

Reviews

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Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering (eds.), *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492–1800: A Collection of Essays* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000), pp. x + 342, £35.00, hb.

The first in a series devoted to ‘European expansion and global interaction’, this volume brings together work by scholars from various disciplines who have a common Americanist interest. The announced aim of the editors is to bridge disciplinary divides, which is what they attempted to do in organizing the conference at the John Carter Brown Library in October 1996, out of which the present volume grew.

The fourteen main essays in the volume are set out under five headings: terms of contact; signs and symbols; the literate and the nonliterate; intermediaries; and theory. Their scope, like that of Gray’s introduction, is truly continental, ranging literally from Patagonia to Canada, although there is a notable concentration on areas close to the academic homes of the contributors, in and near ‘Eastern North America’ (the Algonquians and Iroquians focused on by James Axtell, Ives Goddard, Margaret Leahey, Kathleen Bragdon, Bruce Greenfield, William Hart and Gray). The sections on ‘Signs’ and ‘The Literate’ feature some excellent analyses of Mesoamerican and Andean texts by Pauline Moffitt Watts, Dana Liebsohn and José Antonio Mazzotti. The opening essays in section one, by Axtell and Goddard, deal with the phenomenon of pidgin and trade languages. In section four, Frances Karttunen returns to the question of intermediaries that lies at the core of her important book on translators and interpreters *Between Worlds* (1994). The concluding essays placed under ‘Theory’ do not always live up to that claim. The first, by Isaías Lerner, certainly does not, though Lieve Jookeen most ably compares three eighteenth-century missionary grammars from very different parts of the continent, and Rüdiger Schreyer deals with notions of ‘savage’ language during the same period.

The best things about this collection of essays are its continental scope, its internal cross-referencing, its determination to go beyond that crude binary that separates ‘oral’ from ‘written’ and, as a consequence, to get away from considering the ‘development’ of script in evolutionary or teleological terms. Also well-achieved, within a recognisable ‘colonialist’ frame, is the disentangling of Europe’s very diverse interests and involvements in America.

Even so, ‘language’ remains in practice a concept very much restricted to the realm of western linguistics, with its fundamental speech bias. Despite obvious pressure to go in that direction, no one openly embraces or develops the idea of visible or visual language as such – one that is so indispensable to any adequate treatment of American recording conventions (and one that western theory has found it so difficult to articulate). Indeed, more than once we are told that no such language existed. Conversely (yet within the same argument), assertions made about phoneticism in Mesoamerican and Andean recording systems are limiting and questionable, for example, ‘[the] codices and the khipu ... did not represent a

phonetic materialization of spoken language' (p. 155). According to the evidence in Zapotec, Olmec and other texts, phoneticism was commonplace in Mesoamerican at least 2000 years ago; as for the quipu, native authors (Guamán Poma) and certain recent scholars alike (Catherine Julien) take a very different view of its relationship to speech. Nor is anything said about the key concept of transcription with reference to its major and most obvious occurrence in America, or in the Chilam Balam books and other alphabetic texts written by the lowland Maya, in their language, which transcribe their hieroglyphic antecedents.

The dates in the volume's title announce, directly enough, Columbus's arrival as the turning-point it undoubtedly was in the history of America. And as a whole, the essays engage admirably with the categorical shocks and differences that the European invasion brought with it. Yet at times there is perhaps an over-emphasis on the difference, synonymous with the foregrounding in the introduction of 'the incredible – perhaps even unique – language density of the pre-Columbian Americas'. For archaeology and evidence in native texts shows us that, within or simultaneously with this density, larger coherences unquestionably existed. Despite their very various tongues and religious practices, Mesoamericans (a term unhelpfully absent from this volume) used the same calendar everywhere, for millennia. Trade routes linked western Mexico to Peru, the upper Mississippi to the Gulf Coast, and Guaraní-speakers who lived more than 2,000 miles apart. The courts at Cuzco and Tenochtitlán anthologised and translated literature from their domains into principal languages, Nahuatl and Quechua. In the same vein, the fascinating account of the widely-spoken 'Chickasaw trade jargon ... fashioned by at least 1700' would have been enhanced by reference to the vast geography traditionally known to those people and manifest in deerskin maps of theirs that few scholars have ever cared to notice.

Without question, the many new and good features of this volume of essays far outweigh its limitations; indeed, its main virtue is precisely that it invites and enables this order of response. There is much excellent and original scholarship to be found here, and a most welcome attempt to correlate it within a truly continental frame.

University of Essex/Stanford University

GORDON BROTHERSTON

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James Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl, with Copious Examples and Texts* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. x + 251, £27.50, £18.95 pb; \$45.00, \$29.95 pb.

With this book James Lockhart adds a most welcome grammar to his impressive list of philological and historical publications related to Nahuatl, the premier indigenous language of central Mexico. Excellent grammars of Nahuatl already exist; the author's intention here is to provide a specific instrument for studying the written form of the language, so important in many kinds of research. More than a grammar in the traditional sense, *Nahuatl as Written* is a practical tool, emphasising aspects of the language most useful in the translation of older documents. After all, the final aim of Lockhart's work has never been the learning of the language *per se*, but rather the interpretation of Nahuatl documents as a precious source for the study of indigenous people.

The body of the book consists of twenty lessons, each beginning with a detailed explanation of a specific topic, accompanied by numerous illuminating examples,

and ending with a series of additional examples to be used for practice. The vocabulary of the examples reflects what is commonly found in Nahuatl documents. The lessons cover the essentials of Nahuatl grammar in an order the author has found appropriate in his teaching experience, emphasising practical points such as how to take constructions apart and find the root in the dictionary. An entire lesson is devoted to a sample Nahuatl testament, the predominant genre of Nahuatl documentation. Lockhart dedicates entire chapters to word order, to the ubiquitous subordinating particle *in*, and to various other particles crucial in articulating sentences. Some of the later chapters go beyond any usual notion of grammar, one being devoted to the orthography with its variations and deviances, and another to Spanish influence in Nahuatl texts as seen across the centuries, which Lockhart divides into the three stages seen in his other works. Continuing in the practical vein, two more chapters are devoted to transcription and translation of sample documents, leading the reader through the practical application of what was previously learned.

An epilogue presents a list of publications that contain Nahuatl texts with transcriptions and translations. In addition, the main grammars of Nahuatl are discussed, particularly Horacio Carochi's 1645 *Arte*, of which the author has published a bilingual edition. The first appendix, in which the main Nahuatl dictionaries are discussed is similar as that, in the first stages of learning Nahuatl, knowing how to use the dictionaries is as important as understanding grammar. Detailed hints are given especially about the nature of Fray Alonso de Molina's useful *Vocabulario*. In the two following appendices a substantial selection of texts of different periods, help the reader toward the stage of independent translation of actual documents. The book ends with a Nahuatl-to-English vocabulary based on all the examples and texts; it contains the core words used in older documents. The author has prepared an extra set of all the texts and examples in the book to allow for independent practice, as well as some other texts to be translated on one's own. The set is an essential complement of the book, but unfortunately it could not be published together with it and is only available separately.

This book is clear and easy to use, providing all the essential elements one needs to undertake translation of Nahuatl documents. It transforms the effort of learning this fascinating but difficult language into an enjoyable and rewarding challenge. It is another notable achievement in Lockhart's impression career.

*Institute of Latin American Studies,
University of London*

CATERINA PIZZIGONI

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John Charles Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 2001), pp. 352, \$26.95, hb.

For many years English-speaking students have complained about the absence of concise histories of Latin America. Prior to the 1990s the choice was limited to vast unwieldy volumes or a couple of textbooks which eschewed the common themes by fragmenting their narratives along nation-based lines. There was Tulio Halperín Donghi's *The Contemporary History of Latin America*, which Chasteen translated into English, and that was pretty much it. Even then, Halperín Donghi's crucial text limited its analytical narrative to the modern period, and so did not help those who

were looking for an introduction to pre-conquest and colonial Latin America. Moreover, after the 1980s Halperín Donghi's book lost that immediacy and freshness that first characterised it, posing problems for students, eager to read about the debt crisis, the *campesinistas* and Colombia's drug-barons. However, ever since Edwin Williamson's *Penguin History of Latin America* was published in 1992, a stream of general and modern histories of Latin America have started to fill our libraries' bookshelves. Peter Bakewell, Lawrence A. Clayton, Michael L. Conniff, Keith Haynes, Benjamin Keen and Mark Wasserman are but some historians who have contributed to ending this drought. We have gone from telling our first-year students to plough their way selectively through the *Cambridge History of Latin America* to a situation where they are now almost spoilt for choice.

Having said this, Chasteen's concise history of Latin America is both unique and noteworthy. It is not just 'another' history of Latin America; it is a book I strongly recommend. Chasteen succeeds in achieving three impossible goals. First, he has condensed over 2,000 years of history into some 350 pages without one feeling that there are any grave or untenable omissions. Secondly, he has managed to provide a coherent and consistent continental-thematic-based narrative to Latin America's past in which the diversity, plurality and heterogeneity of the different countries and regions' experiences have not been altogether sacrificed. Thirdly, he has succeeded in attaining the first two goals employing a particularly vibrant, and engaging style. One of the impressions one gets from reading *Born in Blood and Fire* is that Chasteen must be an excellent teacher. The style is, at times, almost talkative, as the newcomer to Latin American studies is helped to understand the point that Chasteen is making. There is an enthusiasm to his voice that is contagious.

Chasteen's success can be attributed in great part to his strategy. He has a clear understanding of his reader's needs and limitations (a first-year US undergraduate with little knowledge of Latin America). The narrative is thematic and centres mainly on those common features that have been shared by the majority of Latin American countries. As a result, we do not get bogged down with detail, going back in time again and again as a particular period is retraced first through Mexican eyes, then Guatemalan eyes, then Honduran ones and so on. However, the author inserts at the end of each chapter a section on 'countercurrents' which allows him to qualify the generalisations made in the main narrative. He also brings history to life by employing short biographies of representative individuals, taking us from the general to the specific with well-chosen quotes. At one level, as an example, the student is given the general tenets of Latin American nationalism; at another, they are introduced to the 'stories' of Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, José Batlle y Ordóñez, Hipólito Yrigoyen and Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

Chasteen's book could be criticised for favouring the narratives of the larger countries (Mexico, Brazil and Argentina) over those of the 'smaller' ones, for downplaying the negative influence the US has had in the region since Independence, and for entering into such a specific dialogue with his US student readers ('This quick introduction is for US readers who are encountering Latin American history for the first time,' p. 21) that other English-speaking readers may feel alienated. Notwithstanding this, *Born in Blood and Fire* remains a first-class, concise and hugely entertaining introduction. I have no doubt that in the next ten years this will be the book most students read as a first step into the world of Latin American studies.

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Stephen J. Summerhill and John Alexander Williams, *Sinking Columbus: Contested History, Cultural Politics, and Mythmaking during the Quincentenary* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp. xii + 219, \$49.95, hb.

An Ecuadorean immigrant, complaining about the obstacles placed by Spanish immigration authorities, declared to a Barcelona radio station: 'the *gringos* don't want to do the jobs that only immigrants will accept.' This term was the transplant of a common label used by Indians or *mestizos* in his country to refer to whites, of either Hispanic or Anglo background. Astonished Catalan radio listeners were not even aware that the origin of the term allegedly goes back to the Mexican War, when US troops supposedly sang a traditional song: 'Green grow the rushes, oh'. Calling the Catalans *gringos* in their own home must be the result of globalisation, some may think.

What is often supposed to have begun as a pejorative name given to invaders is now a way to refer to 'the other'. Today, 'the other' is not the indigenous people that are to be understood and accepted instead of rejected, but the Europeans, who in the old times were imperial superior figures. Today the latter are demoted to a precarious state, objects of attack in the pursuit of political correctness. The most impressive aspect of this phenomenon is that it happened as quickly as the switch from Cold War bipolarity to today's globalisation.

Explaining this change of perspective is the backbone of *Sinking Columbus*, by Summerhill (a professor of Spanish at Ohio State University) and Williams (a professor of history at Appalachia State University, and a former director of the US Columbus Jubilee Commission). The book is dedicated to evaluating the commemoration, which depending on one's viewpoint, was either a celebration or a decrying of the five hundred years of what used to be called the 'Discovery of America'. The events of 1492, remembered in 1992, passed through the stage of being called up front an 'encounter of two cultures' and ended in terms of some events being held successfully and others disastrously, that is, not in the remembrance of the glorious landing of Columbus in San Salvador/Guanahani, in the Bahamas, but in his sinking.

The commemoration of the Quincentenary was a victim of the divide between two ways of studying culture, one based on paying attention to pivotal figures with a Eurocentric point of view, and the other with a more collective aim. The celebration was aborted in its origin. On the one hand, programmes in a handful of key countries were subject to public funding, and hence politically linked. On the other hand, private initiative was progressively reduced either to the work of scholars and publishing houses which depended on state subsidies, or to individual or group opposition. This latter, very vocal sector was an amorphous combination of left-wing interests and old-fashioned *indigenistas*, who awaited themselves of a golden opportunity presented by the rise of multiculturalism since the 1960s. It came one decade ahead of the antiglobalisation phenomenon. One wonders what kind of nightmare the organisers of the Columbus celebrations would have encountered if the anti-system demonstrators (for example in Genoa, the birth place of Columbus, of all places) had formed a coalition with the Columbus-bashing sectors.

The result of this drastic change of attitude was that Christopher Columbus experienced a dramatic transformation from that of the hero presenting his exploits to the Spanish monarchs in Barcelona, as pictured by Delacroix in the best Hollywood style, to the perpetrator of genocide, a major holocaust on the Hitler model.

This exaggeration explains the limited accomplishments and confusing legacy of the commemorations in the United States, Italy, Spain, the Dominican Republic and Mexico, the paradigmatic cases to which the book dedicates its main chapters. With this purpose, the authors correctly trace the superficiality of the celebrations in the United States, controlled by small-time politicians and business people who ended up in court battles. There it was a struggle between classic traditionalism and the embracing of Columbus by the Italian-Americans as an exclusively Italian phenomenon, on the one hand, to an expression of multiculturalism and the trial of the Admiral as the sole cause of all the ailments affecting Native Americans, on the other.

In the pages dedicated to Italy, the authors stress the opportunistic monopoly of Columbus as anchored in Genoa. In the case of Spain, they point out the consequences of the diverse events that took place in Barcelona, Madrid and Seville. They remember, however, that the most successful of all celebrations of 1992 was the Olympic games, completely unconnected to the Columbus commemoration. Their treatment of the celebration in the Dominican Republic calls attention to its traditionalism, symbolised by the inauguration of the gargantuan Columbus monument, and the influence exercised by the Catholic Church. The case of Mexico was precisely the opposite, as the result of the confrontation between the *indigenista* attitude and the more traditional objectives of the Spanish authorities in the development stages of what was in its origin an Ibero-American Community and is now an uneventful annual Ibero-American summit. Readers may not agree with some of the judgments rendered by this book. For example, that *The Buried Mirror* by Carlos Fuentes is a classic that will have a place in intellectual history whilst its video version is, merely a boring recording. This text offers a useful supplement in history and civilisation courses on both sides of the Atlantic, enriching student commentaries and future scholarly research.

University of Miami

JOAQUÍN ROY

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Riccardo Forte, *Forze armate, cultura politica e sicurezza interna: Origini e consolidamento del potere militare in Argentina (1853–1943)* (Turin: Otto Editore, Series Nova Americana, 2001), pp. 474, £35.00; €18.00, pb.

