Reviews

Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Volume X, *Latin America since 1930: Ideas, Culture and Society* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. ix+645.

The publication of the final volume of *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, eleven years after the appearance of the first ones, brings close to completion a project that has already succeeded in providing the most authoritative overview of the current state of Latin American historiography (the projected ninth volume, on Brazil and Latin American international relations, is to appear shortly). Notwithstanding, the date of 1930 included in the title, the current volume covers the history of ideas, culture and society since the opening of the interwar years, and does it much more extensively than Volume IV did for the period 1870–1930 – that volume devoted only two of its twelve chapters to these themes. Extension does not, however, mark the most significant difference between the treatment these themes receive in Volume IV and the current one: in the present volume the world of art and culture receives more exclusive consideration, that paradoxically grounds it more firmly in the turmoil of a subcontinent undergoing massive social transformations, than in the 1986 volume.

This is the achievement of Richard Morse's opening chapter, and an admirable achievement it is. This is not only, as the preface to Volume X reminds its readers, 'the longest of any in the entire history', it is an astonishing *tour de force* that goes beyond dazzling with the intellectual pyrotechnics we always expect to enjoy in Morse's writings, to weave an immensely rich and nuanced historical tapestry in which even very minor thinkers and artists find a place, and that place is always the right one. It is as if, after decades of going against the grain of Latin American historiography, and reacting to his marginality by practising the *Narrenfreiheit* that he feared was the only kind of freedom his more conventional colleagues were ready to tolerate from him, the recent changes in the historiographic scene had finally allowed him to be himself.

Indeed, what is first announced as the exploration of a search for identity is soon translated into more traditional language and this collective endeavour is both projected against a variegated social landscape that includes Mexico in revolution, Brazil groping (in São Paulo as well as the Northeast) towards a recognition of its complex ethnic roots, while denying (in São Paulo) that it had a past, Argentina trying to digest the most overwhelming immigrant invasion in the history of the modern age, and refracted in a multitude of prodigiously accurate sketches of intellectual, ideological and literary enterprises that never forget the not always evident connections between their frequently modest achievements and the main themes of his exploration.

The subsequent chapters in the volume face different and usually less daunting challenges. Among those devoted to literature, Jaime Concha's brilliant overview

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of poetry between 1920 and 1950 offers the firmest contours, perhaps because the time lapsed has done some of the necessary work for him; those by Gerald Martin, on the narrative, and Jason Wilson, on poetry since 1950, are more hesitant and tentative (and perhaps rightly so; not all of Martin's readers will agree with his assessment of Carlos Fuentes as 'perhaps the most inherently talented writer of the last thirty years in Latin America', p. 196). Gordon Brotherston's chapter on indigenous literatures introduces a dimension of the Latin American experience that has been neglected for too long. The chapters on music (by G. H. Béhague) and on architecture and art (both by the late D. C. Bayón) valiantly try to do justice to a complex and fractured multinational landscape; while they do not succeed in the perhaps impossible task of offering a unified historical rendering of it, they constitute richly informative and reliable reference works. The chapters on the media face similar problems for different reasons: it is not always easy to go beyond the complex impact of the social, economic and political influences on the evolution of creations in which the expressive dimension is never alone and seldom the most important; perhaps because that dimension is less secondary in film, John King's chapter on the Latin American cinema has been more successful in achieving a truly historical view of its development than Elizabeth Fox in her exploration of the history of broadcasting, which prefers to dwell on its economic and political dimensions.

University of California at Berkeley TULIO HALPERÍN-DONGHI

William B. Taylor and Franklin Pease G.Y. (eds.), *Violence, Resistance, and Survival in the Americas: Native Americans and the Legacy of Conquest* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), pp. 296.

This collection of articles began life as contributions to a 1989 symposium organised jointly by the Smithsonian and the University of Maryland, a 'public conversation about Native Americans and Europeans in the history opened by Columbus'. The range of the essays takes in North America, Mexico, and the Andes; the contributions are of uniformly high quality, some excellent, and – unusual in such collections – for the most part form a coherent thematic whole. The book is divided into three parts: the first deals with early encounters and the neologistic 'culture of conquest'; the second with 'strategies of resistance and survival' in late colonial Mexico; the final section examines the intersection of historical context and contemporary issues in North America. Something of a synthesis of the disparate views of the contributors is provided in a cogent introduction, which crucially emphasises that the several indigenous groups who form the subject of the book 'were all participants in Westernization, not simply enemies or prostrate victims of it' and that the essays 'explore this shifting ground of colonialism as a shared but contested culture'. By and large, the tendency of recent work on colonial history supports this contention, but a great deal of 'ethnohistory' and anthropology stereotypically portrays indigenous groups as hapless victims – punching bags for rapacious Europeans, as it were. It is ironic, too, that recent incursions by 'lit-critters' into historical writing reproduce the very stereotypes long ago demolished by decades of historical research.

The first section commences with an elegant and subtle piece by Franklin Pease, who is unsurpassed as a commentator on the chronicles of early Spanish Peru. He deals with Spanish and native Andean perceptions of the 'Other' in the

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conquest of Peru, especially with the trope of the innate 'treachery' of Andeans that recurs from the time of Columbus, passing through accounts of Antillan, Aztec and Mayan history before surfacing in the Andes. There is also a virtuoso treatment of the alleged Andean belief that the Spaniards were gods, an attribution that is paralleled in the Mesoamerican mythic figure Quetzalcoatl, and which Pease rejects. Jorge Rabasa's contribution concentrates on the writings of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, and is an interesting account of a sixteenth-century writer who is too often ignored, largely because he wrote about borderlands, once more fashionable as a focus for historical enquiry. The account is marred by an artificial distinction between 'story' and 'discourse', but also by the banality of those who have recently discovered that colonial Latin America was unfair to the conquered. There is also an implicit view that historians labour under the delusion that they reproduce an entirely accurate reconstruction of the past; the question of objectivity has been debated by every generation of historians since Ranke, and it is tedious and dismaying to find it treated as a recent discovery. Alas, this type of historical criticism does no more than re-invent the wheel. It elevates what once was standard source criticism in footnotes to the top of the research agenda. Yet another type of problem associated with literary incursions into historical studies is evident in Rolena Adorno's elegant study of Guaman Poma de Ayala. If Franklin Pease is the *doyen* of commentators on the chroniclers generally, then Adorno is similarly *doyenne* of Guaman Poma researchers, having written on him for some twenty years. Guaman Poma has become akin to the Shakespeare of Andean Studies, with a small army of scholars analysing his every utterance. This is armchair history. The problem with this is that it fails to relate his *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* to any unprinted texts. In particular, it ignores the Andean voices in extant administrative, judicial and notarial records of the colonial period. Comparison of Guaman Poma with such texts would provide fresh perspectives on his use of tropes, legal formulae and legal discourse from which he borrowed so heavily, but which are usually missed by his commentators.

The second section is the best in the book. Two excellent essays by José Luis Mirafuentes Galván and William Merrill deal with indigenous and caste responses to the expansion and intensification of colonisation in Northern Mexico and the borderlands. Both essays bristle with ethnographic detail, and are notable for their analysis of the nuances of social formation in a protean frontier-zone. These serve to introduce a superb piece by William Taylor, which examines the symbolism of Santiago and his horse (!), and links this theme to an examination of long-running litigation between a *cura* and an indigenous community. This is somewhat forced, but these ostensibly disparate themes hang together within the context of William Christian's notion of 'local religion' and by considering 'how local communities of Indians actively manipulated both the symbols and institutions of Catholicism'. The issues taken up in the second part of Taylor's essay are familiar from other studies (both in Mesoamerica and the Andes) and are here well handled, but the discussion of Santiago is both subtle and novel, and deserves a wide readership, not least for its methodological implications for the study of colonial Latin America generally. All three essays in this section are well researched, and their impact comes as much from their empirical bases as from their usually convincing arguments.

The final section bears the stamp of 'relevance', and is notable for its intersection of historical scholarship with contemporary issues. Alice Kehoe uses Wallace's model of 'revitalization' as exemplified by the Ghost Dance, which she

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notes did not die out in the 1890s but was extant until recently. She also views such movements in the wider context of 'strategies of persistence', and concludes that 'for five centuries the real policy has been to get the indians off the good land, have them give over their resources, and then let them fend as they might'. Kehoe's contribution is followed by a subtle sociological view of 'social order, social interaction, and social change among native North American societies', concentrating on the much-studied Iriquois Confederacy and its social and cultural gradations; this is good sociology and good history. Then David Reed Miller focuses on Plains Indian Reservation life, the formation of reservations in the nineteenth century, and is also valuable for its mention of the Metis, the miscegenated native Americans who are rarely held to warrant a mention in studies of this kind. The section is concluded with a complementary piece by Jennie R. Joe on Indian women in urban societies, a present-minded and deft piece that restores questions of gender and urbanisation lacking in the earlier contributions. The collection is concluded by a somewhat quirky offering from Michael Taussig, anecdotal and 'self-reflexive', and fascinating for the account of the Colombian medicine man who accompanied the author to Macchu Picchu (it could only have been built by Spaniards, he says).

This volume is among the best of the '1992' crop. Its wide coverage encourages reflection on comparative 'Indian' history, while the quality of its contributions is such that most are significant contributions to their respective fields of study. It deserves a wider readership than is customary for such conference proceedings. It is often original, and richly rewarding.

University of Liverpool DAVID CAHILL

Wendy Kramer, *Encomienda Politics in Early Colonial Guatemala, 1524–1544: Dividing the Spoils* (Boulder, C.O. and Oxford: Westview Press, 1994), pp. xvi + 293, $47.50 pb.

As the primary institution through which Spaniards mobilised indigenous labour and resources, the *encomienda* and its early history in early colonial Latin America merit careful study. These topics have indeed received close attention from scholars specialising in the colonial history of Hispaniola, Mexico, and Peru. Until recently, however, as historians of Central America have often lamented, no good study existed of the early years of the *encomienda* in Guatemala. Wendy Kramer undertook the present study to rectify this problem, and she has written an engaging, authoritative account of the distribution of the rewards of conquest and the origins of Spanish colonial society in Guatemala.

As Kramer points out, all previous studies of the *encomienda* in Guatemala focus on the presidency of Alonso López de Cerrato (1548–1555) because the *tasación* (tribute assessment) conducted by Cerrato and his associate justices in 1548–1552 represents the earliest complete list of *encomiendas* and their *encomenderos*. Yet, by the time of the Cerrato *tasación*, the *encomienda* had already existed in Guatemala for a quarter of a century, having been implanted at the time of conquest in 1524, and the institution underwent many crucial changes during this period. The main deterrent to study of the institution in this incipient stage has been the difficulty of piecing together a coherent reconstruction from hundreds of archival documents, most of which provide only indirect or tangential information on the *encomiendas*. This is precisely the task that Kramer faced.

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The book progresses logically from background and antecedents to specific history. Kramer provides an excellent synopsis of the *encomienda* in the Antilles, New Spain, Panama, and Peru, placing the Guatemalan *encomienda* in comparative perspective, followed by an insightful overview of the conquest of Guatemala led by Pedro de Alvarado. She shows conclusively that Alvarado's role in the conquest has been exaggerated. Kramer then examines the six successive governments of Guatemala from 1524 to 1544, reconstructing in painstaking detail the complex picture of the assignment, usurpation, and reassignment of individual *encomiendas*. She reconstructs no fewer than 11 *repartimientos*, or episodes of *encomienda* assignments, granted by Alvarado, his brother Jorge, and other governors who served during the period. This was a tumultuous time: *encomiendas* were fiercely contested, and Kramer details the litigious sparring of the *encomenderos* and the intense struggles of many against the governors. In doing so, she reconstructs the social and political conditions of the colony during its first 20 years. She also provides a great deal of biographical information on the *encomenderos*. An entire chapter is dedicated to a fascinating case study of the early years of the *encomienda* of Huehuetenango, granted in 1525 to Juan de Espinar by Pedro de Alvarado.

Kramer recaps her conclusions in the final chapter. Perhaps most significant is her indictment of Pedro de Alvarado for his lack of interest in governing Guatemala; yet, as the unchallenged caudillo, his immense *encomienda* holdings remained intact, and he used the institution as his own personal instrument for economic domination of the colony. This is a striking example of the effect of personal agency in history.

Vanderbilt University WILLIAM R. FOWLER

Cheryl English Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico: Chihuahua in the Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. viii + 264, £35.00.

In a country historically as centralised as Mexico there exists some tendency, both political and historiographical, to see any culturally coherent area outside the capital city as a sort of Doppelgänger – a failure of the centre to reproduce itself successfully, as though its DNA coding were somehow faulty or important genes had gone entirely missing. In the Mexican far north this viewpoint becomes something of a problem, since that part of the country has so obviously come to dominate the nation politically and economically over much of the last century, and has laid plausible claims for its own positive identity. Cheryl Martin's extremely readable and impressively researched new book on eighteenth-century Chihuahua plays on this tension in the region's cultural evolution, accepting its ambiguities thoughtfully and never entirely resolving them, while in the process illuminating both the history of colonial Mexico and that of Chihuahua City, or San Felipe el Real as it was known during the period.

Martin has produced an ambitious and deeply analytical study of what was, finally, a very diminutive society, embracing only about 5,000 people at its height in the boom times of the early eighteenth century. After a skillful survey of the history of the area, including the mining centre at Santa Eulalia, Martin engages a series of analytic themes, including a demographic and social profile of Chihuahua's population, labour relations, the 'ethos' and civic rituals of governance (that is to say, the mechanisms of elite domination, both formal and

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informal), the idioms of everyday social interactions between elite and subalterns, and the cultural assumptions and practices of patriarchy (including some wonderful sections on gender expectations and relations). The volume concludes with some suggestive comparisons between Chihuahua and the rest of New Spain, and with a sort of coda on the late colonial period, which is somewhat stinted in the body of the book, despite the title. That rather Haring-esque title is oddly out of keeping with the sophisticated approach, giving little hint of what the book actually contains; it might more usefully have been something like 'Power and Patriarchy'. Among the work's many virtues are the clarity and unpretentiousness of its style, its insightfulness (without over-theorising), and its sensitivity to its sources.

A short summary cannot begin to do justice to Martin's rich research. She finds that Chihuahua *was* different from the more densely settled, institutionally 'thick' areas of central Mexico and Spain from which most of its elite citizens emigrated, but that at the same time it shared many social characteristics with those sending areas. A perennial labour scarcity and chronic physical insecurity gave subaltern groups greater leverage in their dealings with the wealthy, powerful, and white, while notions of *calidad* – an amalgam of class, ethnicity, and personal honour – remained somewhat more fluid than in the older settled areas to the south. Moreover, in a society in which rules for dealing with superiors and subalterns were ambiguous, notions of patriarchy, and of the gender rights, social obligations, and political tropes which composed them, were absolutely central both to the maintenance of social hegemony by the elite, and to possibilities for social mobility and maintaining access to reasonable life chances for subaltern groups.

Even with a book as accomplished as this one, there may be room for criticism. The bias in Martin's documentary base and overall emphasis in favour of the early eighteenth century, together with the analytic approach (in which there is room, admittedly, for a multitude of interesting anecdotes), make for a somewhat static treatment which the coda on the late eighteenth century cannot completely alleviate. Then, too, the book shares the tendency of much recent work in social history to apotheosise historical agency and discount culture, so that all the subalterns become rational actors. But these are relatively minor quibbles about a book that, while modest in its claims and length, makes such large contributions.

