, bookshops and newspapers than ever before.

Against this backdrop, the Catholic University at Santo Domingo in 1997 invited some sixty researchers, from abroad as well as from the country itself, to present their recent work, thus giving us an idea about the present state of research in the humanities and the social sciences regarding the Dominican Republic. The present volume grew out of that meeting, and contains the twenty-four contributions (five of them in English) that were finally submitted to its editors. Their authors – whose personal details are sorely missed from the volume – often rely on PhD research, and in some cases have merely reprinted part of their thesis. Their academic interests and backgrounds vary greatly, from French linguistic theory to international politics, from philosophy of history to hard-boiled empiricism. It makes for interesting reading, and the reader can learn much about the Dominican Republic's past and present, and also about how this past and present are perceived, from nearby by the locals, from afar by the foreigners, and from a middle-range (or 'mixed') perspective by those who left their country and now look back at it. Especially in this latter category, intimate knowledge and sober analysis may, in the best of cases, go happily hand in hand.

Thus, Rosario Espinal ably dissects the electoral conflicts of the 1990s and constructively criticises the ways that these were resolved. Neici Zeller's article equally carefully discusses the extent to which during the 1940s the insertion of women into the industrial work force was influenced by the policies of the dictatorial state of those days. This topic is remarkable, moreover, because at least two Dominican themes are rather hot to handle for those social scientists who do not wish to be guided exclusively by the catechism of political correctness and its predictable generalities. In the case of the long Trujillo dictatorship (1930–1961) this leads to a remarkable dearth of carefully researched and evenhandedly analysed topics of the type Neici Zeller tackles here. In the equally touchy and delicate case of Dominican relations with neighbouring Haiti (which occupies the western third of the island of Hispaniola, and with perhaps one million Haitians living in the Dominican Republic), a similar culture of silence prevents any mention of the vast economic gulf between the two countries, one ranking in the world's economic (lower) middle sector, the other with Bangladesh joining the earth's poorest nations. Similarly, a common history and culture is postulated rather than questioned, and collective prejudices, rather than judgements, are attributed to the Dominican side only, and generally subsumed under the heading of 'racism'. In his interesting survey of such attitudes, David Howard

convincingly concludes (probably to the surprise of some colleagues) that Dominican ‘blacks’ are no less ‘racist’ vis-à-vis ‘black’ Haitians than are more lightly coloured Dominicans. But perhaps we deal here with ‘inferential nationalism’ that, if I read him well (p. 64) he, with Stuart Hall, views as an ‘exclusionary, racist reaction’ (which make one wonder if there is any ascriptive loyalty left – to family, neighbourhood or town – which can escape such condemnation).

In this type of academic work the comparative method is effectively the only one we have got. To concentrate exclusively on one society, useful as this may be, entails the risk of seeing idiosyncracies where there are none, thus cultivating an exceptionalism without grounds. It may also – perhaps an even greater risk – lead to the conviction that the rest of the world, without more ado, should be judged on the basis of what is normal in one’s own society. Much of what is considered typical in Dominican ‘race’ relations, can also be observed in the rest of the (Hispanic) Caribbean, or in Brazil. Truly exceptional in this context (but generally not perceived as such) is the United States with its black-white dichotomy, which does not allow for the socio-‘racial’ continuum to be found in many other societies. Ginetta Candelario’s provocative effort to understand the differences between these two socio-racial structures is the type of comparative work which should come naturally to researchers with a transcultural or bi-cultural identity. I should hasten to add that other contributors also have engaged in comparative work (Ureña Rib, Weyland, Levitt, Camuñas), some of it excellent, and I regret that space does not allow me to discuss them here, but one, Lauren Derby’s playful and daring essay on Trujillo’s political theatre and its female protagonists, deserves a special mention (if only in order to restore the dictator’s mother, Doña Julia, to the place she deserves!).

This weighty volume is very welcome because it offers a broad view of contemporary research on Santo Domingo. Perhaps the editors’ generous selection reflects their grateful satisfaction with the response to their pioneering initiative. The growing academic interest in the Dominican Republic which this book both reflects and encourages will, one hopes, lead in the future to more collections of a similar nature, preferably somewhat less voluminous and a bit sharper focused.

University of Utrecht

HARRY HOETINK

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02336447

Jonathan Hartlyn, *The Struggle for Democratic Politics in the Dominican Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. xxi + 371, £37.95, £13.50 pb.

Written by a leading authority on the Dominican Republic, this book should be of great interest to those who aspire to understand politics in that benighted land, where from century to century nature’s boundless generosity is doggedly countered by human greed. But there are also lessons relevant to other times and other countries to be gleaned from this meticulous coverage of Dominican political history in the last half of the twentieth century.

The Dominican Republic is a showcase, in particular, of small group politics. As state populations stand at the outset of the twenty-first century, that of the

Dominican Republic, at about 8.5 million, is not particularly small. But voter turnout aside, the size of the politically relevant population remains minuscule – a family affair. Thus ties of kinship and camaraderie, personal debts and vendettas, fears and ambitions have everything to do with the lineup of candidacies, coalitions, and constituencies. Moreover, while the country's failure to achieve democracy has roots that are deeper and wider, the evolution of the electoral process since 1966 offers a virtual smorgasbord of means for frustrating representation of the popular will. This book should be particularly useful for would-be election monitors and masterminds.

Hartlyn's central thesis is that political-institutional factors are crucial in explaining the limited successes of democracy on the one hand and the tenacity of 'neopatrimonial' approaches to governance on the other. He notes that Dominican history has often been viewed as the story of powerful caudillos. He argues, however, that it is the interaction of such individuals with powerful domestic and external forces, mediated by institutions, that determines whether democratic or neopatrimonial tendencies will be reinforced.

In fact, it is hardly surprising that in a system born of conquest and colonial rule, where a pampered economic elite has enjoyed the attentive support of a large military establishment linked to a superpower, elections alone have not sufficed to shift the locus of political power. In the contemporary context of debt and dependence on a single global credit system, even countries with older and stronger institutions have seen popular leaders trade in the fading prospect of real democracy – that is, representation of popular interests and responsiveness to public need – for a semblance of stability. With respect to the two elections – those of 1978 and 1996 – that Hartlyn sees as representing at least temporarily promising phases in democratic transition, the change in parties and personalities at the top seemingly served to reconfirm the invulnerability of elite interests to the vicissitudes of electoral politics.

Whatever else may be gleaned from this book, it certainly shows that the Dominican Republic is fertile ground for the study of politics. The political game everywhere involves manipulation and chicanery, deals and betrayals. But the virtue of studying the game in the Dominican Republic is that despite the paucity of mutually recognised players, the game does not evolve in secrecy in smoke-filled rooms; rather, in ebullient Caribbean style, it is virtually played out in the street. The last half-century of Dominican politics has also given us an extraordinarily colourful cast of characters, characters who become more familiar to the reader through the felicitous use of photographs. History always represents an interplay between individual leaders and their temporal and structural contexts; but Dominican history since the assassination of Rafael Trujillo in 1961 has huddled particularly tightly around the interactions of three strong personalities: nonagenarians Joaquín Balaguer and Juan Bosch, and the late José Francisco Peña Gómez.

Balaguer, poet-turned-plotter, might have taught Machiavelli a trick or two. His thirty years at or near the pinnacle of power was not merely reflective of aptitude in the use or threat of force, or even of the fine art of electoral fraud. He managed the day-to-day business of government out of his hip pocket so as continually to maximise his options and shore up crucial elements of his political base, even while stripping government accounts and laying waste the public sector. Hartlyn's epithet, 'neopatrimonial', is applicable to many in the political

game in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere, but few have played it so skilfully as Balaguer.

Even so, the endurance of Balaguer's neopatrimonial rule owes much to the 'bad blood' that developed early on between Bosch and Peña Gómez, allies in the 1960s in the founding of the broadly-based Popular Revolutionary Party (PRD). Animosity between the two grew so deep that Bosch abandoned the party he had sired at such cost, founded another, the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD), and ultimately offered it in coalition to the Reformist Party (PR) of his old nemesis, Balaguer, to deny the presidency to Peña Gómez. It has been the case increasingly in much of the world that a vocation for democracy, or at least for social peace, has been shown more readily by those who have accepted denial of office by unfair means than by the claimants of victory. The Dominican Republic is no exception. The relative calm of the 1990s owes much to the acquiescence of Peña Gómez to the political shenanigans that twice denied him the presidency.

The uncertainties facing the Dominican Republic as it enters the twenty-first century are owing in part to a relative vacuum of leadership, as the giants who bestrode the twentieth century pass from the scene. But the vacuum itself owes much to new and more ephemeral challenges to leadership, particularly the denationalisation of economic decision-making that has accompanied the evolution of a single global market for trade, investment, and credit. A tentative transition to electoral democracy may mean more order and legitimacy in the selection of office-holders; but the elected are likely to find that the mantle of office is a straitjacket.

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JAN KNIPPERS BLACK

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02346443

Brian F. Crisp, *Democratic Institutional Design: The Powers and Incentives of Venezuelan Politicians and Interest Groups* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. xviii + 273, \$55.00 hb.

Political scientists writing on Venezuela have attempted to explain why Latin America's most stable democracy over a period of several decades suddenly became one of its most disruptive and fragile in the 1990s. Some attribute the phenomenon to Venezuela's dependence on oil-derived revenue, while others to the inflexible behaviour of the nation's leaders, but nearly all reach the conclusion that institutions failed to respond adequately to pressing economic and political challenges. Brian Crisp's starting point in this book is the institutional weakness of the Venezuelan political system from the outset of democracy in 1958 until Hugo Chávez's assumption of power forty years later. He devotes individual chapters to the consultative commissions and decentralised public administration (DPA) – both of which are tied to the national executive – the national congress, the electoral system and the mechanisms whereby interest groups shape policies. He offers a wealth of statistical information contained in 20 tables and 10 figures and presents specific examples of the workings of interest groups and the DPA. Crisp analyses the rules and structures created by law, but also demonstrates the importance of informal practices. Thus, he shows that congress has been largely ineffective on a day-to-day basis in spite of the considerable constitutional powers granted it.

Crisp points to the state's centralised structure, which concentrated power in the president, as the essential feature of the Venezuelan political system. He adds that presidential authority was reinforced by the tenacious discipline that characterised the governing party, and the power wielded by the coterie of politicians who led it at the national level. The electoral system did much to strengthen the position of both the president and this political elite. The system of single-round elections for the president obviated the necessity of forming alliances and making concessions to smaller parties, thus strengthened the position of the governing party's national leadership. As a result of proportional representation, congressmen were more beholden to the party machine, which included them in the slate, than to their own constituency, and were thus more likely to toe the party line in congress. Had the opposition party dominated congress, the power of the national executive might have been checked. But Crisp points out that in the eight presidential periods between 1958 and 1998 the governing party had the largest representation in congress five times, and although in the three remaining periods an opposition party was the largest, it never gained controlling influence. The bias in favour of executive authority at the expense of congress was made worse by the broad powers the constitution bestowed on the president to issue decrees on economic and financial matters, which six presidents since 1958 have exploited.