The military and nationalism are the protagonists, or the villains, of this book. Contrary to current fashion, the focus is not on the events of recent decades, but on a long previous period, from the constitution of the republic around the 1850s to the coup of 1943, which brought an end to that regime. During those years of increasing prosperity Argentina was becoming a highly modernised country, with indices of education, urbanisation and other criteria of development (except industry and technology) higher than in Europe's southern tier. The exception, though, was important: industry and technology, if not sufficiently promoted by the liberal republic a weak industrialist class, would be taken forward by the military and a nationalist elite. These two groups, of course, had also other aims, namely, corporate power for themselves and a dominant role in South America. For both purposes it was necessary to make sure that there would be no 'betrayal' by a subversive populace, which in turn required eliminating the grossest expressions of poverty, and introducing elements of discipline and hierarchy in everyday life and in the educational system. A civilian regime could not provide those elements, all of them necessary to

transform the country from a rich colony to a powerful nation. So, at least, was the 'discourse' of an increasing number of people among the armed forces and the intelligentsia, as described by Riccardo Forte in this thought-provoking book.

The author traces the development of the self-image of the men on horseback as a result, among other things, of professionalisation stimulated by the nation builders of the early liberal and developmental elite. Centrally controlled armed power was necessary to unite the country and to assure internal peace, first against provincial caudillos and then to stem revolts by the radicals and threats of subversion by the anarchists and other extremists. The oligarchical elite increasingly used the armed forces for these purposes, which should provide the bases for a civilised society. Paradoxically, even when Roque Sáenz Peña decided to open up the electoral process, he employed the military to supervise the process and prevent violence by dissatisfied groups. Thus, Forte argues, the modernising elite was unwittingly feeding the monster which would ultimately overthrow it.

But were the military not the guardians of the interests of the upper classes? Was the 1930 coup not a desperate attempt by those classes – via the military – to retain power in face of the *Yrigoyenista* threat? Not really, or not completely. There was a widespread disgust at supposedly uncontrolled populist mobilisation, but with different issues in mind. The traditional classes were concerned about their privileges. The military wanted a strong nation, backed by a disciplined labour force and a solid industry. And the nationalist intellectuals, mostly a mutant group of the better-off classes, sided with the military. So 1930 was a precursor, a failed first instalment of 1943. Which is somewhat surprising, because Uriburu's takeover was against a popular government, while the colonels' access to power in 1943 was against a conservative ruling group. However, in both cases, Forte stresses, there were common elements. First, most obviously and most blatantly, the consolidation of power for the military corporation. Second, at a more serious and presentable level, the launching of a national project of *grandeur* based on industry, technology, popular well being and discipline. Fascism? Not exactly, but possibly so, and certainly an increasing number of people among the military and the nationalist intelligentsia had Mussolini as a model.

But why did the industrialists themselves not push forth this project, at least in its economic aspects? And why were they so much less successful than their Brazilian counterparts? In fact, there was a military-industrial convergence during the war years, which could have jelled in a solid regime after the 1943 coup but for Perón's agitational tactics. These were necessary for him to retain power, but they frightened the business community. Forte might have further explored this relationship, or lack of relationship, between the military and the industrialists, and between the latter and the political parties. Mostly, however, this part of the story would correspond to a second volume, taking the description after the *ideas* of June 1943, when the long process so ably described by the author finally came to its apex and to its eventual demise.

University of Buenos Aires

TORCUATO S. DI TELLA

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Craig L. Arceneaux, *Bounded Missions. Military Regimes and Democratization in the Southern Cone and Brazil* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. xiv + 262, \$35.00, hb.

It is generally acknowledged that democracy requires solid institutions for fostering political and economic development in society. But what is the role of institutions in non-democratic regimes? When the military took power in the Southern Cone and Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s they destroyed the institutional rules of the game and with this many of the institutions related to the former democratic order. This, however, does not mean military regimes can function without institutions.

Arceneaux's study focuses on the importance of institutions for both the performance of military regimes as well as their ability to influence the pace and nature of democratic transitions. How to explain the fact that some militaries were able to exert greater control than others over the transition to democracy? Factors such as the depth of democratic experience, the economy, or the level of social unrest have often been mentioned as possible explanation for the existing differences in the levels of control. Unconvinced with those accounts, Arceneaux seeks the answer in the internal characteristics of the regimes themselves and in some specific institutional domains. He develops a theoretical model which rests upon two institution-dependent factors that in his view determine the capacity of regime leaders to exerting control on the transition process. The first factor, military unity, provides the regime with a stable basis of support. Without this unity, military leaders cannot face society with the coherence and fortitude necessary to answer social demands, nor are they able to effectively fend off opposition proposals or criticism. The second factor is strategy coordination that allows the formulation and application of coherent political and economic agendas.

In several country-based chapters, Arceneaux explores how these two factors determine the ability of military regimes to control the transition process in Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina (both the *Revolución* of 1966–73 and the *Proceso* of 1976–83). The study highlights, for instance, important similarities among the military regimes of Chile and Brazil with respect to their abilities of maintaining military unity and developing strategy coordination. In the Chilean case, several factors helped to maintain a tight military unity. For example, the high level of perceived subversive threat that followed the *golpe* induced military unity. Over time Pinochet managed to concentrate authority and to establish 'absolute obedience' in the army hierarchy. On the economic front, the 'Chicago Boys' provided a coherent economic model, while in the institutional arena figures such as Jaime Guzmán created a new set of legal structures along neoliberal lines in order to institutionalise the regime. This process of strategy coordination reached its zenith with Pinochet's speech at Chacarillas in 1978. Essential for transition control in Chile was the 1980 constitution that established both the pace and the nature of the democratisation process which finally took place in the period 1980–90.

In the Brazilian case, the military did not have the advantages of a centralised regime as their Chilean counterparts, as their regime was collegial in character and enjoyed a substantial civilian presence throughout its tenure. Nevertheless, the objectives that the Brazilian military established for the regime were pursued consistently and effectively by the creation of clear guidelines to meet those goals. According to Arceneaux, the clarity of the guidelines and the effective pursuit of

them are linked to the curriculum of the Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG), which provided training, methodology, and orienting procedures to the senior officers who led the regime. Because of their experience with civilians at the ESG, senior officers were able to recognise the limitations of their own skills and so see the need for civilian input to formulation and implementation of policy. This certainly facilitated the strategy coordination among the military and civilian components of the regime. The process of *abertura* initiated by the Figueiredo government in the early 1980s, which eventually led to the reestablishment of democratic rule in 1985, was firmly controlled by the military. Politicians accepted the rules established by the military authorities, including a prohibition of radical party activity, close consultation with the high command during the transition process, military involvement in the new democracy, and military tutelage over certain policy areas.

Particularly interesting is Arceneaux's analysis of the Argentine case, that highlights the large differences in army unity and strategy coordination between the regimes of the periods 1966–73 and 1976–83. During the first authoritarian experience, the regime was able of maintaining military unity, but it visibly lacked strategic coordination. During those years, military hierarchy remained strong, as it was consciously sheltered from government. However, General Onganía's relentless pursuit of a corporatist formula only served to disrupt public order and reduce support from significant economic groups, making impossible the formulation and implementation of coherent economic and political programmes. In the latest phase of the regime, the military assumed direct control under General Lanusse, who eventually oversaw a transition in which they were only able to exert a low level of control. During the *Proceso* (1976–83), the military regime was unable of maintaining military unity and strategy coordination altogether. Under these circumstances, and aggravated by the disastrous outcome of the Malvinas/Falklands war, Argentine government officials failed to exert much influence over the transition and the regime finally collapsed.

Arceneaux has clearly succeeded in his goal to apply an institutional approach to military rule as he convincingly shows that even for authoritarian governments political institutions do matter. His study is theoretically innovative and is highly recommendable for all those interested in the impact of military regimes on processes of democratic transition.

Leiden University

PATRICIO SILVA

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Shawn C. Smallman, *Fear and Memory in the Brazilian Army and Society, 1889–1954* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. x + 265, £39.50, £15.95 pb.

Scholarly examinations of the Brazilian military as an institution and as a dominant force in society are reaching a new complexity. Some of the more elaborate analyses succeed while others do not. Shawn Smallman's work fits closer to the former than the latter. In *Fear and Memory in the Brazilian Army and Society, 1889–1954*, Smallman argues that the Brazilian military, particularly the army, has structured an erroneous popular and scholarly memory of its role in society out of institutional fear. Indeed, he claims, the military has used violence and terror to create an official policy of selective memory.

Central to Smallman's contention is his analysis of factionalisation within the military from the early republic era to 1954. Rather than deal with the issue openly, the official military memory has stressed institutional unity. In reality, the author suggests, the informal networks of corruption, civil-military alliances, intra-military factions, family ties, and even racial beliefs drove the military's involvement in the national political arena. The conditions and events that supported military rule in the 1960s and 1970s began in the late nineteenth century, and had been consolidated by 1954.

Though events of the period have been detailed by other scholars, Smallman's insightful analysis of the late imperial to 1930 era connects with his main argument. Especially well done is his study of the army's conflict with civilian ruling elites that culminated in a national saviour self-perception and a fear of competitors to military prerogatives. The army's memory of conflicts with regional elites and their national guards was one of attempts by the ruling class to destroy the true embodiment of nationhood. Whereas civilian elites prevented true national unity, the military protected it by suppressing numerous revolts, from Canudos to the violence of 1904. Lost to military remembrance was the fact that officers fought on both sides in the numerous rebellions of the period. Only a fractured officer corps would have permitted the rise of the *Tenentes*.

Also intriguing is Smallman's view of the early Vargas era to the establishment of the *Estado Novo*. It is in this period, he claims, that the use of corruption for controlling the military broke down. From 1930 to 1937 army leadership engaged in a struggle to wrest control of the institution from civilian elites, even while forging strong civil-military alliances, and to establish institutional discipline. The 1935 communist conspiracy offered the means to achieve those goals. While Smallman gives a nice account of events, he stretches to prove that the origins of the uprising lay within the military and that the army and navy created a memory different from the truth in order to hide their institutional splits. In short, Smallman believes that the military's memory of events was a myth that allowed a legitimisation of political intervention, and which subverted Brazilian democracy. Such a notion seems to imply that democracy entered Brazil with the 1930 revolution.

The remainder of the work explores the factions within the military that competed for institutional influence and, therefore, over its role in society and the path along which the nation should it develop. Smallman believes the factions formed during the *Estado Novo* structured intra-military conflict during the Cold War. It is in these chapters that scholars will find material for debate. His contention that US dominance in the region after World War II caused a division of the military into two opposing ideological camps implies there was little prior politicisation in the army officer corps. Clearly, the *Tenentes* and their predecessors pursued ideological positions. It should be no surprise that the military divided along lines similar to the division of the world after World War II into two competing camps. Moreover, Smallman's own ideological bias emerge in his description of the eventual defeat of the so-called 'nationalist' faction. In truth, the victors in the struggle were just as nationalistic as the losers; they only disagreed on the methods of achieving the ever present goal of *grandezga*.

Despite its drawbacks, there is much to praise in this work. Any institution creates an official memory that does not always mesh with reality, and the military is no exception. What is good about Smallman's effort is how he ties it together into a coherent and well-written whole. The epilogue is especially interesting as Smallman

identifies themes within the military institution that continue today, many of which reflect the society of which it is a part.

Texas A&M University, Kingsville

SONNY B. DAVIS

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Candace Slater, *Entangled Edens: Visions of the Amazon* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 332, £19.95; \$27.50, hb.

This is an unusual, engaging and ambitious book. As in her earlier *Dance of the Dolphins*, Slater presents an Amazonia of *caboclos* and *ribeirinhos* for whom tales and myths of ‘the enchanted’ (*encantado*), co-occupants of the demonised green hell, provide not merely a colourful and exotic complement to a non-specific peasant Amazonia, but also a cultural matrix for an Amazonia-of-below that is overshadowed by IMAX-type portrayals of an Eden where less salubrious, quotidian aspects do not often register. It is also a perplexing book in as much as it assumes that a sober and learned reflection on Amazonianist literature is sufficient to dislodge entrenched ignorance.

It is not the first time that this particular two-Azonias theme has been taken up in the post-TransAmazonica era (see Nancy Leys Stepan’s *Picturing Tropical Nature*, 2001, and my own *Big Mouth: the Amazon Speaks*, 1990). Yet, Slater’s extensive use of interview transcripts and willingness to give licence to the contradictory rhetoric of *encantado*-speak provide rare access to the world of Amazonian folklore typically given little space in the English language literature (and not much more in Portuguese). This folkloric rendition of Amazonia has little institutional base, for it belongs not to the officially organised Amazonia of NGO empowerment, extractive reserves or community organisation of ‘the base’. It is, instead, the property of the subdued realms of working folk who have ridden the waves of the rubber boom, TransAmazonica, the Tropical Forest Action Plan and ‘sustainable livelihoods’ prescriptions as ill-acknowledged associate members. They appear in photographs of farmer/fishers’ markets in Santarém, Parintins, Belém, Alenquer, nameless Amazonians, speaking of golden cities beneath the water, predatory dolphins seducing maidens and the inveterate bad luck of hunters. Slater puts voices to the images and in doing so gently reveals an Amazonia whose preoccupations are not those which are so often ascribed.

When Oscar Lewis used (the then-new) tape-recorder technology to present ethnography relatively unmediated by the editorial hand of the ethnographer, there was a sense in which the speakers (of Puerto Rico, Mexico) were already encapsulated by a dominant culture: they were speaking of lives muted by social forces beyond their control. While Slater’s focus on folklore is hardly laden with the anthropo-sociological apparatus of Lewis’s culture of poverty thesis, there is a similarity in theme: ethnographic representations are selectively constrained, and one of the tasks of researchers is to acknowledge or pay heed to those constraints. She does this in two ways, first by using historical and ethnographic sources to indicate the possible provenances of contemporary folk constructions and, second, by documenting the reconfiguration of the image of Amazonia that has accompanied the intense social and natural science research of the past three decades. In seventy-five pages of notes (including a chronology of key dates and a glossary) as well as framing chapters, she provides a parallel account of the rising profiles of the diverse scientific literatures that have so strongly shaped modern perceptions of Amazonian development.

The quotidian, peasant Amazonia of which she writes is one subjected to relatively little systematic investigation – by comparison, say, with indigenous Amazonia and the the Amazonia of frontier colonisation post-TransAmazonica. A recurrent theme, albeit one that could be more pointedly developed, is the aquatic focus of much Amazonian peasant life. In drawing attention to this fact, Slater acknowledges what to some is the provocative thesis of Anna Roosevelt and others, who have challenged the scientific basis upon which Amazonia has been portrayed as a green hell inimical to societies more complex than those represented by hunter-gatherers. Roosevelt, preceded by Donald Lathrap, has argued that a fundamental colonial conceit (overpowering environmental constraints on the development of complex societies in Amazonia) is contradicted by evidence that pre-conquest Amazonian societies were not typically forest (green hell) societies, but riverine ones. While it is not centrally Slater's concern to elaborate this thesis, her documentation of folkloric Amazonia certainly enhances the view that there is an Amazonian, peasant sociality that harks back to an aquatic culture complex as well as a sylvan one.

Slater is forthright in aspiring to demystify the Amazonia recognised by distant observers (the consumers of travelogues, nature programmes; supporters of progressive environmental causes), but unless the extent of the dumbing-down of the educated public is vastly exaggerated, she pitches far too high. *Entangled Edens* attempts a complicated task: to debunk received wisdom (both scholarly and generic). Specialists will appreciate this book for its complications. General readers – unless they attend to the parallel 'book of notes' – are unlikely to evade the entanglements of Amazonian edens.

