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Reviews

Luiz Felipe de Alencastro (ed.), *Cotidiano e vida privado no império* (vol. 2 of Fernando A. Novais (ed.), *História da vida privada do Brasil*) (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), pp. 523.

Daily life can be either public or private: in this book the authors demonstrate that in Brazil during the Empire it was most often public. Indeed the question arises: where do we locate the boundary between the public and the private in a slave society, especially one that – precisely because of slavery – had never truly broken with the social premises of the *ancient règime*? The slaveowner carried out many of the tasks that today we expect to be fulfilled by agents of the state, such as defending the social order, maintaining the peace, adjudicating conflicts. In short, they exercised legal authority, not only over slaves but also over family members, even grown sons (whom the law allowed the father to incarcerate or physically punish), over wives, domestic servants, *agregados*, and, by custom, even over other dependants such as the owners of vendas or village artisans, over what Evaldo Cabral de Mello refers to as the 'parentela e clientela' (p. 399). And insofar as the state was present in the interior, its official representative was often the very same *fazendeiro* or *senhor de engenho*. Thus Robert Slenes can refer to the 'long refusal of masters to allow positive law to invade the grounds of their favour-granting' condescension (p. 260) and Hebe M. Mattos de Castro concludes that 'the separation of these two spheres (the public and the private)' was only a 'fiction' (p. 378). The public quality of domestic life, moreover, had a specific function: unquestioned inequality within a ranked social structure characterised Brazil, and this hierarchical paradigm became synonymous with social order, making deference and dependence a predominant characteristic to be publicly demonstrated within the immediate family and projected out from it. So when we attempt a history of the private lives of nineteenth-century Brazilians, we are drawn into questions of power and its exercise, questions that in Brazil lend a macrohistorical significance to microhistory.

The problem of sources is illustrative of the Brazilian situation. As Mello notes, few are the diaries kept by Brazilians, few are the letters kept by friends or lovers, few are the private reflections available to us on how women and men felt in their intimate selves. Whereas Mello attributes this lack to the Catholic religious culture, to its reliance on the act of confession to relieve the need to unburden oneself, and to Catholic societies' being 'more tied to extradomestic forms of sociability' (p. 387), we would go further. Besides noting the low level of literacy that surely reduced the possibility of creating such records, we also believe there is a difference between the very definition of *self* in nineteenth-century Brazilian society and that of the late twentieth century. Historians are mistaken if they try to impose on the past present-day notions of what *we* call intimate and private. The public man was the assumed model and aspiration of many, and images of the *pai de família*, the *homem respeitavel*, the *mulher honesta* – all of which owed more

to the heritage of Roman culture than to the individualism of the liberal Enlightenment – contributed to self-understanding even among people of modest means. Honour, so crucial a value to them, could only be displayed publicly. Death itself was a public affair as João José Reis demonstrates in his brilliant account of how early nineteenth-century Bahians encountered it. From the last illness to the final resting place, dozens of people witnessed the event. If an Englishman's ideal death was accomplished in seclusion, away from too many witnesses, in Catholic Bahia death and funerals required intermediaries – priests, family, mourners, musicians, beggars – to offer the prayers and masses that would usher one's soul from the shadows of purgatory to the dazzling presence of God. In short, the expression of the self took forms other than that of diaries.

The diary that Mello does use is mainly an account of business decisions regarding a sugar plantation and the owner's worries about the weather; and one used by Ana Maria Mauad – especially rare because kept by a woman – is principally concerned with the administration of the household and the ever-present incidence of disease. It is not that they write only about external concerns, but that the public management of family, household, and *fazenda*, the transfer of property, disease and death were central and crucial issues to them, matters in which they invested great emotion. Intimacy in our twentieth-century vocabulary depends on relationships of equality; but nineteenth-century Brazilians, even within the family, understood themselves to have unequal, hierarchical connections to others, relying on intermediaries, whether priest or patron to request or bestow favours; consequently, their personal letters are rarely intimate ones. It is not that they did not have feelings, but that they expressed them differently.