University of California, San Diego ERIC VAN YOUNG

Victoria Chenaut, *Aquéllos que vuelan: los Totonacos en el Siglo XIX* (Tlalpan, MX: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1995), pp. 303, pb.

Chenaut's book forms part of an ambitious programme (*Historia de los pueblos indigenas de México*) which invites us to rethink the social and cultural geography of the Mexican nation in plural terms. The style in which the book is presented suggests that it intends to reach a wide readership: numerous gobbits extracted from local and national archives and classic texts on the Totonac Indians, maps, diagrams and illustrations play an important role on the sidelines of this extremely well-written text. However, rather than offering a new interpretation of the Totonacs' history during the nineteenth century, Chenaut draws together in a coherent fashion the bulk of existing literature on this subject, including results of her own earlier work; in itself, the compilation is a considerable achievement.

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Thus, this volume is a good general reader, which leads us through various topics such as: the shrinking Totonac territory in the face of processes of acculturation and, particularly in the nineteenth century, the imposition of citizenship over communal rights and obligations; the differentiation of religious practices and family organisation in more isolated *sierra* regions of the state of Puebla or in the lower coastal parts of Veracruz, and the cultural baggage (land management, the combination of traditional products, language and rituals) that has provided the basis for resistance to inroads made by the Nation State.

Even though the author provides few novel insights into the meaning of Indian resistance during the last century, the reader is presented with key points upon which to ponder. In light of the recent armed uprising in Chiapas, the question of Indian autonomy, civil society and the proposal of a *new federalism* occupy centre stage. Chenaut's book is extremely opportune and suggestive on the theme of the Totonacs' defence of their territory, customs and culture, which in turn may be read as a basis upon which the negotiation (peaceable or otherwise) of relations between state and ethnic groups may be carried out in the near future. The Totonacs of the nineteenth century did not reject change *per se*; however, they did make concerted attempts to achieve some degree of control over the pace and depth of shifts towards the formation of the Nation State and the imposition of a unified vision of society: many bricks were still missing in the *Great Arch*. Chenaut's text makes a good fit with earlier work carried out by Guy Thomson on neighbouring Náhua communities and their leadership in the north of Puebla, in which the terms on which Indians accepted or incorporated liberal measures are made far more explicit. On the central question of resistance, we must thank Chenaut for not having presented a view of splendidly isolated or abjectly defeated Indians: on the contrary, her text makes clear that the Totonacs were very well aware of their situation within the nation, and in consequence, they were wont to play on two fields at the same time: as in Colonial times, they turned to the dominant legal codes and structures, while also insisting on the validity of their own customary laws.

Universidad Veracruzana, Xalapa DAVID SKERRITT

Philip Schofield (ed.), *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham. Colonies, Commerce, and Constitutional Law: Rid Yourselves of Ultramaria and Other Writings on Spain and Spanish America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. xv+468, £60.00.

The Spanish and Spanish American writings of Jeremy Bentham have long been recognised as one of the most distinguished components of his political and economic thought, a major contribution to the liberal tradition and a decisive theoretical statement on colonial independence. Published now in a comprehensive and critical edition, these writings are a welcome addition to the Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham, that great historical enterprise edited from University College London, where the Bentham archive and project have their home. The edition comprises: (1) 'Rid Yourselves of Ultramaria' (1822), Bentham's principal essay in this field; (2) 'Emancipation Spanish' (1820), an earlier but distinct version of the same; (3) 'Summary of Emancipate Your Colonies' (1820), another stage in the development of his thought, and (4) 'Observations on the Restrictive and Prohibitory Commercial System' (1821), the only portion of the present edition to have been previously published. The

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editor explains that 'a large proportion of the text material incorporated into this volume is in Bentham's own hand'; the awesome work of transcription is enhanced by his expert Introduction.

Rid yourselves of colonies, Bentham advised Spain, in your own interest and in that of the colonists. And he reproached Spanish liberals for denying liberty to Spanish Americans, 'this sad inconsistency', as he called it, inherent in practising liberalism at home and imperialism abroad. Bentham also advocated free trade, and throughout Spanish America he was invoked as an economic liberal. He argued that trade with former colonies can only be conducted beneficially to both sides 'on terms equal and free on both sides; subjection, none on either side'. He further stated as axiomatic that 'for the trading of any one country with any other, and deriving whatsoever benefit is derivable from such trading, it is neither necessary nor conducive that either should exercise dominion over the other'. Yet Bentham had only a limited knowledge of colonies and he did not think through the practical effects on primitive economies of undiluted free trade. His vocabulary of Spanish America – Ultramaria, Creolia – has a quasi-mythical character which must have amused his creole disciples. The suspicion remains that he had little interest in the details: his real object lay in promoting the greatest happiness principle, whatever the local environment might be.

Nevertheless, Bentham was one of the few political thinkers of the time to apply his ideas to colonies, to advocate not only liberalism but liberation, not only freedom but independence. Moreover, he was perceptive enough to put his finger on some of the basic weaknesses of Spain in America, whether Spain was constitutionalist or absolutist, and to point out that the ultimate solution available to Spain, military reconquest, was neither economically sensible nor a popular cause in the peninsula. For these reasons Bentham's Spanish American thought is to be taken seriously. Although most of these writings were not published in his lifetime, the ideas they contained were transmitted to the Iberian world through conversation and correspondence, while to his followers in Spanish America he also spoke as a philosopher, jurist, and reformer. Bentham offered a new philosophical framework in the aftermath of independence. Utilitarianism was one of the sources of liberalism in Spanish America and helped to give republicanism a moral legitimacy after the collapse of royal government. Seeking an alternative authority to absolutism and religion, liberals seized upon utilitarianism as a modern philosophy capable of giving them the intellectual credibility they wanted. Bentham's advice to Spanish Americans as they designed their new states was to abstain from doing evil to others and to promote general felicity. The principle of utility is the moral thread running right through the Iberian writings, now happily published in their entirety.

Institute of Latin American Studies,
University of London
JOHN LYNCH

William H. Katra, *The Argentine Generation of 1837: Echeverría, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Mitre* (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1996), pp. 367, £37.50.

William Katra's *The Argentine Generation of 1837. Echeverría, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Mitre* constitutes the first full-length, comprehensive study of the 1837 Generation in any language. Based on a wide range of archival and newspaper sources, it

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covers the development of the Argentine Romantic movement from the early 1820s, when its leaders were students in the 'Rivadavian' educational institutions of Buenos Aires Province, until the 1880s, when, as a group, they were displaced from intellectual hegemony and political power by the Positivist and Social Darwinist publicists of the 'Generation of 1880'.

Despite the exhaustive nature of Katra's chronological and biographical coverage, it must, nevertheless, be concluded that as a contribution to an improved knowledge of the 1837 movement, this study is ultimately disappointing. This is chiefly as a consequence of the book's failure to offer an adequate account of the ideological and aesthetic concepts around which the Argentine Romanticism of 1837 was articulated. On the one hand, Katra employs a set of concepts and categories which, although sanctioned by Argentine historiographical tradition, are probably more misleading than illuminating when applied to the study of the thought of the 1837 Generation. He thus persistently portrays the ideological discussions of the mid-nineteenth century as structured around a 'Liberal-Conservative' divide, and he furthermore identifies the Rosas régime with the 'Conservative', and that of the Unitarians with an ill-conceived 'Liberal' pole; and assigns the 1837 Romantic movement promoted by Echeverría and Alberdi to a middle ground between the two – a 'Conservative Liberal' position.

The chief difficulty with such a categorisation is that it fails to do full justice to the complexities of Argentine ideological development during that period. 'Conservatism' in the River Plate, except in the very generic sense of traditionalist attitudes regarding family, religion and social hierarchies, was constantly forced to come to terms — on a political and a cultural plane – with the fact of Revolution and Republicanism, and as a result, not even the most stodgy of Rosas's collaborators, such as Tomás Manuel de Anchorena, could ever develop a full-fledged ideology of organic continuity linking the present and the past, as Tories in England and Légitimistes in France were able to do. And 'Liberalism', even in its most doctrinaire expressions, such as the Rivadavian jurist, Pedro Antonio de Somellera's *Principios de derecho civil* (1824), or Juan Bautista Alberdi's *Sistema Económico y Rentístico Nacional* (1855), would inevitably remain throughout this period more a statement of value-orientations, than a normative programme of policy, insofar as the central role of State authority in the resolution of all social and political conflicts continued to be an unquestioned fact of life in the former provinces of the Spanish Empire. In the 1860s, for instance, when John Stuart Mill could safely consider that in England the emancipation of civil society from an illegitimate state authority had been already largerly won, and that the liberal struggle had thenceforth entered on a new phase (that of the emancipation of the individual from the authority of 'public opinion'), discussion in Argentina continued to centre on the means whereby the authority of the state might be strengthened, as an indispensible first step towards creating the necessary conditions for the appearance of a civil society as yet deemed – largely – absent.

A second major difficulty present in Katra's analysis is the recurrent appearance of inexact or simply untenable interpretations. For instance, he misreads Sarmiento's attitude towards Juan Facundo Quiroga in *Facundo: Civilización o Barbarie*, concluding that for its author the caudillo of La Rioja was 'consistently … the incarnation of barbarism and irrational violence', when in fact the entire second portion of that book is a narrative of Quiroga's transformation into a servant – however imperfect – of constitutionalism and 'civilisation'.

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Moreover, Katra simultaneously posits a pro-Quiroga orientation on the part of Alberdi, Gutiérrez and López, based largely on comments made by the first of those authors in various private writings, which is as unlikely as his reading of *Facundo*. (And he misses the pointed irony of Gutiérrez's comments on Quiroga's 'representative' character, in the letter he quotes.) Later in the book, Vicente Fidel López's 'mature historical interpretation of the country's recent past' is described as 'hardly differ(ing) from Sarmiento's views in *Facundo* or Mitre's perspective in *Historia de Belgrano*' – a rather insensitive appreciation, at best. Conclusions of this sort recur throughout the book, as though Katra were compelled to reduce to crystal clarity even those attitudes and beliefs whose intrinsic nature was one of murky opacity.

Equally lamentable are the frequent errors or misapprehensions concerning the general history of Argentina, which further undermine the accuracy of Katra's interpretation of the ideas of the period. For instance, the Viceroyalty of the River Plate (p. 15) is described as being 'still under the cultural yoke of the Counter-reformation' in the late eighteenth century; while the jerked-meat industry (p. 147) is portrayed as having produced 'feudal labor relations and society in Argentina and elsewhere' during the Rosas régime.

Finally, what is perhaps most unfortunate about this book is its lack of an original hypothesis of its own. Conceived as a general survey, it at no point rises above the (self-imposed) limitations of such an enterprise: the overall interpretation of the 1837 Generation it puts forth is a patchwork of the various rival interpretations that have been circulating in Argentina during the past fifty years. There are, therefore, no new discoveries to be made in reading this book. Its value is confined entirely to Katra's chronological compilation of events relating to the generational movement of 1837. Given the richly variegated texture of the intellectual discussions promoted by the writers of the 1837 Generation, this is indeed a pity.

Universidad Nacional du Quilmas JORGE MYERS

Lowell Gudmundson & Héctor Lindo-Fuentes, *Central America, 1821-1871: Liberalism before Liberal Reform* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), pp. viii+156, $19.95 pb.

This is a very important little book. Its significance derives from a number of factors. First, its authors address an almost totally neglected era in modern Central American historiography. Secondly, the authors are very representative of new and innovative research on the period; equally important, they are very familiar with historiographic trends outside the countries that each is most familiar with (Gudmundson on Costa Rica and Lindo-Fuentes on El Salvador). Honduras and Nicaragua fail to receive the attention accorded to the other countries, but that, with a few exceptions for the Honduran case, is a function of these countries' very poor historiography. Nonetheless, Gudmundson and Lindo-Fuentes are still unusually well positioned to address the general and specific objectives they established for themselves in this well written if short volume. In fact, the volume offers a new, synthetic interpretation of the period while drawing on re-readings of old materials but simultaneously integrating into the analysis new research published during the last fifteen years or so.

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One of the most general agendas that Gudmundson and Lindo-Fuentes tackle is that of challenging the accepted Liberal and often excessively rigid Marxist interpretations of the relationship between pre- and post-1871 Central American history. Underwriting this general purpose, although not systematically addressed given the general audience for which the volume was written, is another wider objective: to offer a case study in which to deploy broader international historiographic trends, particularly efforts to reconceptualise the relations between civil society and state formation. Given these broad agendas, and given the poor historiographies that they have to work with, the authors also correctly see their slim text as a vehicle for provoking new research. It will hopefully do so.

These and other issues are succinctly presented in the specific arguments that Gudmundson and Lindo-Fuentes detail in the book. The more relevant in this context are the following. First, Central American elites – Liberals *and* Conservatives – deployed liberal policies towards church, state, land and people long before the Liberal Reform period of the 1870s that promoted the so-called 'coffee and banana republics' established thereafter. Secondly, this occurred by the 1850s and 1860s, not because of a unified commitment to Liberalism, but rather because of local responses to new incentives offered to export agriculture unavailable before; political stability and the stimulus and cost-savings offered by maritime transportation on the Pacific coast of the region, itself a process linked to the demands of the California Gold Rush of the late 1840s.

If this broad argument is valid, suggests Gudmundson and Lindo-Fuentes, it means that a number of issues must be re-evaluated, especially if a new generation of historians is freed from the Liberal and rigid Marxist views regarding relationships between civil society, the economy and the state prior to the 1870s. The authors thus offer a number of different theses that challenge the existing historiography. These include, among others, the following points, albeit experienced differently in distinct countries: (1) the main obstacle to coffee exports before the 1870s was not land or peasant land tenure, but access to credit and labour; (2) land privatisation, begun in the 1830s, intensified in the 1850s and 1860s, not simply after the 1870s; (3) the most forceful national identities assumed by the majority of Central Americans after Independence were rooted in Conservative protection of church ideology and not its property or economic influence.

One might quarrel with a number of points, some more significant than others, neglected in this book. For example, the authors' argument would benefit from keeping state formation prior to coffee more directly relevant to their analysis. Historians elsewhere in Latin America have effectively done so. Consider the essays recently edited by Vincent Peloso and Barbara A. Tenenbaum for the University of Georgia Press. In this vein, Gudmundson and Lindo-Fuentes could profit from Robert G. Williams's concern with locating the origins of state formation under the auspices of coffee exports in the municipal structures inherited from the colonial period, particularly given the municipalities general local sovereignty over issues of land. Even if we assume credit and labour were the key factors in promoting coffee exports, issues albeit not directly controlled at the municipal level, the question of the local political origins of the coffee oligarchies that the authors do believe emerged after the 1870s is to be searched for at the municipal level. Nonetheless, whatever the authors' answer to this

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

problematic, this short book should undoubtedly provoke a new era in Central American historiography for the 19th century, one that might rival the best of what is being done elsewhere.

Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut DARÍO A. EURAQUE

Carlos Guevara Mann, *Panamanian Militarism. A Historical Interpretation* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1996), pp. xxi+221, £22.00 pb.

In the context of Latin American history since the 1820s Panama does not seem a leading exemplar of militarism. Just a year after bringing the tiny republic to birth the United States disbanded the Panamanian army and replaced it with a police force. True, the military held power under Torrijos and Noriega from 1968 to 1989, but they were ousted by a further US intervention and Panama's experience of militarism consequently appears short-lived.