'Gigantifications', Slater observes, 'are more often exaggerations than outright fabrications' (p. 15), and in her examination of the contributions of Euclides da Cunha, Theodore Roosevelt, Claude Lévi-Strauss and Walter Bates to a monumental Amazonia she indicates how the heroic postures of such commentators are subsumed under their subject matter. The contrast between Amazonianists for whom engagement with the region and its peoples is a continual provocation and Amazonians for whom the provocation is part and parcel is sharply revealed.

Goldsmiths College, University of London

STEPHEN NUGENT

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John D. Early and John F. Peters, *The Xilixana Yanomami of the Amazon: History, Social Structure, and Population Dynamics* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp. xii + 323, \$49.95, hb.

The Xilixana are an important sub-group of Yanomami, the best-known indigenous nation of South America. There are various reasons why the Yanomami should have attracted so much interest. They are the largest indigenous people in the Americas who still retain most of their traditional customs and way of life. Linguistically isolated, Yanomami society is unique in many respects and of particular interest to anthropologists. These Indians owe their cultural survival to isolation in densely-forested hills that can be reached only by light planes or with difficulty up rapid-infested rivers or penetration roads at the edges of their vast territory. Unknown to them, then-unexplored lands were divided in a colonial treaty in 1750, so that over 15,000 Yanomami now live in Venezuela and almost 12,000 in north-western Brazil.

The Yanomami have also attracted attention because of many afflictions in recent decades. There was a passionate, fluctuating and ultimately successful twenty-year

struggle for recognition of their land within Brazil as a protected Yanomami Park. Imported diseases, most notably measles and malaria, brought massive suffering and demographic decline. (James Neel's botched early attempt at prevention of measles among Venezuelan Yanomami was condemned last year in Patrick Tierney's polemical book, which also lambasted Napoleon Chagnon's controversial but best-selling thesis that the Yanomami are unusually fierce people.) The Brazilian authorities damaged the Yanomami with a pointless (and later abandoned) 'Northern Perimeter' highway project into the south-eastern corner of their territory. In the late-1980s the Brazilian military planted garrisons in some former missions as part of the equally ill-conceived Calha Norte programme; and the Venezuelans contemplated a 'biosphere reserve' that would have introduced large-scale mining to the Yanomami. By far the greatest damage was caused by tens of thousands of *garimpeiros* (wildcat gold prospectors) who, from 1987 onwards, shattered tribal society, introduced diseases, polluted rivers with mercury used to separate gold, and even led to the massacre of the Haximú Yanomami *yano*. The Yanomami cause has also gained international attention through tireless non-government organisations and their own eloquent ambassador, Davi Kopenawa.

All this Yanomami history is told accurately and succinctly in Early and Peter's study of the Xilixana. Slightly confusingly, the early history of the Ninam-speaking Xilixana Yanomami appears in the first part of this book, whereas the modern history of the Yanomami in general is at the end. I disagree with a few small details, such as the claim that slave-raiding reached the upper Rio Branco as early as 1630, when it came over a century later. Also the authors do not mention the burst of exploration and attempted settlement of Indians (including one group of Yanomami) in the 1780s. The impact of the road and the gold-prospectors is told with admirable clarity and passion, as is the lengthy campaign for protection of Yanomami land. Here, I think (and hope) that the authors are wrong to call the Decree of November 1991 that finally approved the full Yanomami Park a 'sham' because this overlapped with environmental reserves; and they exaggerate the potential damage of Decree 1775 of 1996 that permitted claimants to try to contest indigenous reserves.

The importance of *The Xilixana Yanomami of the Amazon* is not in its historical surveys. It is in the very detailed demographic studies of eight Xilixana villages. The authors are retired professors of demography, and they start the central section of the book by defining the meanings of their discipline and uses of its terminology. They then show how early contacts between the Yanomami and outsiders (primarily motivated by the desire for metal cutting tools), subsequent migrations and divisions of *yano* collective huts, invasions, and the devastating impact of unknown diseases, all affected populations, mortality, family life and individual decisions. This is the first time that demography has been applied to Amazon Indians in such detail or has revealed so much about them and their reactions to contact. I was fascinated by the authors' transformation of arid-looking tables of population figures into a very human account of a tribe struggling to come to terms with alien forces that threaten its society. It is a splendid, fresh approach to the study of these people.

Another interesting aspect of this book is that John Peters started as a fundamentalist Protestant missionary, of the Unevangelized Fields Mission (now New Tribes Mission). He was with Neill Hawkins (who had violently converted the Wai-Wai of the Guyana–Brazil border) when he made the first contact with the Ninam in 1958, and he then worked in their villages for nine years as a missionary. Peters

thus saw Yanomami when their culture was intact, and he made arduous expeditions to contact new groups. He admits that ‘the religious goal of the missionaries was to found a self-sustaining Xilixana church with a lifestyle based on an evangelical interpretation of the Bible ... Elements of traditional Yanomami culture explicitly rejected by the missionaries were the practice of shamanistic rituals, the use of hallucinogenic drugs, and infanticide.’ However, I saw Protestant missions among the Yanomami in the 1970s and found that they were more restrained than among other ethnic groups. Some of them have now ceased, and Yanomami culture has largely survived this spiritual interference.

John Peters entered the academic world and became professor of sociology in Canada, while John Early was professor of anthropology in Florida after years of ethnographic fieldwork in Mexico and Guatemala. They combined to work on Yanomami demography in 1983, and this excellent book is the product of years of visits to their target communities, research and contact with all the other relevant experts.

London

JOHN HEMMING

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Jorge Parodi, *To Be a Worker: Identity and Politics in Peru* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. xx + 177, £29.50, £13.50 pb.

To Be a Worker is the English translation of ‘*Ser obrero es algo relativo ...*’: *Obreros, clasismo y política*, published by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos in 1986. It includes a nine-page introduction by Catherine Conaghan, an epilogue by the author, and an updated *testimonio* by Jesús Zúñiga Sotomayor, a metal worker turned businessman and Jorge Parodi’s principal informant. As both Parodi (in the epilogue) and Conaghan (in the introduction) point out, Peruvian leftist intellectuals cold-shouldered the Spanish version of this book because it argued, contrary to the general belief of the time, that the organised working class was weak and unlikely to lead a revolution. The English translation is aimed at a different audience and appears in a very different context. For this reason alone, leaving aside the additions to the original text, it is arguably a different text from the one that was published in 1986; as historians of the book and of reading remind us, the significance of a text is as much a product of its consumption as of its production. However, like the original, this is an important study, which deserves a broad readership.

Through a detailed study of a metallurgical firm and its workforce, Parodi examines three key themes in recent Peruvian history: the rise and crisis of *clasismo* (the particular shape that working class identity and unionism took in the 1970s), the brief flourishing and subsequent bankruptcy of the Peruvian political left, and the emergence of Lima’s informal economic sector, composed in large part of recent migrants to the capital. Parodi builds his analysis around the *testimonios* of several of the firm’s workers, and some of its managers. Section two of the book reproduces the *testimonio* of Jesús Zúñiga, which recounts his experience as migrant worker, union leader and, finally, informal businessman. What emerges from both Parodi’s text and Zúñiga’s *testimonio* is a story that interweaves the three themes of recent Peruvian history outlined above. Drawing on the favourable industrial policies of the Velasco regime and a unifying *clasista* discourse (spread by the Marxist left), the story goes, the Peruvian working class, characterised by regional and ethnic divisions,

became a powerful and united social actor. However, this union unravelled in the mid 1980s in the context of the acute economic crisis and the internal crisis of left, which proved unable (or unwilling) to reform itself. For many workers, turning to the informal sector became a strategy of survival.

Though Parodi was not writing a labour history *per se*, when *Ser obrero es algo relativo* was published in 1986 it was one of the few studies of Peruvian labour that paid attention to workers as historical actors. With few exceptions, Peruvian labour history was limited to institutional studies of unions and more generally to an examination of the relationship between organised workers and the political parties of the left, namely the Peruvian Communist Party and APRA, and in that examination the perspective of the parties' leadership usually dominated. Parodi broke with that tradition, by placing the rank and file at the centre of his study. In this sense, in addition to providing a unique bottom-up perspective on the evolution of Peru's economy and politics in the 1970s and 1980s, *To be a Worker* is a truly innovative work in the Peruvian context and an important contribution to the growing Latin American new labour history.

To Be a Worker shows that the break-up of *clasista* unionism and politics, often attributed to Fujimori's labour policies, was already under way in the 1980s. However, both Conaghan's introduction and Parodi's epilogue, as well as Jesús Zúñiga's updated *testimonio*, demonstrate how those policies contributed to an unprecedented undermining of the organised working class in the 1990s. It is worth noting that the skeletal labour movement that survives today played a significant role in the popular mobilisations that contributed to the collapse of the Fujimori–Montesinos state mafia. The impression one is left with is that of a vanishing working class. As Parodi concludes, workers no longer think of themselves as workers, but as 'future businessmen'. Similarly, Conaghan points to the new 'venues' and 'identities' that form the new social movements. Traditional working class organisation and identity in Peru, this book would seem to suggest, is moribund. It remains to be seen whether such a diagnosis is premature and whether, in the new climate (or is it simply a rhetoric?) of institutional rebuilding and social market policies, a new working class and unionism can arise.

St Antony's College, Oxford

PAULO DRINOT

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Marcos Cueto, *The Return of the Epidemics. Health and Society in Peru during the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot, and Burlington, VE: Ashgate, 2001), pp. x + 176, £45.00, hb.

The Return of Epidemics provides an overview of the variety of perceptions and practices that have come to the surface during the course of the various epidemics that have affected different parts of Peru in the twentieth century. In his introduction Marcus Cueto explains that the aim of the study is to contribute to the national and international history of epidemics and medicine through the study of the causes, the impact and the responses given to several diseases that affected Peru in the twentieth century. He notes how the study of epidemics enable us to understand better the living conditions of people, the role of state authority and the dynamics of society in developing nations. Cueto is responding to the social, economic and human effects of inequality, and of the lack of political will that is characterised by the relationship between ethnic fragmentation and authoritarian and discontinuous social policies.

The book examines five series of epidemics: the bubonic plague of 1903–30; the fever epidemic of 1919–22; the typhus and smallpox epidemics in the Andes; the various attempts to control and eradicate malaria and the cholera epidemic of 1991. In chapter one the serious inadequacies of urban life and sanitation policies in the early twentieth century are presented as a backdrop for an outbreak of bubonic plague that served to reaffirm the custom of blaming disease on the poor. In spite of a lack of resources that made some municipalities tackle the epidemic as though it were routine, the lack of any long-term solutions and the reluctance of the medical profession to involve itself in public matters became a catalyst for fundamental change. From then on, what had been a matter of charity became a matter of state, requiring specialised institutions and regulations.

Chapter two discusses the authoritarian nature of efforts made to eradicate yellow fever and examines the traditional resistance to sanitation measures with a more modern and nationalist opposition to foreign influence. Outside involvement in the fever epidemic was important because it was concerned with the diffusion of a health model inspired by urban conditions in the United States. Driven by the conviction that modern techniques from developed countries are inherently superior, US practitioners attached little importance to the opinions and perceptions of local people. Under the messianic guidance of Dr Henry Hanson, responsibility for the disease was transferred onto the people, but with no consideration for the labour systems, living conditions or unsanitary infrastructure. It comes as no surprise that US influence and government intervention in public health was subsequently characterised by technically-contained solutions that paid scant attention to the environmental, cultural and communication factors behind the disease. Chapter three examines some of the local responses to this disregard for the afflictions of inequality through the work of the sanitary brigades organised by Nuñez Butrón in the 1930s and 1940s. As part of the rise of a regional and ethnic nationalist movement that idealised the Inca Empire, Butrón sought to encourage respect for the traditional healers and break down the increasingly influential conviction that health was a purely technical matter. In spite of some early successes, efforts to integrate Andean culture with western ideas of public health were quickly subsumed under the ideologies of modernisation that sought a greater integration of Peru with the outside world.

In chapter four the connection between geographical locations and diseases and the meaning of public health is re-examined from the perspective of the anti-malarial campaign of the 1930s. It is clear from the analysis that the concentration of decision-making in Lima only reinforced a lack of interest in local conditions and the environment under which people lived their lives. The use of DDT is presented as a symptom of the traditional reductionism that attached greater significance to the war between mosquitoes and health workers than the suffering of ordinary people. Chapter five assesses the significance of cholera for the relationship between the Peruvian state and public health and the responses made by ordinary people. At the time the most important cause of the 1991 epidemic was widely thought to be a lack of personal hygiene, thereby reaffirming the age-old association of disease with misery, poor living conditions and indigenous people from the highlands. However, it is made clear here that the precarious conditions of the health infrastructure in the years before the epidemic were of comparable importance. In that respect the persistence of diarrhoeal diseases indicate the importance of factors connected to the ecology of cholera, such as the inadequate supply of

safe drinking water, inadequate sanitation and the all too frequent contamination of food and drink.

Overall, this is a useful publication: that has taken evidence from a range of epidemics perhaps not readily available to people with a general interest in the subject. It provides a summary of the social and political milieu in which medical staff live, whilst the unstable living conditions, deficiencies in sanitation and lack of medical resources reinforce the need for a closer understanding of the Peruvian public health service by becoming better acquainted with its own past.

University of Wales, Swansea

TIM BOWYER

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Luis Carlos Jemio, *Debt, Crisis and Reform in Bolivia: Biting the Bullet* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. xxiv + 440, £57.50, hb.

In 1985, and again in 1988, I evaluated the Bolivia's Economic Policy Planning Unit (UDAPE). On both occasions, I was impressed by their understanding of the economy and their ability to assess the effects of external shocks and government policies. Most of the professional staff had master's degrees in economics; they had developed simple linear sectoral models and installed them on the desktop computers of the day to simulate economic events and their effect on the economy. UDAPE was better than its US technical assistance experts and was used well by the planning minister, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, who was president of Bolivia 1993–7 and again from 2002.

Jemio's book clearly bears the mark of UDAPE, augmented by his PhD studies at the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague. This volume is part of the 'International Finance and Development Series', edited by Valpy Fitzgerald, and is Jemio's doctoral dissertation. Jemio provides a careful and detailed treatment of Bolivian economic performance from the 1970s through about 1995. I think it would be of interest to a variety of readers: those wanting an in-depth treatment of the performance of the Bolivian economy in that period; those desiring to understand how the sectors of an economy, such as Bolivia's, interact and adjust to shocks and policies; and anyone interested in an excellent example of the use of Social Accounting Matrices (SAM) and their conversion into a Real Financial Computable General Equilibrium Model (RFCGE). Jemio takes a structuralist approach 'where different economic agents facing different constraints and pursuing different objectives, interact through different markets' (p. 143), and their interaction is not through neo-classical price signals. His approach also allows adjustment to vary over time and provides a consistent overview of the entire economic system.

The book presents increasingly disaggregated views of the economy, starting in the first two chapters with an overview of Bolivian economic performance from 1970–1995 and of the policies that were undertaken in this tumultuous period. It was quite a story: inflation rose from 17.8 per cent per year in 1972–75 to 983.6 per cent in 1980–85, and fell to 12.2 per cent for 1991–96. GDP growth was 5.6 per cent per year in 1972–75, 1.9 per cent in 1980–85 and rose to 4.0 per cent in 1991–96.

The key change was the New Economic Policy of 1985, which anticipated the Washington Consensus by enforcing fiscal balance, liberalising markets, and reducing government's role in the economy. The policy changes are displayed against the backdrop of external shocks such as the debt crisis and the shift toward private control over the main source of foreign exchange, coca leaf and unrefined cocaine

production. It expanded from 4 per cent to 18 per cent of GDP from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, before declining through the 1990s.