On the other hand, this was a thoroughly juridical culture. It was a culture based on the formal regulation of disputes between unequals, not on negotiation between equals, and even the most unlikely people knew how to use the courts and legal procedures to secure their ends. This means that historical actors left for us a great wealth of cartorial documentation often not available to historians of other cultures. One of the clear virtues of this volume, reflective of the new direction of the best historiography, is the realisation by some authors that documents found in public archives can reveal much more than they originally intended. Reis relies heavily on wills and inventories, as does Kátia M. de Queiroz Mattoso in her chapter on the ostentatious life-style of rich Bahians. Both Slenes and Castro use trial records, suits for freedom, and inventories to probe the meaning of slavery and freedom. Indeed, a strong reliance on manuscripts – or on photographs as in the chapter by Mauad – rather than on the printed word as found in newspapers, treaties, or parliamentary speeches, transforms our understandings of the Brazilian past. And, as anyone familiar with this series already knows, the book is replete with splendid images that make the text come alive. It is surprising, however, that there is not more reliance here on material culture that can so well elucidate the past. Urban and rural architecture is passed over, although it is still all around us and can be treated as a text to be interpreted and understood. Furniture, kitchen utensils, china closets, a carpenter's tools, the photograph of a man's study showing the heavy velvet curtains that need be cleaned – all these can speak to us if only we will let them.

The volume's regional and temporal coverage is ample and persuasive. Some chapters focus primarily on the first half of the century and others on the latter

part. There are chapters based principally on materials relevant to Pernambuco, to Bahia, to the province of Rio de Janeiro, to the coffee-plantation region of São Paulo, to the German settlements of Santa Catarina, and the city of Rio de Janeiro, a city that can appropriately be understood as the classroom for the nation. The omission of Maranhão and the Amazon region is acknowledged by the editor, but nothing is said about the surprising lack of any chapter on Minas Gerais. Although drawing on regional sources, all the authors develop themes that cast new light on the entire territory of Brazil, and in some cases, as with Reis, make deliberate use of comparative materials from other parts of the country.

What is lacking is better coverage of social groups other than masters and slaves. Despite Luiz Felipe Alencastro's reference to the celibate foreign merchants, there is very little about their daily lives. At the other end of the commercial network but also ignored are the muleteers who linked the interior from Rio Grande do Sul to Maranhão. Free domestic servants in Rio de Janeiro are practically not referred to, even though Portuguese immigrants are often noted. And men of middling wealth such as artisans, bureaucrats, priests are omitted, as are prostitutes (all of whom in distinct ways connected the public with the private).

Moreover, some chapters seem to take on the point of view of the elites they study. Mattoso, for instance, leaves the reader with a certain idyllic and romantic vision of Bahian society, characterised by generosity and solidarity, without sufficiently emphasising the inherent conflict between rich and poor, white and black. Mauad's chapter on photography alerts us to how photographs can reveal an elite's vision of themselves, but passes over all too quickly the importance of those details that display other lives, such as photographs showing clothes drying along a Morro do Castelo street or shoppers at the public market. In her text she does not even mention extant photographs of fruit-and-vegetable vendors, broom salesmen, and stevedores, some of which, fortunately, illustrate the volume. The inclusion of some photographs sometimes allows the reader to take a contrary view to hers. In one of them we find slave children sorting coffee while an elaborately dressed white child on his tricycle looks on; a scene Mauad describes as portraying 'the daily companionship of white and black children in their games' (p. 206). Mello skilfully summarizes João Alfredo's nineteenth-century biography of his uncle and father-in-law, the Baron of Goiana, but it is difficult to know whether Mello thinks the relationships and values of the patriarch were truly those described by his nephew or were only those which João Alfredo thought they had been, or, even more likely, thought they should have been. By not clarifying this, Mello leads one to see imperial Brazil through spectacles fashioned only its elite.

One theme that preoccupies several authors and projects their chapters into important current historiographical controversies relates to the ability of slaves to use the rules laid down by masters to gain the slaves' objectives. To what extent can we say that slaves struggled against slavery itself if they protested against its *abuses* or tried to control their captivity in some way, for instance, by choosing among possible owners? And to what extent are the concessions made to slaves by slaveowners to be understood as merely another means owners used to control their slaves or as victories conquered by slaves who otherwise threatened disorder? As Slenes explains family formation:

> within certain limits, masters encouraged the formation of family ties among their slaves … in order to make them dependent and hostages to their own solidarities and family goals. This strategy of dominion was relatively successful. [But] for this very reason, it perhaps subverted the authority of masters: … The slave community enjoyed a common experience and institutions, including family ones, that allowed them to form their own identity. As a result, masters slept uneasily (p. 236).