Carlos Guevara Mann contests that view by affirming that militarism in Panama is in fact rooted in Panamanian history. As in states elsewhere in the Americas, militarism emerged because of the failure of constitutional liberalism to take the place of the authoritarian monarchy overthrown by the independence movement. This was to make the régimes of the post-independence era illegitimate and enhance the appeal of 'the man on horseback' as the country's saviour from the corruption of the civilian oligarchs. The attraction of military solutions to political problems was already evident before Panama arrived at nationhood in 1903 and, although Washington momentarily strove to make Panama safe for democracy, it eventually chose to use the police and its successor the National Guard to serve its interests. Even after the elimination of Noriega, the author argues, militarism on the Isthmus remains embedded in Panamanian political culture.

Guevara writes as a liberal democrat and for Panamanians such as himself the inability of liberalism to achieve more than token acceptance must be deeply depressing. Even more depressing is the thought that military dictatorship has a stronger claim to be the truly legitimate system for countries like Panama, and the author's careful historical analysis lends considerable weight to that conclusion.

If so, the United States bears a heavy responsibility for the outcome, first as the formal protector of Panama and then as the active promoter of the Panamanian gendarmerie as the best local defence against Communism. There certainly were US officials who wanted to turn Panama into a model of liberalism, but they lost out to those who believed the only real US interest in Panama was the canal and that Panamanian politicians could do as they pleased so long as they left it alone. From this it was only a short step to abandoning the politicians and putting faith in the military, particularly after Castro's revolution in Cuba. The result has been to enfeeble still further the very democratic forces Washington professes to champion.

The book would have been strengthened (I suggest in all modesty) if the author had consulted my own work *Prize Possession*; but it is a succinct and lucid summary of the subject which makes its case persuasively. It also provides a valuable corrective to Graham Greene's portrayal of Torrijos as a romantic and

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generous-hearted revolutionary. As Guevara Mann repeatedly demonstrates, the military and the oligarchy had much more in common in respect of their *modus operandi* than either could ever admit. That being so, the prospects for the Panamanian democracy George Bush supposedly aimed to rescue in 1989 must be dim indeed.

University of Hull JOHN MAJOR

Richard Krooth, *Mexico, NAFTA and the Hardships of Progress: Historical Patterns and Shifting Methods of Oppression* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Co., 1995), pp. xii+382, £42.75.

Krooth takes the reader through a lengthy discussion of what he believes are the mechanisms that have led to the pauperisation and immiserisation of the great majority of Mexico's population. His time frame is grand, from the Inquisition and its transplantation in Mexico through the first year, 1994, of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). There are a few bright spots here and there during these roughly 500 years, although not many; and the only sustained period of correction that is highlighted is the six-year presidential term of Lázaro Cárdenas from the end of 1934 through 1940. Krooth argues that even Cárdenas was forced to compromise because of the power of the world-wide oil cartel and the constant rear-guard action of powerful landholders.

The frame of reference from which Krooth proceeds, and which he makes clear on p. 1 of the introduction, is that there is a perennial crisis of accumulation in the leading nation-states and these have to be transferred to other nations by production transfers and exports. NAFTA, viewed from this perspective, was envisioned as 'nothing less than a U.S. sphere of influence ...'. Mexico, as Krooth sees it, will not obtain its fair share of NAFTA's rewards and, furthermore, will become a pollution haven. NAFTA, he asserts, will accelerate demographic shifts from rural to urban areas and will change Mexican cultural values by imposing US and multinational corporation production standards.

Krooth presents considerable evidence about the wrenching poverty and obscene inequalities that have long been a feature of the Mexican scene. He is also correct that there is substantial internal migration from farms to factories, although he neglects to note that this is typical of most countries, particularly in Latin America – NAFTA or no NAFTA. In Mexico, this may have something to do with the stark reality that the roughly 25 per cent of Mexicans who live in rural areas contribute only about 8 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product. The demographic transplantation probably would have occurred even with a more just land-tenure system, although perhaps at a slower pace.

The strength of the book is that it contains a sustained and coherent discussion of the exploitative nature of Mexican society instigated both by Mexicans and powerful foreign interests. Krooth's modern villains are the multinational corporations, abetted by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and the structure of the world trading system. The arguments are familiar and were typical during the 1970s.

Krooth does get caught in inconsistencies. He castigates the high tariffs during the Porfirio Díaz period for punishing consumers for the benefit of foreigners

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who invested in Mexico, using cheap labour. But there were also high tariffs punishing consumers even when foreigners were not greeted with open arms during Mexico's import-substitution period after World War II. He criticises NAFTA for setting up an exclusive preferential area for the benefit of US producers and exporters, but does not bring out that tariffs against non-member countries are now generally quite low. Cheap labour, he says, is what foreign investors seek, but then he argues that US investment strategies locked Mexico into a narrow range of imported technologies that displaced labour.

Krooth has a definite point of view and he sustains this for some 350 pages of text. This is a book of analysis and polemics, and not one with many prescriptions.

Center for Strategic and International Studies SIDNEY WEINTRAUB
Washington, D.C.

Elsie Echeverri-Carroll (ed.), *NAFTA and Trade Liberalization in the Americas* (Austin, TX: University of Texas at Austin, Bureau of Business Research, 1995), pp. ix + 309, £20.00 pb.

Mainstream ideas on trade in Latin America have shifted dramatically over the last fifteen years or so. Following the example of Chile and subsequently of Mexico, most of the economies of the region have adopted substantial programmes of trade reform. In addition, at a regional level important regional groupings have been established to free trade between members. The North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into force in January 1994 and was followed in 1995 by the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR). In addition to other bilateral arrangements the long term plan is the establishment of a free trade bloc incorporating the USA and all Latin America, apart from Cuba. The present edited collection is one of a number of publications that chart the recent rise of free trade groupings within the region and discuss their implications. Of the ten chapters six discuss NAFTA, primarily from the Mexican perspective; of the rest one focuses on MERCOSUR, one on trade policy in Chile, and another on reform in Colombia; the final chapter seeks parallels between Mexico and its relations with the USA and the links between some transitional economies of Eastern Europe and the European Union (EU).

The chapters on NAFTA contain the more substantive empirical contributions. Of these, four chapters report the results of macro-economic modelling exercises. These are *ex ante* estimates of how NAFTA might affect events if the structure of the model is a reasonable representation of reality and the assumptions used to model effect of NAFTA are realistic. The chapter by Waverman is slightly unusual in that it examines events from a Canadian perspective and concludes that even Canada benefits modestly by being included in rather than remaining outside NAFTA. The chapter by François is interesting because in a non-technical style it summarises the vast array of alternative approaches used in modelling the effects of NAFTA. It indicates that, despite this diversity, most estimates lie within a fairly narrow range and it also gives an insider's view of how this technical information was used in the US political debate on NAFTA. The chapters by Romero and Young and by Yúnez-Naude focus more narrowly on the

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likely impact on Mexico. The former brings out the critical point that probably the major impact will be through foreign capital flows. The scenario with lower Mexican real interest rates, due to a reduction in the country risk premium, shows a much higher income gain than the alternative scenarios without lower interest rates. The chapter by Yúnez-Naude focuses on agriculture and in doing so identifies some of the major potential losers from NAFTA – low-income corn producers. The assertion that the agricultural reforms that establish a market for the *ejidal* land farmed by these producers will largely remove the problem is likely to be controversial and the mechanism through which the market reform would work is not spelled out. The two remaining chapters on NAFTA are largely descriptive. Gruben *et al.* discuss the development of the Mexican financial sector and the scope for US involvement post-NAFTA, whilst that by Echeverri-Carroll considers the impact of NAFTA on the substantial maquiladora sector. Although little empirical data are presented in either chapter, the discussions are well informed and focus on important issues.

Finally, the remaining four chapters on MERCOSUR, Chile, Colombia and Mexico-Eastern Europe, whilst widening the focus of the book, are largely speculative and raise questions on the possible future of regional trade policy.

In general this is a worthy, if a little uneven, collection of papers. Given its close attention to NAFTA its arrival is somewhat late in the sequence of NAFTA-related publications. This means that the results of the modelling exercises, which form the most substantive chapters, are unsurprising since they reflect what became the conventional wisdom on the likely impact of NAFTA. What are needed now are *ex post* studies of actual outcomes rather than more *ex ante* predictions. In addition the volume takes a somewhat uncritical view of the benefits of trade liberalisation for the region. Despite the current trend towards freer trade and regional blocs the empirical evidence on the benefits that follow trade reform is far from conclusive. Alternative visions of trade policy based around interventions to develop dynamic comparative advantage need to be much subtler than old-style import substitution, but intellectual consensus on these issues has not yet been achieved. Only the chapter by Thoumi on Colombia refers to this more sceptical and cautious approach to trade reform. None the less, despite these caveats, the volume is likely to be a useful reference source for students of Latin America and international economics.

University of Bradford JOHN WEISS

Manuel R. Agosín (ed.), *Foreign Direct Investment in Latin America* (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Bank, 1995), pp. vi + 185, pb.

The increase of foreign direct investment into Latin America since the late 1980s has attracted much interest. This is an ambitious attempt to use a combination of analysis, quantitative description, and survey evidence to explain why it has come and what effect it is having on the host economies. Three country studies, of Argentina, Chile, and Colombia, give the detailed evidence, but the introduction is the most important chapter. Agosín analyses the evidence from the chapters, often more systematically than their authors, with some surprising conclusions. In contrast to studies which find market conditions or natural resources the most

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

important explanations, these studies, especially those of Argentina and Chile, suggest that very specific government policies were the key. In Argentina, it was the privatisation programme. In Chile, it was debt conversion. In Colombia, the explanation was more traditional, oil and coal (and the increase was also much less). Although the Argentine and Chilean programmes were temporary, combined with the traditional view that existing foreign investment leads to further investment, this conclusion suggests that temporary policies, if they produce a major inflow, can be sufficient to have a permanent effect on a country's receipts of foreign investment. It is too early to be sure of this, but Agosín suggests that the inflows have continued in Chile (and Mexico) so those countries 'have ceased to depend upon special programs' (p. 24).

On other possible explanations, the evidence is less clear. Although the introduction and all the country studies argue that liberalisation of investment laws was a necessary (although not sufficient) condition for the inflow, this is not directly supported by either correlation of the timing of the legislative changes with the increase in investment or the survey evidence. In Argentina and Chile, investment has gone into tradables, but in Chile this was in part related to restrictions on the use of debt-related investment, and in Argentina the car industry receives special incentives and protection.

The discussions of the impact of investment on capital formation, technology, exports or training are weaker. The Chilean study makes a good effort to show that the special programmes were additional to existing investment. But for the other effects, the studies would need more data and description of the rest of the economies (and other impacts in recent years), and more systematic quantitative analysis. The survey evidence shows little effect.

The country studies (and the introduction) all provide a large amount of very useful (and often difficult to find) data. Their difference in approach, for example a much more historical approach to the legislation in Colombia, is partly justified by the different situations in the countries, but the studies would have been better if all had had the (Chilean) systematic comparison of the data on 'ordinary' and 'special condition' investment and the (Colombian) detailed presentation of the survey results.

Overseas Development Institute SHEILA PAGE

Ravi Ramamurti (ed.), *Privatizing Monopolies: Lessons from the Telecommunications and Transport Sectors in Latin America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. vi+401, £45.50.

In many Latin American countries, the allure of privatisation seems to be leaving few stones unturned. Since the late 1980s, governments in Argentina, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela (Pinochet started earlier in Chile), have sold a range of monopolies at an astonishing speed. Some of these monopolies had been state-owned and managed for decades. Events have left analysis behind, and in the small, but growing, literature on privatisation in Latin America and the Caribbean, this collection of essays – written by an interdisciplinary team from departments of business, economics, political science, and practitioners from multinational companies – figures among one of the first attempts to dedicate itself geographically to the region. The chapters that constitute the core of the

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volume are empirical case studies of privatisations in specific Latin American or Caribbean countries. There are four each about the telecommunications and airlines industry, and two about toll roads.

Ramamurti's opening chapter is the most comparative in the collection, and it draws on many of the findings of the other authors. He poses three central questions: *why* was there a dramatic shift in economic policy of the region in the late 1980s when formerly protected economies were opened up and large monopolistic enterprises were sold; *how* were the obstacles to this new strategy overcome, including the attraction of foreign investment; and what *difference* did privatisation make to performance in the short and longer term? Although his answer to the first question is many-sided, Ramamurti stresses governments' pragmatic concern with solving macroeconomic problems, particularly in reducing budget deficits and public debt, to help to explain the timing of privatisations. His conclusions regarding the other questions are rooted in an explanation of fundamental differences between telecommunications and airline sectors.

Telephone companies played a special role in privatisation and post-privatisation results were relatively good. In Argentina, Mexico, and to a lesser extent, Venezuela and Jamaica, governments targeted them for early sale, because they wanted a successful transaction that would launch their privatisation programme and send signals to investors which stimulated confidence. Telephone companies promised success largely because they were monopolies, with huge growth potential (telephone density was low and waiting lists long), and technological change meant that the potential for new services was boundless. Also, opposition to privatisation from the public would be tempered by the legacy of inefficiency. Moreover, potential trouble with unions could be partly averted since workers made redundant by new technology could be absorbed into new growth areas. Ramamurti does not directly attribute changes such as increased labour productivity, profit and investment to privatisation *per se*, but argues that privatisation provided indirectly the impetus for managerial and regulatory reforms.

If the conclusions drawn by the authors of the chapters on the privatisation of telephone companies agree broadly with Ramamurti's main argument, each chapter also highlights major differences between countries. Alwin Wint points to the secrecy under which the Jamaican telecommunications firm was sold by the government to Cable & Wireless without involving other bidders. As a result of governments' keenness to sell the telephone companies, Ramamurti argues that the Mexican government handed over too generous a package when selling Telmex, and Ben Petrazzini claims that the haste with which the Argentine government sold Entel resulted in underselling and unsatisfactory regulations. Antonio Francés argues that the sale of the Venezuelan telephone company was successful largely because the experiences gained during these previous privatisations were heeded.

The privatisation of airlines was more difficult in general and most made post-privatisation losses. Paredes-Molina and Ramamurti argue that airlines laid less claim to being monopolies than did the telephone companies since they faced greater competition from domestic and international companies, and had only half of the growth potential offered by telecommunications. Robert Grosse catalogues the drawbacks, both global (including the Gulf War) and case-specific,

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which made privatisation of Aerolíneas Argentinas 'A Privatization Nightmare'. Pankaj Tandon concludes that in Mexico there is a new threat of monopoly as the two privatised major airlines have been bought up by the same owner. Janet Kelly highlights the fact that even following the privatisation of Venezuela's Viasa the government still intervened in management for political reasons.

Some of the authors tend to see privatisation as a panacea and turn a blind eye to its negative consequences. In particular, the issue of corruption during the sale was not addressed, neither was any view given on whether privatisation has changed corruption in work/union practices which are partly to blame for entrenched inefficiencies of firms. Though the chapter on Salinas's scheme to award concessions for the construction of toll roads in Mexico by William Emmons is original and informative, and José Gómez-Ibañez provides a theoretical framework for analysis, there is not enough material on the privatisation of roads for proper inclusion in the overall comparative analysis. The volume ends with two essays of interest to policy-makers; a joint one by Mabelle Sonnenschein and Patricia Yokopenic, which provides an insight into the strategic investor's view of privatisation; and one by José Luis Guasch, principal economist and advisor to the World Bank, on recommendations for future privatisations.