Economic performance between 1985 and 1995 can be characterised as ‘stable stagnation’: stable inflation and growth, continued access to international capital and debt reduction, but little increase in per capita GDP or consumption, a continued fiscal deficit financed externally, and continued low investment. So the planners were more successful in providing a stable macro environment than in stimulating growth. The situation has changed little since 1995, despite efforts to implement ‘second generation’ reforms pushed by Sánchez de Lozada, such as capitalising or selling state enterprises,¹ reforming the pension and education systems, and decentralising administration. The continued problems with ‘human development’ have encouraged efforts to move beyond the Washington Consensus and directly address problems of poverty and inequality.²

Chapters three to five tell the same fifteen-year story, but in vintage UDAPE style: careful disaggregations of the three traditional macro markets – goods, money and labour (or supply). Any careful student of the Bolivian economy would do well to start with the understanding embodied in these chapters, the fruit of a continuous learning process that began decades ago. The richness of detail defies summary.

Chapter three examines the demand function for households, corporations, public enterprises and government, noting how the constraints differed across sectors and over time, and how the sectoral objectives varied as well. Chapter four takes on the financial system, noting that interest rates in the earlier periods were administratively determined and so were not used to ration credit. Even after 1985, high and unresponsive interest rates did not produce equilibrium in the system, a role taken by different sources of financial resources. The 1990s reforms respond to the Basle Accords and are unlikely to alter the sector fundamentally. The supply-side is disaggregated into seven sectors in chapter five, when different constraints and non-price adjustment patterns are provided for each. Although the analysis does not provide direct evidence on wages nor income distribution, these issues are addressed at the end of the chapter.

Chapter six tells the same story in an analytically more sophisticated fashion, using a Social Accounting Matrix (SAM). The system contains 25 adjusting variables, which allows differences in economic adjustment over four sub-periods since 1970. Finally, chapter seven extends the SAM into a Computable General Equilibrium model that is used to simulate a set of external shocks, a reduction in coca production, or an increase in foreign investment, as well as the effect of policy responses to these changes. The main result of the simulation is that external shocks will still have significant negative impact on the economy, and policy can only choose how to balance them. Foreign investment can increase growth, but at the cost of internal imbalances.

Jemio’s main contribution is to provide careful insights into the Bolivian economy and its evolution since the 1970s. His analysis does not provide any keys to how

¹ The privatisation of the water utility in Cochabamba was such an utter failure – the local administrators had to flee in fear of their lives – that it has become a centrepiece for stories of privatisation failures. (William Finnegan, ‘Leasing the Rain,’ *The New Yorker* April 8, 2002, pp. 43–53).

² See Nancy Birdsall and Augusto de la Torre, *Washington Contentions: Economic Policies for Social Equity in Latin America* (Washington, DC, 2001).

Bolivia can escape its stable stagnation and move beyond being the poorest South American country. Nonetheless, it is an important contribution to understanding Bolivia and, by extrapolation, other developing countries.

University of Utah

KENNETH P. JAMESON

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Anthony Payne and Paul Sutton, *Charting Caribbean Development* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. xi + 284, \$55.00, hb.

Since their collective political independence beginning in the 1960s the states comprising the Commonwealth Caribbean have pursued an elusive and tortuous quest for a viable, long-term programme of economic development. Anthony Payne and Paul Sutton, two acknowledged experts on the region, have produced a splendid study of the various plans and approaches during the past forty years as the optimistic hopes of the early independent years of the 1960s succumbed to the dismal realities at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is a complex story, but the authors have skillfully managed to create clear contours of the policies, plans, and programmes that periodically sought to redress the perceived social and economic problems. The bibliography is solid, the arguments consistently and lucidly presented, and the conclusions eminently acceptable.

The introductory chapter succinctly paints the bold outlines, encompassed under 'four broad phases in Caribbean development, each indicative too of more widespread trends in the unfolding Western debate about development' (p. 1). In the 1950s and 1960s the penchant was for models of industrialisation, import substitution and programme to eliminate economic dependency. Some were modeled after the Puerto Rican experience of combining industrial development by invitation with an infrastructure of development banks, tariff incentives and tax holidays. Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas, by using such models, achieved some impressive economic growth rates for the time. When the local economies stalled, however, the region introduced a third phase of neo-liberal political economy with limited success. A fourth and current phase explores free market initiatives in a changing world where the challenges appear to overwhelm the opportunities. The succeeding chapters of this volume provide an impressive coverage both geographically and thematically of national as well as collective or regional policies. Two chapters focus on Trinidad and Tobago. The first examines the national development policies of Eric Williams, prime minister from 1956 until 1981. A later chapter on Trinidad and Tobago, aptly called 'from boom to bust to buoyancy' deals with the aftermath of the oil-boom years and the impact of readjustment policies on the political and social structure. Jamaica also gets two chapters, one focusing on the programs of Michael Manley in the 1970s and the other on the contrasting approach of Edward Seaga in the 1980s and continued after his political demise in 1989. An excellent chapter on Grenada concludes that 'what went wrong was the politics ... for the truth is that, viewed from a solely development perspective, the dominant themes of Grenadian economic policy during the revolution were social democratic, not Marxist-Leninist, in conception' (p. 101). Other chapters deal with the Eastern Caribbean, and Caribbean regional integration led by Barbados, as well as regional relations with Europe and North America. The difficult banana disputes of the 1990s are meticulously examined in the final chapter where the authors render their verdict not only on world politics but also on developmental economics in

general. Through out the discussion is the inescapable observation that local political actors and the nature of local politics constituted extremely important dimensions of the problems of small societies trying to implement their own priorities in world in which they are increasingly marginalised and irrelevant. The wider international atmosphere has not been kind to local efforts, a hostility captured in the nautical language employed in the title.

While much of the information provided here is well known to specialists – in large measure from the prolific publications of the authors themselves – this book provides a convenient point of departure for many debates over the political and economic future of the Caribbean and the very nature of change in an ever increasingly globalising world. Much of the argument is persuasive and the observations eminently quotable. Clearly, the authors do not subscribe to the notion that national states are on the decline:

States are not rendered irrelevant, as some “hyper-globalisation theorists suggest, but they do now have to recognize the power not only of other states and inter-state organisations, on which international analysis has traditionally focused, but also of international capital, the banks and the foreign exchange markets, all of which constantly scrutinise what states are doing and have the means, by either bestowing or withdrawing their favour, to force them to adopt economic policies appropriate to capitalist interests (p. 20).

Yet over the past forty years, as they have taken control of their future, the states of the Commonwealth Caribbean do not provide clear cases of nationalism either in tandem or in conflict with regionalism. Rather, the Caribbean arbitrarily adopts a combination of both sometimes achieving short term success at the expense of long-term development. The fact is that small states, even acting in concert, cannot hope to implement economic policies, however well-justified, in a world dominated by larger states and powerful international organisations. Payne and Sutton feel, however, that the effort is worth making despite the odds.

The Johns Hopkins University

FRANKLIN W. KNIGHT

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Brian S. McBeth, *Gunboats, Corruption, and Claims. Foreign Intervention in Venezuela, 1899–1908* (Westport, CO and London: Greenwood Press, 2001), pp. xii + 307, £54.50; \$72.95, hb.

Studies of Cipriano Castro have often portrayed him as a staunch nationalist who, whatever his faults, defended Venezuelan sovereignty against US and European imperialism during his years in power (1899–1908). In defence of this interpretation of Castro as a nationalist, scholars often point to his determination to stand up to foreign creditors, his defence of national dignity in the face of humiliating demands by foreign governments, and his determination to impose penalties on foreign companies that supported anti-government rebels in the failed *Libertadora* rebellion of 1901–03. Castro’s tug-of-war with foreign interests reached a climax at the height of the *Libertadora* rebellion when, in 1902, Great Britain, Germany and Italy blockaded Venezuelan ports to force Castro to honour foreign financial claims. Meanwhile, the United States government came to loathe Castro and welcomed his downfall, sending warships to Venezuela to support Juan Vicente Gómez’s seizure of power in December 1908. The contrast between Castro’s nationalism and Gómez’s more

subservient relationship with the great powers only reinforces the patriotic prestige of the first of these two Andean strongmen.

Taking issue with this established view of Castro, McBeth argues that ‘the extreme behaviour of certain foreign powers during the period in question was provoked by the actions and avarice of Castro, whose posturing has been wrongly interpreted as a sign of fervent nationalism’ (p. 2). According to McBeth, the selfishness, greed, and corruption of the Castro regime provided the true underlying cause of Venezuela’s confrontation with foreign powers. Castro and his associates repeatedly attempted to establish their own monopolies over important sectors of the Venezuelan economy, and they attempted to extort money from foreign businesses with interests in Venezuela. European and American investors thus had legitimate grievances against Castro, even if their reactions, and those of their governments, became excessively aggressive. After clearly stating this distinctive aspect of his work in the book’s introduction, McBeth structures the remainder of the text so that it combines a general overview of the Castro regime and an in-depth examination of foreign business activity, diplomacy, and domestic military and political developments.

The principal strengths of this work is in its formidable research, and its detailed description of business and military history, especially during the crucial years of 1901–03. Although much of the information in McBeth’s account of the *Libertadora* was previously accessible in scattered form, his is the most extensive synthesis in English of this pivotal episode. His narrative of foreign business involvement in Venezuela makes use of a great deal of archival research – much of it in the Public Record Office – and provides a careful reconstruction of the activities of such important companies as the New York and Bermudez Asphalt Company and the French Cable Company. McBeth unravels a number of complex issues regarding the history of these and other firms, and their relationship to the Castro regime, which will be of great use to other researchers working on related topics.

While the focus is clearly on Castro, this book also addresses Gómez’s development as a political leader. More implicitly than explicitly, McBeth lends support to scholars such as Tomás Polanco Alcántara who have argued that Gómez’s treatment of foreign investors needs to be viewed in light of what he learned from Castro’s experience. Realising that Castro’s provocation of foreign powers contributed to his downfall, Gómez resolved not to repeat his mentor’s mistakes. This analysis suggests that Gómez’s favourable treatment of foreign business reflected a pragmatic instinct for political survival rather than an outright lack of patriotism. McBeth’s analysis of the foreign political and commercial interests swirling around Venezuela at the time of Gómez’s seizure of power constitutes an important starting point for understanding the new regime.

This work will occupy a notable place in the literature on the Castro-Gómez period. It will serve as a standard reference for a number of important episodes during this period, especially those relating to foreign investment, diplomacy, the *Libertadora* rebellion and the transition from Castro to Gómez. The meticulous research in British and Venezuelan archival sources will provide tremendous assistance to researchers working on this period of Venezuelan history.

The book has only a few shortcomings. In places, the narrative of business dealings and of military and political manoeuvres is longer and more detailed than necessary. This exhaustive amount needs to be tied more clearly and consistently to the book’s overall interpretation. Also, among the hundreds of names mentioned in

the book, a few are misspelled; members of the Ducharme clan, for example, are repeatedly identified as ‘Ducharme’. Such minor problems aside, this is a fine book based on extensive research covering an important topic in modern Venezuelan history.

Colorado State University

DOUG YARRINGTON

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Thomas D. Schoonover, *The French in Central America: Culture and Commerce, 1820–1930* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2000), pp. xxv + 244, \$55.00, hb.

Thomas D. Schoonover, *Germany in Central America: Competitive Imperialism, 1821–1929* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1998), pp. xiii + 317, \$39.95 hb.

Thomas D. Schoonover’s books constitute a contribution to the comprehension of the commercial relations between Central America and the industrialised countries between 1820 and 1930. They have several aspects in common: both are based on ample research mistaken in archives in Europe, the United States and Central America; both are inspired by the theories of Braudel-Wallerstein’s world system, dependency theory and social imperialism; and both are organised chronologically. In them, Schoonover seeks to emphasise the changes experienced by the French and German presence in the Central American isthmus.

The books also share some common problems. First, in spite of the theoretical approach expounded at the beginning of each book, the narrative is more descriptive than analytical, and sometimes falls into the anecdotal. I wonder if, instead of writing two books on the presence of the French and the Germans in Central America, Schoonover might have come closer to his mark by writing only one that dealt with the way continental western Europe retailers and industrialists (Italians, Germans and French, but also Spaniards and others) tried to create niches in an isthmus where foreign trade was dominated by the United States and Britain. A study of this kind would come near to what is understood by ‘competitive imperialism’, the subtitle of one of books under review here.

A second problem is that Schoonover remains too firmly at the superficial level of the relations that French and Germans maintained with Central American countries. Their insertion in these societies, economies and cultures is not analysed. This limitation leads him, for example, to define the Guatemalan coffee sector as a German enclave, and to argue that the Indians who worked in the coffee plantations were a wage-earning labour force employed in enclave projects. He even equates the Guatemalan coffee sector with mining and banana enclaves in Honduras and Costa Rica (*Germany in Central America*, p. 88).

Schoonover’s lack of interest in analysing the way Europeans were inserted in these societies is particularly visible in *The French in Central America*. Although the subtitle of the book is ‘Culture and Commerce’, culture is essentially a marginal subject, beyond some references to the role French played in education. Other dimensions of the French influence in Central American cultures are not addressed. For example, the important presence of French literature in public libraries and bookstores at the end of the nineteenth century, or the increasing exhibition of French films during the first decades of the twentieth century.

The books also have some significant bibliographic omissions. In the case of *Germany in Central America*, Schoonover does not consider the interesting work of

Eugenio Herrera-Balharry, *Los alemanes y el estado cafetalero* (San José, 1988), which analyses the insertion of Germans into Costa Rica society, and their relations with the state and the local elites. In the case of *The French in Central America*, the omission of Rafael Leiva-Vivas, *Francisco Morazán y sus relaciones con Francia* (Tegucigalpa, 1988) is inexplicable.

Both books contain some factual errors. For example, in *Germany in Central America*, Schoonover affirms, 'in August 1854 the faction called Democrats in Nicaragua, with aid from U.S. mercenaries led by William Walker, had defeated Conservative President Fruto Chamorro' (p. 51). However, Walker did not disembark in Nicaragua until June 1855. And in *The French in Central America*, Schoonover suggests erroneously that José Joaquín Rodríguez, president of Costa Rica (1890–1894) was a candidate in the presidential election of 1894 (p. 93). It is inaccurate to say that in 1894 bananas was 'Costa Rica's chief export product' (p. 94), when in that year bananas only represented about 9 per cent of total exported value.

University of Costa Rica

IVÁN MOLINA-JIMÉNEZ

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Peter A. Szok, '*La última gaviota*': *Liberalism and Nostalgia in Early Twentieth-Century Panamá* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), pp. x + 151, \$51.95, hb.

This is an intriguing study of Panamanian nationalism as it developed in the discourse of elite Liberal politicians and intellectuals over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and especially between 1880–1930. Szok proposes that Panamanian nationalism had two main phases. The first, developing soon after independence in the early nineteenth century and remaining strong until 1903, was sustained by a 'Hanseatic ideal', a cosmopolitan trading identity associated with effective political autonomy (even if ultimately under the wing of a powerful protector) and distinct from Colombia's retrograde Hispanism. The ultimate goal here, and the dream of Panamanian nationalists, was to build an inter-oceanic canal. This phase ended, ironically, with the creation of the republic and the building of that canal.

The traditional elite soon felt marginalised by the manner in which the new polity and the canal were defined and built, and they unthreatened by the growth in immigration that accompanied canal construction. An oligarchic liberal intelligentsia now looked to 'Hispanidad' as the basis for a nationalist legitimization of the traditional elite as the true repository of the national essence. They waxed nostalgic about the Spanish colonial past, and wrote romantic nationalist poetry about colonial ruins and relations between Spaniards and Indians. According to Szok, this nostalgia was the other face of a restrictive and racist nationalism that, rather than 'invite the masses into history' (as some contemporary scholars have described the function of nationalism), excluded the ethnically complex new Panamanian masses from legitimate membership in the nation. This second phase of Panamanian nationalism, the author maintains, was central to the unfolding of the country's politics throughout the twentieth century.