Crisp's analysis of the inefficaciousness of Venezuela's institutional design takes in the period 1958 to 1998 as a whole. Thus he is sceptical of the proposals formulated in the 1980s by the Commission for State Reform (Copro) and implemented in the 1990s. In 1989 congress approved the Copre-sponsored Law of Decentralisation as well as the first of a series of electoral reforms designed to lessen the iron control of party machines and make elected politicians more accountable to the voters. Crisp, however, concludes his chapter 'Political Institutions, Crisis, and Reform' stating that 'political reform has been haphazard and sometimes contradictory' (p. 193). Curiously, this scepticism is diametrically opposed to the arguments formulated in two articles that Crisp co-authored with Daniel Levine in the *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* (1998) and *World Affairs* (1999). Crisp and Levine there take issue with pessimistic political analysts who fail to recognise the far-reaching consequences of Copre's reforms. Crisp and Levine argue that the resistance to these changes and resultant conflicts were mere growing pains, rather than manifestations of a crisis in the democratic system. The articles thus contrast with *Democratic Institutional Design*, which emphasises institutional deficiencies and continuity between 1958 and 1998.

In 'Postscript: The 1999 Constitution', Crisp analyses the impact of Venezuela's new constitution drafted by the followers of President Chávez and ratified in a national referendum in December 1999. He attempts to show that the new constitution redresses many of the institutional problems associated with strong executive authority in the absence of proper checks. Specifically, the new constitution obliges political parties to select their authorities and candidates in internal primaries, provides citizens with the opportunity to remove elected officials in referendums after half of their term has expired, separates presidential and congressional elections, and increases the percentage of congressmen who are elected in single-member electoral districts. According to Crisp, these provisions enhance accountability and strengthen the system of checks, particularly those of the congress on the national executive. He concludes that, if political parties settle

into their normal roles, ‘the institutional incentives embodied in the 1999 Constitution will make for a different democracy in Venezuela’ (p. 234).

In his last chapter entitled ‘Venezuelan Institutional Design in Comparative Perspective’, Crisp systematically places the concerns he raises throughout the book in a continental context. He focuses on congressional passivity, excessive party discipline, presidential decree powers, and corporatist arrangements favouring peak organisations at the expense of pluralist representation. On all counts Crisp shows that Venezuela represents an extreme case of institutional rigidity. He concludes that the centralised nature of policy-making approximated that of Honduras, ‘one of the most economically backward and politically repressive systems in the region’ (p. 222). The remainder of the chapter presents a ‘blueprint for a new institutional design’ in which he advocates complete elimination of executive decree prerogatives, democratisation of candidate selection, and an open-list electoral system. Unlike Venezuela’s municipal elections of 1989, in which voters chose candidates across party lines, Crisp suggests that individual selections should be confined to the same party slates in order to avoid completely undermining political parties. Similarly, he favours measures to diffuse power while avoiding the extreme reduction of presidential authority. In short, the strong point of this book is its empirical focus which includes comparisons with other Latin American nations and proposals to overcome the concentration of power.

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STEVE ELLNER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X0235644X

Julia Buxton, *The Failure of Political Reform in Venezuela* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2001), pp. x + 242, \$42.50 hb.

From the 1960s until the end of the 1980s Venezuelan specialists put forward diverse explanations as to why Venezuela had succeeded in developing solid democratic institutions at a time when most of Latin America was subject to repressive military regimes. Then, in February 1989, a week of disturbances in 21 cities took the nation by surprise and ushered in a period of instability. In subsequent years political scientists have attempted to explain what went wrong and why the optimism of previous theories was unfounded.

This work is one of the few books in English dealing exclusively with Venezuela’s political woes of the last fifteen years. Julia Buxton attributes the political crisis to the failure to deepen the political reforms drafted in the 1980s by the Commission on State Reform (Copre). In doing so, she criticises the minimalist definition of democracy originally formulated by Joseph Schumpeter for assuming that once basic democratic rules are established, full-fledged democracy inevitably follows. Buxton points to the Venezuelan case to demonstrate that democracy can stagnate over time even in the absence of an influential disloyal opposition. In her chapter ‘Containing Reforms’ she points out that Copre-sponsored legislation was not given a fair chance, first because of the crisis generated by the 1992 coup attempts and the subsequent impeachment of President Carlos Andrés Pérez, and then due to the resistance of President Rafael Caldera (1994–1999). The Caldera administration, for instance, refused to grant the states the right to participate in the collection of the value added tax,

as had previously been decided. She points out that the process of decentralisation, like other important political reforms, was confined to the more economically advanced states while centralism prevailed in the rest of the country, dominated by the traditional parties, particularly *Acción Democrática* (AD). Along the same lines, Buxton argues that electoral reform largely failed to achieve its goal of encouraging Venezuelans to personalise their vote, an option which was not possible under the old system of closed slates.

Buxton's deepest concern is the ossification of the political party system. While national leaders reluctantly accepted state reform, they steadfastly refused to consider any modification of their own highly centralised political party structures. Buxton devotes two chapters to tracing the emergence of the *Causa R* party as a critic of the rigidity of the democratic system. She notes that ultimately the *Causa R* was absorbed into the system, helping inadvertently to bolster its credibility. In doing so, however, it sacrificed its own credibility because after achieving strong representation at all levels, the party proved ineffective in bringing about important changes. These disappointing results 'increased its [the system's] vulnerability to mobilisation by "disloyal" actors, completely detached from the political system and the reform process' (p. 134), namely the Fifth Republic Party headed by Hugo Chávez. The slow pace of political reform led to apathy among vast sectors of the population, as reflected in the increasingly high abstention rates traced by Buxton.

It is evident from this brief description that Buxton's book is more about what was not done in the area of political reform than what was actually accomplished. A more optimistic evaluation of Venezuelan democracy would stress diverse sectors that were decentralised, albeit unevenly, throughout the nation. Buxton points out that with the implementation of gubernatorial elections after 1989 national leaders ran for governor in some states, thus distorting the true aim of the reform. Nevertheless, this development did not detract from the emergence of regional leaders, who on occasion defied the national leadership of their respective parties. According to Buxton, market reforms (which are sometimes associated with political reform) also fell short of expectations because political actors 'failed in their role of explaining the necessity of economic reform to the population' (p. 226). In fact, presidential candidates Eduardo Fernández, Oswaldo Alvarez Paz and Claudio Fermín campaigned on the basis of a neoliberal platform but were penalised at the polls for their positions. Furthermore, although the system did not open up to the scores of electoral groups that sprang up, as Buxton points out, the nation's political landscape was transformed as a result of the success of the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) and the *Causa R* at the state and municipal levels. Given the accomplishments of political reform, Buxton's argument attributing the crisis to the inflexibility of the political system is open to question. Perhaps what discredited the system more was the implementation of market reforms for which there was no electoral mandate and which aggravated social tensions.

Regardless of whether the reader accepts the main thrust of Buxton's thesis, his or her knowledge of Venezuela will be greatly enhanced by the wealth of information that the book offers. Thus Buxton's empirical analysis of electoral results after 1989, in which she distinguishes between rural traditional states, 'intermediate' states, and 'advanced' populated states, does much to illuminate the impact of electoral reform. In addition, interviews with major political leaders

provide interesting insights not available in the press regarding party factionalism and events surrounding the 1992 coup spearheaded by Chávez. In short, the author draws on valuable details to weave into a coherent set of arguments in order to explain the downturn of Venezuelan democracy during the critical years of the 1990s.

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STEVE ELLNER

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Charles Bergquist, Ricardo Peñaranda and Gonzalo Sánchez G. (eds.), *Violence in Colombia, 1990–2000: Waging War and Negotiating Peace* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2001), pp. xxv + 300, \$60.00, \$21.95 pb.

Colombian scholars have produced an impressive range of studies on the different violences in their society, much of it unavailable in English. The evolution from violence to war in the course of the 1990s has generated new international interest in the country, and as a result we are beginning to see Colombian scholarship in English. This volume is the second collection of essays by mostly Colombian, and a few international, scholars on the past and present of Colombian violence. Together with the previous volume (Charles Bergquist, Ricardo Peñaranda, and Gonzalo Sánchez, *Violence in Colombia: The Contemporary Crisis in Historical Perspective* (Wilmington, DE, 1992), these essays represent the best introduction to the study of violence in Colombia available in English.

The complexity of the Colombian conflict has daunted many non-Colombian academics and policy makers. The lack of good material in English has encouraged commentators to simplify their explanations and reduce analysis to the more obvious and visible manifestations of the conflict, particularly the armed groups and the drugs issue. The strength of this volume of essays lies in its efforts to encompass the complex range of dimensions to the crisis that grew in the course of the 1990s, which in turn built upon historical and socio-political roots discussed in the previous volume. It explores the contradictions of a country that boasts a strong political history, and in which peace negotiations as much as war-mongering punctuate contemporary political dynamics.

Explaining violence and war in Colombia demands a capacity to question assumptions and conventional frameworks. The regularities and patterns that social scientists depend on tend not to have the same meanings in the Colombian context. It has a civilian, democratically-elected government and legal opposition parties. Its financial institutions function better than most in Latin America. Its constitution and legal framework are carefully elaborated and constructed. It has an educated and articulate urban middle class. And it also has a history of de facto political exclusion through electoral fraud, elitist political pact or assassination. Local and nationally elected politicians rely on clientelist networks to bring out their vote, and many have been prepared to use cocaine dollars to fund their campaigns. Colombia's state institutions are absent in vast areas of the country. The law does not operate for the majority of crimes. The country's urban and rural poor live in conditions of marginality and impoverishment which have been a breeding ground for disaffection, criminality and political violence over decades.

In the 1990s the two realities of Colombia began to meet each other in unprecedented ways. While the decade began with the peace agreement between

the M-19 and other smaller guerrilla groups and a new constitution, it subsequently saw a considerable expansion of armed conflict in the country. Both left-wing guerrilla groups and paramilitary right-wing groups financed and armed their expansion through the lucrative drugs trade as well as extortion and kidnapping. Ideological objectives for violence became less distinguishable from motives of economic accumulation. The war spread into almost every municipality of the country (1,000 of the 1,085 municipalities, according to the US State Department Country Report on Colombia of February 2001, compared to 178 in 1985). As Sánchez points out in his opening essay to the volume, the violence has grown in areas of greatest social mobility and economic resources 'those to which new capital, migrants and forms of authority flow' (p. 5). Kidnap victims are no longer the wealthy elite, but anyone with a bank account and property. The urban middle class began to feel the war as never before. Terrible massacres and other human rights violations escalated throughout the decade. Paramilitary violence which was once actively encouraged or indirectly tolerated by the state army, took on a logic of its own.