St Antony's College, Oxford JUDITH CLIFTON

William D. Savedoff, *Wages, Labour and Regional Development in Brazil*, (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995), pp. viii + 149, £32.50.

The starting point for William Savedoff's study is the observation that large wage differentials persist in Brazil that are not competed away in the way that standard labour market analysis would predict. Thus an 'unskilled worker in the Northeast can almost double his or her earnings by obtaining comparable work in São Paulo' (p. 1).

Savedoff lays out various reasons why regional differences might exist (differences in workers, compensating differentials and rents) and makes a distinction between differentials in real wages (defined as demand-side effects, when firms are mobile and workers are not) and nominal wages (defined as supply-side effects, when workers are mobile and firms are not).

The statistical analysis that forms the core of the book involves data on nine major metropolitan regions in Brazil, based on household surveys carried out in October of each year between 1976 and 1987, though the text concentrates on results for 1985.

The statistical model that emerges in Chapter 4 sets out to explain the logarithm of hourly wages across the regions with three sets of (0, 1) dummies in four equations (p. 50), which may be expressed (in simpler notation than the author's) as:

$$w = \beta_0 + R\beta_1 + PC\beta_2 + JC\beta_3 + u, \tag{1}$$

where w = a vector of log hourly wages for the observations in the sample; R = an eight column matrix of (0, 1) dummies for the metropolitan regions involved in the study; PC = a 10 column matrix of (0, 1) dummy variables representing personal characteristics of the worker, of which four cover education, five represent age categories and the last identifies head-of-household

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status, and JC = an 18 column matrix of (0, 1) dummy variables representing the individual's job characteristics, of which nine identify occupational categories, eight cover the sector of activity and one distinguishes employees from the self-employed.

The analysis concentrates on the estimates of β_1 in four regressions; one involving only R, two involving R and either PC or JC and finally equation (1) above, using a sample of data for 1985).

There is an odd statistical aberration on page 64 in the explanation of the results of these four regressions, which are presented in Table 5.1 on page 67. The author interprets the estimated parameters as elasticities and, when applied to the coefficients on the (0, 1) regional dummies, concludes that the coefficient of −0.532 on the dummy for Fortaleza implies that 'an individual can expect to earn 53.2% less on average in Fortaleza in São Paulo'. That this is clearly wrong should be some consolation to a worker in Personal Services, who would otherwise be earning 115% less than an Administrator under this interpretation!

The author transforms the elements in the four estimated β_1s to obtain nominal regional wage differentials about the overall mean of the sample and finds all the estimates are significant at the 1% level. A similar analysis is carried out for real regional wage differentials, though with more difficulty because of measurement errors in price differences. An analysis of the data for other years suggests that the pattern of regional wage differentials has been stable over time.

Having shown that regional wage differentials exist and cannot be explained in terms of the economic factors analysed above, the author concludes that '(t)he particular process, however, which persistently recreates these regional differences in local labour market conditions must be viewed outside of the specific market model' (p. 138) and provides a short explanation in terms of 'contingent historical events' (p. 139).

The book ends somewhat inconclusively and while one may regret that the author did not combine all the data into a time series/cross-section multiple regression analysis, which might have allowed him to take into account dynamic macroeconomic effects more explicitly, one welcomes the book, as it represents a valuable attempt to analyse an important statistical data base.

London School of Economics JIM THOMAS

Paul G. Buchanan, *State, Labor, Capital: Democratizing Class Relations in the Southern Cone* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), pp. ix+395, $49.95.

This book compares the national labour administrations of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, focusing primarily on the period between the end of the military regimes in the early 1980s and 1988. The author argues that although institutionalised bargaining between labour, the state, and capital is a prerequisite for genuine democratic consolidation in all three countries, only in Uruguay has a successful mechanism of labour consultation been developed and maintained. Buchanan argues, against Collier and Collier, that the nature of the initial inclusion of labour in Uruguay in the early 1900s does not explain this distinctive outcome. Instead, he points to the weight of Uruguay's democratic tradition and the legacy of an institution – Consejo de Salarios – that was created

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in 1943, dismantled in 1968, and revived again by the new democratic government in 1985. Buchanan argues that through the Consejos, which organised sectoral, tripartite bargaining (but not a macro-economic 'social pact') throughout the national economy after 1985, Uruguayan unions gained systematic access to decision-making that was denied to, or attained only partially by, their Argentine and Brazilian counterparts.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I on conceptual issues contains valuable insights for anyone studying the logic of labour union activity or the role of labour in democratic transitions, but at 109 pages is probably too long and not well enough integrated with the rest of the book. Part II is a discussion of the cases. The author is most knowledgeable and passionate about Uruguay, devoting almost twice as many pages to it as to either Argentina or Brazil and conducting ten of his fourteen interviews there. However, as an explanation of Uruguayan exceptionalism, the book falls somewhat short. Scholars of unionisation have long recognised a correlation between small countries and high rates of union density; this applies to Uruguay (population about 3 million) which, before 1973, had a unionisation rate of over 50 per cent. Furthermore, a very large segment of Uruguay's workers, around 20 per cent in the mid-1960s, were in the public sector. Although the unionisation rate dropped considerably under the military regime, the country's small size and large public sector workforce might, regardless of any other factors, have been sufficient to lead to the institutionalisation of sectoral tripartite bargaining, as the author himself appears to acknowledge. Similarly, the strength of the leftist Frente Amplio, unmatched by the strength of a similar leftist party in either of the other cases, further raises the likelihood of labour inclusion. It is hard not to conclude that the explanation is 'overdetermined', in that a number of factors all point to the same conclusion, that Uruguay would have an easier time managing labour's political inclusion than either of the other two (much larger) countries, even if its political tradition had not been more democratic than that of its neighbours and the Consejos had not existed before 1985.

One of the most interesting aspects of the book is the comparison of the countries' labour movements. Buchanan argues that only in Uruguay did unions largely escape authoritarian control in the form of state corporatist regulations. Prior to the descent into authoritarianism of the 1960s, the Uruguayan labour ministry (unlike those in Argentina and Brazil) did not have the right to recognise, register, or intervene in unions. The unions themselves were a relatively decentralised, loosely connected set of ideologically similar organisations that had no union-operated benefit programmes; social services were instead provided by political parties and Uruguay's well-developed welfare state. This is in contrast to the Argentine and Brazilian union pattern of centralised structures and large welfare programmes. Buchanan writes that for Uruguayan labour, the military regime of the 1970s represented a brief corporatist interlude, whereas in Argentina and Brazil the military regime merely used existing corporatist mechanisms for more repressive purposes. While this contrast may be slightly exaggerated, in that it downplays the room for unions to manoeuvre in Argentina and Brazil under the old corporatist arrangements and neglects the extent of change brought about by the 'new unionism' and post-authoritarian governments, it does point to a potentially important difference in union traditions in the three countries. Consistent with his historical sketch, Buchanan

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finds that in the post-1985 period, the Uruguayan labour ministry had fewer discretionary funds that it could use for patronage than the comparable ministries in Argentina and Brazil.

This book is not without weaknesses. Its explanation of Uruguayan distinctiveness is debatable, and its game theoretic perspective precludes a thorough analysis of union ideology or the social construction of class. It leaves to one side the topic of the region's unorganised workers, whose political inclusion is arguably as important to democratic consolidation as that of the already organised. However, the book's strengths outweigh these problems, and the accumulated force of its theoretical exposition is impressive. Buchanan has contributed a welcome addition to the literature on Latin American democracy, which has tended to ignore labour, by offering a thorough, scholarly, and insightful treatment of a well-delineated and important topic.

New School for Social Research, New York ANTHONY W. PEREIRA

Merilee S. Grindle, *Challenging the State: Crisis and Innovation in Latin America and Africa* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp. xi+243, £37.50.

For several decades, the bulk of research dealing with economic development centred on the structural obstacles imposed on poor countries by an unfavourable international political and economic order. From this perspective, governments were generally assumed to be almost congenitally incapable of promoting development. They were seen as too easily 'captured' by local elites who steered public action in their favour or as too constrained by international circumstances that left little room for autonomous manoeuvre. Therefore, efforts aimed at understanding the inner workings of public sector bureaucracies in developing countries were often perceived as much less interesting than research, say, into how multinational corporations transferred inadequate technology or distorted the political process in their host countries.

Merilee Grindle is one of the few scholars who resisted the idea that the public sector in developing countries could do little to promote development and that its performance could improve only after a major restructuring of power relations at home and abroad. In the mid-1970s, when many of her colleagues were writing about 'the new international economic order', she wrote pioneering studies about the way in which the giant bureaucracy in charge of food distribution in Mexico actually worked or how governments recruited their senior managers had as much influence in determining policy outcomes as many of the international constraints under which they operated.

In recent years, the notion that governments can still do much to improve economic and social conditions, even if the winds blowing from the international economy or the domestic political arena are less than favourable, has gained wider acceptance. This renewed interest puts Grindle, a professor at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, in a unique position to offer a fascinating synthesis of cutting-edge ideas about a subject on which she has been thinking and researching for a long time.

The subject is the capacity of the public sector in developing countries to respond to political and economic crises. Grindle explores the institutional,

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technical, administrative and political factors that determine such governmental capacity. The book is based on a review of the experience of eight African and eight Latin American countries that faced political and economic crises during the 1980s and 1990s. It is also based on an in-depth comparative analysis of the cases of Mexico and Kenya.

Challenging the State ought to put to rest discussions based on minimalist approaches to the role of the state or technocratic approaches that pay little heed to the inherent political nature of the economic prescriptions offered. It also provides powerful evidence against neo-authoritarian visions where the stifling of democratic institutions is seen as a prerequisite for the successful implementation of painful changes in economic policy.

Grindle aptly shows how state capacity ought to be strengthened in order to have any hope of successfully implementing reforms. Even reforms that in fact *reduce* the scope of the state involvement in the economy require a state apparatus that is more capable than that commonly found in the countries included in this analysis. The book contains interesting evidence about how crucially the sustainability of reforms depends on the effective crafting and re-crafting of broad-based political coalitions by political leaders. Finally, Grindle persuasively uses evidence to show that while political and economic change may be slower and more convoluted in more competitive political systems, reforms undertaken under authoritarian regimes are, in effect, more prone to reversal once the regime changes. She writes: 'Fully capable states may be most likely to emerge and persist where civic society is capable of contesting the state and its leadership'. An important conclusion at a time when frustration with the slow pace with which economic reforms are implemented puts many reformers in peril of falling prey to authoritarian temptations.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C. MOISÉS NAÍM

Walter Little and Eduardo Posada-Carbo, *Political Corruption in Europe and Latin America* (Basingstoke: Macmillan in association with the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1996 and St. Martin's Press, New York), pp. x+314, £45.00, $69.95, £14.99 pb.

Each of the essays in this collection, drawn from a conference at the Institute of Latin American Studies in London, has a view as to what counts as corruption (and most recognise that there is room for dispute about this). But they are not agreed on how it should be defined, nor is there much editorial steering on this question, although the editors commend the view that it involves 'the misappropriation of public money for private gain' (p. 2). This does not help much, given the ambiguity of 'misappropriation' and 'private gain'. The former point is recognised in Alan Doig's discussion of privatisation in the United Kingdom and the absence of suitable control mechanisms. Doig's example of the management buy-out of the housing benefit software sections of West Wiltshire District Council shows that privatisation can involve substantial private gain at public cost for those previously in public employment – even where there is no legally recognised misappropriation. Given that privatisation has been widespread, often costly to the public and also often very corrupt, not least in Eastern

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and Central Europe, it would have added substantially to the value of the volume to have included a wider range of essays addressing this topic.

With respect to the view that corruption involves 'private gain', several of the essays recognise that political power and influence, rather than money, can be the main object of corrupt practices (and allow us to make much more sense of the place of clientelism and patronage systems). Mayor Daley of Chicago apparently had no interest in financial gain from his public office, but it is pretty widely recognised that he ran a corrupt regime. So corrupt gain can, as is shrewdly analysed in Dennis F. Thompson's recent *Ethics in Congress* (Washington: Brookings, 1995), be political (not just financial and personal) in character. This is something which Alan Knight's essay on 'Twentieth Century Mexico' recognises when he argues that in Mexico 'corruption is less a sickly deviation from Weberian health, than the cartilage and collagen which holds a sprawling body politic together'. However, just because corruption is used for political ends, even to the point of sustaining a particular pattern of politics, it does not follow that it is beneficial. For that judgment we must rely on complex counter-factual judgments about whether and to what extent a different pattern of politics is possible. The judgement is complex because it depends heavily on one's analysis of the social and economic forces within a state, and on one's understanding of how far these are open to political influence rather than simply acting as causal constraints which define the limits of political possibility.

The best essays in this collection show an awareness of these deeper issues – for example, Waquet's discussion of sixteenth and seventeenth century Italy, and MacFarlane's piece on Bourbon Spanish America, in the opening, historical part of the collection; David Hine's essay on Italy in the second part devoted to Europe; and Knight's piece on Mexico and José de Souza Martins's examination of Brazil in the final part on Latin America. The complete collection, however, is somewhat less than the sum of its parts (even though some of these are of a high standard). What is missing is any sense that those involved have been encouraged to respond to the work of their fellow contributors, or to become collectively more explicit about the character and extent of their disagreements on the definitional and theoretical issues which are an inevitable component of their subject matter. Moreover, these issues are not, by their nature, country-specific – and the use of a country-based focus for each chapter makes still more pressing the need for a broader comparative framework to link and deepen the pieces.

Australian National University, *Canberra* MARK PHILP

David Rock, *Authoritarian Argentina. The Nationalist Movement*, *its History and its Impact* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1995), pp. xii+320, £11.95 pb.

That Argentina is 'authoritarian' is a statement that David Rock never discusses. That the 'Nationalist movement' is somehow responsible for this state of affairs is implied in the subtitle and throughout the book, even though Rock tells us more than once that the 'movement' never existed more than in the xenophobic minds of a few men, inappropriately described as 'intellectuals'.

Let me point out what I see as some of the problems with this book. First, it does not define what it sets out to prove. Ending with Seineldín and Rico as proof

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of the endurance of the 'Nationalist movement', Rock does not mention that Rico has become a deputy and that his party, the MODIN, never received more than five per cent in any election, and indeed under three per cent in May 1995 (while in France Le Pen attracts almost a fifth of the electorate). Seineldín, on the other hand, remains in prison even though he used to be a friend of President Menem, a man so easily persuaded to pardon the unpardonable. Does this mark the end of 'Nationalist' influence? Of 'authoritarian' Argentina? Secondly, by concentrating on the writings of not more than a handful of men (Lugones, Gálvez, the brothers Irazusta, Amadeo, and Sánchez Sorondo *père et fils* – the third generation in the latter family thankfully concentrated on poetry-writing) whose thinking is derived from European Catholic reaction to the Enlightenment, we are subjected to page after page of uninteresting, repetitive quotes from a group of men whom Rock says in the 1920s represented 'a small, marginal group of mistfit, nihilistic intellectuals' (p. 84). Thirdly, Rock never attempts to establish a distinction between Nationalism and nationalism. Some of us may consider them both equally bad, but given the resurgence of the latter, as well as the anti-liberal atmosphere that the reaction to the failure of social democracy has produced in the so-called Western world, we may wish to reflect more on its implications. Fourth, since we follow the history of Argentina through the writings of such men, those readers not familiar with the wider context may find some statements bewildering. Thus, Lugones is berated for failing to come up with any solution to the problems of the turn of century Argentina of mass immigration, other than 'the old liberal plan of handing out free land to newly arrived immigrants' (p. 54). President Frondizi is wrongly accused of losing Nationalist support because he 'took an anticlerical position on the issue of the schools' (p. 186), while he did exactly the opposite. Perón is supposed to have undergone in the 1940s 'another major ideological shift' (p. 164) when he never had any ideology to begin with. And the Montoneros in the 1970s are said to have 'regarded the dubious career of Eva Perón as the inspiration for the violent struggle they were attempting (*sic*) to lead' (p. 218), when they used her name as a quick means of achieving a 'popular' image by attempting to appropriate the most powerful Peronist myth.