Szok's study underlines the degree to which a local and would-be national culture existed in Panamá well prior to the creation of the republic in 1903, and so it questions the prejudices of most observers, who have tended to deride Panamá as a mere invention of the United States. Szok also shows how immediately aware were

Panamanian intellectuals of this derision after 1903, how deeply they resented it, and how quickly they sought to excavate history of nationalist longing as well as evidence of a Panamanian national essence. Given the centrality of the argument about exclusionary nationalism in the twentieth century, some demographic data on the increasing complexity of Panamanian ethnicity would have helped more than the few descriptive quotes offered. Equally, the author might have done more to establish in concrete terms the degree to which traditional elites were marginalised after 1903. The author has the laudable intention of showing that Panama is not an anomaly in Latin America, and that its history of nationalism follows the Latin American paradigm in important respects. The argument, however, requires a more developed comparative dimension. Of particular relevance in this regard is the case of nineteenth-century Nicaragua, whose elites also developed a canal-based nationalism. An extended consideration of the findings of Bradford Burns and Frances Kinloch would have helped to situate the Panamanian case. Likewise, the author might have explored in detail a comparable case of exclusionary nationalism in the early twentieth century, such as Argentina. Overall, however, this book is a welcome and provocative contribution to a relatively scant English-language historiography of Panama. It is nicely studded with references to important debates in Panamanian scholarship, and its footnotes are rich in brief biographies of major figures in Panamanian politics and letters.

University of Windsor

STEVEN PALMER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 35 (2003). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X03376813

Ben Fallaw, *Cárdenas Compromised: The Failure of Reform in Postrevolutionary Yucatán* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. x + 222, £41.95, £14.50 pb.

When Miguel Alemán sat down to a 1950 banquet in Motul, Yucatán, he may have been distracted; outside a crowd was waving a banner which read ‘Mr. President, the *ejidatarios* of Motul are dying of hunger’. The protest was eloquent for more than its juxtaposition of political barbecue with peasant malnutrition. Motul was the birthplace of Felipe Carrillo Puerto, the socialist caudillo and ‘revolutionary martyr’; it was one of the first ejidos in the state, and a centre of grassroots *cardenismo*. That Motul’s *ejidatarios* took the gamble of embarrassing the president reflected enduring radicalism and endemic desperation. Excluded from the feast, they went public; indicting Alemán’s agrarian policy, and behind it the regional outcome of *cardenismo* itself.

Ben Fallaw’s important and resolutely empirical book agrees with those *ejidatarios*; *cardenismo* in Yucatán, as his title announces, was a study in failure. His choice of state was not haphazard. After La Laguna, Yucatán was Cárdenas’ largest experiment in land reform, encompassing the redistribution of about 500,000 hectares in two years. It forms an enlightening and hitherto unused litmus test of *cardenista* intentions and abilities in the national process of pushing reform on often reluctant regional actors. Fallaw navigates the dense political jungles of 1930s Yucatán – five governors in as many years – along the research tracks traced by four questions: who were the *cardenistas*, and who opposed them? To what extent was *cardenismo* a popular and enduring mass movement? How successful was its centralisation? And what did it change? These, with minor variations, are the tested paths taken by

previous historians such as Adrian Bantjes. They lead Fallaw to the most detailed statement to date of what may be – or, given the emotional resonance of *cardenismo* amongst academics, may not be – an embryonic consensus concerning its identity and significance; a consensus whose central theme is in Nora Hamilton's formulation, the 'limits of state autonomy'.

On campaign Cárdenas had pledged reform of the henequen agribusiness which dominated Yucatán's economy. In power this lurched from a promise to transform some haciendas into self-sustaining peasant collectives into a sweeping – if sporadically implemented – project of socioeconomic, political and cultural change. Agrarian reform was to be accompanied by corporate politics in place of the fiefs of caciques, and schools, sports and secular symbols in place of cantinas and religion. Fallaw's book is the narrative of that project, a history of opportunism and obstruction, horse-trading and eventual defeat.

There were solid structural reasons for the *cardenista* project not to work. Had the state expropriated every henequen hacienda in Yucatán, there would only have been productive land for roughly half the potential *ejidatarios*. The shortfall, the agrarian bureaucracy said, would be made good by planting new fields; the agave, however, matures for seven years before harvesting is possible. Basing undercapitalised peasant collectives on a monoculture, moreover, implied considerable vulnerability to that crop's price fluctuation. Whilst acknowledging that such problems made Cárdenas' intentions profoundly ambitious, Fallaw does not accept their inviability. Yucatán could, he believes, have been a success story to rival La Laguna. But *cardenista* mistakes met with agile regional resistance to make the opportunity cost of sustainable reform high; in 1938, fiscally and politically overstretched, Cárdenas chose not to pay it.

Fallaw's story is above all a political one, as it should be: the running and the hurdles in Yucatán reform were in the field of political economy, and no amount of *post hoc* cultural analysis can change that. The *cardenista* cultural programme was the first to be ditched in what he calls the 'strategic triage' of 1937, and after providing an interesting exploration of such initiatives as the prohibition campaign, or the purposive reshaping of rural women's roles, Fallaw concludes that they were largely epiphenomenal. (On the reshaping of political culture, he is less clear, arguing cogently that *cardenismo* left little local legacy – as attested by the PRD's near non-existence – only to add that it did teach *yucatecos* how to organise and protest.) The meat of Fallaw's work, though, lies in its insightful treatment of complex political phenomena. His approach largely overcomes the problems of representation attendant upon regional histories, while the considerable amounts of information he has synthesised give his conclusions force.

This is just as well, as for all the sobriety and balance of Fallaw's argument, a certain number of sacred cows are boldly slaughtered in its course. Three of them are particularly noteworthy. *Cardenismo* in Yucatán, he argues, failed not so much through popular or oligarchic resistance as through poor decision-making – particularly in the abandonment of urban workers and 'Left-*cardenistas*', its natural constituency – and a relatively lowly place on the president's national agenda. Centralisation, long supposed to be the tap root of *presidencialismo*, was ineffectual, leaving regional elites with a marked capacity to thwart federal policies. Finally, Fallaw denies the 'conventional view that *cardenista* land reform politically stabilized and centralized power in Mexico by ending social tensions in the countryside and forging a social compact between the postrevolutionary state and the peasants'.

A well-designed and convincing study ends with a highly suggestive conclusion: that the *pax cardenista*, in Yucatán at least, is a fairly tale.

St Antony's College, Oxford

PAUL GILLINGHAM

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Stephen R. Niblo, *Mexico in the 1940s: Modernity, Politics and Corruption* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1999), pp. xxv + 408, \$55.00, hb.

In modern Mexican history the 1940s constitute the hinge-point between rural social revolution and urban industrial revolution. Despite their crucial importance, the intervening years have long remained a scholarly blind spot. This was partly due to the fact that, apparently, there were no spectacular revolts, such as the Cristero rebellion in the 1920s, or any spectacular state initiatives, such as the nationalisation of the petroleum industry in 1938. Neither were there any impressive protest movements with a national scope such as the 1968 student movement. Historians simply accounted for *cardenismo* in the 1930s as the last great sequence to the 1910 Revolution. Political scientists and sociologists had their hands full with the turbulent period after 1968. As a result, the 1940s and 1950s remained un(der)explored during considerable time. The publication of Stephen Niblo's book is a serious and successful attempt to fill this gap.

In a time where publications about Mexico's cultural history abound, this text is an exception in that it is fundamentally concerned with 'political and economic issues at the national level'. Fortunately, that does not mean that the author turns his back on cultural processes or the politics behind them. More than half of the first chapter, which strives to provide the reader with a panoramic view of life in Mexico in the 1940s, talks about cultural issues (narrowly defined) such as cinema, literature, sports, arts and so on. The last chapter deals entirely with the struggle about the emerging mass media. In between, there are three chapters that deal with political developments during the presidencies of Manuel Avila Camacho (1940–1946) and Miguel Alemán (1946–1952), and one thematic chapter about corruption.

All the chapters combine different analytical perspectives on the central theme of the book: the dramatic transformation of the (post)revolutionary reformist social, political and developmental project into a large-scale, market-oriented and accelerated project of modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation. This process 'was based upon a massive transfer of resources from the poor to the rich and from the country to the city. Land and labor reform were stifled in order to place the developers' interests at the top of the national agenda' (p. 363). And yet it all happened without significant political instability. For the description and explanation of this fascinating process, Niblo employs different perspectives in way of which few historians are capable. I am referring, firstly, to his ability to analyse Mexico's political and economic developments with in an international framework. Here the author is supported by his earlier work on the relationship between Mexico and the United States during the Second World War. Niblo has worked his way through an impressive amount of archival sources in the USA and UK to substantiate his claims. One of the central arguments of his book is that the convergence of the war effort with the programme of industrial modernisation enabled Mexico's leaders to shift the trajectory of the Mexican revolution. The war provided opportunities for exports and new industries, the obtaining of funds for ambitious development projects, and the strengthening of ties between international capital and

the Mexican elites (creating a fertile ground for rampant corruption). The war also provided arguments for curbing labour demands and against land reform, and it became a source for general ideological legitimacy. One of Niblo's most important findings is that a three-way political agreement between Avila Camacho, the *cardenista* wing of the revolutionary party, and the US State Department cleared the way for wartime cooperation. It also cleared the way for President Avila Camacho to follow his own policies and within his party tie the left to the executive.

The US and British archives, in combination with those in Mexico, also provide a wealth of information about developments taking place within Mexico. The author investigates the evolution of policy priorities and corruption, among many other issues, from a national point of view and by carefully looking at particular events, such as the massacre in the provincial town of León in 1946, where troops fired on civilians who protested against rigged elections, as well as individual personalities, such as labour leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano, whom he describes as pathetic and opportunistic because of his unconditional support for the regime, and Maximino Avila Camacho, the president's older brother responsible for the most blatant forms of corruption. Niblo's book is a rich and complex analysis, indispensable for an understanding of postrevolutionary Mexico.

Utrecht University

WIL G. PANSTERS

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Enrique Dussel Peters, *Polarizing Mexico: The Impact of Liberalization Strategy* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), pp. xi + 247, £38.95, hb.

This book provides a complete overview of relevant issues in Mexico's pattern of economic and social development from the late 1980s until 1997–98. However, most of the issues addressed are treated through a descriptive approach and rudimentary methods that add little to the existing knowledge on the impact of economic liberalisation policies in developing countries. The different analyses are designed to support the book's central hypothesis that economic liberalisation strategy (ELS) is unsustainable in the long-run due to its inherent economic and social inconsistencies.

The initial discussion shows how successful macroeconomic stabilisation contrasts sharply with worsened income distribution. One policy issue that is particularly emphasised is the trade-off between using exchange rate policy (allowing an overvalued peso) to control inflation and the idea of export-driven growth. By keeping imports cheap, peso overvaluation restrained inflation, but also led to increasing trade deficits. Hence, a contention recurrently underlined throughout the book is that such a trade-off renders macroeconomic stability unsustainable. Imports systematically tend to grow faster than exports, generating increasing trade and current account deficits, which were only corrected with a devaluation as in 1995.

The analysis then describes the maquiladoras' well-known export dynamism and prominence, but also their weak local linkages as well as the high relevance of intra-industry and intra-firm trade to the expansion foreign trade. The central issue here is whether or not export-growth is positively related to GDP-growth and/or import-growth. The exploration is based on a typology of branches and branch-level data. It turns out that such relationships hold for the most export-oriented branch but also for one of the least export-oriented. For most branches no clear pattern

could be discerned. Thus, no cross-branch general pattern could be established. In short, no conclusive evidence is provided regarding one of the book's central arguments – that export growth highly dependent on imports cannot be sustained in the long run.

Regarding foreign direct investment (FDI), the study describes well known general and sectoral trends – much faster average growth rate and further shift towards manufactures, particularly during the post-NAFTA years. Some of such trends are invalidated, however, insofar as the data for the last year presented (1998) was preliminary and has changed substantially. Three industries with substantial allocations of FDI (automobiles, electronics and telecommunications) are further analysed. Why these industries? There is no clear justification. Nevertheless, the study adds detail to different processes including development of efficient regional sourcing networks and successful shifting from domestic to export markets in automobiles and electronics, and domestic-market penetration, competition-driven price reductions, and industry modernisation in telecommunications.

In terms of social issues, Dussel seeks to show that public social expenditure has not been sufficient to recover the welfare levels reached at the beginning of the 1980s. However, the data does not show that unless, that is, you pick convenient years. For example, GDP per capita was higher during 1992–94 than in 1980, although it experienced a moderate decline in 1995–96 due to the crisis. There are also problems with the way income distribution data is analysed – the results vary depending on the income deciles that are compared, and there are prominent oscillations within the period that are simply overlooked. In short, no general conclusions on income distribution could be reached. The contention that the ELS has had an impressive negative impact on income distribution is simply not clearly reflected in the data shown.

Lastly, regional development issues are addressed. Regional economic inequalities are studied following an scheme that compares the four largest state economies altogether to other nine other states. Why were these nine states picked? There is no explanation and the selection makes no intuitive sense. The analysis depicts a pattern of deconcentration between 1970 and 1985, which, however, has been reversed since then. Economic activity since the late 1980s has shifted toward the four leading states and the northern border states at the expense of southern regions, including the oil-producers. Also it shows that during 1970–85 the GDP per capita of most of the selected states grew faster than it did in the Federal District, whereas the opposite happened from 1985 to 1995. These patterns of cross-state convergence (1970–1985) and divergence (1985–1996) have been substantiated by several studies using sophisticated techniques.

Dussel next analyses the electronics industry in the state of Jalisco and pharmaceuticals in Mexico City. The purpose is to deepen the argument that ESL is not generating long-term endogenous growth conditions, as local firms are unable to participate as suppliers. Electronics in Jalisco have shown a quite dynamic export performance, driven by a few transnationals (TNCs), but local or even national inputs are minimal. Instead, a system of mostly foreign suppliers has been developed locally. Pharmaceuticals, a highly protected industry until the late 1980s, has suffered the quick removal of trade barriers, which have resulted in an increasing market penetration by TNCs, but also in massive take-overs and bankruptcies of national firms. Hence, domestic value-added has dropped sharply. Dussel however does not address two important issues in this regard – first, the inability of local firms to

achieve the required cost and quality standards and to operate in just-in-time systems; secondly, the lack of institutions and programmes that would facilitate integration of local firms into the global sourcing networks. These issues are briefly mentioned throughout the book, but they are never elaborated.

In general, the book provides some elements that allow the author to argue that the ELS has failed to overcome obstacles which hinder Mexico's economic and social development, but that is quite distinct from evaluating the impact of specific components of this strategy. For several of the issues analysed, the limitations of the analysis do not yield general solid conclusions, despite the author's frequent claims on the contrary. The book would have benefited greatly by borrowing evidence from the good number of academic studies that address specific elements and issues of the ELS.

*Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas,
Mexico City*

RAFAEL TAMAYO-FLORES

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Yvon Grenier, *From Art to Politics: Octavio Paz and the Pursuit of Freedom* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2001), pp. xiv + 152, \$65.00, \$22.95 pb.

In 1993, on the eve of his eightieth birthday, Octavio Paz gave a long interview to Julio Scherer, in Scherer's influential political journal *Proceso* (18 October 1993). In it he wrote what could be a fitting epitaph to a life and a work that spanned most of the twentieth century:

Por fidelidad a ese lector que es el tiempo en persona, escribí muchos artículos y notas sobre la actualidad literaria, artística y política. No me arrepiento: hay el tiempo de la poesía y el del amor, hay el tiempo de la pelea y el de la conversación, el del diálogo con las sombras y el tiempo del silencio. Hay que vivir los distintos tiempos y, misión del artista, hay que distilarlos (p. 7).