That is the background to the essays in this book. The opening essay of Gonzalo Sánchez attempts to outline the changing patterns of violence of the 1990s, its cultural dimensions and impact on personal lives as well as on the delegitimisation of the state and public institutions. In a particularly insightful comment he points to the flaws in an approach to peace which centres on negotiations with any armed group which is willing. While this suggests to international opinion that there have been successful peace negotiations, it has created what he calls a 'fragmented peace'. Instead of being cumulative, it has resulted in 'a process of reproduced violence' as 'the space left open by one of the actors is immediately taken over by another with an even more radical discourse' (p. 27). A change in the process of negotiations would, he argues, attempt a balance 'between the social debt of society to the guerrillas and the historical debt of the guerrillas to society' (p. 28), in which a new social pact for society as a whole is debated.

Such an idea is not totally utopian. Ana María Bejarano's essay discusses the 1991 constitution in the light of the experience of the ensuing decade. That constitution did represent an effort to democratise Colombian institutions and recognise new dimensions of the country's social reality. It failed to fulfil expectations, she argues because, 'the efforts to democratise the state were not simultaneously accompanied by parallel efforts to strengthen it' (p. 70). Bergquist in his concluding essay echoes the view that the prospects for peace through reform are greater than often thought (p. 208). But the obstacle remains, he argues, a guerrilla insurgency which has lost political and public support and has an increasing interest in continuing the war. This in turn is used by the paramilitary groups to justify their own existence and expansion as discussed in the essay by Fernando Cubides.

I would concur with Bergquist. As the war continues, economic and political vested interest in its prolongation grows on all sides as opportunities for accumulation that might later be legitimised are seized by armed groups and civilian opportunists. However, this kind of analysis can go too far. Indeed, the idea that motivations of economic greed are the only ones present in the Colombian conflict is becoming an all too simplistic justification of an approach to peace which plays down reform and state legitimacy issues and plays up those

of order and authority. This latter discourse has emerged strongly over the last year since the book was published, and following on from a theme Sánchez raises in the last part of his essay, ‘how to make peace desirable?’ (p. 29). In the last years of the Pastrana presidency, it is evident that public support for a peace process has diminished. The FARC have continuously abused the ‘cleared zone’ they were given as a result of the first round of peace talks with the government and used it to launch armed operations elsewhere. The danger today is that exhausted citizens will see the only solution to protracted violence as a military one, and indeed, many efforts are being made to strengthen the armed forces and rehabilitate their tarnished image.

However, if a long-term and sustainable end to violence is to be found in Colombia, it is unlikely to be found through the exercise of more violence by an institution whose professionalism and accountability to civilian authority and the rule of law will not be guaranteed by a few training programmes. The idea that this is the only route to end violence is encouraged by the lack of visibility of the many non-aligned civilian groups who struggle in the midst of war to articulate alternative visions of Colombian state, society and economy. Many of their leaders have been killed and they expose themselves to violence whenever they mobilise and organise. Their activities, such as that of the Putumayo coca growers, are not really represented in this collection of essays. One of the two short essays on collective social action in this book talks only about its weakness. But there is a surprising degree of activism in many local areas, and social organisations that struggle actively against manipulation and instrumentalisation by the armed and unarmed right and left. The exclusion of organised civilian social actors as contributors to public discussion, means we are often left with that nebulous concept of ‘public opinion’. The fact that many people have learned to live with fear and violence and adapt to the demands of armed groups in order to survive rather than through any commitment to war, is rarely acknowledged. Yet an inclusive public debate in which informed social organisations participate would be an essential part of any renewed social pact in Colombia. And without such a pact, we will be left with solutions agreed between armed actors and the state (or imposed by a state with stronger institutions) but which has not addressed its equally critical problem of democratic legitimacy. This is the converse of Ana María Bejarano’s critique of the 1991 Constitution, but remains, in my view, as serious a danger.

One of the most important essays in this book is that by Donny Meertens which explores the gender dimensions of the violence and its differential social consequences for men and women. As a firm believer that even a negotiated peace would not end violence in Colombia, it is this dimension of Colombian society, I would argue, that needs further exploration. The greatest part of violence and war in Colombia is waged by men, particularly young men. The latter are the main perpetrators and victims of violence; the percentage of women in both roles has grown but remains very small. Men remain dominant in all the country’s major political institutions. The impact of violence on the socialisation space of the family has been profound and in turn impacts on prolonging and increasing the use of violence as new generations are brought up in situations of family abuse and economic insecurity. Interrupting what I call the inter-generational cycle of violence is one of the most urgent tasks Colombia faces. In including an essay on gender, the volume editors have acknowledged its significance. But

integrating the gender dimensions of the violence into the analysis of how to ensure a lasting peace remains a challenge for a future volume as it does for the country as a whole.

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JENNY PEARCE

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John Crabtree and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Towards Democratic Viability: The Bolivian Experience* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. xiv + 240, £47.50 hb.

The contributors to this volume are cautiously optimistic about democracy in Bolivia. At first glance, a country marked by extreme poverty and a long history of political instability and social divisions seems a poor candidate for even this guarded assessment. Yet, as the authors point out, Bolivia's admittedly imperfect democracy has endured for two decades and has allowed for alternation in office of five different political administrations and party coalitions. Equally important, it has provided the political foundations for significant policy and institutional reforms since 1982.

The concept guiding this work is that of democratic viability. As Laurence Whitehead explains, the standard for judging new democracies should not be that of full consolidation or an ideal set of democratic conditions, but rather how well these systems manage to adapt, survive and evolve in difficult environments. The authors use this concept to assess the strengths and weaknesses of Bolivia's democratic institutions. In an important introductory chapter, Whitehead surveys two political traditions in Bolivia. One emphasises the importance of liberal constitutional government, generally associated with efforts to limit political participation, while a tradition of popular mobilisation is associated with efforts to expand participation, but often beyond the capacity of political institutions to manage it. Just as the Revolution of 1952 was a major effort to resolve the tensions between these two traditions, so the current democratic experiment attempts to integrate constitutional government with widespread participation.

Pilar Domingo finds that the willingness of the country's political parties to abandon zero sum politics and tolerate power sharing is a positive sign. Other accomplishments are important to the future of party competition – the MNR's acceptance of neoliberalism, the ADN's role in providing democratic voice for the otherwise authoritarian right, and the MIR's role as a social democratic alternative. Yet she remains critical of clientelism and state patronage and observes that the traditional parties may be losing ground to neo-populist alternatives that focus on mobilising the poor majority.

Other democratic institutions must be strengthened, argues Eduardo Rodríguez as he describes the advances made in the rule of law during the democratic period. He points to the many deficiencies and distortions that continue to exist in legal institutions and finds much that needs to be done before the country has effective systems of administrative, commercial, civil, and criminal law. Antonio Sánchez de Lozada, addressing the problem of democratic accountability and the advances that have been made since 1982, contends that a system of public accountability should be transparent, provide effective oversight

and legal security, and be characterised by an ethic of public service. Focusing on grassroots politics, George Gray-Molina argues that the radical decentralisation policy known as Popular Participation has brought greater democracy to the country's rural populations and has caused an important redistribution of development resources favoring rural areas over urban ones. Popular Participation, however, has had differential impacts, largely reflecting local political conditions, and Gray-Molina worries that its impact on poverty or national policy has been limited.

Juan Antonio Morales surveys the country's economic development and its transition from a state-dominated economy to a market oriented one. He laments the failure of the new model to deliver on promises for growth and speaks to the problems created by weak economic institutions, international vulnerability, and devastating poverty. Horst Grebe López contributes a related chapter on the role of the private sector in the country's future. Despite opportunities provided by privatisation and capitalisation in the 1990s, the private sector faces almost insuperable obstacles to expansion. And, without its growth, Grebe is the least certain among the contributors about finding ways to alleviate poverty or sustain democracy.

Three more prescriptive chapters indicate what needs to be done to attack the poverty that afflicts the majority of Bolivians and that threatens the viability of democracy. Development policy needs to focus on rural areas and the sustained use of the country's resource base, argues Jorge Muñoz. He recommends that agricultural and rural development be mainstreamed into national policy-making and argues for the development of a broad national consensus about investing in peasant agriculture and human capital. Diego Sánchez de Lozada and Carlos Valenzuela supplement this view by recommending demand-driven technological innovation in rural areas as a way of promoting economic development and poverty reduction. Fernando Ruiz-Mier emphasises the importance of investing in human development and as a critical ingredient in the longer term viability of the country's democracy.

In a useful concluding chapter, John Crabtree and Laurence Whitehead review advances in public policy reforms since 1982, acknowledge the importance of regular elections and the alternation of parties in power, and then compare these accomplishments to the limitations and vulnerabilities faced by the country. They argue that democracy in the country needs to be bolstered by effective responses to poverty and exclusion, improved representational capacity among political parties, a shared vision of the role of the state, functioning institutions for political accountability, and decreased international vulnerability.

This volume demonstrates the utility of the concept of viability in assessing Latin America's new democratic systems. Each chapter provides a compelling statement about an important contemporary issue of political and economic development in Bolivia. Each is written by a scholar known for deep familiarity with the country's history, politics, and policies or by an experienced practitioner, including a Central Bank president, a Supreme Court justice, and a Comptroller General. Further, the introductory and concluding chapters draw the volume's themes together in instructive ways. This, then, is a volume that merits attention from students of democracy generally and of Bolivia particularly.

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MERILEE S. GRINDLE

Nancy Priscilla Naro, *A Slave's Place, a Master's World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000), pp. xi + 212, £45.00 hb.

The United Nations Conference Against Racism that recently provoked heated international debates and political posturing by the major powers as well as by historical victims reminds us both how volatile the issue of race remains and that slavery – both historic and current – is still central to the discussion of racial relations. This is clearly of worldwide interest. A major arena for this debate is Brazil, which received almost ten million slaves from Africa and was the last country in the western hemisphere to abolish slavery.

Nancy Naro digs in this well-worked field to show us that there is still much new material that can be harvested. She is perfectly suited to the emerging field of comparative world history. Trained at the University of Chicago, she was weaned on studies of US and Latin American race relations in the waning days of the Civil Rights movement. She then immersed herself in African culture, living some years in Angola during the most intense days of decolonisation from Portugal. She remembered the customs, clothing, cuisine when she encountered them again in Brazil, where she spent more than a decade teaching and researching at the PUC and the Universidade Federal in Fluminense in Rio de Janeiro.¹ Historians in both schools have been concentrating on answering the *Paulista* school with studies on the importance of Rio de Janeiro state and city in the nineteenth century. So it is no surprise that the book concentrates on western Rio de Janeiro state, especially the cities of Vassouras and Rio Bonito. Finally, Naro moved back across the Atlantic to England where she is currently a lecturer in Latin American history at the University of London, where she has delved into the literature on rurality, feudalism and geography.