Or, as Castro notes, any effort of a slave to free him or herself from the burdens of slavery can be read as an action 'that affirmed the masters' authority (p. 355), yet 'this constant pressure in the daily life of the estate … should not be underestimated … within the context … of a growing loss of slavery's legitimacy' (p. 360). So again, seemingly private negotiations had public content and effect.

There is still much to be done by historians before we can confidently say we have written the history of private life in Brazil. In his compelling first chapter Alencastro touches on a wide variety of fascinating topics most of which still await monographic studies. He has laid out for us a research agenda. Hopefully, in the future we can expect to find more studies on nineteenth-century Brazilian language, clothing styles, music and dance, leisure activity (beaches, smoking), naming practices, child-birth and wet-nursing (why not child-rearing?), disease, medical education, and homeopathy, and, finally, popular ideas, from positivism to phrenology and notions about race. At the start of his chapter Alencastro has also provided us with a broad structural view, although he does too little to link each of the above topics to those generalisations.

The editor and authors are to be congratulated on an impressive contribution to Brazilian historiography in the series launched by Companhia das Letras under the general direction of Fernando A. Novais.

University of Texas at Austin RICHARD GRAHAM
AND SANDRA LAUDERDALE GRAHAM

Juan Carlos Grosso and Jual Carlos Garavaglia, *La región de Puebla y la economía novohispana: las alcabals en la Nueva España, 1776–1821* (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, and Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1996), pp. 272, pb.

This volume is a collection of the revised versions of five essays published between 1985 and 1987 dealing with the economy of Mexico at the end of the colonial era. Attention is focused on the analysis of the structure and functioning of the internal market. The authors examine the issue from a regional perspective, bringing together information on different parts of New Spain, though particular stress is made on the region of Puebla, which they jointly and fruitfully studied for several years. Taking an approach in line with the work of Sempat Assadourian, the authors see the internal market as the basis of the functioning of the entire commercial system of the colony, rejecting any notion of a sharp separation between the domestic and the export oriented sectors of the economy. *Alcabalas* (sales taxes) form the core of the data base that they use to describe and analyse the complex regional exchange systems evolving in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The essays are arranged in four parts. The first presents a detailed examination of the *alcabala* source, its evolution, informative potentialities and deficiencies. The authors manage to deliver a coherent and readable account of this difficult subject, for it involves fatiguing travel over the tortuous roads of the colonial

taxation, with its tangled web of changing regulations and multiple exceptions. The flaws in *alcabala* records are well known, and Grosso and Garavaglia devote careful attention to discussing them. Indeed, the question of how reliable the source is to capture and measure the internal commercial activity runs through the entire volume. The authors' answer is an emphatic 'yes'. Moreover, they claim that such a source also provides a useful route of access to the crucial sphere of the regional and local production of goods. This assertion is not an article of faith, but the result of a profound knowledge of the source in question and the systematic and critical evaluation of the results drawn from its application to concrete historical cases. This critical attitude is also reflected in Grosso and Garavaglia's repeated warnings about the serious pitfalls and misinterpretations that can be derived from superficial use of the series of *alcabalas*, and their insistence on the necessity of employing additional sources of information, a task they themselves undertake in the remaining essays.

The second and third parts of the book are dedicated to empirical studies on the economic development of different regions of New Spain. Taking their argument in favour of the utility of the *alcabalas* one step further, in the second part the authors divide New Spain into five main economic regions according to the level of the alcabalas collected in the distinct *administraciones foráneas* (tax collection districts) between 1778 and 1809. Of course, this division is open to debate, as they themselves acknowledge. Besides, some subjects are not treated in sufficient depth to satisfy specialists, such as the connections between economic development and the changes in population levels. Part three, which deals with the *administraciones* of Veracruz, Sonora and Durango, constitutes an interesting and suggestive exploration of the varied paths of economic development followed by these regions. The work is particularly effective in demonstrating the value of approaching the issue in a desegregated form and by combining different economic indicators.