Rock's treatment of the 1970s would require a whole review in itself, starting by making explicit some of his prejudices. It is just as plausible to argue that the guerrillas active in Argentina in the 1970s (and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias declared themselves Peronist *and* Marxist: the ERP were not the only self-proclaimed Marxists as is said on p. 214) derived their nationalist and anti-imperialist inspiration more from Castro and the example of the Cuban Revolution than from the writings of men they mostly had probably never read. Fifth, the Castro issue and his direct responsibility in fostering, training, financing, protecting and supporting 'subversion' deserves deeper analysis than the cursory mention it receives in this book. Sixth, 'authoritarianism' in Argentina, if referring to military governments, may equally usefully be traced back to the experience of military caudillos in government, from Rosas to Onganía and Videla, *via* Mitre, Roca, Uriburu, Justo and Perón, than in the poor ideas of Catholic fundamentalists.

Space prevents me from carrying on. A word of advice to students: Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo's writings and ideas deserve more attention than the mentions the renowned polymath receives in this book for having unwittingly 'inspired'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

some of the most absurd ideas behind a group of preposterous men who thought love for one's country was measured against hatred for foreigners.

Did Rock really fear that the Nationalists' 'charming nostalgic ruralism' and their 'distate for "relativism", urban squalor, and exploitation' (p. 244) might have made them attractive? Why, if not, did he find it necessary to remind his readers in his closing sentence that 'we should not forget that the Nationalists exploited bigotry in the defence of privilege, defended dictatorship and repression in the name of justice, and practised war and persecution in pursuit of a chimera of national unity' (p. 244)? This book can certainly be useful as a basis for discussion, but not as a textbook for students unacquainted with Argentine history.

University of Westminster CELIA SZUSTERMAN

Larry Sawers, *The Other Argentina: The Interior and National Development* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 1996), pp. x + 326, $64.00.

Latin America's current transformations and troubles have sparked, once again, contending appraisals. Do the benefits of neoliberalism outweigh the costs? How long will restructuring take? In this debate we know relatively little about the losers, beyond aggregated figures or anecdotal accounts. We especially know little about the spatial impact of deep social and economic change. In Argentina, this oversight has perpetuated a long-standing neglect of 'the Interior' – the provinces beyond the Pampas.

Larry Sawers, an economics professor from the American University, offers a book which may serve as a model for understanding what goes on outside the scope of the conventional lenses of analysis. He takes the reader deep into the interior of Argentina – he covers the sweep of provinces from the Northwest, the Northeast, Cuyo and Patagonia. Furthermore, he traces current social and economic formations back to their colonial and nineteenth-century origins. He offers a sense of space, of where the current malaise festers. Sawers also drives home an important message about time: recent reforms – if they are fully implemented – will shatter the carapace of national integration: a century-old deal between the Pampas and the Interior to share some of the spoils of export-led growth.

His argument, carefully documented and laid out in unmystifying prose, rejects some popular notions of the interior's role in national development. If, by the 1960s, many (left and right alike) embraced the notion of internal colonialism to explain how the Pampas deprived the rest of the country of its natural bounty, Sawers inverts the story. For a century, industry and agriculture in the interior was coddled and protected by the national state. By the 1980s, Argentina's non-pampean vastness was devoted to the production of import substitutes, increasingly inefficiently and with damaging ecological consequences. Sugar in Tucumán, wool in Patagonia, yerba mate in Misiones, and grapes and wine in Mendoza were all staples for domestic consumption bolstered by national tariffs, official and colonisation schemes and price supports. Add to this the fiscal arrangements devised in the 1930s to tax the interior more lightly and allocate to it preferential spending (this is the theme of Chapter 11, 'The Fiscal Cost of the

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Interior's Backwardness', a real *tour de force*). For Sawers, the interior has become a true drag on national prosperity.

None of this means Sawers is unsympathetic to his subject. Quite the opposite: despite the drainage of resources from the Pampas, poverty has worsened in the interior and the pattern of clientelistic politics persists. Indeed, the interior's stagnation and immiseration only aggravate patron-client dependencies, subvert formal institutions, personalise policies and therefore inhibit stable property rights – all of which pose large obstacles to sustained local investment in restructuring. The author wants students and observers to take the interior into account when deliberating the effects of neoliberalism. This is important. Considering recent events in Catamarca, Salta and Tucumán, the Interior may be the site – as Sawers notes – of open contestation and opposition to policies adopted in Buenos Aires, a city and environs which too often serve as a *trompe l'oeil* for Argentine neoliberals.

This book should figure prominently in reading lists for courses on Latin American economic history and the political economy of development.

Princeton University JEREMY ADELMAN

Jorge Schvarzer, *La industria que supimos conseguir: una historia político-social de la industria argentina* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 1996), pp. 370, pb.

Schvarzer modestly describes this volume as a work of synthesis, the intention being to provide an accessible, jargon-free survey of the existing secondary literature. The book is much more. Schvarzer draws on an extensive body of work in order to explain a fundamental development conundrum. Namely, why a country with a long industrial history (modern factories had emerged by the late nineteenth century) does not have a history of industrialisation. In Argentina, manufacturing did not become the engine of national development: does this mean that the country had not experienced the social and technological transformation characteristic of advanced industrial economies?

The book opens with a philosophical essay about the nature of the industrial revolution. Was it a sharp rupture (in terms of growth rates and welfare) in the long-run trajectory of individual economies, opening a (widening) gap between advanced and non-industrial societies? This raises the issue of 'late' industrialisation *à la* Gerschenkron. According to Schvarzer, the international diffusion of the industrial revolution resulted not from market forces but from policy decisions as governments intervened, perhaps for strategic reasons, to promote manufacturing. Hence the book focuses on inter-related topics such as state action, the scale of production and technology (invention, innovation and application). In most of these areas, the Argentine experience was one of inaction, mis-directed initiatives or 'failure'. Sustained profitability in the rural sector (at least until the middle third of the twentieth century) raised the opportunity cost of investment in manufacturing. Local capital was only ventured in the industrial sector when government 'guaranteed' profits. This induced rent-seeking rather than profit maximisation and a fragmented industrial entrepreneuriat. Even in the second half of the twentieth century, policy was at best equivocal: while elsewhere the discussion may have been about 'infant' industry, in Argentina it

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was about 'artificial' industry. In part this ambivalence was explained by elite responses to Peronism, expressed in an exaggerated form by the 1976–82 military-technocratic regime, which regarded the economic costs associated with industrialisation as excessive and the social changes as threatening and subversive. There was, too, considerable uncertainty about the role of foreign investment. Schvarzer also devotes attention to issues such as the quality of human capital and managerial competence. Even when conjunctural and macroeconomic factors were favourable, many firms failed to effect the structural change from family enterprises to multi-division corporations. If modern approaches to management were often lacking, there were skill deficiencies in other areas. This made for organisational and productive inefficiency and a less than flexible response to domestic policy swings and foreign competition, not least in the home market.

This is an excellent interpretive account of Argentinian industry that advances the author's earlier work on financial-industrial groups and complements his trail-blazing account of the industrial entrepreneuriat, *Empresarios del pasado: la Unión Industrial Argentina* (Buenos Aires, CISEA-Imago Mundi, 1991). It is based on an extensive bibliography. Arguably the only major work of quality which does not appear in the list is the study by H. Sábato and J. C. Korol ('Incomplete Industrialisation: and Argentine obsession', *Latin American Research Review* vol. 25, no. 1 [1990]).

London School of Economics COLIN M. LEWIS

Deborah L. Norden, *Military Rebellion in Argentina: Between Coups and Consolidation* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 242, £32.95, £16.50 pb.

This book is very welcome for three reasons. First, in the brave new world of democratic politics, neoliberal economics and new social movements, it is a pleasure to sink one's teeth into a nice juicy book on civil-military relations and military politics. With the eclipse of military rule in Latin America, political research on the military is dismissed by many as 'irrelevant'. Despite this epithet, it is self-evident that periods of military dormancy or subservience are the most opportune moments for military political research. Militaries tend to be closed and total institutions, so it often takes years of sustained research to figure out what makes them tick. Furthermore, it is important that military political research is not limited solely to periods of military intervention and activism. In order to build a complete model of civil-military relations, studying military institutions when they are back in the barracks is essential. This is precisely what the book under review does with great success in the case of the Argentine army during the Alfonsín and Menem administrations.

Secondly, the book adds significantly to our understanding of the process of democratic consolidation in Argentina since 1983. In particular, it helps explain why Argentina has been able to solve its 'military problem' far more effectively than the other 'new democracies' in the region. The four military rebellions that the book analyses – Semana Santa in April 1987, Monte Caseros in January 1988, Villa Martelli in December 1988 and December 1990 – were spectacular shows of armed disaffection, the likes of which were not seen in the other Southern Cone

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democracies. However, the rebellions were limited in scope and character: when the smoke and dust finally cleared, it was evident that democracy had not been weakened. The rebels, although an elite group led by charismatic officers, remained marginal within the Army. The other services remained uninvolved, barring small special forces like the Albatros squadron of the Prefectura Naval (coast guard). Far from threatening democracy, the four rebellions may indeed have helped in its consolidation. For the Argentine Armed Forces, already burdened with the infamous legacy of the two appalling 'wars' of the *Proceso* years, these periodic *carapintada* uprisings were the final nail in the coffin of public respectability and political legitimacy. This the book brings out quite clearly.

Thirdly, by focusing unblinkingly on the *carapintada* movement in its entirety, the book provides a powerful corrective to the conventional 'generational cleavage' explanation for the military rebellions against Alfonsín and Menem. According to this view, the *carapintada* uprisings were the product and manifestation of deep disaffection among junior army officers, who felt betrayed by the unwillingness of their seniors to take responsibility for the Dirty War and the Falklands/Malvinas War. However, Norden considers the 'horizontal' cleavage between the rebel captains/majors and the legalist colonels/generals as only one of several cleavages in the Argentine army during the Alfonsín years: 'vertical' between rebel infantry and legalist cavalry/artillery; 'professional' between rebel warriors and legalist managers; 'ideological' between rebel nationalists and legalist liberals; 'political' between rebel Peronists and legalist neutrals. The reader also learns a lot about the commando and special forces in Argentina, their messianic Catholic Nationalist ideology, and the reasons for their complete and unquestioning devotion to colourful characters like Aldo Rico and Mohamed Alí Seineldín. Norden's analysis of the transformation of the *carapintada* movement from a military faction to a politically motivated organisation is entirely convincing.

The Argentine army is one of the most thoroughly researched military institutions in the world. In Robert Potash and Alain Rouquié, it already has two master chroniclers. Norden thus had her task cut out for her. Although her focus is understandably narrow, she succeeds with aplomb. The book is essential reading for students of military institutions in Latin America and elsewhere. There is also much in it of value for anyone interested in Argentine and Latin American politics.

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi VARUN SAHNI

Jorge I. Domínguez and James A. McCann, *Democratizing Mexico: Public Opinion and Electoral Choices* (Baltimore, MD, and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. xvi + 269.

This is a frustrating book. On the one hand, large parts are excellent examples of thorough scholarship and will no doubt serve as essential references in Mexico's transition to democracy. On the other hand, the whole fails to fulfill the promise of the title. In the end, the reader knows many more details of Mexico's electoral experiences over the past decade, but the authors fail to go that one analytical step

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further which this topic deserves. Despite these faults, however, the clear writing and exhaustive coverage of electoral public opinion will make it an essential part of any Mexicanist's library.

The authors make and support several important arguments. First, they demonstrate that, at least as measured by a series of attitudinal responses, Mexicans have become increasingly democratic and there is wide and deep support for all the major aspects of democracy in Mexico. They then discuss Mexicans' ideological preferences, finding that while there is a great deal of polarisation (i.e., people disagree), there is not much ideological consistency (i.e., they disagree about different things). The only deep and consistent dividing line is between those who support the PRI and those who oppose it. (A third critical group has little interest in politics and barely participates.) Support for the PRI stems from a variety of bases: conservative ideology (it claims a larger relative share of self-proclaimed 'conservatives' than the PAN!); the infamous *voto verde* of the South; and, most importantly, those who think the party is getting stronger or that the country is moving in the right direction (i.e., don't fix what ain't broke). While opposition votes do divide along ideological lines, there is also a great deal of strategic manoeuvring. Finally, the 1994 elections were relatively clean, and, while far from fair, represent a potential new threshold for the beginning of a more genuine democracy in Mexico.

In making these arguments, the authors refer to an extensive literature of polling data and secondary analysis The never engage in the statistical shamanism so common in quantitative analysis, but explain procedures and findings in a reader-friendly and lucid manner. In this regard, the book could serve as a guide for the cautious use of public opinion data.

The problem is that the authors are often too cautious and sacrifice depth of analysis in their eagerness to explore all possible permutations and to give equal time to all issues. Because of this, critical questions are left unexplored. Perhaps because of the authors' interest in using the Almond and Verba findings as a base or perhaps because polls have yet to explore many issues, the analysis of the bases of attitudes and voting behaviour is sociologically shallow. The categories used for comparison are too crude for the kind of detailed analysis these issues merit. For example, what distinguishes the PRI's rich from those of the PAN? Conversely, what about the PRI's poor and those of the PRD? The authors rightly emphasise the importance of non-participants, but barely explore the basis of this behaviour. Similarly, the questions of how opposition voters decide that (*a*) a vote against the PRI is not wasted and (*b*) which party is the best vehicle for opposition, are largely left unanswered.

Precisely because they do such a good job in so many ways, one wishes the authors had left out some of the repetitious confirmations of their analysis and sought to explore the murkier attitudinal depths behind their findings. Overall, a good book that one hopes will inspire closer research.

Princeton University MIGUEL CENTENO

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Rob Aitken, Nikki Craske, Gareth A. Jones and David E. Stansfield (eds.), *Dismantling the Mexican State?* (London: Macmillan Press and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), pp. xxi+321, £45.00 hb.
Wayne A. Cornelius, *Mexican Politics in Transition: The Breakdown of a One-Party-Dominant Regime* (San Diego: Center for U.S–Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1996), pp. 122, $11.96 pb.

These two books provide a timely assessment of Mexican politics and government. Because they complement each other and direct attention to different facets of a regime in transition, they can be read with especial profit if they are analysed as a set. The common question central to each is where is governance in Mexico headed.