In *A Slave's Place, A Master's World* Naro is concerned with the degree to which slaves had civil rights, their use of courts for protection, the attempt of freedmen to exercise the rights of citizenship. She makes an important contribution to the literature with her discussion of 'conditional freedom', when slaves were granted future freedom but under strict conditions that demonstrated the clash between the legal rights of freedmen and the property rights of owners and heirs. As one priest put it, this was a state of being 'in possession of one's self but held to serve one's master' (p. 110). The conditionally freed were active agents, but they were also victims of a radically unjust system. This group of people became increasingly numerous as the Empire passed a series of laws abolishing the international slave trade (1851), freed children born to slave mothers (1871), emancipating elderly slaves, and finally abolished slavery altogether (1888). Naro's detailed research in court records, notarial estate records, travellers' accounts, memoirs and official reports, as well as her own experience in Africa and Brazil, brings to life people formerly known as 'inarticulate' or whom we could today call 'subaltern'. But the stories are often tragic because the courts were far from colour blind and Brazilian society struggled against people who were trying to 'pass' as free persons.

African customs were also central to the slave economy during the years before

¹ For the sake of full disclosure, it was in Brazil that Nancy Naro and I first became friends.

1850 when Brazil was the main destination of the slave trade. Naro finds that Africans (*pretos*) were prized by Brazilian planters over native-born slaves (*pardos*) because they were often skilled and, as strangers in a strange land, easier to manipulate than creoles. Planters often preferred the Africans also because they could use their traditional African patriarchal power to control the other slaves. Both *pretos* and *pardos* resisted the planters' will by sabotage, escaping to outlaw slave communities in marginal areas (*quilombos*), gaining some independence by selling crops raised on their own plots in their little free time to local merchants, theft, and renting out their labour. In the middle of this vast slave economy there was a thriving monetary economy.

The monetary economy, flourishing coffee exports, and international pressure eventually joined to end slavery. It is at this point that the book's multiple narratives become confusing. The subtitle, 'Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil' highlights the problem. Naro's research focused on two towns in Rio de Janeiro state, Vassouras and Rio Bonito. This is both the strength of the book and a weakness. The strength is that the author recognises the dynamic nature of slavery, the way that Brazilian masters and slaves responded to changing labour and commodity markets over time. Here she refines the common *dependentista* view. One should not posit a Paraíba Valley model of tradition-bound, inefficient slavocratic latifundia which is often counterposed to more capitalistic *Paulista* planters. First, there was no homogeneous Paraíba Valley system. Naro finds a great difference in the scale of holdings between Vassouras and Rio Bonito with the latter having far smaller plots dedicated mostly to subsistence crops with fewer slaves. We see here planters and growers who were flexible and were able to do quite well without slaves. Indeed, the transitional emancipation of slaves is one of Naro's main themes. Brazilian planters' responses to market conditions, slave resistance, the rise of smallholders and technological advances were more important than British warships, local abolitionists and international opinion in ending slavery. That is why Brazil was able to end slavery and the monarchy in 1888 and 1889 with relatively little civil commotion.

It is at this point, alas, that Naro's rich background betrays her. Her many years of research in Rio de Janeiro state archives and discussions with *fluminense* historians has led her to accept the view popularised by Stanley Stein in his study of Vassouras.² Writing in the long-standing Brazilian tradition of 'boom and bust' narrative, Stein had poignantly depicted the bust of the coffee economy caused by the predatory, routine-minded *fluminense* slavocrats. In Portuguese the book's title was translated as *Grandeza e Decadencia*. This was part of the old feudalism versus capitalism debate that congratulated capitalists for being more efficient, innovative and development-minded. Stein's masterpiece and André Gunder Frank's study of Northeast Brazil, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment*, were fundamental in the creation of the dependency school. This version has been accepted by many historians in Rio de Janeiro state.

Ironically, Naro both defends this view and undercuts it. While lamenting the decline of the Rio de Janeiro's coffee economy beginning in the 1880s and linking it to the decline of slavery, in fact, as Naro herself shows, the Rio coffee economy continued to be dynamic. *Fluminense* growers introduced modern hullers, railroads, electricity and moved toward sharecropping and wage labour.

² Stanley Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee Country, 1850–1900* (Princeton, 1957).

Smallholders diversified production away from export goods and Rio's coffee fields continued to outproduce all non-Brazilian areas years *after* the abolition of slavery. She recognises, 'prominent planters, who maintained a traditional attitude towards the link of land ownership to social standing and prestige but maintained a progressive stand on modernization, mechanization and immigrant labour' (p. 156). Nancy Naro reminds us that slavery, rural dependence and labour struggles are not remnants of an antique world. The institutions and the participants were dynamic and international. Alas, in some form, they are still with us.

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STEVEN TOPIK

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 34 (2002). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02396445

Cynthia Chavez Metoyer, *Women and the State in Post-Sandinista Nicaragua* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner, 2000), pp. v + 149, £29.95 hb.

This is a timely book examining how women have fared in Nicaragua since the Sandinistas left power in 1990. While most of it focuses on the Barrios de Chamorro government, there is also some analysis of the subsequent Alemán administration. The introductory chapter is a useful overview of events and some discussion of the theoretical paradigms to be employed. The first chapter discusses the record of the Sandinistas: although the government did attempt to deal head-on with some gender discrimination, women often benefited simply because the social welfare issues being addressed had a greater impact on their lives. The rest of the book deals largely with the impact of structural adjustment on women. Whilst the Sandinistas did implement some structural reforms themselves, the project was deepened by both Chamorro and Alemán. Chapter two gives some detail on the style of politics in which Chamorro engaged: the emphasis on her widowhood and motherhood; the symbolic use of white; frequent references to her husband and how warring families (such as her own) can come together and be a model for society generally.

Chavez Metoyer uses women's voices effectively to illustrate the multiple challenges and disappointments that women have faced over the years, but this is not an ethnographic study. The author 'dropped in' on Nicaragua on several occasions during the 1990s for various reasons but does not systematically analyse the shifting impact of economic change on women. A more systematic analysis would have enhanced the book significantly. As it stands, we are offered a useful analysis of the gendered impact of structural adjustment with anecdotal information to reinforce it, but everything seems to remain at the surface. There are some good primary data from Nicaraguan sources, which are analysed effectively, but the women's organisations are discussed only very briefly. A deeper analysis of these different initiatives would have strengthened the book. Another lost opportunity concerns motherhood: it is mentioned frequently, but there is little engagement with the ideology that surrounds it, something which is needed given Chamorro's manipulation of the imagery. Furthermore, the theoretical debate offered in the opening chapter is not pulled through sufficiently in subsequent chapters.

A major irritation with the book is the lack of good copy-editing which gives rise to much repetition, some of it verbatim and extremely close together (e.g.,

pp. 24–5 and p. 27; p. 48 and p. 50), some of it further apart (p. 46 and p. 98; p. 53 and p. 116; p. 99 and p. 116). Whilst it is sometimes necessary to remind readers of previously stated data, this was not the case here and in such a slim volume (only 127 pages of text including photos) it is all the more obvious. This book does offer a clear introduction to the impact of structural adjustment on Nicaraguan women since 1990 but a more fulsome and fuller systematic analysis would not have gone amiss.

University of Liverpool

NIKKI CRASKE

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William H. Beezley and David E. Lorey (eds.), *Viva Mexico! Viva Independencia! Celebrations of September 16* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2000), pp. xviii + 261, \$60.00, \$21.95 pb.

Independence Day remains one of the most important in the Mexican calendar. In a rich compilation, *Viva Mexico!* surveys ten different aspects of the celebrations that reveal their complex and often controversial nature. The significance and roles of leading figures of the independence movement were adjusted according to the current political climate. Liberal and Conservative political leaders strove to emphasise their links with Miguel Hidalgo and Agustín de Iturbide respectively, just as their twentieth century counterparts would claim succession to the 1910 Revolution in order to legitimate rule. In chapter one, Isabel Fernández Tejedo and Carmen Nava Nava detail the negative image of 16 September portrayed during the wars of independence. They illustrate the increasingly violent nature of subsequent celebrations, and the debates over which date to commemorate (Hidalgo's 'Grito' of 15–16 September 1810, or Iturbide's entry into Mexico City on 27 September 1821). Michael Costeloe looks at the practicalities of staging the festivities and the problems faced by the organising committees. Between 1825 and 1855 the Junta Patriótica strove to keep politics out of the celebrations and to instigate patriotism, unity and a national identity. Yet Sergio Cañedo Gamboa's case study of San Luis Potosí between 1824 and 1847 underlines the political nature of the commemorations and the fact that they reflected the fragmented nature of Mexican society. Verónica Zárate Toscano substantiates this, showing that in 1864 inhabitants of San Angel, Mexico City, opposed Emperor Maximilian by refusing to celebrate independence. In chapter five Javier Rodríguez Piña explores the importance of 16 and 27 September. He states that in 1827 moves were made to conciliate the two, but divisions in Mexican society prevented it. Conservatives maintained that Hidalgo brought instability and chaos and, rather than instigate independence, delayed it by ten years.

Ironically, as William Beezley points out, Maximilian resolved the issue by ending the 27 September commemoration. Beezley looks at festivities in Puebla (1869) and Mexico City (1883) that both celebrated Mexican modernity and progress. In 1869 Benito Juárez linked the Wars of Independence to the recent struggle against the French. 1869 also saw the completion of the railway line from Mexico City to Puebla, which was officially opened on 16 September. Railway officials invited all prominent citizens to an independence day feast bringing together political and religious opponents. Beezley adds that Juárez's use of

police units rather than soldiers to escort the presidential party revealed his ‘iron-willed commitment to civilian rule’ (p. 135). Railways were also conspicuous in Porfirio Díaz’s 1883 festivities: a series of floats exalting the history of Mexico culminated in a horse-drawn replica locomotive. In chapter seven, Nora Pérez-Rayón analyses the 1900 commemorations. Three Mexican heroes were prominent: Hidalgo (independence), Juárez (the constitution) and Díaz (peace and progress). Yet, times had changed; unlike 1869 there was a strong military presence in the 1900 celebrations and Díaz’s political domination was apparent.