Grenier's book concentrates on one of these abiding interests: Paz's political thought and writings. As he was arguably Mexico's most prominent intellectual figure of the second half of the twentieth century, Paz's political opinions were always – and especially after his 1968 resignation as ambassador to India in protest at the Tlatelolco massacre – at the centre of intellectual debate, increasingly subject to fierce polemic. On one shameful occasion, in 1984, this 'tiempo de pelea' spilled into direct action. A group of demonstrators in Mexico City, angered at a declaration made by Paz that the Sandinista government in Nicaragua was attempting to impose a bureaucratic military dictatorship like that in Havana, set an effigy of Paz on fire, changing, 'Reagan rapaz,/tu amigo es Octavio Paz'. While not condoning such radical forms of cultural criticism, Paz was very much at ease in the eye of a critical storm: he had forthright opinions and he like to engage, with an energy that remained unflagging until his death in 1998. His favourite target was what he depicted as the 'Stalinist' or 'Leninist' left, since he thought that the right, in a much-repeated phrase, did not have ideas but only interests.

Grenier, perhaps wisely, attempts in the main, to step back from the polemics: 'The main focus is on what could be called his [Paz's] political thought, to be distinguished from his opinions on public issues' (p. xi). Grenier calls this thought 'romantic liberalism', and he develops his thesis in the central chapters of the book.

A short opening chapter, 'Interpretation and Culture', gives what seems like a *de rigueur* theoretical underpinning to the text, based on social theorist Margaret Archer's attack on what is called the 'machination school' of cultural critics. The somewhat clunking language here is at odds with the rest of the book, and certainly with Paz's own effortlessly limpid prose style. It might have been enough for Grenier to say, as he does at the end of the chapter, that his sociological approach 'postulates the fundamental freedom of individuals in general, especially the individual creativity of artists and intellectuals' (p. 10). This is followed by a perceptive mapping of 'Environments' in Mexico, tracing Paz's political itinerary from the 1920s and identifying the responsibilities and constraints of intellectual life in Mexico, the intimacy in the shadow of state power. Grenier is generally supportive of Paz's different and developing views. There is one uncomfortable moment on page 97, when Grenier is discussing the electoral 'fraud' that brought Salinas into power in 1988, when he is tempted to state that Paz should have been more severe in his denunciation of electoral fraud: 'It would be presumptuous for me, as a Canadian, who lacks firsthand experience of these events, to come out strongly against Paz (as I would be tempted to do) ...' This aside, Grenier is in agreement with Paz's analysis of the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, his support of Salinas's neoliberal reforms, and his quarrel with certain forms of left-wing thinking, and he is prepared to engage in the polemic, pointing out the ideological blind-spots of critics such as Jorge Castañeda and excoriating *engagé* academics based in US academic institutions like George Yúdice.

The central chapters explore the underlying, consistent, structures of Paz's thought. For Grenier, Paz was a liberal who defended individual freedom and democratic politics, but he was also a romantic critic of materialism and bourgeois society's advocacy of the supremacy of reason. He was a 'fellow traveller' of modernity, but also its severe critic, opposed to the modern obsession with linear time and progress. He supported the myth of revolution, but felt that this revolution could only succeed in poetry and was not an option in either the developed or underdeveloped worlds. Revolutionary vanguardism, in this analysis, had to give way to pluralist liberal democracy. He agreed with Shelley that poets were the 'unacknowledged legislators of the world', and yearned for the utopian moment of poetry, that offered, 'the possibility of recreating the "original instant", that paradisiacal moment that bloomed before poetry was separated "by an act of rational violence" from ideas and reason' (p. 115). Grenier's main thesis is that Paz's romantic criticism of modern society tends to be open ended, aesthetic and moral and, as such, does not directly connect to 'a particular timetable or political agenda' (p. 118). Grenier makes his points elegantly and persuasively, and his book should become essential reading alongside the anthology of Paz's political writings that he has recently selected and edited – Octavio Paz, *Sueño en libertad: escritos políticos* (Mexico, 2001). Read together, there emerges a complex picture of a passionate intellectual who, in the interview with Scherer quoted above, concurred with Luis Buñuel's observation that one of the tedious things about being dead was that one could no longer walk to the corner kiosk and buy *Le Nouvel Observateur*, to find out what was going on in the world.

University of Warwick

JOHN KING

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Liam Kane, *Popular Education and Social Change in Latin America* (London: Latin America Bureau, 2000), pp. 304, £12.99, pb.

Liam Kane's is an impressive book, providing a wide-ranging account of popular education in Latin America, and written in a style which is consistent with the best practice he describes. The book is comprehensive, taking the reader through popular education's history, its leading practitioners, its methodology and ideological base, its role in Latin American social movements and its impact. Each chapter sets out the main issues, any areas of disagreement, and the author's own view. Conclusions are then drawn with a clarity of exposition which does much to aid the reader's understanding of Latin American education, a field which Kane rightly recognises has been insufficiently described in English.

Popular education is set firmly in its social context, existing not as a set of theoretical beliefs, Freire's work notwithstanding, but in the dynamic, generative relationship between educator and learner. Popular education is, or should be, a transformational learning experience for the poor or marginalised, helping them to reframe an understanding of their sometimes-oppressive world in a way which produces positive action for change. This, of course, does not always happen. Or, more accurately, it may not always happen, because robust evaluations of the impact of popular education at both macro- and micro-level are few. Kane sets out what we do know, which is not enough. What is certainly clear is that the success of popular education depends on the same factors which determine success in the state education sector – well-trained and motivated teachers, high quality and relevant materials, and enthusiastic learners. Popular educators are required, in addition, to be politically committed and self-aware. Here Kane is right to recognise that education is directive and so necessarily ideological. It could perhaps be clearer that although left-wing popular educators may want to help their learners challenge the dominant discourse, the learners themselves often just want to speak it. Ultimately, it is not popular education's relationship with the politics of identity or feminism (two of the slightly less focused chapters in the book) which will make the difference, than its pedagogical practice. As Kane knows, however good their intentions, teachers who communicate poorly, who are insensitive, who are apathetic or are not in command of their subject matter are never going to engage potential learners or help them improve their skills, let alone help them effect social change.

The centrality of pedagogy is recognised. Kane describes at length what popular education actually means in the classroom. This is critical if the book is to foster a more real understanding of the nature of 'conscientisation' or indeed of 'learning'. The material gives a flavour of the dynamism which good popular education (or indeed learner-centred education, in another context) can generate, but it suffers, as does all written teaching material, from the lack of a teacher to bring it to life.

Kane brings the pedagogical approach of popular educators to his writing. He is honest, for example, about his own authorial (and ideological) bias, recognising the inherent difficulties of a foreigner (a Scot in his case) interpreting another (Latin American) world. In a lovely self-aware touch, Kane defines 'outwith' for a non-Scottish audience in a footnote to a page describing the semantic and cultural difficulties of translating the Spanish *popular*. He also avoids jargon, but explains it where it is essential. And he frequently uses the first person – less to parade his own experience than to acknowledge its limitations.

Kane has tried to balance his own bias by having his chapters reviewed by Latin Americans who work in popular education. These reviews, which append each chapter, are, with some misgivings, successful. Most reaffirm Kane's assertions, as if unwilling to criticise a foreign academic in whom they see an important ally in the struggle for education and social justice. But some refocus Kane's arguments, or describe new case studies. A few add very little. Overall, the reviews serve to demonstrate the wide range of actors engaged in the popular education process – from administrators to teachers, 'field workers' to academics. All of these and others will have an interest in reading this book.

Kane concludes by considering the future of popular education, whether as a lobby group or a set of good practices to be co-opted by the state. Kane recommends that, like many modern NGOs, popular education can work with the states where convenient, but retain a critical voice on the side of the poor, its constituency. Kane ends with a plea that popular education continue to make people think and act, rather than remain passive consumers of others' views. Would that not be a good thing for all of us to achieve?

*Department for Education and Skills,
London*

MARCIAL BÓO

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Richard P. Tucker, *Insatiable Appetite: The United States and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 2000), pp. xiii + 551, \$45.00; £28.50, hb.

Few informed observers of Latin America would be surprised to read that significant environmental impacts resulted from the banana plantations, coffee trade, logging operations and cattle ranches that became lucrative investment targets of US-based firms and entrepreneurs during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, without a proper synthesis on the environmental effects of US imperialism, the overall picture must be obtained from several literatures.

Insatiable Appetite is an important step toward much-needed synthesis on this historical, political and environmental problem. Tucker begins by defining the US 'ecological empire' (1898–1960) as regions of Latin America, the Pacific (Hawaii and the Philippines) and West Africa (Liberia) in which US firms and individuals invested in key commodities. He argues that this 'ecological empire' was 'equally based' on ecological and strategic domination, and that US consumers became 'co-workers' in its creation (p. 3). Accordingly, the book's chapters devote much attention to issues that will interest Latin Americanists, such as sugar in Cuba, coffee in Brazil, Central America and Colombia, cattle in Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela, and forestry in the Caribbean and eastern Central America. Unfortunately, mining and oil drilling are conspicuously absent.

At its best, *Insatiable Appetite* situates several US firms and entrepreneurs in a political-economic landscape shaped by imperialist policies. Tucker provides informed estimates of some environmental consequences of selected land uses, relying almost exclusively on the secondary literature for information on key US individuals: George Hearst and his huge Mexican ranch, Barbicora; the Atkins family and Horace Havemeyer in the Cuban sugar sector; Bob Kleberg and Nelson Rockefeller in South American livestock. The United Fruit Company and Standard Fruit Company also receive deserved attention for their role in clearing forests and

draining wetlands in Central America and the Caribbean. Although the stories of these companies and individuals are rich and interesting, they do not prove the dual importance of environmental and strategic domination.

At its least imaginative, *Insatiable Appetite* delivers a simplistic environmental reading of once-fashionable dependency theory: the core not only underdevelops the periphery, but – surprise – also destroys its forests, erodes its soil, pollutes its surface waters and marginalises poor farmers. To prove this, Tucker constructs woolly causal arguments that, whilst using an vague definition of ‘ecological degradation’, attempt to link US consumption to sites of environmental damage.

Tucker is long on eloquence and passion, but short on necessary details and causal linkages for the consumption-degradation linkage to be plausible. Tucker’s claim that, ‘the strategic ambitions of the American imperium were forging an alliance with the corporate powers that were leading the conquest of the rainforest’ in Central America (p. 142) is reasonable. However, he alleges that coffee’s environmental impact in Colombia was ‘inseparable’ from the country’s socio-economic and political history’, and that its economy was ‘inseparable’ from the world’s coffee market and US demand in particular (p. 202). Style and flourish, rather than compelling argument, are also evident in the claims that, ‘the steaming mugs on American breakfast tables were connected with the machetes and hoes on the remote north Andean mountainsides’ (p. 209), and that, ‘the drink that kept American workers on the job, fueling the productivity of an economic empire, denuded the hills of southern Brazil’ (p. 199).

A related problem is the excessively vague definition of ‘degradation’ used throughout *Insatiable Appetite*. In the case of Dominican Republic, we learn that ‘forests were cleared and some hill areas suffered soil erosion’ because of US investment in the sugar sector (p. 54). In Central America, soil erosion was ‘less disastrous’ than in southern Brazil (p. 212); cattle ranching in Latin America caused ‘permanent degradation of wide regions’ (p. 286), and ‘severe and permanent damage’ to the environment, including the clearing of ‘large amounts of forest’ (p. 332). World War II caused agriculture in the tropical Americas to expand at the expense of forests and left ‘diminished soil and damaged vegetation’ (p. 389). For Tucker, ‘ecological degradation’ probably means removal of existing vegetation for planting exotic crops or removing timber, regardless of the resulting changes to soil characteristics or eventual recovery of vegetation and water resources.

Insatiable Appetite is a worthy attempt at synthesis, but it would have benefited from more attention to the difficult epistemological and methodological problems of causally linking US consumption to destructive land uses. More subtle analysis would have avoided the misleading suggestion that all environmental impacts in the realm of the US ‘ecological empire’ resulted only from US investors and consumers.

*Institute of Latin American Studies,
University of London*

CHRISTIAN BRANNSTROM

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Robert L. Ross, *Mission Possible: The Story of the Latin American Agribusiness Development Corporation (LAAD)* (New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Transaction Publishers, 2000), pp. xvi + 160, \$32.95, hb.

LAAD owes its origins to a speech given by the Republican Senator Jacob Javits at a NATO meeting in Paris in early 1962. His plea – for private business in the industrialised world to take the initiative and, through cooperating with each other, help to foster local private enterprise in the developing world as a matter of enlightened self-interest – took root within an American business community fearful of communist insurgency. New private, ‘for profit’ companies were established and funded by the large multinationals of the day. Adela (the largest) focused on the provision of venture capital to Latin America, whilst LAAD (the smallest) intended to strengthen small and medium private agribusiness enterprises in the same region. Twelve shareholders (including Cargill, the Caterpillar Tractor Company, Dow and Monsanto) each provided US\$200,000 in 1970 to capitalise the new venture, and now, three decades on, LAAD-financed projects are claimed to be generating US\$500–600 million additional hard currency earnings per year (p. 114), with some 50,000 new jobs (p. 6) created in the region. Shareholders have not lost out either. Dividends totalling US\$6.7 million – almost three times the original paid-up capital – have been paid out over the last twenty years (p. 122).

Mission Possible is the story of LAAD over the last three decades, a specially commissioned corporate history written by the individual who should know the company best – Robert Ross, the president of LAAD (1972–98). Ross candidly admits that, ‘the reader will find no theoretical advance in his understanding of the development process’ (p. xii) within the text, and the author is true to his word. Ten short chapters offer a very personalised account of LAAD agribusiness forays detailing, for example, how a chance encounter in Costa Rica saw LAAD-financing help the American farm owner Michael Thomas to become the largest single flower grower in the region (p. 42); how LAAD capital was instrumental in helping Arturo don Melo to dominate the Panamanian poultry market (p. 44); and how a failed LAAD-funded slaughterhouse project in Belize was rescued by planting citrus on the adjoining land, thereby allowing the enterprise to be sold as a going concern to a Kentucky coal company (p. 62). Such tales raise a number of questions. Has LAAD, consciously or unconsciously, supported agribusiness concentration in Latin America? How often have US expatriates been the beneficiaries of LAAD largesse? Were credit constraints the key factor inhibiting the expansion of such enterprises, or did other economic and political factors weigh more heavily? Unfortunately Ross sidesteps questions such as these in favour of passing onto the next exemplary LAAD exploit.

Although there is some recognition of the significance of national regimes and external events, all are analysed within the narrow corporate remit. An elementary history lesson on how the neglect of foreign-exchange risk exacerbated problems within the Chilean financial sector at the tail-end of the seventies is provided in order to show how this impacted upon Chilean fruit farmers and how, generally, LAAD’s operations are affected by exchange risk (p. 113). The Sandinistas are particular *bêtes noires* for Ross’ because of the need to write off LAAD’s complete Nicaraguan portfolio between 1979–82, and they are routinely derided as a consequence (pp. 65–70, 87, 132). The 1982 debt crisis also merits a mention – as ‘LAAD

was anxious to take advantage of the new market opportunities' (p. 84) provided by the ensuing switch to neo-liberalism.