Cornelius's short monograph sums up the established literature on Mexican politics. Once he has pulled together what he considers the relevant political history of Mexico to be, as a highly centralised authoritarian state under single-party rule, he proceeds to develop the argument that fundamental changes are underway in Mexico. As the subtitle suggests, Cornelius takes the stance that these changes are essentially irreversible and involve nothing less than the breakdown of a one-party-dominant regime. While he is certain that PRI hegemony over Mexican politics, economics, and society is coming to end, he points out that it is not at all clear what the outcomes in Mexican politics will be as we move into the next century.

Aitken *et al.* are much less certain that the political, social, and economic changes Mexico has been experiencing since the late 1980s are irreversible. The particular strength of their book is its collection of individual case studies of different aspects of Mexico that capture the pluralism and diversity that have always characterised Mexico. More importantly, collectively these authors probe the changes underway by placing them within the broader panorama of twentieth-century Mexico. While Cornelius's image of Mexican politics emphasises the legacy of centralised, corporatist political practices and a new pluralism afoot in Mexico which he equates with democratisation, the papers in Aitken *et al.* take a much more cautious and probing approach to governance in Mexico. By bringing the state back in to comparative political analysis they question, and rightly so, whether or not the new pluralism in Mexican politics and the waning of single-party rule can be equated with the dismantling of the Mexican state as we know it since the Revolution.

Of the two books, Aitken *et al.* has far more substance for the reader seeking to understand contemporary Mexico. While it has the weakness of all conference volumes in that not all the papers are of equal calibre, its great strength is its case studies at the regional level. Mexican specialists have always been aware of the diversity present in this country and how different politics and society have been in its diverse regions. Understanding this aspect of Mexican politics remains especially relevant in analysing moments of major change and transition, past and present. Especially useful in this volume are the chapters by Victoria Rodríguez and Peter Ward on Nuevo León, Gustavo Vicencio on Baja California, Will Pansters on San Luis Potosí, and Colin Clarke on Oaxaca. When the thematic chapters are added in (*viz* those by Nikki Craske on the Salinas government, David Stansfield on PAN's search for a meaningful place in national politics, Gareth Jones on dismantling the *ejido*, and Jane Hindley on the limits of

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indigenismo), the reader has in hand the mosaic of Mexican politics necessary to evaluate the directions of the present transition. The problem is that this volume ends with its last case study without ever pulling together the individual chapters into a coherent statement as to why their evidence suggests that writing an epitaph for the political elites hitherto embraced within the PRI is premature.

University of Texas at Austin LARRY GRAHAM

Mónica Serrano and Victor Bulmer-Thomas, (eds.), *Rebuilding the State: Mexico After Salinas* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1996), pp. ii + 190, £10.00 pb.

This edited collection is based on presentations given at the Institute of Latin American Studies in November, 1994. With one exception, the contributors themselves are from Mexico, and all are recognised for their expertise in the subject matter of their contributions. The purpose of this collection was to provide a retrospective on the Salinas administration, and to assess the issues his successor, Ernesto Zedillo, would face after 1994. The collection is to be commended for its objectivity, particularly in light of how President Salinas has been seen in Mexico since January, 1994, and for its numerous insights into various facets of public policy from 1988 through 1994. The contributions are not equally successful, however, in assessing Zedillo's challenges.

One of the editors, Mónica Serrano, provides an excellent overview of the institutional restraints and alterations occurring during the Salinas era. Her introduction lays a firm foundation for subsequent chapters, but stands alone as a valuable summary of some of the most important political characteristics of this period, many of which impact on the neo-liberal economic environment.

Although no volume could focus on this period without reference to the governing party (the PRI) and its relationship to the state, Juan Molinar, a noted scholar on electoral reform and patterns, provides a clear, descriptive account of the foremost changes during the Salinas administration, but unfortunately does not analyse what this means for Zedillo other than to conclude that he 'has no option but to proceed with political reform' (p. 39), Carlos Elizondo examines another political facet, the relationship between constitutionalism, a significant component of Mexican political culture, and state reform. He goes well beyond the traditional public administrative approach to explore the relationship between the 'living' constitution and reality. He sheds light on the business community and their attitudes towards the governing coalition.

Among the most neglected topics in domestic Mexican politics, none ranks lower than the judicial system. Consequently, Manuel González Oropeza's essay is a welcome contribution, particularly his explanation of the relationship between the president and judicial decision-making. He aptly identifies some of the most important areas of reform, but concludes that the executive's commitment (under Zedillo) is crucial to their success. His speculations about the political costs Zedillo might encounter implementing such changes would also have been welcome.

Joe Foweraker offers one of the most unique, empirical analyses this reviewer has ever encountered on citizenship and civic rights in Mexico. He concludes, as

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do other contributors, that the rule of law is crucial to their future success. He also notes a worrisome contradiction; increasing political liberalisation simultaneously with increasing human rights abuses. Finally, Roberto Blancarte, one of Mexico's leading experts on the Catholic Church, examines its changing status as a consequence of the 1992 constitutional reforms. His assessments are accurate and valuable, but again do not extend much beyond 1992, although he believes the Church has become more socially engaged.

The three economic contributors examine the achievements of the Salinas administration, the changing pattern in business and state relations, and the role of Pronasol in alleviating poverty. All are careful analyses of their respective topics. As is the case of several of the politically-oriented essays, they make very limited observations about Zedillo's administration. Nevertheless, Blanca Heredia assesses the changing pattern under Miguel de la Madrid and Salinas, setting the stage for conditions Zedillo will have to confront. Alejandro Guevara, through a detailed empirical analysis, concludes that Pronasol did indeed fulfill basic needs in many of its programmes, but it could be improved in its implementation and administration.

This collection is a timely and valuable assessment of the Salinas administration, and some of its policy goals. Scholars will have to wait for other works to give more attention to the problems and policy-making issues confronted by President Zedillo in the context of his administration.

Tulane University, New Orleans RODERIC AI CAMP

Helen I. Safa, *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner: Women and Industrialization in the Caribbean* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 1995), pp. xvi + 208, £46.50, £13.50 pb.

For once, the misnomer of a title is welcome: the Caribbean in this study is Hispanic. In a UK context, the Caribbean is overwhelmingly Anglophone – the West Indies. Of the Hispanic, Cuba falls more more in Latin America; the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico (like the French and Netherlands Antilles) barely figure at all. In the United States, the opposite holds: the Caribbean *is* the Hispanic, plus Haiti. This tells us a lot about the colonial and post-colonial Caribbean and its diasporas, and is curiously unproblematised by Safa, who, while more familiar with the Hispanic Caribbean, is no stranger to the rest.

Safa draws on field work in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Cuba, and other primary and secondary sources, to produce a rare comparative study with a wealth of data and life story testimony. The argument, in tune with the feminisation of labour in the new international division of labour, is that the male breadwinner is becoming a myth as women worldwide become important contributors to the household economy. Her key question concerns the linkages between macro-level development strategies and gender relations in the household: Does women's wage labour simply add to the burden of women's domestic labour or does it give women greater autonomy and raise their consciousness regarding gender subordination? Her findings in the three Caribbean studies lead her to challenge feminist theories locating the source of

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women's inequality in the family and to contend that the primary locus of patriarchy has shifted from the family and workplace to the state.

Two of her case studies are of capitalist state export-led industrialisation (Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic) and one of socialist state policy of gender equality and revolution (Cuba). Two contrasting tendencies are identified. Women gained little from employment if they merely substituted their earnings for those of men – more the case in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, where the burden for family survival shifted from men to women. The most egalitarian and stable relationships were among young couples where both were securely employed and better educated, with state policy supportive of egalitarian conjugal relationships – more prevalent in Cuba.

From the historian's perspective, the use of the present tense is disconcerting for processes now past, from Puerto Rico's 1950s Operation Bootstrap to the 1980s pre-crisis Cuba. In 1990s crisis Cuba, women appear to be retreating into a family survival role, eroding more egalitarian policies and practice. In this respect, the book already cries out for a sequel. Equally, it must be asked to what extent the *casa/calle* distinction was ever the norm. For historical reasons common to the whole Caribbean, the male breadwinner has long been heavily circumscribed along class and race lines.

Safa is, nonetheless, to be congratulated for raising important new issues in the female subordination/male marginalisation debate. Her study is a solid and provocative contribution to that debate, both for the Caribbean and beyond.

University of North London JEAN STUBBS

Pedro Armada and Martha Doggett, *Una muerte anunciada en El Salvador: El Asesinato de los Jesuitas* (Madrid: PPC, 1993) pp. 237.

This book provides an excellent narrative reconstruction of the assassinations that most compromised the Salvadoran political system during the course of the war. Given the context in which the assassinations occurred the result was to trigger the settlement of the conflict, just as the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero had triggered its initiation. This text enables the reader to understand much of the specific detail of the Jesuit case, set within a broader political context that is known to all. It presents the efforts by President Alfredo Cristiani and by the USA to make progress in dealing with the case, but also underscores the continuing contradiction between this and the older reflex to cover up for one's allies in the face of the challenge from supposedly irreconcilable enemies.

The effort to bring the case to justice is the most important juridical battle in the history of El Salvador, and the book gives a very good account of the valour and determination of the Jesuit congregation, together with the judge and the prosecutors, who were after all operating in a society still at war. Despite the fact that total truth and full justice proved unattainable, it must be recognised that the outcome went to the limits of what was possible within the juridical politics of the time. The July 1992 attack on, and subsequent death of, principal prosecutor José Eduardo Pinedo Valenzuela was the most serious act of impunity to occur during the peace process, although it was not recognised as such at the time.

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Since I was a participant in the civil war, as a *comandante* in the FMLN, I would like to add something concerning the broader political context, which gave this episode its decisive significance. Some have suggested that it was irresponsible of the FMLN to launch an offensive in November 1989, given the prospect that this would provoke precisely such a criminal reaction. In fact our military plan was designed with the aim of forcing the government into a negotiated settlement. Since we were not aiming for a military victory we concentrated our efforts on taking and defending territory in the nation's capital. All other operations were aimed at harassing or diverting government forces to prevent the authorities from concentrating all their forces. The central concept of our operations was to gain time. The longer the capital remained subject to our armed presence, with all the political consequences that entailed, the greater would become the need for some kind of international intervention. In that event what we foresaw was not so much the landing of the US Marines, as the arrival of a UN peace-keeping force which would bring about a negotiated settlement. Popular insurrection was not the central goal of our plan, but rather a development that might arise if we proved able to hold territory for long enough, and defend it well enough to inspire the confidence of the population.

The national and international context was propitious for negotiations, but we had first to establish a correlation of forces that would bring this about. The army's political space was exhausted. It could no longer count upon unlimited time and resources, and had lost the toleration needed to continue defending the old order by means of indiscriminate bombardments, assassinations and massacres covered up with unrestricted impunity. In the absence of such resources the army would have no option but to negotiate, when faced with an offensive on the scale we proposed. This was the calculation in our plan. It is important to stress that after all that had happened already, and in view of the degree of US control over the military, we did not foresee that the high command would resort to excesses of the kind that in fact occurred.

The crime took us all by surprise. Whereas we had warned those opposition leaders closest to us that an offensive was imminent we did not inform the Jesuits. This was because they were not part of the opposition, they were not even part of a political group, and to alert them would have been to implicate them. In any case it was difficult to imagine a reprisal using them as targets. The fact that they themselves carried on as normal during the offensive confirms that despite propaganda claims no real threat was foreseen.

Against all logic the army committed the disastrous error of assassinating the Jesuits. This merely served to postpone the negotiations and delay the involvement of the UN. This decision plunged the military into a crisis in relations with its principal ally in Washington. Having committed the crime on behalf of their institution, it became vital to the high command to obtain an amnesty even at the price of consenting to negotiations over the overall distribution of power.

In view of this we need to ask why the assassinations were decided, and why the decision was taken institutionally. Why not use a death squad rather than uniformed soldiers? It is very hard to believe that after ten years of war the military could be so mistaken as to believe that their action would harm the FMLN. Looking beyond the passion and fanaticism that make such crimes possible in a climate of warfare, we need to identify the political reasoning behind

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such a decision. Privately some officers and rightist leaders cynically describe the decision as technically correct given the military situation. But what did the Jesuits have to do with the fighting then underway? The murder of Archbishop Romero was probably linked to the risk that he might come out in favour of a popular insurrection. His appeal to the troops to disobey genocidal orders could well have precipitated his assassination. In the case of the Jesuits the explanation may lie in the role that Father Ignaco Ellacuría (Rector of the Central American University) was beginning to play in promoting a negotiated settlement. Ellacuría was the first to realise that within both camps there existed a real disposition to compromise, and the political conditions for this formula to prosper. He met with Cristiani in the presidential palace, and also with the FMLN leadership in Nicaragua. Neither camp was aware of the scope for negotiations, but Ellacuría was, and he had formulated an analysis of shifts underway within the power elite, and even in the outlook of Roberto D'Aubuisson. He had also identified a pragmatic faction within the FMLN. He was the principal target of the crime.

As this book indicates, the assassination plan first emerged when Ellacuría returned to his country, and especially because he had been invited back by President Cristiani to head an enquiry into an attack on a trade union office (an enquiry that might easily have had wider implications). From the standpoint of the high command it then became a matter of great urgency to block communications between the President and the Rector, and to head off the risk of a negotiated settlement. It is only on the assumption that the army was petrified by such a prospect that its complicity in the assassination can be explained. It was not hard for military intelligence to find out what Ellacuría and Cristiani were discussing, and Ellacuría's trips to Nicaragua were no secret. It was also public knowledge that from mid-1988 onwards the leadership of the FMLN became resident abroad.

In summary then, the assassination eliminated the first effective mediator, and represented a last ditch attempt to avert a settlement. Voices on the left could be heard alleging that Ellacuřa had moved to the right by talking with Cristiani. But events have demonstrated that the greatest danger lay not in staying at either extreme, but in embracing moderation and in daring to bring the polarisation to an end.

Latin American Centre
University of Oxford

JOAQUIN VILLALOBOS

Ilia A. Luciak, *The Sandinista Legacy: Lessons from a Political Economy in Transition* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), pp. xx+238, £45.00.

The aim of this book is to explore the 'legacy of the Sandinista revolution' through an examination of the 'Sandinista record from the perspective of the "popular classes" – the intended beneficiaries of the revolutionary project' (p. xi). To this end the author situates her study of rural workers and agricultural producers in Nicaragua in the 1980s and early 1990s in a theoretical framework more or less drawn from a Gramscian perspective. The core of this study, however, is a detailed, empirical review of three rural organisations. These are the

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Association of Rural Workers (ATC), the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) and the nationwide network of peasant stores, the Cooperative Enterprise of Agricultural Workers (ECODEPA). The author wishes to discuss the problems arising for these organisations in terms of their links to and support for the Sandinista government and its revolutionary project to benefit the 'poor majority'. She argues (as indeed have many others) that the contradiction at the heart of the Sandinista project was that between the two objectives of 'national unity' and 'popular hegemony'. How could rural workers and poor peasants, whose interests were often diametrically opposed to the interests of the large farmers in Nicaragua, work together in a project to increase production for the sake of national unity? What happens when the 'popular classes' insist on their interests being placed first, over and above the interests of the large farmers to whom the Sandinistas wanted to provide incentives in order to increase export earnings for the country? What happens to a project committed to participatory democracy when the results of that democratic process contradict the aims of the national unity project?

The strength of this investigation is in the detailed empirical work. The study of the ECODEPA stores provides masses of interesting information about the actual workings of the Sandinista approach to agricultural supply and demand and provides a microcosmic insight into the changes in revolutionary economic policy from idealistic socialism at the beginning of the 1980s (when they were virtually giving away supplies in some cases) to the more sober policies of the late 1980s.