In chapter eight Mauricio Tenorio Trillo vividly describes the foreign-inspired buildings constructed for the centenary, and sculptures designed and made in Europe. Although a new, prosperous Mexico City was promoted in 1910, Indian barrios were left in squalor. ‘Undesirable’ elements were housed in new mental hospitals and prisons, the poor were swept aside, and efforts were made to hispanicise the indians. ‘If we cannot get rid of them, at least let us camouflage them’ (p. 179). It was the last throw of Díaz’s regime, four years later indians and campesinos would (albeit briefly) occupy these fine edifices. Elaine C. Lacy exposes the precarious nature of the revolutionary change. The 1921 centennial was almost as spectacular as that of 1910. In both cases there was a need to divert attention from internal strife; President Alvaro Obregón was far from secure. Yet, in contrast to 1910, the emphasis was on Mexican art, music and literature. A sixteen-year-old Aztec girl was crowned ‘La India Bonita’ and exhibited as a national treasure, only to be later exposed as a mestizo unmarried mother. As Lacy states, ‘the 1921 commemoration represents a state-building project in which new myths, symbols and meanings were attached to older patriotic rituals’ (p. 203). *Viva Mexico!* reveals that similar attempts were made throughout the nineteenth century. David Lorey ends by returning to the violent nature of the celebrations introduced in chapter one. The 20 November (Revolution Day) festivities were intended to reverse this practice: sport was strongly featured to promote discipline and order. Paradoxically, Lorey argues, the intention was to safeguard against another popular rebellion.

The editors claim that independence day commemorations provide ‘invaluable information about social, political and cultural change’ (p. x) and ‘holiday parades [...] functioned as mirrors that, because of their ability to reflect social reconfigurations, shaped behaviour, historical understandings and identity’ (p. xvii). Using a wealth of primary source material, *Viva Mexico!* emphatically substantiates the former and convincingly supports the latter. In doing so, the sights, sounds, tastes and smells of the festivities, and the cultural traditions and political intricacies surrounding them are graphically recreated.

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CLAIRE BREWSTER

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Peter Andreas, *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. xiv + 158, £16.95 hb.

Peter Andreas’s recent work joins a host of provocative reinterpretations of public security and national security issues in North America and is made all the more relevant by the terrorist attacks of September 2001. Focusing not so much

on security itself but rather on *images of security* at the US-Mexican border, Andreas provides a nuanced and provocative analysis of the sharp escalation of border policing in the 1990s, when the tightening of border controls was instituted at the same time that other controls, particularly on trade, were being relaxed through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Andreas finds that the escalation of border policing was ultimately less about deterring the flow of drugs and migrants across the international boundary than about crafting an image of the border that symbolically reaffirmed US territorial authority (p. x and *passim*). The story of US attempts to control the border, he concludes, 'is to a significant extent a story about the political success of flawed and failing policies' (p. 148).

Andreas organises the book around two case studies – of drugs and of migrants. After introductory chapters that chart the escalation of border policing and look at the global political economy of smuggling, he employs these cases to shed light on the always thorny issues of US drug and immigration policy. Andreas is to be credited with keeping his head and maintaining a clear focus on the symbolic and ironic aspects of US policies in order to explain their failure. Next, in order to establish a comparative context, he reviews the policing of the external borders of the European Union. His concluding chapter situates his findings in this comparative context, arguing compellingly that US policy toward border policing attempts symbolically to strengthen the traditional political boundaries of an 'imagined community' that no longer approximates to any really existing national community. The two final chapters make good on Andreas's promise in his preface that the work will borrow from, and speak to, a diverse literature, including political economy, criminology, sociology of law, anthropology, geography, history, public policy and area studies.

Andreas's suggestion that the popular notion that the US-Mexico border is out of control falsely assumes that there was once a time when it was truly under control. It also assumes that it is possible to bring it conclusively under control. What these ironies reveal is that battles over border policing must of necessity be battles over *the appearance of control* rather than over real control. Andreas's studies of drugs and migrants certainly bear this idea out: it is not clear that in either of these two spheres US policy has substantially modified the flows of goods or people. In a further irony, recent problems with both drugs and migrants were partly created by policies that pushed drug smuggling from the Caribbean to the border (and from the air to the ground) and that determined that ever larger percentages of Mexican migrants to the United States would be considered illegal (creating, among other distortions, a booming market for fraudulent documents).

Given this perverse set of unintended consequences, one might ask why the battle of images has appeared, and continues to appear, so important to the US government. Andreas's answer is that demonstrably counterproductive policies can yield significant political dividends. In the case of the escalation of policing for drugs and migrants, the government imposed greater control at the urban crossing points most visible to the media and to the public in order to satisfy popular clamour for order. The political benefits of having done so are clear. In the 1996 presidential race, a border apparently under control provided Clinton with a powerful political shield against Republican attack, especially in the politically vital state of California (p. 110). To highlight the role of the border in the race, Andreas provides an illuminating discussion of the war of images

conducted on television between the Democratic and Republican parties and their candidates.

Andreas outlines some very suggestive differences between US policing of its border with Mexico and European cases. US controls have focused almost exclusively on the international boundary, whereas German controls have extended much deeper into society. Methods politically inconceivable in the United States, particularly the use of national identity cards, are taken for granted in Germany. At the same time, methods that are politically unthinkable in Germany – such as border fencing and military involvement – receive broad political support in the United States. In yet another instructive contrast, Spain, which in many respects is more like the United States, still has relied to a great extent on national identity cards. Andreas's comparisons provide additional evidence that a comparative look at migration and immigration policies can enrich the debate over these issues in North America.

Andreas's book provides detailed proof for the key role of culture in forming national security policy. There can be little doubt that the war over images of control at the US-Mexican border has shaped border policy in important, and largely unconstructive, ways. An obsession with control has contributed to the longevity of outmoded and ultimately untenable policy positions. But, while the Clinton administration lost myriad discrete battles on both the drug and migration fronts, it won the war for hearts and minds and votes. In shedding light on the mechanics of this contest and its implications for the future, Andreas's book will serve as a benchmark for future examinations of drugs and migration, of policing and of border policy generally, in the relationship between the United States and Mexico in their new North American home.

Hewlett Foundation

DAVID LOREY

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Sidney Weintraub, *Financial Decision-Making in Mexico: To Bet a Nation* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), pp. xx + 212, \$45.00, \$19.95 pb.

The Mexican financial crisis of 1994–95, characterised as ‘the first financial crises of the twenty-first century’ by the Managing Director of the IMF, followed a sudden reversal in market confidence that had a devastating effect on the country's economy. After the sudden interruption of capital inflows in late 1994, economic activity in 1995 contracted by 6.9 per cent in real terms. This was the sharpest decline since the Great Depression six decades earlier. It was reflected in a marked rise in unemployment, which coupled with an upturn in inflation, and a 44 per cent fall in industrial wages, lowered the country's standard of living sharply. The resulting fall in private consumption of 12.9 per cent was the most severe ever recorded in Mexico. The ensuing bankruptcies were to give rise to a banking crisis the cost of which may exceed US \$100 billion. How could a disaster of this magnitude come about in a country that was a model reformer and that some observers considered to have the best economic team in the world? Answering this question is the task that Sidney Weintraub has set himself in this book. The approach followed is very ambitious. Weintraub does not simply want to explain what went wrong, what were the mistaken policies and their

effects; he wants to understand the thinking inside the Mexican government that led to these policies.

The central argument of the book is that Mexico got into economic decision-making trouble in 1994 as a result of a mind-cast of the leadership, which was the product of a traumatic history which largely determines the present character of Mexicans. The parallel with Greek tragedy immediately comes to mind. The main imprints of this history on the Mexican psyche are, according to the author, a national inferiority complex, possibly the result of the loss of over half of the national territory to the USA; a defensive nationalism that took the form of admonishing other nations to stay out of internal Mexican affairs; the preference for strong national leaders, a trait developed from the need to unify the country; and, finally, the long period of one-party rule from 1929, that shaped the way Mexicans conducted their affairs. In particular, secrecy was the routine way of doing things; arrogance on the part of decision-makers and an unwillingness to entertain contrary views from outside a small inner circle were constant attributes of leadership. Just as nationalism kept other countries out of Mexican affairs, so one party rule kept the general population out of the affairs of government. To the author, the extent of the influence of these features in conditioning actions by senior officials is arguable, but their existence is not.

The book provides a thorough, careful, detailed and well-researched chronicle of events and policies leading to the crisis. Weintraub has taken pains to speak to the greatest possible number of actors involved in the events of 1994 and to check their versions with those of others. He has also complemented the Mexican story with the views and recollections of the US Treasury and Federal Reserve and IMF officials. The book provides a very useful account of the events leading to the crisis for present and future students of contemporary Mexican history.

Having said that, this reviewer is made uneasy by an historical determinism that seems to be the underlying theme. Whatever the influence of history, surely the author overstates the case when explaining the crisis as ultimately the result of flaws in the character of Mexican officials, which presumably they could not help, since they are products of a historical experience of nationalism and the fruit of a culture of authoritarian rule that favours 'secretive decision making by political leaders and the senior bureaucracy which forms part and parcel of the hegemonic exercise of domestic power'. One cannot help asking how this historical experience influenced the prevailing attitude of the Ministry of Finance and the Board of the Central Bank to the excessive current account deficits recorded in 1993 and 1994. The prevailing doctrine was that deficits were not a problem since they were the reflection of private capital inflows; consequently, if these diminished the deficits would also decline. The authorities should not intervene to moderate them, for the market knows better. Rather than the traumas of Mexican history, this attitude would appear to reflect a 'free market fundamentalism', possibly imported. A similar *laissez-faire* attitude by the authorities prevailed towards the excessively high rates of domestic credit expansion by the newly privatised banks in the years leading to the crisis. Again, the argument of non-interference with the market prevailed against common sense. On the face of it, these mistakes had little to do with the historical experience of the country.

We are told the defensive nationalism of Mexican officials rejected outside advice that their economic policies were on a collision course with failure. Having

been there, I can truthfully say that, whatever they stated after the crisis, in the prior months and weeks the policy comments of top IMF and WB officials visiting the Central Bank were far from critical, to the chagrin of some that had certain misgivings about the policies being followed. Was the crisis inevitable? After the event, since things went wrong, the question is not even posed. If it were, the temptation to answer with a resounding yes would be overwhelming. And yet, despite the mistakes made, the outcome might have been different, especially if there had been no assassinations of major political figures to shake the confidence of markets in the political stability of the country.

Had a devaluation taken place before December 1994 it would have been handled more skilfully by an experienced team. Consequently, panic would not have ensued and the free fall of the currency, with its costly sequel, could have been avoided. Two of the striking features of that unfortunate event were the very weak programme prepared by the new team and the lack of communication between outgoing and incoming high officials of the finance ministry.

Was the devaluation inevitable? The Central Bank had proposed an exchange rate adjustment a few weeks earlier. This proposal was resisted by a finance minister who may have hoped to remain in place. He argued that there was a risk that the ensuing loss of confidence would make a small exchange rate adjustment difficult to achieve and that, as a result, the rate of inflation would rise sharply. The strategy to be followed was one of gaining competitiveness, made possible by a rate of inflation that was rapidly converging to that of the USA and a rate of productivity growth faster than that of the USA.

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ARIEL BUIRA

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Judith Clifton, *The Politics of Telecommunications in Mexico: Privatisation and State-Labour Relations 1982–95* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford, 2000), pp. xiv + 277, £50.00 hb.