Ross is no corporate historian, as the text so vividly illustrates, and the reader is left with a wholly uncritical view of the activities and operations of this important financing source for Latin American agribusiness. Most disappointing perhaps is the omission of detailed financial data – three pithy appendices detail selected financial indicators for the period 1972–98 and the LAAD portfolio (by industry and country) at October 1998 – yet, presumably, the author had almost unparalleled access to the company's financial archives. Ross' brief elucidations on a plethora of LAAD-funded projects hardly provide a compelling reason for anyone beyond the hardened devotee of LAAD to purchase this book then and, indeed, this reviewer suspects that the text will only be moved by doling out copies *gratis* to LAAD employees and beneficiaries. A real corporate history, warts and all, needs to be written; this is not it.

University of Portsmouth

ANDY THORPE

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Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena León, *Empowering Women: Land and Property Rights in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), pp. xxv + 486, \$24.95, pb.

This interesting book – initiated in 1995 with a paper on gender and land rights for a forum at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing – is an example of a successful marriage between policy work and academic writings. Notwithstanding the academic value of the book, it is the authors' explicit aim, 'that the information and analysis contained in the book will contribute to the ongoing process of empowerment of rural women' (p. 31). A central concern of this book is to examine which form of property ownership – individual, joint or collective – is most conducive to enhancing women's bargaining power and empowerment, and under what circumstances.

In more academic terms, the book explores the disjuncture in Latin America between men's and women's property rights to land, showing how the attainment of formal property rights has not resulted in anything like real equality in the distribution of assets between men and women. The authors, Carmen Diana Deere and Carmen León, investigate how the struggle for formal equality before the law and for women's property and land rights has been a contentious process over the course of the twentieth's century, and they show that these goals still have not been attained in all Latin American countries: 'While much has been accomplished in the legal realm, women in Latin America are still much less likely to own land than men, and when they do so, their holdings are smaller and more marginal. Thus, while considerable gains have been made in strengthening women's property rights in pursuit of formal gender equality, there has been relatively little substantive progress towards remedying gender inequality in asset ownership'.

In ten chapters, Deere and León give an interesting multidisciplinary overview of many different themes. They analyse the importance of gender and property (chapter one), followed by a historical overview of the adaptations that have been made in civil codes and the legal frame, illustrating the different ways in which women are now mentioned in legislation. Chapter three focuses on earlier experiences of agrarian reform, unsuccessful in benefiting a significant number of women.

According to the authors, one of the main accomplishments of neoliberal agrarian legislation has been the burial of the concept of male household head as the focus of state land-distribution and titling efforts – a principal mechanism of exclusion of women as direct beneficiaries in the agrarian reforms of the earlier decades. This is followed with an analysis of how the women's movement gained ground in different countries of Latin America; an overview of neoliberal reforms ('the counter reform, undoing the earlier reforms and reduction of the role of the state'), and an assessment of the implications for the struggle for women's land rights and increased ownership of land (chapters four, five and six, respectively). Chapter seven focuses on struggles over individual and collective rights, linking the issue of women's rights to the indigenous movement, followed by a comparative analysis of practices in land inheritance (chapter eight). Finally, in chapters nine and ten, the authors analyse the gender outcomes of land-titling (currently one of the pillars of neoliberal land policy), and they explore 'land and property in a feminist agenda'.

This well-written and accessible publication has many merits. First, it fills an important academic gap (following the pioneering study on gender and land rights by Bia Agarwal, who published her path-breaking *A field of one's own* in 1994). Few studies have been carried out on the distribution of assets by gender, and much work still has to be done. Second, the analysis presented here is multidisciplinary and comparative, providing interesting material for more than 12 Latin American countries. It contains detailed and updated information for countries where land reform efforts have come to an end (Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru) or are practically dormant (Costa Rica), and those countries where in the 1990s a role for the state in land redistribution was still envisaged (Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil and Guatemala). Another strong feature is the 'integrated' way in which women's rights are analysed in close relation to land and indigenous rights (and the contradictions which are often generated), focusing on the tension between the demand for recognition of collective land rights and the demand for gender equality in land rights. Here, the authors arrive at interesting conclusions: 'collective land rights do not necessarily guarantee all members of a community secure access to or control of land. Rather, how collective land is distributed – the rules through which it is allocated to families and to the men and women within them – and who participates in determining these rules, are governed by traditional customs and practices, which often discriminates against the women'.

In short, this book is an important contribution to the current land debate, generating new knowledge about the gender dimension of land rights. Whereas today policy-makers are mostly concerned with the necessity of land-titling and creating 'transparent' registration systems, Deere and León show that land liberalisation cannot be put forward simply as a goal in itself. Neoliberal land policy (often presented as a technical solution) is not as neutral and apolitical in practice as is often suggested in policy documents. Important differences exist between formal equity between men and women before the law and the achievement of real equity between them. Gender inequality in land ownership is due to male preference in inheritance, male privilege in marriage, male bias in state programs of land distribution, and gender inequality in the land market, where women are less likely to be buyers than men. The authors show that women's ownership of land is critical, whether or not women are farmers, for the security that owning an asset conveys as well as the particular association between ownership of land, power and women's empowerment. 'There is little question but that independent land rights for all women should

be the goal for feminists' (p. 340). They also stress the need to pay more attention to the goal of redistribution: 'What could potentially do the most to enhance rural women's ownership of assets (particularly the landless rural women) would be a policy of fundamental land redistribution', that is, a policy of redistribution that was not only gender based but also involved the redistribution of land among social classes. 'Social justice, with redistribution and recognition is necessary to broaden women's citizenship, to deepen democratic processes in most countries, and to sustain a culture of equality' (p. 350).

Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation,
Amsterdam

ANNELIES ZOOMERS

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Cynthia Margarita Tompkins and David William Foster (eds.), *Notable Twentieth-Century Latin American Women: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 2001), pp. xxiii + 324, £49.95, hb.

This book consists of some 70 biographies of Latin American women born in the twentieth century. All 20 countries of the region are represented and the women selected cover dozens of occupations, or as the authors prefer 'fields of endeavour'. Well known in their own countries and in the region, a good number have also acquired international reputations. The familiar names of Eva Perón, Rigoberta Menchú, Isabel Allende, Carmen Miranda, María Luisa Bemberg and Celia Cruz, are joined by many other women whose lives and achievements merit wider recognition. If writers and political figures predominate, there are also cameo portraits of artists, poets, musicians and even a Candomblé priestess. Scientists of all types are thinly represented – but this is not a Who's Who of Latin American women; it is, rather, a selection, governed as an all selections, by the editors' spectrum of what is widely recognised as notable.

Tompkins and Foster conceived of the book as 'a celebration of women conjoined by their common struggle against discrimination'. Given this brief, the sixty or so contributors aim to reflect on the ways that women's lives were marked both by the political vicissitudes of their countries, and by the hidden injuries of gender, class and race. Few of the women included here escaped the effects of the region's turbulent history; a striking number were forced into temporary or permanent exile from authoritarian regimes as evidenced by the clutch of Argentine entries: María Luisa Bemberg's family, at odds with the Peronist regime, decamped to Spain for a few years in the 1940s; singer Mercedes Sosa, banned by decree from performing in Argentina in 1978, did the same; writer and art critic Marta Traba fled the terror to Colombia; others went to Mexico, a haven for exiles during the dictatorship years.

The personal journeys of these women and the many obstacles they encountered on their way are striking testimony to the social changes that the continent has undergone in the course of the twentieth century. The struggle to gain voice and presence in a male-dominated society, to have their work taken seriously, and on occasion even to be allowed to work at all by their husbands or fathers mark the earlier biographies. Brazilian Chiquinha Gonzaga, born in 1847 and married at 22, was forbidden by her husband to play musical instruments. We learn that she left him to become the first female composer, conductor, performer and music teacher in her country to earn her own livelihood. Some, like Mexican playwright Nancy

Cárdenas, fought ‘conventionalism’ in her own life and pioneered struggles for gay and lesbian rights in the early 1970s.

Later entries document more subtle or prosaic impediments – husband’s careers, lack of childcare, lack of due recognition – all stultifying in their own ways. Most remarkable of all are the women whose journeys traversed the major social divisions. Benedetta da Silva’s story stands out as one marked by the combined assaults of gender, class and racism, but also by her determination to make a better world. It was she who, in her role of politician, co-authored important amendments to the Brazilian constitution of 1988, among them those that declared racial prejudice a crime, 120-day maternity leave, prohibition of wage differentials based on race or gender. Despite the dispiriting and inhibiting conditions in these lives, these Latin American women were no victims. As their inclusion in this volume testifies, they rose above them to make their mark on their societies.

Jane Jaquette’s introduction sets these lives in historical context, and reflects on both the celebrated and unknown women of earlier epochs. Notable women there were, but few acquired an iconic status in the region’s understanding of its history, and as in the case of one of the earliest to do so, the Mexican nun, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, projected an image that, on some readings, bind femininity to piety and purity. Real lives, including that of Sor Juana herself, were often more transgressive, each epoch generating its notable and notorious women, proto feminist antecedents of the political movement that Virginia Vargas, Julieta Kirkwood and others represented here, devoted their considerable energies to.

For all the diversity of the lives that make up this book, many were lived in different countries at one time or another. If exile was the unhappy fate of some, travel of a less compulsory nature seems to have been a formative moment for many, marking a rupture with a previous self, opening new avenues, politics and careers. It was while touring Europe with a group of peasant leaders to protest the fate of Guatemalan peasants that Rigoberta Menchú was to meet Elizabeth Burgos Debray, the translator of her world best-selling autobiography. The allure of living abroad was also resisted. Cuban poet Dulce María Loynaz developed strong links with Spain and, among many other international plaudits, was recognised as the ‘adopted daughter’ of Tenerife in the Canary Islands. Despite inducements to leave Cuba and the less than warm relations she enjoyed with the Castro government, she preferred her island home to any other. Whether travelling north to the United States for work or to Europe, both East and West, many of these Latin American women crossed borders and continents with surprising frequency, and developed attachments to more than one locale, sometimes assuming dual nationality like Fanny Mikey, born in Argentina and eventually becoming a Colombian citizen. These nomads, whether political or artistic, voluntary or otherwise, seemed to express the modern condition of diaspora, displaced but tied in myriad ways to their countries of origin. Tomkins and Foster’s biographical dictionary is not just a handy reference resource; its cameos form a historical mosaic of gender relations and transformations in Latin America.

*Institute of Latin American Studies,
University of London*

MAXINE MOLYNEUX

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Björn Hettne, András Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel (eds.), *National Perspectives on the New Regionalism in the South* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, and New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), pp. xl + 318, £20.50, pb.

The advent of *globalisation* entails a series of apparently contradictory processes. For instance, the increasing integration of countries in the global economic structures has simultaneously witnessed the creation of regional trading blocs to tame the attendant global competition. In fact, there appears to be a growing space for the regional economic groupings. Different regions have different ways of joining the bandwagon of globalisation and no two trajectories are alike. The volume under review, essentially limits itself to the regions which are non-western: the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In particular, the focus is on 'new regionalism'. According to the editors, the 'new regionalism' refers to 'a more comprehensive process, implying a change of a particular region from relative heterogeneity to increased homogeneity with regard to a number of dimensions that may be natural process or politically steered or, most likely, a mixture of the two' (p. xxiv).

Regionalism is the new mantra, for many actors find it rewarding to be part of the various regional economic fora. As the editors put it, they 'cling to the national space where they have their national space to protect' (p. xxvi). Corroborating this reading of the global scene, the book presents different types of regionalism discernable in the diverse developing regions around the world. 'Regionalism, therefore, is not a panacea, but nevertheless it remains an important phenomenon in the current global transformation' (p. xxxi).

The first section, deals with the regional economic processes in East, South East and South Asia. Joakim Öjendal discerns two levels of regionalism in Asia Pacific: the push-factors leading to the creation of APEC, and the pull-factors resulting into the formation of ASEAN. They respectively embody what he calls the 'Maximalist Vision versus the Minimalist Vision' (p. 3). According to Öjendal, three relationships – US–Japan relations; the triangle between Japan, China and South East Asia; and that between the ASEAN states – are likely to determine the future prospects of East Asian regionalism. Zhang Tiejun looks at the role of China in relation to regionalism in Asia Pacific. He delineates the future position of China at three distinct levels – the Asia-Pacific level, the 'Greater China' level and the PRC level (regionalisation within the PRC). He elaborates on the existing disparities within the different regions in China and the efforts made by the Communist party and other sectors to reduce them. Tiejun succinctly brings out the compulsions and the contradictions accompanying the process of regionalism in the context of China. Stephen Loeng deals with the promises and pitfalls of the East Asian Economic Caucus, whereas SD Muni reflects on SAARC.

The second section concentrates on Latin America and the Caribbean. Alberto van Klaveren discusses Chile's dilemma vis-à-vis the ongoing process of globalisation. In his reading, three policy options remain available to Chile: subregional integration schemes, gradual hemispheric integration and finally the integration into the global economy through unilateral liberalisation (p. 133). The failure of traditional integration schemes in Latin America has prompted Chile to follow a multitrack trade and integration policy, which included 'special agreements with geographically and economically close countries in Latin America, accession to NAFTA, the establishment of new forms of economic association with the partners in the

Pacific Rim and Europe, and the strengthening of the multilateral system' (p. 149). Thus, for Chile the option seems to be cooperation with Latin America on a priority basis but in the context of open regionalism. Moreover, as Chile is a policy-taking rather than policy-making country, it should continue on its multi-track policy taking advantage of the varied options available.

Marcílio Marques Moreira presents an overview of the waxing and waning of the unity of the Americas, more particularly for the larger nations like Argentina and Brazil. Nonetheless, he highlights the newfound warmth between these two traditionally hostile powers now resolved to face the challenges together rather than individually. Lincoln Bizzozero's makes a case for the smaller countries, like Uruguay, which have to come to terms with regionalisation and globalisation together. Jean Grugel and Anthony J. Payne reflect on the countries of the Caribbean region in the context of globalisation and the NAFTA. They identify two sets of parallel developments that have been taking place: the adaptations and implementation of the new strategies within the individual countries as well as their joint responses to the external challenges.

The last section briefly touches on the Middle East and presents three case studies from Africa. The stress is on the region of Southern Africa. Bertil Odén elaborates on the paradoxical situation that has emerged in the region of Southern Africa, where those countries who had opposed the presence of the regional hegemon – South Africa – are now cooperating with it. Robert Davies delves deep into the South African psyche to understand the compulsions that drive the country towards a deeper integration with its neighbours. Finally, Hans Abrahamsson deals with one of the poorest countries of the world, Mozambique, and the impact of regionalisation and globalisation on it. Mozambique needs a good dose of cooperative globalisation. But before that, it will need what Abrahamsson calls 'structural opportunity' (p. 292).

Of late, the literature on globalisation and regionalism is expanding enormously. However, what distinguishes the current volume is its conceptual clarity. It imparts a great deal of understanding about the processes that push the countries towards globalisation and regionalism, as most of these countries remain by and large, *policy-takers* and not *policy-makers*. The presentation of representative case studies from different regions facilitates a synoptic assessment of the twin processes of globalisation and regionalism.

Goa University, India

APARAJITA GANGOPADHYAY

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Leslie Elliott Armijo (ed.), *Financial Globalization and Democracy in Emerging Markets* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. xxi + 348, £16.99, pb.

'Emerging Markets' were invented in 1986 when, with some difficulty, the International Finance Corporation found enough investors to launch a \$50 million growth fund to invest in securities of developing countries. By 1994, the initial band of eight 'investible' countries had grown to thirty four and the hunt was on for the next investment frontier – Cuba, Vietnam and the '-stans of Central Asia'. Emerging countries had come from nowhere to represent in aggregate 13 per cent of the global value of world stock markets. Investment analysts versed in the arts of

extrapolation reckoned that by 2010 the emerging countries' share of value would be 45–50 per cent.¹

The phenomenon was billed as unprecedented in scale, speed and financial creativity, revolutionary in its drive for economic growth and unquestionably beneficial for the generality of mankind. The speciousness of these claims reflected the youth of most market participants and their ignorance of history. Over the centuries, investors have plunged incorrigibly into exotic opportunities where distance and the lack of reliable information have appeared positive inducements. Stefano Manzocchi estimates that 'the highest ever stock of gross foreign investment in developing countries' both in absolute and relative terms was achieved on the eve of World War I and that this may not have been exceeded even before the 'tequila crisis' of 1995.