There are two big problems with this book, however. One is the naïve and uncritical use of the research material. This means that at some points the book sounds rather like a recruiting manual for UNAG. For instance 'UNAG's president understands these new challenges ahead. Under his leadership, UNAG is shedding its image as a Sandinista movement' (p. 121). The other problem is that the theoretical framework is superficial and reads as if it has been added on to give what is, in fact, a perfectly respectable empirical project some added 'weight'. This leads at best to an unreflective use of concepts which, if they are going to be used at all, need serious, not cursory discussion. At worst it can result in a kind of unthinking mechanism which for instance tells us, in respect of the 1984 elections, that 'at this juncture the revolutionary leadership firmly established the hegemony of the popular classes' (p. 41). Would that it might have been so!

University of Kent HAZEL SMITH

David E. Whisnant, *Rascally Signs in Sacred Places: The Politics of Culture in Nicaragua* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), pp. xiii+569, $65.45 hb, $27.45 pb.

David Whisnant's new book on the politics of culture in Nicaragua is a fascinating addition to the literature on Nicaragua in particular, and more broadly to the use of cultural analysis in the study of history. What is particularly refreshing in this study is the almost total lack of jargon-ridden language that vitiates so much work on various cultural issues or formations. Whisnant's

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language is always very clear and his prose readable. This is especially helpful given the complexity of his subject. Added to the range of issues, epochs, events, moments, processes, people and institutions he explores, Whisnant's methodology does not employ any one definition or use of the word 'culture'. The history of the word 'culture' is extremely complex and to appropriate one definition or methodology would be to impose a narrow academic approach onto a diffuse subject. As he is quick to point out, there is '...a nearly limitless array of definitions, many of them useful in some way(s) under certain circumstances and for certain purposes, each of them inadequate or misleading in some respect(s), no one of them completely unproblematically applicable even in a given circumstance'. Broadly, however, the approach is somewhat similar to elements used by Clifford Geertz in his *Interpretation of Cultures*. That is, the word is generally used to mean, 'an entire way of life, including beliefs, habits of mind, expressive and other practices of daily life, ritual behaviour, values and worldview'. It is surprising that mention of Geertz is totally absent from the book.

The primary concern is the study of the elite control of culture at the various stages of Nicaragua's history, ranging from the conquest through independence, mostly concentrating on the twentieth century, with a short epilogue on the Chamorro period and the return of the 'Miami boys'. Whisnant explores the relationship between culture and power and the use of culture to extend power or to justify various government policies made in non-cultural areas. The themes that constantly emerge throughout the book deal with the use of culture for various 'convoluted-political purposes', legitimating state power, traditionalising the political status quo, to exercise cultural hegemony, and the '...durability of cultural formations such as gender definitions and gendered behaviours'.

The book has a clever structure. Of the three parts, the first provides a narrative on the period up to the end of the nineteenth century. Part two is comprised of four chapters on the Somoza and the Sandinista periods. A detailed examination is first conducted on the Somoza era and its penetration by US commercial culture. The consistent, if shifting, opposition to Somoza is subsequently considered, which leads into an examination of the Sandinista cultural projects and their success and failures, due to divisions and some incompetence. Finally, within this section the limitations of the Sandinistas and the opposition to their projects are explored. The structure within this part of the book largely complements the conclusions Whisnant makes. That is, a general dialectic emerges in the various constructions of culture and identity, which are ultimately deconstructed and reconstructed by the various partisans 'who passionately believe that the outcome matters greatly with regard to their own political and social agenda'. So the traditional culture is deeply affected by the conquest, and further harmed or eradicated by the US-orientated agroexport businesses and Somoza's 'sycophancy' towards the United States. In turn the *vanguardia* movements beginning in the 1920s and 1930s provided opposition to the politics of Somoza. The Sandinista government provided the first conscious policies on various cultural matters, but ultimately failed for several reasons including the fiscal constraints imposed by the US backed contra war and their lack of preparation to deal with such issues.

Part three provides four case studies on: the removal of antiquities from Nicaragua during the nineteenth century; a study of the use of Rubén Darío

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and the ideological uses of cultural capital; Sandino and the politics of culture; and finally the politics of gender and the cultural recalcitrance towards extensive change.

Apart from various fascinating vignettes of information, an interesting aspect of the book is that in the construction of a cultural formation under the revolutionary government, there is the need to provide an almost complete break with the culture of the predecessor. But given people's resistance to total discontinuity, in periods of radical transformation there were efforts to reconnect with the past, but a more distant and more indigenous past, which was antithetical to the 'perversions and distortions' of the deposed Somoza regime. But the new Sandinista-inspired constructions with the more communally based aspects of the traditional culture are still, nevertheless, constructions. But these political uses of culture, or the inability to construct a viable identity and consensual cultural formation, are vitally important. For instance, as Sergio Ramírez argued, because Somoza was 'unable to consolidate a cultural model with an articulated ideology and with organic instruments', it was much easier to resist and overcome, than a firmly entrenched cultural apparatus would have been. The impact of a cutural hegemony is crucially important to the powers and to the opposition in any regime. Whisnant's lengthy study provides engrossing insights and understanding of these relationships.

De Montfort University, Leicester DAVID RYAN

Satya R. Pattanayak, ed., *Organized Religion in the Political Transformation of Latin America* (Lanham, MD, New York and London: University Press of America, 1995), pp. xi+239, $54.00, $29.50 pb.

Publications on religion and politics in Latin America have proliferated over the past twenty years, often repeating assumptions rather than offering analysis based on hard data. The present volume serves as a useful corrective to the flood of impressionistic works and reflects the increasing maturation of the field. Specifically it suggests the degree to which the increasing number of case studies based on extensive field research are beginning to cause a reassessment of some earlyer analyses of the political role and impact of religious developments in Latin America in the past half century.

The nine essays and appendix contained in this volume focus on the influence of changes in ecclesial behaviour, religious practices and belief systems on church involvement in politics. The book is organised around three principal themes: religious change within the context of the progression from authoritarianism to democratisation, increased religious competition, and the impact of such innovations as base Christian communities (CEBs) and liberation theology on religious behaviour.

Chapters 1 and 9 by the editor attempt to assess the 'received wisdom' concerning the role of religion in contemporary Latin America, pointing out the extent to which studies in the 1960s and 1970s sometimes misread the impact of secularisation on religion, as well as the capacity of the Catholic Church, as an institution, to change and assume a critical role in societies suffering under

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authoritarian regimes. Chapter 2 on religious change, empowerment and power by Daniel H. Levine provides a salutory critique of some general assumptions including the degree to which pro-change and anti-change groups and analysts overestimated what the Catholic Church might contribute to societal change. Levine concludes that the religiously based groups most likely to have impact were those with limited links to churches. Implicit in these observations is the conclusion that some studies that focused on such innovations as base Christian communities and liberation theology as prime stimuli for change were exaggerating their impact. This is reinforced by Michael Fleet's analysis of the role of Catholics in the transition to democracy in Chile and Jean Daudelin's and W. E. Hewitt's evaluation of the Brazilian and Central American experiences.

Both of these perceptive chapters, based on hard data and rigorous analysis, argue that the institutional church had more impact on transitions to democracy than the popular church. Daudelin and Hewitt further argue that the so-called 'retreat' of the Catholic Church from its social and political activism of the late 1960s and 1970s is consistent with both the spiritual and institutional objectives of the Church, as well as the influence of contextual factors. When political parties, labour unions, legislatures, and other instruments for political participation were suppressed or circumscribed, it is not surprising that churches, in what were not only political but moral crises, filled the vacumn. With the reemergence of civil society, churches felt less pressured to do so and turned their attention to more spiritual and evangelical objectives while continuing to focus on grassroots activities, particularly among the poor. Pattanayak's Appendix detailing the distribution of ecclesial resources throughout Latin America, as well as the substantial rise in ecclesial social welfare activities in a good number of countries, tends to confirm this.

In the face of increasing Protestant competition, both Pattanayak and Bryan Froehle suggest that the Catholic Church is not losing ground to secular and religious competitors as rapidly as some analysts have predicted. Rather, they suggest that religious participation is increasing generally as Latin Americans search for communities that will assist them in dealing with the pressures of their daily lives. Andrew Orta's analysis of catechetical activities in highland Bolivia is particularly insightful in terms of the degree to which CEBs create competitive communities within existing communities. Hence, CEBs are not always well adapted to local culture and needs. Similarly, Paul Sigmund's chapter on liberation theology offers a cautionary assessment of its actual penetration and impact.

Overall, this volume is a useful contribution to the maturation of the field. It provides a solid basis for understanding the actual role of religion, and particularly the Catholic Church, in contemporary Latin America. In addition, it suggests areas that need to be researched more intensively, including the actual influence of external church financing which Kenneth Serbin incisively examines with respect to Brazil. Other topics that need to be studied include the content of religious education in the growing number of church-linked schools and seminaries, reasons for the increased number of vocations to religious orders and ultimately what is the verifiable role of religion in empowering people, particularly the poor majority.

This volume provides not only a realistic view of the role of religion in contemporary Latin America, but also a healthy critique of much of the literature

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

in the field. While some of the author's assertions are not yet fully substantiated, they generally flow from suggestive analyses. One shortcoming – the bibliography does not contain all the references in the notes and therefore full citations are sometimes unavailable.

Hunter College, City University of New York MARGARET E. CRAHAN

Jean-Pierre Bastian, *Protestantismo y modernidad latinoamericana: historia de unas minorías religiosas activas en América Latina* (Mexico D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994), pp. 351.

The change in title of this translation of *Le protestantisme en Amérique latine: une approche socio-historique* (Geneva: Éditions Labor et Fides, 1994) is telling, for Jean-Pierre Bastian's historical study views Protestantism in Latin America as a series of heterodox religious movements, the impact and purposes of which have varied dramatically over time and space. The change from *le protestantisme* to '*protestantismos*' reflects Bastian's apt preoccupation that social science-based studies of Protestantism in Latin America tend to conflate the vast variations in Protestant beliefs and practice into a single generic category of dissent against Catholic religion and culture. As Bastian has written elsewhere, in a paraphrase of Serge Gruzinski, to do so misleadingly lumps Protestants in with 'the series of deviants, phantasms, and obsessions that haunt the imagination of the Iberian societies alongside the Jews, sodomites, and sorcerers'. (Serge Gruzinski and Carmen Bernand, *De l'idolâtrie: une archéologie des sciences réligieuses* (Paris: Seuil, 1988), cited in Jean-Pierre Bastian, 'The Metamorphosis of Latin American Protestant Groups: A Sociohistorical Perspective', *Latin American Research Review* vol. 28, no. 2 (1993), pp. 33–61.)

Bastian proves his case convincingly by detailing the successive waves of *protestantismos* which have swept Latin America. The first wash came during the colonial period, when forces hostile to Catholic Spain planted a tentative Protestant presence in the region. In each case chronicled, the cause of Protestantism was secondary – or even tertiary – to political or mercantile considerations, but the discourse of imperialism was nonetheless clearly cast in a religious idiom.

The nineteenth century witnessed a new wave of Protestant immigrants and missionaries who brought with them a new type of Protestantism solidly embedded in the new liberalism of the era. Placing their work within the political context of the period, Bastian emphasises the church workers' own perception of their roles in the expansion of North Atlantic interests in the region, and in the domestic struggle between Liberalism and Conservatism. For Bastian, these nineteenth century Protestants and their few converts constitute 'societies of thought' that embodied the values of Western liberalism, most notably modernity, progress, and democracy.

The third *protestantismo* came in the first half of the twentieth century, when the convergence of internationalism, the World Wars, and the Depression forced a retrenchment of the missionary agenda. At four critical international missionary congresses that met between 1910 and 1930, the formal discourse of mission work was recast in the language of 'Pan Americanism', with a concomitant shift away

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from the paternalism, overt partisanship, and cultural jingoism that had characterised the early phases of missionary activity. This impulse was cut short, however, when the Cold War spawned a new type of missionary: the well-funded Christian fundamentalist who conceptualised mission work as an effective tool of global political policy. The entry of these new players ran parallel to the socio-religious phenomenon that Bastian terms the 'mutación de los protestantismos latinoamericanos', the reformation of North Atlantic Protestantism into a Latin American context. It is these Latinised churches which have attracted the most converts since the 1960s.

It is this aspect of Protestant growth that has attracted the most scholarly attention, but Bastian strongly cautions that it is vital to recognise that Protestant beliefs in contemporary Latin America are so heterodox in that some varieties may cease to be 'Protestant' at all. Instead, he suggests that some are 'less the expressions of a *sui generis* Protestantism than they are a group of new, eclectic and diversified *non-Roman Catholic* religious movements' (emphasis mine), related to the multiplicity of historical *protestantismos* within Latin America only by common misperception.

Institute for Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin VIRGINIA GARRARD-BURNETT

Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris (eds.), *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. ix+429, £54.50, £17.95 pb.

This collection of essays by noted scholars, broadly concerned with the economic and related cultural practices of Andean peoples from Inka times to the present, is an updated English-language version of an important 1987 conference volume published originally in Bolivia by CERES under the title *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos*. Although the CERES volume included 10 chapters that have been sacrificed in the Duke edition, the new book is broader in conceptual reach and more explicit in its historiographical contentions, largely due to the addition of an updated introduction by historian Brooke Larson, and a new concluding essay by anthropologist Olivia Harris. Also new are chapters on exchange and markets in the northern Andes in the sixteeenth century by Susan Ramírez (which helps somewhat to offset the southern Andean bias of the CERES volume), and on ethnicity and gender in a community near Cuzco in the twentieth century by Marisol de la Cadena, an earlier version of which appeared in *Revista Andina* (Cuzco) in 1991. *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration* weaves together recent work in Andean ethnohistory and Marxian social history to challenge some longstanding assumptions about the intersections (or lack thereof) of 'Indians' and 'Markets'. As Harris notes: 'It is clear from…this book that the commonplace idea that Andean peasants were and are resistant to participation in commercial circuits cannot be sustained' (p. 352). This unsustainable idea, the editors note, is nevertheless being pushed once again by neoliberal reformers. Although this book is written primarily for scholars and students of Andean life, policy practitioners and NGO staffers may also find some useful wisdom here.

Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima MARK THURNER

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Jill Leslie, McKeever Furst, *The Natural History of the Soul in Ancient Mexico* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. x + 230, £18.95.

This rich and original study of Mexica conceptions of the soul is no slave to fashion. Eschewing iconographic, semiotic and interpretative approaches, McKeever Furst revives the tradition of materialist explanation of a people's belief in terms of their experience of the natural world and their observation of the natural processes which impact on human bodies. Some Mexica conceptions are explained in terms of 'natural symbols' which, it is argued, are universal amongst peoples that still have the opportunity to observe corpses at close hand: thus lividity, the butterfly-shaped pattern formed on the back by the settling of blood in the tissues after death, is invoked to explain why the fleeing *post-mortem* soul is depicted as a bird or some other kind of winged creature. Other aspects of Mexica belief are explained as variations on a theme linked to specific environmental conditions. Although Native Americans commonly associated the spirits of the dead with air, wind or glowing entities, the Mexica added metaphors of smell because of their specific experience of the dead as decomposing bodies in the wetland environment of Tenochtitlán. The book is thus a dialogue between the Mexica ideas of which it provides an exegesis and modern scientific knowledge of topics ranging from bacteria and physical states of the body to atmospheric phenomena and methane combustion. The spirit of its argument is well expresed in its discussion of soul loss (*susto*), which enjoins us to consider whether a range of conditions classified by native peoples as 'soul loss' might be the result of physiological causes such as altitude sickness, poor diet and chronic diseases before we attribute them psychological, religious or spiritual origins (p. 122).