This book, based upon Judith Clifton's original doctoral dissertation, is a snapshot of a particular aspect of the Mexican privatisation programme under President Raúl Salinas (1988–94): the divestiture of the state telephone company *Teléfonos de México* (TELMEX). Her main goal is to probe interpretation proposed in the early 1990s by distinguished Mexican experts that the market reforms set in motion by President Miguel de la Madrid, and accelerated by Salinas, were incompatible with the Mexican corporatist system. Consequently, once set in motion, these reforms would inevitably democratise state-society relations and undermine the political regime that the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) had developed since the 1930s.

As a test case, Clifton focuses on the largest Mexican privatisation up until 1990, that of TELMEX. She justifies the case selection on several grounds. Economically, Salinas thought that a successful privatisation of TELMEX, given the strategic importance of telecommunications, would set the tone for the whole divestiture programme. Politically, the president wanted TELMEX to be a showcase of the 'new unionism' model that he was putting forth where labour would accept the pro-business ideas of his administration. Thus, despite the narrowness of the test case, according to Clifton, TELMEX was a crucial one that could shed light on a host of state-society issues. The basic research question underlying the whole book is, in a nutshell, 'did the privatisation of TELMEX

have a positive impact in democratising state-labour relations and the internal organisation of the telephone workers' union (Sindicato de Telefonistas de la República Mexicana, STRM)?' After a cursory description of Mexico's political system (chapter one) and a brief outline of state-labour relations in that country (chapter two), the book gets into the thrust of the analysis (chapters three to five). It is this latter section of the manuscript that is most interesting and controversial at the same time.

Based on her findings, Clifton rejects the thesis that privatisation, at least in the case of TELMEX, was conducive to the democratisation of state-labour relations. On the contrary, she finds that the Salinas administration manipulated the state divestiture process in such a way that the old patronage and corrupt networks took new forms, in terms of opportunities and resources, to pursue shady deals and foster political clienteles. Thus, the reform process did not alter significantly the nature of power relations among government officials, union leaders and businessmen. The government used privatisation revenues to win over the STRM leadership, which in turn adhered to Salinas' new unionism concept and made sure that rank-and-file opposition was muted. More to the point, Salinas actively encouraged the STRM leader, Hernández Juárez, to create a new labour confederation. Internally, contrary to early predictions, if anything the STRM became less democratic. The decision-making process within the union became even more hierarchical and shady as a new group of non-elected members, the so-called *comisionados*, took over the leadership of the union with the tacit consent of the government and the new private ownership.

Proponents of the thesis that freedom in the markets leads to freedom in the polity would surely object to Clifton's conclusion. Through trial and error, in the end it can be argued that the neoliberal reforms had a positive impact on the demise of the PRI regime in the 2000 presidential elections. In other words, Clifton's argument, based upon one case, does not necessarily disprove the thesis. However, its greatest contribution is to call attention to the way market reforms are actually implemented. The recent economic crisis affecting most of the countries that promoted market reforms in Latin America, save for Chile, seems to indicate that the political manipulations that Clifton describes in the TELMEX case were, indeed, not isolated incidents. This may explain why crucial markets such as telecommunications were privatised under monopolistic conditions that allowed government to cut deals with business groups and unions. In turn, this state of affairs promoted rent-seeking behaviour and slowed the economic growth that could have ensued had competition been allowed in the first place.

The book would have benefited from a deeper discussion of the literature on market reforms, which is mostly confined to works focusing on Mexico. As a consequence it looks a bit skimpy. Nonetheless, the case study is painstakingly researched and the analysis well supported by the data presented. Clifton's study does point out that market reforms rather than promoting greater democracy can actually be manipulated politically to disguise a restructuring of power relations. Although this is not a novel thesis, the book does make a good contribution to the ongoing academic debate and will be of particular interest for specialists of Mexico as well as for those generally interested on labour vis-à-vis market reform issues.

Southern Methodist University

LUIGI MANZETTI

Luigi Manzetti (ed.), *Regulatory Policy in Latin America: Post-Privatisation Realities* (Coral Gables, FL: North-South Center Press, University of Miami, 2000), pp. ii + 301, £40.95 hb.

Several Latin American countries undertook massive privatisation programmes during the late 1980s and 1990s. Most of them are facing a similar question: how to regulate those sectors that are natural monopolies and deregulate those sectors where competition will bring efficiency? How to induce a spillover of the efficiency gains of the privatised firms to the rest of the society? The book under review addresses the main problems that Latin American countries are facing in regulating some sectors and deregulating others. Wisely, it offers a multi-disciplinary perspective on regulation which I believe is the appropriate standpoint. I do not have any doubt that regulatory policies will inevitably reflect deeper cultural, legal and political features of society, as will the institutions that evolve in response to these factors. Certainly, the book conveys this message.

The root of the current difficulties experienced with regulatory policies in Latin America is in the way privatisations have been conducted: scant attention was paid to the form and structure of the industry after privatisation. Several chapters in the book highlight this fact, and some of them describe the sequence of renegotiations of contracts that, as a result, has taken place. Latin American governments used privatisations as a fiscal instrument: the emphasis was put on the price at which the assets were sold and the result was often the creation of monopolistic or oligopolistic markets under private ownership at the cost of economic efficiency. The contributors agree on this point. Although it is not discussed in the book, the Latin American way of privatising is time inconsistent. Consequently, the post-privatisation regulatory policies must be path-dependent. Several chapters in the book illustrate this feature of the recent Latin American regulatory policies.

Etache and Martimort present an excellent survey on what we know and what we do not know about optimal regulatory policies. In particular, they remind us that theory is at odds with the recommendation of most practitioners about the optimal number of regulatory agencies. This is an interesting and critical issue on which more research is required and of which policymakers should be aware.

Nevertheless, the contributors of the case studies in the book face a rather different question to the one addressed by Etache and Martimort. They need to answer the following question: what is the best strategy to regulate or deregulate markets after privatisations that have allocated property rights in a way that conspires against conducting an efficient regulatory policy? For me the book offers some insights on this issue but does not have a definite answer. Perhaps, more time and experiences are required. I have in mind the recent deregulation of the telecommunications sector in Argentina: this is a promising, new post-privatisation reality that may shed light on deregulatory strategies for Latin America.

We all agree that utility regulation has to promote (static and dynamic) efficiency. We also agree that there is a trade-off between the credibility and the flexibility of the regulatory agencies. However, the mode in which privatisations were conducted in Latin America showed too much flexibility by policymakers and so undermined regulatory credibility. The book offers some case studies on the evolution of regulation in Latin America that exemplifies this dilemma (for

example, the electricity sector and the telecommunication sector). Additionally, Saba, in his chapter on the Argentine case, reminds us that regulatory policies in Latin America operate in an a priori unstable legal system, which itself undermines their credibility. Thus, it is not easy to extrapolate to Latin America all the lessons or prescriptions gathered from the USA.

Mary Shirley has written a very interesting chapter about the extra problems of regulating (or privatising in the first place) the water system. She convincingly argues that on top of the standard issues associated with the regulation of natural monopolies, the water system is different: important externalities imply that government involvement will be greater in water than in other utilities and that it will be harder for governments to establish credibility. This may explain why we do not see many privatisations of the water system.

The book not only addresses the question of regulation of public utilities but also the critical regulation of the financial system. Although both chapters on financial regulation are interesting, the conclusions are pretty standard: there is a call for a prudential regulation of banks. It should be noted that the regulation of the financial system and the regulation of public utilities act upon completely different motives and the editor of the book should have addressed this issue.

The book provides a strong argument that privatisations should not be used as fiscal instruments. It would have been helpful to add a chapter comparing the experience of the UK and the USA with those of Latin America. More generally, regulatory policies should not be used as a fiscal instrument or as an instrument to stimulate aggregate demand. It is not meant to serve macroeconomic purposes, and when used for that matter, as the book illustrates, the costs are high. The privatisation process and regulatory policies in Latin America are areas where we urgently need more empirical research. We need to measure productivity gains, consumer surplus changes, price setting behaviour, etc. Profitability gains in privatised firms may have been obtained at the expense of workers. We also need to measure the effect of privatisations on workers' welfare.

Universidad Torcuato Di Tella

SEBASTIÁN GALIANI

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Mario Esteban Carranza, *South American Free Trade or Free Trade Area of the Americas? Open Regionalism and the Future of Regional Economic Integration in South America* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. xiv + 245, £42.50 hb.

Carranza's purpose is to advocate a South American Free Trade Area (SAFTA) as the only effective way to ensure a strong South America, and to avoid dependence on the United States and globalisation. Yet while he attempts to demonstrate that SAFTA is a feasible outcome, he does not identify economic or political interests in it on the part of the potential members, and he offers no analytic basis for believing that a SAFTA could or should emerge. Brazil mentioned it in the mid-1990s; but he offers no evidence of other countries' support. The discussion is entirely from the point of view of Mercosur, not the other South American countries, much less all the other Latin and Caribbean countries which are potential members of an FTAA.

Carranza discusses first the theory of regions, then the regions potentially available to the Mercosur countries: Mercosur itself, the FTAA, SAFTA, possible bilateral relations with the USA and/or the EU. The author is a political

scientist, and insists (in the theory chapter) on identifying one explanation of regions, explicitly rejecting 'eclectic' theories. He argues that any analysis of regions must treat states as unitary actors, looking at state interests, not looking behind the state to interest groups. But his justification, that regions must be considered a political initiative (which certainly does apply to Mercosur), seems an inadequate reason for rejecting any examination of other interests: national governments themselves are political initiatives, but interest groups act. In the empirical discussion, the author does, in fact, introduce interests. His preferred explanation for regions (at least in the post-Cold War period) appears to be economic: the emergence of rival trading blocs, where small countries see an advantage in links to a regional hegemon, but disadvantages in over-dependence on an external one, like the USA. This message, however, remains extremely unclear, partly because of his weak economic analysis, but principally because there is no attempt to refer the empirical discussions back to the theoretical discussion in the first chapter. The concluding chapter instead uses three possible scenarios based on external factors (whether FTAA and/or Mercosur succeed), not on the internal forces behind SAFTA, in order to judge the possibilities of SAFTA emerging. It remains unclear, however, whether SAFTA would emerge to stop the FTAA or because the FTAA proved impossible.

Carranza displays little knowledge of regions outside South America. He rejects the 'common threat' explanation for regions, arguing that the EU did not suffer from either security or economic fear of outsiders (p. 26). It seems odd to argue that the 'new regionalism' is 'independent from great power influence' in the case of the regions in Africa, both supported and financed by European countries, not to mention NAFTA. He discusses both the 'old' (1960s–70s) and new (1990s) Latin American regionalism without noting that the same periods can be seen in other areas. He considers that 'regional hegemons' are economically beneficial and not politically destabilising. He ignores the economic arguments for disadvantages as well as advantages to growth poles. He believes that Germany has (always?) been the hegemon in the EU and is apparently unaware of the difficulties posed by Nigeria in West Africa or South Africa in Southern Africa (or even the USA in NAFTA). He fails to understand the economic debate about the relationship of import substitution policies and regionalism, not recognising the conflict between national and regional economic interests. His interpretation of the failure of 'old' Latin American regionalism, that it was destroyed by the debt crisis of 1982, implies an unusually optimistic view of regionalism in the late 1970s.