This book has its origins in an analysis of financial fragility in Latin America chaired by Bill Rhodes of Citibank in October 1994 and in a follow-up conference organised by Leslie Elliott Armijo in November 1995. The scope of discussion was drawn deliberately to include political as well as economic and financial issues, with the underlying concern that the uncontrolled volume and volatility of global investment flows might jeopardise emerging or fragile democracies. Armijo brought together a dozen scholars who contributed detailed essays on the salient emerging economies – Mexico, Brazil, Russia, India, Indonesia, Thailand and, for good measure, Vietnam – as well as on institutional investors and financial regulation. Work that started with the Mexican collapse was then updated to include the Asian financial crisis of 1997–98 and was first published in 1999.

Country by country, the recurrent theme is the weakness of policy makers in the face of a super-abundant supply of funds. In the 1970s this took the form of bank loans; by the 1990s institutional investors preferred tradable bonds and equity investments. The supply of emerging market equity was greatly increased by the privatisation of telephone companies and other public utilities. For a time, fiscal accounts were transformed by these sales and by the easy placement of public debt with foreign investors. Success was cumulative, while stock market valuations climbed and the cost of debt fell.

Most emerging countries were, however, completely unprepared for the speed and violence with which markets turned against them. Investors discovered, too late, the short-comings of exchange rate and monetary policies and tried to exit simultaneously. Their losses were cushioned by the small proportion of global portfolios committed to any one emerging market, but household wealth in Mexico fell 40 per cent in 1994; in Thailand, 70 per cent in 1998.

The authors differ in their assessment of links between foreign investment and democracy. They agree that investors express a preference for stability over political scruple, so that inward investment tends to reinforce the incumbent regime and, while markets rise, to overlook the deficiencies of economic management. When markets collapse, the political process may advance but the costs of adjustment fall invariably on the most vulnerable groups in society.

Is there a better way to manage the flows of investment funds and to protect emerging countries from their volatility? After the dot.com boom and bust or Enron the same might be asked of developed markets. Tony Porter's essay on international financial regulation complains of secrecy and informality, with solutions

¹ Timothy Heyman, *Mexico for the Global Investor*, 1999.

imposed in the interests of developed countries and their financial institutions. He argues ‘for more democracy in the international arrangements for regulating private financial flows’. More realistically, Armijo concludes, if only in a final footnote, that ‘the crises in portfolio flows of the mid-1990s have led to renewed interest in those countries that have retained substantial capital controls, including Chile ... and China’.

This book makes a valuable contribution to the study of capital flows and their impact on emerging countries. The greatest interest is in the degree of detailed and expert analysis of individual countries and the diversity of their responses to foreign investment. In her preface to this second edition, Armijo proposes that the debate should now move on to the New Global Financial Architecture. A less ambitious but more immediate goal would be to check the lessons of the 1990s against the risks of contagion from Argentina’s current crisis.

London

MAURICE DE BUNSEN

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Hernando Henrique Cardoso, *Charting a New Course: The Politics of Globalization and Social Transformation* (Lanham, MD, and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), pp. viii + 334, £26.95, pb.

Mauro F. Guillén, *The Limits of Convergence: Globalization and Organizational Change in Argentina, South Korea, and Spain* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. xv + 282, \$35.00, hb.

At first sight the only thing that these two books appear to have in common is the ubiquitous term ‘globalization’ in their subtitles. The Cardoso volume is a very useful addition to the 20-page bibliography of his works appended to the book. It contains three types of writings. First, there are translations of excerpts from hitherto untranslated early works, notably on slavery and race relations in Southern Brazil, and on industrialists and Brazilian development in the early 1960s. Second, there are reprints of book chapters and articles that elaborate on the themes of his best known publication (with Enzo Faletto), *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, first published in English in 1979. Finally, there are several pieces written after he became president of Brazil for the first time in 1995.

The 34-page introduction by Font, under the telling title ‘To Craft a New Era: The Intellectual Trajectory of Fernando Henrique Cardoso’, is particularly valuable as an insightful addition to the literature on the intellectual in Latin America under conditions of fascist authoritarianism and fragile redemocratisation and the sociology of knowledge of the scholar-politician. Font clearly shows the significance of the fact that Max Weber’s essay on ‘Politics as a Vocation’ was the inspiration of Cardoso’s inaugural speech as a senator in 1986, a staging post in the long journey from leftist intellectual in the University of Sao Paulo in the 1960s (where he was a founding member of the ‘Marx Seminar’ and helped organise a visit by Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir), to not one, but two successful campaigns for the presidency of Brazil as a social democrat against the Workers Party. The theoretical roots of his conversion (perhaps it was more of a political evolution?) can be found in Cardoso’s conception of dependent development and the complex connections between this and democratic politics. In particular, he focuses on the tremendous problems faced everywhere by politicians who conceive their central task as

'Reforming the State' (see chapter 16), whether under the label of New Labour, New Democracy or even neoliberalism. The relationship between neoliberalism (a frequent barb in the leftist critique of President Cardoso) and new versions of social democracy is to some extent fudged both in Font's introduction (see pp. 17–19, and notes 96–98) and in the recent essays of Cardoso reprinted in the book. The problematic, as noted above, is reforming the state, and to succeed in this task one has to rise above the ideologies of neoliberalism, socialism and even social democracy. This is not a position, I suspect, that would have satisfied the authors of *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. And it remains to be seen whether, and to what extent, it can be achieved in Brazil or anywhere else in these terms. *Charting a New Course* offers no systematic theory of development, but the reflections of the first sociologist to become the president of a major state give plenty of food for thought.

Guillen's book, on the other hand, is a systematic study of the importance of what he terms 'organizational forms' in the developmental paths of Argentina, South Korea and Spain. These organisational forms refer to the structures of businesses, and he tries to show how three different forms have dominated the economies of these three countries leading to 'three paths to development, three responses to globalization' (the title of chapter two, the theoretical fulcrum of the book). He organises his material in terms of foreign trade and investment configurations, yielding a fourfold classification of pragmatic-modernising (high inward and outward flows); nationalist-populist (low on both); pragmatic populist (low outward and high inward flows); and nationalist-modernising (high outward and low inward). He connects these configurations with theories of development, namely modernisation, autarchical dependency, dependency and late industrialisation respectively (see Table 2.1). The historical record suggests that Argentina has followed an 'erratic populist' path, Korea has succeeded in moving from a nationalist-populist to a pragmatic-populist path, and Spain has ended up combining nationalist and pragmatic-modernising. These results may be taken as evidence of either the commendable flexibility of the framework or of its fundamental lack of conceptual bite. My own suspicion is that they signify that the fourfold classification is a useful descriptive device to cope with the large volume of information that Guillen has collected (he reveals with disarming candour that his book took six years to write and that it was supported by about \$250,000 in research grants), but that as a theory to explain the present states of these three economies it is not very effective.

Nevertheless, the book has many admirable qualities. In successive chapters Guillen describes the rise and fall of business groups, the role of small and medium enterprises, and of multinationals (this with respect to organised labour) in each of his three countries with several interesting substantive short case studies for each. For example, the brief surveys of the chaebols in Korea, and the *grupos* in Argentina and Spain are excellent, as is the comparison of the relative failures of Argentine 'wine Fordism' and the relative successes of Spanish sparkling wines (the Freixenet phenomenon) and *Hola* (in the small and medium enterprises chapter). He also analyses two important industries (autos and auto components, and banking) across the three countries and manages to maintain a firm focus on the historical differences between them within the contours of his model.

Now, to globalisation. Both Cardoso and Guillen do treat this often derided concept with a good deal of respect and mobilise it, albeit in quite different ways, in their reflections on development. Both see globalisation (by which they mean the

conventional capitalist globalisation of increasingly open economies, capital flows, inward and outward investment, and so on) as fluid, creating pressures for convergence and divergence, and resistible to some extent. Cardoso, as a practising (and within his own patch, powerful) politician is more comfortable both theoretically and pragmatically with the unifying force of globalisation, particularly with respect to democratisation, and has many interesting comments on how globalisation impacts domestic economic elites and vice versa. These are based on experience rather than systematic research, and perhaps his retirement from the presidency will herald a new phase of scholarly activity on such issues.

Guillen, on the other hand, emphasises the reflexive aspect, defining globalisation in terms of the intensification of global consciousness, making us more aware of each other but not necessarily more like each other. This signals an entirely different agenda, and he uses his research to argue the case that globalisation, far from leading to convergence actually leads to difference as each country and its economic institutions strive to rise to the challenge of global competition by finding its own distinctive comparative advantage. He identifies this as the comparative institutional perspective, a sociological version of comparative advantage, similar to path dependence (though Guillen does not discuss this). The evidence for the superiority of his institutionalism is, of course, the distinctive organisational forms found in the successes and failures of economic development strategies that he identifies for Argentina, Korea and Spain.

The problem with this argument is that it always totters perilously close to circularity, for example the small and medium enterprises in Argentina fail because the Argentine polity cannot escape 'erratic populism' but the Argentine polity cannot succeed (i.e. cannot modernise) because its organisational forms (like its small and medium enterprises) fail. In Spain, however, they both succeed. However, on Guillen's model we are still baffled by the successes, though the failures are easier to understand. Globalisation, as so often, becomes a crudely homogenising straw man, easy to knock down. On reflection, if we consider Guillen's organisational forms to revolve round issues of scale more than form, then we can find much more of value in the fundamental uniformities of globalisation in the world economy. The rewards of best practice, opportunities of strategic alliances, and cost-efficient value chains are what globalisation promises First World, postcommunist and Third World economies and firms alike, irrespective of the size of the firm and its organisational features. Whether capitalist globalisation can actually deliver on these promises is quite another matter. Cardoso's optimism on the reduction of absolute poverty and inequalities in Brazil, and Guillen's remarks on the futures of the Argentine, Korean and Spanish economies are not very convincing. Nevertheless, these are two stimulating books and there is a great deal to ponder in both of them.

London School of Economics and Political Science

LESLIE SKLAIR

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Joe Foweraker and Todd Landman, *Citizenship Rights and Social Movements: A Comparative and Statistical Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, paperback edition 2000), pp. xxix + 296, £17.99, pb¹

This book studies the connection between social conflict and democratisation of authoritarian regimes by shedding light on the reciprocal relationship between the individual rights of citizenship and social movement activity. ‘The essentially individual rights of citizenship can only be achieved through different forms of collective struggle’ (p. 1). Their argument is not that social struggle produces democratisation – it may lead to increased repression – but that (when and if) democratisation takes hold, it is the outcome of a prolonged struggle about citizenship rights ‘in often difficult and dangerous circumstances’ (p. 243).

The authors define the book as ‘a first attempt to operationalize citizenship as an object of contemporary, comparative, and quantitative enquiry’ (p. 45). Following a ‘Mirror Image Most Similar System Design (MIMSSD)’ – similar variation in similar cases – the study compares social movement activity and citizenship rights in the period before and during democratic transitions in Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Spain. The authors go to great lengths to operationalise citizenship rights and social movements through different measures and indexes. Once the variables and indexes are in place, they apply a whole gamut of quantitative methods such as (a) OLS regressions, (b) multiple regressions analysis, (c) two-stage least squares regressions – used to test the reciprocal effects between citizenship rights and social movements struggles – and (d) multiple interrupted time-series regression (MITS), employed to distinguish ‘the effects of the critical changes in social movement activity on citizenship, and viceversa’ (p. 195). The study includes a wink at qualitative comparative analysis by using Ragin’s Boolean Truth Table.

This ambitious book has theoretical, methodological and policy relevance. On the theory side, it brings back in a veritable question – social conflict – which has been put aside by most mainstream comparative theory on democracy and democratisation. Particularly interesting for me was their critique of Putnam’s social capital theory in the book’s last pages. Their non-structuralist approach to social conflict is also insightful. In setting social movements and not social classes as the political actors, they skip over thorny essentialisms. On methodology, the study shows that quantitative methods may be applied on a topic traditionally reserved to historical methods and qualitative comparative enquiries. On the policy side, their contention that ‘democracy is not the comfortable result of righteous conduct’ may help politicians and scholars as well to cast new light on issues such as democratic governance. After all, if democracy is a way of dealing with conflict; democratic governance’s subtext is not a harmonious polity but one able of democratically reacting to the social movements from below.

Nonetheless, the study has difficulties. Some of these are understandable and unavoidable – the crudity and flaws of the available indices used to measure different dimensions of democratisation processes.³ In this case, the authors do well in using these indexes. For better or worse, they are the available tools of the trade, and scholars cannot and should not hold out comparative research waiting for the

¹ Oxford University Press, 1997 (first paperback edition: 2000).

³ See, Munck, Gerardo. 2000. *Measuring Democracy: An Assessment of Alternative Data Sets*, Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

mother-of-all-indexes. But other weaknesses stem from the research design itself. The analytical difference between ‘Rights in Principle’, ‘Rights-in-Practice’ and the ‘Gap’ – though suggestive and clever – is less felicitous at the operational level. The contamination between the Institutional-Procedural Index (IPI), used to measure ‘Rights in Principle’ and the Combined Rights Index (CRI), may be greater than thought.⁴ This, in turn, may affect the GAP, defined as the residuals that result from regressing CRI from IPI. As an unexplained variance, GAP may be itself a composite of the effects of non-accounted for variables, and so not wholly attributable to the political regime’s performance. On the other hand, CRI is the average score of 2 to 5 measures, fluctuating between countries and years. Although in most cases the country scores are correlated, we are left comparing CRI’s results from different CRIs – depending on the available data, each country CRI has different constitutive elements. In turn, this may affect the magnitude of the GAP for each country.

On the social movement measures, one certainly yearns for a more careful critical appraisal of the sources and ways used to register non-labour social movements (SMA) events. At the end, the results of the quantitative parade are less convincing than one might have expected. Based on the Figures 5.3.1 through 5.3.4, I did not find support for the claim that ‘labour mobilization tends to precede other social movement activity’ – a claim thereafter repeatedly used to underscore labour’s political importance in citizenship struggles (on p. 171 authors acknowledge a probable measurement bias given the paucity of non labour movement data). For each country, the ratio of cases to independent variables in the regression models in chapter six tends to be low, and some results may be statistically significant but not compelling. In chapter seven, magnitude of reciprocal effects between citizenship rights and social movement activity is not considered and, after applying MITS regression, authors state ‘that any exogenous event may be the cause of the shift in the dependent variable’ (p. 213). At some point, one is left thinking whether the methodological adventure – showing that quantitative analysis can be used “there” too – has taken on the political analysis.

This hurts comparative analysis. Beyond all the statistical similarities and differences between the cases regarding the timing or level of IPI, CRI, SMA, SR (labour Strikes), in chapter eight one misses a better framing of the results – meaning a parsimonious account of those empirical findings with comparative relevance. Last but not least, in terms of the democratisation literature, the limited number of case studies (4) cautions against generalising the theoretical implications of the findings. Yet, this exploratory study holds a promise, and relevance.

UNDP

JORGE VARGAS CULLELL

⁴ The authors acknowledge the existence of some degree of institutional contamination of CRI (p. 62). But this is true for IPI as well – BANKSII includes variables such as ‘legislative effectiveness’ which speak of processes.