This robust materialism has its virtues, especially if we are interested in how indigenous classificatory schemes embody systematic knowledge about the 'natural world', and McKeever Furst has many interesting things to say about the impacts of Western categories and knowledge systems on indigenous thought. Yet there are also substantial drawbacks to the 'natural history' approach. It is not helpful to reduce illness to physiological causes where people explain individual affliction in terms of social causes, or to ignore the culturally scripted performance of sick and curing roles and the psychological triggers of affliction rooted in the dilemmas of social existence. The author ignores Mary Douglas's classic analysis of 'natural symbols', which focused on the way different societies make specific selections from the symbolic possibilities offered by the 'natural' body. She does, however, resort to social explanations when she examines the apparent paradox that one of the three Mexica animating forces, the ephemeral *tonalli*, is introduced into the body through the action of a divine fire drill. This technological metaphor contrasts with the vegetative metaphor which is the Mexica norm in bodily matters, and she argues that it reflects urbanisation. I doubt if this simple social determinism guides us in the right direction, either for understanding the connections between knowledge systems and social power, or for understanding Mexica metaphysics. The inclusion of the human body in a vegetative cycle of reproduction is a dominant metaphor in Mexica ritual life in a way that neither agricultural traditions nor living in a swamp seems adequate to explain, whilst Mexica notions of 'art' as imitation of divine archetypes, and of the experienced world itself as a picture book painted by a divine artist-creator

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– a world of figments and representations – bespeak a deeper kind of cultural alterity than the natural history approach can capture. Furthermore, the book's assumption that the different societies in the Uto-Aztecan language family share a common substratum of belief, with variation induced by specific environmental adaptations, raises issues about the role of language in the reproduction of culture which are not adequately discussed, and sits uncomfortably alongside other valuable observations on socio-cultural interaction, such as the suggestion that loan-words are employed by members of different language families to name the spirits of the dead.

University of Manchester JOHN GLEDHILL

John Monaghan, *The Covenants with Earth and Rain: Exchange, Sacrifice and Revelation in Mixtec Sociality* (Norman Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), pp. xvi + 394, 25, $42.95.

This ethnography of the Mixtec town of Nuyoo, located on the border of the Alta and Costa regions, deserves a wide readership. As Mexico's indigenous peoples intensify their demands for 'autonomy', the limitations of traditional anthropological concepts of 'culture', 'ethnicity', 'community' and 'social organisation' grow increasingly apparent. Studies of other parts of the Mixteca show that the 'traditional' practices of indigenous communities can be reconfigured in unexpected ways to create new kinds of organisations spanning rural–urban divides and international frontiers, revealing a dyamism in adaptation to a changing world that cannot be fully understood simply by noting the way discrimination and exclusion foster ethnically based conceptions of identity and social worth. Using his analysis of Nuyooteco sociality as consists in the present to shed light on the historical process of community development, Monaghan offers some stimulating ideas for thinking about these issues.

Rather than taking an analyst's model of social structure as his starting point for studying social action, Monaghan follows Simmel and looks at how people create and maintain relationships, moving from the practices that constitute households and establish relationships between them to those that reunite them in an overarching 'community' as Nuyootecos understand that notion. Much of the monograph is devoted to exegesis of Nuyooteco ideas about gift exchange, commensality and pooling, kinship and marriage, the relationships between human beings, deities and demons, cargo service, ritual and sacrifice. Monaghan shows that, conceptually, the Nuyootecos do not separate social acts such as gift exchange, marriage, baptism and the ritual procession of saints from corporeal, organic and cosmological processes of renewal, a finding consistent with evidence from other parts of Mesoamerica. His emphasis is not, however simply on exploring 'native metaphysics', such as ideas about the way the 'heat of life' imbues different kinds of entities, but on unpacking the complex structures of metaphorical and metonymical usages that enable the Nuyootecos to define themselves as a distinct group linked to a specific territory and to 'reinvent themselves' as a community transcending their differences. The term he uses to capture how Nuyootecos themselves define 'community', a 'Great House', is, as he concedes, still ultimately an anthropologist's abstraction, even if it is grounded

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in local idioms, but in this and in many other areas, he offers new ideas to Mesoamerican scholarship and also contributes to the wider comparative debates in anthropology that inform his discussion throughout.

In moving from synchronic ethnographic analysis and exegesis of myth to analysing Nuyooteco history Monaghan focuses on two pivotal moments of redefinition: the appearance of the image of Misericordia on the steps of the Church in 1873, which coincides with the decline of *cofradías*, liquidation of communal assets and shift to fiesta sponsorship by members of individual households, and the development of a cult of the 'Indio de Nuyoo', the local hero of the War of Independence, in the wake of the growing importance of migration to Mexico City from the 1960s onwards. Both these developments involved self-interested action on the part of *caciques*, whose rise, along with the need to redefine Nuyooteco identity and community, reflected the impact of wider economic and political forces, but Monaghan argues that we can only fully understand the Nuyooteco response in terms of the way groups with distinct interests negotiated and contested changes in material circumstances by making them meaningful in terms of their existing understandings of how social life has its origins in human interactions with the sacred. The virtue of this approach is that it enables us to understand how local communities preserve their distinctiveness while changing in quite fundamental ways without falling back on a static and essentialised notion of 'culture' or treating local and larger systems as discrete and bounded entities. Nevertheless, although Monaghan in principle avoids the danger inherent in focusing on sociality and exegesis of shared meanings – that of downplaying conflict and power differentials – his careful analysis of linguistic data and local idioms, complemented by illustrations drawn by local people remains somewhat thin on the detail of 'negotiation and contestation'.

The latter part of the book argues that socio-economic differentiation is important, but does not explore this issue at the level of households, focusing instead on changing ideas about the demonic *tachi kuku* and the history of *caciquismo*, again without examining dissidence or the fate of dissidents in great depth. Nevertheless, the author does provide a fuller account of how and why the cargo system makes the experience of Nuyooteco social life intensely contradictory. *Caciques* impose cargoes on their enemies, and avoidance of cargo service is a factor stimulating migration, and yet few seem willing to contemplate the system's abolition. Monaghan argues that contradiction is embedded in the premises of Nuyooteco culture, since the dynamic interplay of opposed forces characteristic of Mesoamerican thought (represented in Nuyoo in an opposition between Jesus and the demonic Tachi, ritually enacted in the complementary processions of saints and the *velu*, the latter associated with both Tachi and Spanish/Mestizo people) leads to no ultimate synthesis. But it is specific demographic, socio-economic and political circumstances which seem central to the way the contradictions between households and 'community' have worked themselves out in this case. In conceding that the appearance of Misericordia embodied a hegemonic project, Monaghan has to invoke contextual factors to analyse the relationship between *cacique* power and Nyooteco solidarity and exclusivity: these include Nuyoo's specific position in relation to neighbouring municipios, and the entire Mixteca is a distinct case in comparison with many other regions. Carefully historically contextualised case studies thus remain the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

key to understanding why trajectories of change differ, but Monagham's focus on forms of sociation as active processes makes an important contribution to understanding the long-term dynamism and resilience of indigenous Mexico.

University of Manchester JOHN GLEDHILL

Jacques M. Chevalier and Daniel Buckles, *A Land Without Gods: Process Theory, Maldevelopment and the Mexican Nahuas* (London and New Jersey, Zed Books, 1995), pp. x+374, £55.00, £19.95 pb.

The land to which the title refers is the hot, humid terrain of Southern Veracruz that falls from the slopes of the Sierra Santa Marta to the towns of Minatitlán and Coatzacoalcos. For centuries, the local Gulf Nahuas have tended the soil, balancing the demands of *milpa* cultivation with the preservation of the region's native rainforest. In the twentieth century, cattle-ranching and the development of the petro-chemical industry placed new demands on land, labour and local authority. Chevalier and Buckles investigate the ways in which social norms were traditionally negotiated, how these methods have changed with time, and how the Nahuas have sought to resist the dominant influences of state capital and market forces.

A detailed history of the region provides the background from which the authors address key issues in Nahua society: power, wealth and land tenure; the political, economic and social consequences of ranching and oil development; the clash between the demands of capitalism and a balanced ecology; kinship and mythology. To each of these aspects, the authors apply a theoretical analysis to reveal the '*processual* nature of social phenomena' (p. 337). They argue that social processes are driven by people confronting pressure problems. These processes not only determine normal conduct, but change with the passage of time, and influence the ways in which societal resistance and domination are determined (whether between state and community, classes and parties, gender and generations, or gods and humans). In some respects, this would appear to complement Florencia Mallon's thesis on hegemonic processes among Nahua communities in the Sierra Norte de Puebla (*Peasant and Nation*, California, 1995).

In constructing this theoretical framework, Chevalier and Buckles reject the notion that the issues they consider are static, autonomous entities. Rather they stress the inter-relationship of various aspects of society; for example, the long-term impact of the struggle for land on the local economy and class relations. Nor do they assume these processes to be totally predictable: 'all courses of human action involve unforeseen crises and inconsistencies that elude simple laws of linear history' (p. 344). Indeed, if such inconsistencies were not present, the task of the historian would be considerably simpler.

The emergence of a dominant group of native ranchers within the region reflects a phenomenon found in many rural areas in the post-revolutionary period. Similarly, the manipulation of a shared ethnic identity to legitimise a *cacique's* authority is observed in Paul Friedrich's study of Primo Tapia (*Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village*, Chicago, 1977), and Frans Schyer's portrayal of Juvenicio Nochebuena (*Ethnicity and Class Conflict in Rural Mexico*, Princeton, 1990). Chevalier's and Buckles's observations on the tactics employed by this

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ethno-popular front to resist external pressures are particularly revealing. Using the media to attract world-wide attention to the dangers facing the local ecology and indigenous rights, the Gulf Nahuas display an acute awareness of broader contemporary issues. As the authors argue throughout, social processes, in this case resistance, have the ability to adapt to the prevailing conditions.

That the text is sometimes repetitive and occasionally inaccurate ('In 1923, local representatives of the National Revolutionary Party…', p. 52) does not detract from what is a thoroughly-researched anthropological study. Its multi-disciplinary approach should appeal to a wide range of scholars interested in rural studies in Mexico and beyond.

University of Warwick KEITH BREWSTER

Helen Ingram, Nancy L. Laney, David M. Gillian, *Divided Waters: Bridging the U.S.–Mexico Border* (Tucson, AZ.: The University of Arizona Press, 1995), pp. xiv + 262, $35.00, $17.95 pb.

Divided Waters is a useful contribution to the growing literature on water problems. No doubt, the importance of water as a major source of international conflict in several regions of the world has contributed to the growing attention to water issues. The context of these international conflicts is a higher water demand and less water availability that aggravates the contradictions implicit between the economic and the social uses of water. Although these contradictions exist within and between all societies, the extent of the conflict and its consequences differ dramatically according to the level of development of each country. Developing countries experience more acute contradictions and a higher polarisation in the use of water among social groups and economic activities to the detriment of the weaker ones. A similar scenario exists between countries sharing common water resources.

The detailed empirical work presented in *Divided Waters* is a good example of the international conflicts and contradictions related to the use of transboundary water resources at the US–Mexican border. The first two chapters of the book provide the reader with background information on the border in general, and on the Nogales, Arizona and Nogales, Sonora area in particular. The authors' emphasis on the socioeconomic, cultural and political differences between the two sides of the border facilitates the understanding of water problems in this area. Chapter 3 describes the availability of water resources and the characteristics of water supply in the two border cities. The attention given by the authors to social and economic aspects of water supply, water distribution, and water quality on the two sides of the border, are a valuable contribution of this book. Chapter 4 seeks to enlarge the social context of water issues through anecdotal descriptions of four families. Chapter 5 describes the struggle of the two border communities with water issues and the role of federal and binational institutions. Although this chapter also relies on a rather anecdotal narration, it raises some important issues. First, it reveals the tendency to tolerate unacceptable conditions when they affect only certain disadvantaged groups in the USA, such as poor border communities. Second, it presents a different perspective on public health and environment issues, from the Mexican side of the border. Third, it portrays

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the inability of the International Boundary and Water Commission to catch up with the reality and demands of the communities at the US–Mexican border, and emphasises the shortcomings in the two federal environmental agencies' approaches to environmental problems, and water issues in particular, in this border area. The authors conclude the book by outlining criteria for successful border institutions. However, there is little discussion on the limitations of these institutions' ability to deal with the structural inequalities between the two sides of the border and how these inequalities are reflected by the unbalanced use of water resources. Such an analysis would have enhanced the reader's understanding of the continuous growth of these imbalances. Despite this shortcoming, this book adds a useful perspective on water issues at the US–Mexican border.

Commission for Environmental Cooperation, Quebec ROBERTO SANCHEZ

Jorge Rodríguez Beruff and Humberto García Muñiz (eds.), *Security Problems and Policies in the Post-Cold War Caribbean* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1996), pp. xiii + 249, £40.00.

Jorge Rodríguez Beruff and Humberto García Muñiz are two of the best-known and most insightful analysts of security issues in the Caribbean. They have collaborated in a number of publications and have now put together a useful new collection of essays which constitutes the best current guide to the various security problems which continue to beset what they call the 'post-Cold War Caribbean'. They have rightly judged that much of the old literature on Caribbean security has been superseded by the seismic changes in international relations of the last few years and that a fresh survey is needed, grounded in a broader conceptualisation of security than that traditionally deployed. As editors, it is also to their credit that they have been able to draw upon many of the other scholars who have written about Caribbean security over the last decade.

The book is divided into three parts. The first focuses on the security perspectives and policies towards the Caribbean of the United States, France, Britain and Canada. These countries are defined as 'external powers', although it is noted that the first three have possessions in the Caribbean and are thus 'internal' to the region in an important sense. What emerges from the analysis is the limited, but significant, reconsolidation of a European security presence in the Caribbean during the late 1980s and early 1990s and the tendency towards greater coordination of policy between the four powers as a group. Michel Martin and Paul Sutton in particular provide rare and very valuable accounts of French and British security policy respectively and, in so doing, bring out some of the key differences of approach towards the Caribbean of these two powers.

The second part of the volume turns to country-studies and unavoidably concentrates attention on recent developments in Haiti and Cuba. Some good points are made in these chapters, but perhaps inevitably events have already outrun the analysis offered. The best chapter in this section is that contributed by Jorge Rodríguez Beruff himself in which he capably demonstrates the way that Puerto Rico's perceived strategic utility to the USA and the latter's military

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press

presence on the island shape the ongoing status debate in Puerto Rican politics. The third part in turn considers thematic issues and includes discussions of narcotics and security by Ivelaw Griffiths and migration and security by Ramón Grosfoguel and Michael Morris. Once more, each sets out the broad contours of the problem neatly and concisely.

All in all, then, this is a book that Caribbean specialists will want to have on their shelves. It does not sparkle with new ideas and new arguments but it covers its chosen terrain soundly and sensibly.

University of Sheffield ANTHONY PAYNE

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X96324693 Published online by Cambridge University Press