He describes Mercosur as 'open regionalism', but it is never clear what he means by this. He uses both the Asian definition (reducing barriers to non-members of the region *pari passu* with those to the region) and that of ECLAC (allowing any country to join the region), without appearing to recognise the difference. He later introduces his own definitions: not using trade policy as an instrument of industrial policy (which would surprise Brazil) or deep integration (the reverse of open).

Carranza's histories of Mercosur and the FTAA could not be used by readers unfamiliar with them because they do not give clear accounts of the stages of negotiation and integration, or of the interests of the parties (with history and interests scattered among chapters three, four and five: the chapters appear to have been written independently and at different times). While he notes

Mercosur's interest in negotiating as a bloc in the FTAA, he does not seem to understand either the legal implications of a customs union negotiating in an FTA or the importance of analysing whether US opposition was caused by ignorance or by explicit opposition to Mercosur. He considers the US 'acceptance' of a broad FTAA (going beyond trade) as a concession (p. 125), not recognising that this was in fact the US objective. There is no analysis of why Chile and Bolivia remain associate, not full, members of Mercosur, although this might illuminate Mercosur and other interests with implications for a SAFTA. Similarly, he does not analyse Mexico's interests, as a member of NAFTA, for or against an FTAA.

The book is virtually unreadable, with long digressions to survey others' opinions, topics recurring, a (very selective) history of US–Latin American relations from 1848 lurking in a chapter on relations after the Miami Summit (of 1994), and important topics relegated to the pages of footnotes (at least one repeated) at the end of each chapter. Chapter six contains a sufficient summary of the main arguments.

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SHEILA PAGE

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Sidney Weintraub, *Development and Democracy in the Southern Cone: Imperatives for US Policy in South America* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2000), pp. xvi + 95, \$15.95 pb.

This short book is one of four studies commissioned by the Center for Strategic and International Studies on US–South American relations in the early twenty-first century. Its focus reflects a neglected area of US foreign policy: both academic studies and policymakers' attention are dominated by relations with Mexico, with the occasional foray into the Caribbean Basin and South American 'troublespots', such as Colombia. What the book emphasises is the increasing importance of the Southern Cone (and the rest of South America) to the United States, the impossibility or folly of continued indifference, particularly in light of the negotiations for a Free Trade Area of the Americas, the weight of Brazil and recent instability in its economy, and the evolution of the USA's own global and regional position.

The book is divided into four chapters, the first two of which bring together the overlapping agendas of the various subregions of the Americas. Internal developments in the Southern Common Market, or Mercosur, are appropriately and usefully viewed through the lens of their interplay not only with processes of hemispheric integration but also with an emerging negotiating agenda with the European Union. The final couple of chapters are more explicitly concerned with laying out the agenda for the USA that emerges from this interplay, particularly with respect to the ways that the twin goals of US foreign policy – the promotion of democracy and market economics – are currently articulated and pursued.

Weintraub's persuasive argument is that US policy has been characteristically 'ambiguous'. On the economic front, the executive continues to act without fast-track authority from congress; the expansion of the NAFTA or free trade agreements with countries such as Chile have run into brick walls; market access for South American exports to the USA remains blocked by strikingly resilient

levels of protectionism. The progress of the FTAA, by extension, is depicted as an important part contingent on the elimination of obstacles to it in the US domestic political arena: likely opposition from a range of quarters, particularly from labour groups, does not augur well for the conclusion of a meaningful agreement by the deadline of 2005. Because of such obstacles, Weintraub observes, there is a real sense in which 'process has now substituted for substance' in the summitry agenda. On the more explicitly political front, he argues that the 'geopolitical' aspects of US foreign policy are of significantly less consequence than the geoeconomic and what he calls the 'geophilosophical'. This is surely to an important extent because they don't need to be: with a couple of important exceptions (Cuba, Colombia and some way further behind Paraguay and Venezuela), and not withstanding enormous reservations concerning the quality of the regimes in question, the democratic landscape has largely taken root in the subregion. It is hard to see how – or indeed why – the redressing of the obvious and manifold shortcomings of South American democracies could or should be the task of the United States as a single actor. Indeed, it is Brazil that is taking much of the lead in promoting the subregional 'democracy' agenda, which was the centrepiece of the recent 'South American summit', and there is progressively much greater emphasis on the maintenance and deepening of democracy through collective endeavour: the roles of the Mercosur, the 'Summits of the Americas' process, the OAS, and so on, in this respect seem to have left 'US foreign policy' manifestly outdated as a motor for democracy promotion in the Americas. As a result, the role of the USA increasingly appears to be one of 'support' for democracy rather than its 'promotion', or perhaps simply vacuous rhetoric.

What this does indicate, however, is a genuine shift in the political economy of hemispheric relations and a new complexity in the architecture of the region. While the USA remains unquestionably dominant in terms of economic and political 'clout', it is increasingly constrained to grapple with agendas and pressures from the Southern Cone – and especially with the notion of Brazilian subregional leadership – which until recently only infrequently passed across its radar screen. Weintraub's book clearly aims to be accessible to both policy and academic communities, and it offers a concise and highly readable interpretation of the issues these trends pose for the USA. Academic readers might well find that its principal value lies in the range of interesting questions, especially those which concern the unfolding shape of the wider 'region' of the Americas, that emerge from this analysis of the USA's position in it.

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Patrice M. Franko, *Toward a New Security Architecture in the Americas: The Strategic Implications of the FTAA* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2000), pp. xvi + 110, \$16.95 pb.

Events related to security matters are moving remarkably quickly in the Americas. A few years ago one often heard that while economic integration in the hemisphere was moving along apace, security cooperation was being largely left behind. That state of affairs no longer applies in anywhere near so stark a fashion. Much has been done to improve the former situation. Chile and Argentina are

enjoying close relations, and this improvement has included the two countries' armed forces. The Mercosur countries are breaking new ground with all manner of confidence building measures (CBMs). Ecuador and Peru have not only buried the hatchet but have begun a series of CBMs as well. And the Central American nations' armed forces are involved in an exceptional if difficult series of experiments related to their remarkable 1995 *Tratado Marco de Seguridad Democrática*. The picture is not, of course, altogether positive. Colombia's security issues with her neighbours seem to have no end. Bolivia's diplomatic wrangle with Chile allows for little bilateral cooperation. And United States intransigence on Cuba keeps that dispute, though less security related than before, very much alive. When compared with a decade ago, however, regional security cooperation seems favourable indeed. Civilian governments arguably more consolidated than at any time in history, have been able to move the security agenda forward in many ways previously unimaginable.

At the hemispheric level, progress has been impressive as well. The OAS, long hamstrung in addressing security matters, has been in the centre of this process. Shortly after the Cold War's end, the OAS found it possible to establish a Special Committee on Hemispheric Security in 1991. Four years later it became permanent. A series of defence ministerial meetings (DMAs) of the whole hemisphere except Cuba, was begun in 1995 in Williamsburg. Further meetings have taken place in Bariloche, Cartagena de Indias and Manaus. And other initiatives in the area of hemispheric CBMs have moved along slowly but quite surely.

This remarkable backdrop has given Patrice Franko the opportunity to write a short reflective piece on the links between such a process and the wider one of hemispheric free trade. And Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies has made it possible for those reflections to appear in a timely fashion. The author provides us first with an overview of problems and prospects for the FTAA and then discusses that process in the light of changes in the hemispheric security context. Franko does a masterly job at underscoring not only the errors of the past, especially in United States policy, but also the pitfalls of future US and Latin American policy options. The author is particularly hard on the US tendency constantly to move from neglect to direct intervention without the development of real regional policy. Even where engagement with the region on the part of the USA has been the goal, it has not been carefully planned or executed. It is difficult not to agree with both these points. Professor Franko sees the key to success in providing mutual support between goals of regional security cooperation and the achievement of a hemispheric free trade area as shared values and a determination to see the processes through to the end. The analysis of this complicated scene is sound and informative.

Some issues are not, however, so well addressed, which is perhaps inevitable in such a short work. The politics of the DMA process are rather left hanging at places. Ministers of Defence are often not the best people to deal with wider *security* issues that are not necessarily within their constitutional purview. Such can be the case with drugs, immigration, health matters, natural disasters, international crime and a host of other broad security matters. It is interesting, also, that Latin American governments (and Canada's) did not necessarily agree with Washington on the need for yet another regular high-level hemispheric meeting. There is likewise a need to discuss military reservations regarding the

processes of trade liberalisation and security cooperation. And, in this regard, the assertion (p. 67) that a human security approach is less encroaching on national sovereignty really needs greater proof and argumentation. Some quibbles may be in order, too, in case there is a plan to broaden this highly valuable small work into something more comprehensive. There is often confusion about what one is talking about in the use of the terms 'Latin America' and 'South America'. More seriously, the Caribbean, Canada, Central America and the Andes get rather short shrift from this work.

Despite these reservations, this work is a highly valuable addition to the still rather scarce literature trying to link the widely discussed issues of hemispheric free trade with other hemispheric and regional processes that intersect with it.

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Max J. Castro (ed.), *Free Markets, Open Societies, Closed Borders? Trends in International Migration and Immigration Policy in the Americas* (Miami, FL: North-South Center Press, University of Miami, 1999), pp. iii + 284, £21.50 pb.

Immigration policy has received much attention from politicians and the public alike in the major receiving countries in recent years. Concerns about immigration have reached the halls of academe and hence many volumes and articles have been written on the subject. The present collection stands out from the rest in a significant way. Consistently, the authors go well beyond superficial domestic policy recommendations and, instead, focus on the importance of structural conditions and social forces in sending countries, an approach that provides a more complete and complex picture of migratory processes. The volume is also remarkable in that it does not deal solely with the United States as a receiving country, a notion that has contributed to fuel anti-immigrant sentiments in the United States, but alerts us to the fact that there are other important migration streams and destination points throughout the Americas. The picture that emerges from this collection is such that migratory movements are not simply the result of individual calculations of potential migrants, but of a region deeply connected by, among other factors, the movement of people within the context of an increasingly more integrated global economy.

In part one, Saskia Sassen examines how the forces of global economic integration have transformed the state, as it implements and legitimises a transnational economy, and what this implies for migration policy and the regulation of migration flows. Max J. Castro focuses on the potential consequences for Latin America of a new restrictionist era in US immigration policy, and points to cultural factors – not only economic or political ones – that shape nativist and restrictionist views. And Alan B. Simmons discusses the 'entrepreneurial' approach that has characterised Canadian immigration policy in the 1990s, the value conflicts that this strategy poses with regards to humanitarian concerns, and its implications for the composition of current immigration flows.

In part two, Sergio Díaz-Briquets points to the unreasonable approaches that treat international migration as a domestic issue in receiving countries, and discusses options for sending countries, such as the development of employment opportunities, with the help of receiving countries. Leah Haus examines the

technological revolutions that have intensified economic interdependence – and thus, migratory flows – in the late twentieth century, and points to the deleterious consequences of unilateral policies to manage international migratory movements. Luz Marina Díaz M. discusses how new development models in Colombia, which contribute to a decline in the quality of life of large sectors of the population, will continue to sustain large population movements internationally, mainly to Venezuela, but also internally, a situation exacerbated by the generalised violence in Colombia.

In part three, Philip L. Martin examines how economic development models (and associated economic crises) in Mexico have tended to stimulate emigration in the short and medium run, and he notes that whereas Mexico exports workers to the United States, it also imports labour, mainly from Central America. Jorge Santibáñez Romellón provides estimates of the number of Mexican workers that cross the border. Through an exploration of how US-bound Salvadorean migration is maintained, Sarah J. Mahler focuses on the effects of capitalist development in El Salvador, as well as the new forces shaped by transnational ties that encourage people to migrate and migrants to stay abroad. And arguing for a regional or cross-border approach to immigration policies that would include grassroots groups, Susanne Jonas discusses the deep political and economic links between the United States, Mexico and the Central American region that have created and maintained high rates of emigration in Central America.

In part four Lisandro Pérez provides a richly-documented history of Cuban migration to the United States, tracing it to the late nineteenth century, and examining changes in US policy that have affected this group at different periods. Examining Caribbean trends of emigration to the United States, Christopher Mitchell observes that the region has not benefited fully from development aid because of specific constraints to trade, investment and development assistance, which overall contribute to sustaining high rates of emigration from the region. In an analysis of the relationship between geopolitics and migration, Ramón Grosfoguel focuses on the history of this relationship in the Caribbean region, and argues that, in addition to economic interests, it has been geopolitics that have fostered Caribbean mass migration to the metropolis, particularly during the Cold War era. Arthur C. Helton provides concrete advice for the countries of the Americas to create a regional body of temporary refuge to protect and assist asylum seekers in emergency situations, taking into account the different legal regimes in the region. And Max J. Castro closes with a sobering statement about the repercussions of the backlash against immigration in the United States, that culminated in the mid-1990s with landmark events such Proposition 187, and the enactment of the 1996 immigration act.

This collection is a valuable contribution to our understanding of why migration flows occur in the direction they do, and how they are maintained over time. I highly recommend it to anyone interested in the broad topic of immigration, but also to those whose interests fall more specifically within the area of immigration policy. For this reason, I would strongly recommend it to policy makers, so that their actions no longer suffer from the unidirectionality and superficiality that the authors in this exceptional volume collectively criticise.

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Pilar Domingo and Rachel Sieder (eds.), *Rule of Law in Latin America: The International Promotion of Judicial Reform* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2001), pp. 176, £12.00; \$19.95, pb.

Despite its brevity, this work offers an unparalleled overview of internationally supported judicial reform programmes in Latin America. The editors chose their contributors well, covering the three most influential assistance agencies and adding independent experts who were literally there from the start. The list is hardly exhaustive. The United Nations is conspicuously absent, as are views from various bilateral donors, foundations and the recipient countries. Readers may also object to the predominance of US-based participants, but it is an accurate reflection of a past reality. As an introduction to these programmes, the volume cannot be faulted. Moreover, it demonstrates, at least to those prepared to read between the lines, that the common experience has not produced a uniform vision of past achievements or future needs.

The historical treatment of reform assistance is the work's strongest point. Tom Carothers' analysis of the programmes' roots brilliantly disaggregates their multiple and sometimes conflicting objectives. Although Luis Salas covers some of the same ground, his unique contribution lies in a detailed discussion of implementation and some amazing illustrations of donors' worst practices. Salas' evident frustration with donor bureaucracies produces some minor inaccuracies. (Agencies do not 'award projects' to private firms; firms are *contracted* to implement project activities.) Nonetheless, he raises important issues. Margaret Sarles (USAID), Christina Biebesheimer (IDB) and Maria Dakolias (World Bank) provide analytic summaries of how the agencies they represent initiated and developed their approaches, and, in the case of the former two, seemingly exhaustive lists of past and on-going projects. For judicial reform hands, little of this is new. Still, the book is a superb introduction to the theme, and should provide the more knowledgeable with provocative insights.

The editors' intent is, however, more ambitious. The work raises, but deals less satisfactorily with, two fundamental issues: the impact of judicial reform politics, and especially of participants' differing and sometimes conflicting perspectives and agendas; and the programmes' overall utility in advancing social, economic, and political change.

Both the issues and their interaction merit more exhaustive exploration. For the most part, the authors are much better on the first theme. As regards the second, there is a notable tendency to fall into the familiar platitudes and to ignore the growing body of literature questioning their validity. The editors and the two independent experts introduce some scepticism, but still seem reluctant to challenge conventional wisdom directly.

Even on the first issue, the authors frequently pull their punches. This is particularly unfortunate because, as Salas notes, there is a marked lack of transparency about what is being attempted, why, and with what consequences. Salas is the main exception to the rule of diplomacy trumping frankness, but he is less well positioned to discuss inter- and intra-agency politics. The agency representatives should be commended for even hinting at problems of competition among and within donors, or the infelicitous influence of standard operating procedures, peripheral political agendas or the flavour-of-the-month

approach to project design. However, their accounts seem sanitised and overly positive. Donor efforts to ‘stand up the Haitian justice system’ (a term used by US participants) were a disaster, and not only because of the Haitian government’s insufficient political will. In this high-profile programme, US not Haitian politics and bureaucratic infighting accounted for the dramatic lack of realism in objectives, methods and progress reports (a success until failure was declared). If the USAID representative misses this point, the bankers do no better in dealing with countries (e.g., Venezuela and Peru) where, as Salas notes, their organisations showed a peculiar inability to recognise some very serious political constraints. Another theme raised by Salas and Carothers, but unfortunately never addressed elsewhere, is the frequent mismatch between how agencies prefer to work and what is most appropriate for this type of reform.

Biebesheimer’s contention that the IDB entered judicial reform because of Latin American demand is only half accurate. As the historical summaries demonstrate, donors created, shaped and promoted these programmes, and much more could be said, or pulled from the discussion, as to why they took the form they did. As in Domingo and Sieder’s closing essay with its implicit research agenda, we can conclude that the answer does not lie in what was already known about the judiciary’s developmental impact. Still, the editors too tactfully ignore donor reliance on wishful thinking – whether as the connection between a well-functioning judiciary and market growth, or the impact and importance of civil society participation. If less forcefully than might be desired, the work still puts the issues on the table. It provides the diligent reader with ample evidence to explain and evaluate past performance as well as a good indication of where improvements, and a more direct confrontation of opposing viewpoints, are most urgently needed.

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Maxine Molyneux, *Women’s Movements in International Perspective: Latin America and Beyond* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, and London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2001), pp. ix + 244, £42.50 hb.

At a time when alternatives to capitalism seem rarer by the day, a chastened, but – fortunately for her readers – ultimately unrepentant Maxine Molyneux here examines the history of feminism and socialism in Argentina, Nicaragua, Cuba and beyond. The study explores several broad themes like the relationship between gender politics and the state in the southern hemisphere and comparative women’s movements from motherist social movements to collective actions centred on rights and citizenship, all the while ‘decentring from the mainstream European and North American analysis of gender issues’ (p. 2). Developing her now widely employed distinction between strategic and practical gender interests, Molyneux offers the shibboleth and resounding conclusion: there continues to be an ongoing need for women to organise themselves autonomously from men and from governmental institutions.

Molyneux labels as strategic those objectives which aim to overcome women’s subordination in general (e.g., sexual divisions of labour, institutional forms of discrimination) and as practical problems those that pertain to immediate perceived needs, concluding that ‘in the formulation of practical interests there

is the assumption that there is compliance with the existing gender order, while in the case of strategic interests there is an explicit questioning of that order and of the compliance of some women with it' (p. 156). Flowing from this, and seeking to 'escape the polar dilemma of "autonomy or integration" which has long divided the different currents within women's movements' (p. 149), Molyneux none the less expresses the belief that women's movements 'must have independence and exercise power and influence over party policy, albeit within certain constraints' (p. 59).

After describing the tortured history of *La Voz de la Mujer*, an Argentine anarchist newspaper of the later nineteenth-century, and the demands of the anarchist feminists for free love and other goals that were 'too outrageous for the cultural context and for the times' (p. 37), Molyneux devotes two chapters to Nicaragua of the 1980s. Given the high participation of women in the Sandinista revolution, the experiences of the Luisa Amanda Espinosa Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) and the politics of abortion provide illustrations of what Molyneux argues was the excessively narrow equation of socialism with development in Nicaragua at that time. Not wishing to confront directly the ideological and practical foundations of abortion, for example, the Sandinistas pinned their hopes on sex education as a means to change gender attitudes and relations in general.

Able to draw on the longer and richer history of social change in Cuba, Molyneux next turns to a chapter on the Federación de Mujeres Cubanas. Similar to her discussion on Nicaragua, which is carefully framed within a context of international politics, the author traces the impact on gender relations and women's movements in Cuba during the period 1989–93, when there was a near 50 per cent fall in that country's global social product. Praising the achievements before 1989 in health care, education and general standards of living, Molyneux also discusses the reasons why social divisions of labour have retained their essentially unequal character in Cuba. She writes, 'Thus the decades of communist rule, for all that they did bring changes in social relations, had only limited effect on the balance of power between the sexes in the home and in the public realm' (pp. 95–6.)

Rejecting a naïve scepticism regarding varied socialist experiments and experiences – and unabashedly still interested in discussing broad social change – Molyneux feels that one reason for socialism's failures to date resides in the fact that its history is 'inextricably bound up with developmentalism' (p. 113). This conclusion in turn is relevant for the weight she attaches to constructing and maintaining women's organisational autonomy in order to release the energies of women from below and above without falling prey either to the whims of state control or to the ephemeral wish to remain truly independent of other major social transformations. Although occasionally lapsing into unwarranted generalisations about men in Latin America, *Women's Movements in International Perspective* is throughout the work of an original and candid scholar. Enlightening and refreshing, this book should be read by anyone concerned with contemporary questions of citizenship and social membership, 'how to develop a politics which could promote a general project of social justice', and a politics that will necessarily require a radical reworking of the state. This study will be of special interest to readers interested in feminist debates between those advocating involvement with only NGOs as opposed to critical

participation in state run programmes, as well as to scholars and others involved in discussions to reconcile tensions over difference between women themselves in Latin America and beyond.

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