The fourth and final part is a careful and well documented study of the economic stagnation suffered by the region of Puebla-Tlaxcala during the eighteenth century. Here Garavaglia and Grosso make masterful use of the sources at their disposal. Equally remarkable is their lucid analysis of the timing and factors influencing Puebla-Tlaxcala's stagnation. This is undoubtedly one of the finest works of the recent literature on late colonial Mexico and full of illuminating suggestions for future research.

CIESAS DAVID NAVARRETE G.
Mexico

Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (ed.), *The Origins of Mexican National Politics, 1808–1847* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1997), pp. xi + 127, $16.95 pb.

Over the last ten years Jaime E. Rodríguez O. has been a prolific editor of volumes concerned with Mexican political history. Moreover, the numerous books he has succeeded in putting together, going in some cases from the 1750s to the present, have all provided academics and students alike with some of the most significant and enlightening contributions the historiography has benefited from in recent years. This has been particularly the case with those editions in which the main focus of the volumes has reflected Rodríguez's own speciality: the early national period (*c.* 1810–*c.* 1850). It was therefore with great anticipation that this reader agreed to review this current volume which, with a title such as

The Origins of Mexican National Politics, 1808–1847, appeared to offer the promise of yet another excellent series of new essays on what remains one of the most fascinating and complex periods of Mexican history. It was therefore initially disappointing to find that under a new title, Rodríguez has simply reissued a selection of four chapters which appeared previously in his volume *The Evolution of the Mexican Political System* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1993). Having said that, it was not difficult to overcome this disappointment given the importance of each of the contributions (each without exception, is written by one of that select dozen of inspired and inspiring revisionist scholars in the field) and the fact that *The Evolution of the Mexican Political System* is now, regrettably, out of print.

This volume comprises: Christon I. Archer's essay on the process by which the regular army of New Spain developed during the War of Independence (1810–1821) its subsequent role as an important political force in national politics; Virginia Guedea's essay on the impact the 1812 Cadiz Constitution had in Mexico City (and by default New Spain) by introducing political participation to large sectors of the population; Rodríguez's essay on the compromises, influences, innovations and, in particular, continuities which were encapsulated in the 1824 Federal Constitution, and, finally; Barbara A. Tenenbaum's essay on the means by which the evolution of the economic, military and political structures of the northern provinces/states of the Republic contributed to, rather than opposed, the process of nation-building which was initiated during the first national decades. The claim that this volume offers 'a useful introduction to the politics of early independent Mexico' (p. ix) is perhaps exaggerated; a useful introduction would require a number of more general essays on the Church, the Judiciary, the Constitutions of 1836 and 1843, the role of the army (1821–1847) and the evolution of the economy, in addition to the four aforementioned chapters. It is, nonetheless, true that this paperback edition will provide a larger public with four highly commendable revisionist interpretations of the ways in which the development of the political system of Independent Mexico was deeply influenced and affected by the Bourbon reforms of the late eighteenth century, the increased political role Royalist high-ranking officers were awarded during the War of Independence, the electoral experience which a large percentage of the population was exposed to through the introduction of the Cadiz Constitution in 1812–1813 and 1820, and the pragmatic choices Mexico's emergent political class took in 1824. In brief, this is a welcome reissue of four essays which continue, seven years after they were first presented as papers at a colloquium held at the University of California, Irvine, to demonstrate the complexity of Mexico's political processes and to challenge those more traditional interpretations which unfortunately continue to be reiterated in the historiography.

University of St. Andrews WILL FOWLER

Robert H. Jackson (ed.), *Liberals, the Church, and Indian Peasants: Corporate Lands and the Challenge of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), pp. 228, $47.50 hb.

Despite its subtitle, the temporal reach of this informative book spans a full century or more after Spanish American Independence, with some contributions charting their subject matter, very importantly, into the 1920s. Jackson and his

collaborators examine how two complex corporate entities, the Church and peasant Indian communities, fared under the modernizing wave of liberal rule that came to dominate nineteenth and early twentieth-century Latin American politics. The overall result of a worthy endeavour, as is often the case with edited volumes, is rather uneven, with some contributions providing more stimulating and thoughtful reading than others.

Jackson states that the purpose of the volume is 'to explore the development of liberal anticlerical and anticommunity policy and their practical application' (p. 4). Robert J. Knowlton opens the first of three essays on Mexico with a study of real estate transactions in the Guadalajara region. He invokes big questions – 'did the partition of village lands contribute to the concentration of rural property in the hands of a relatively few private owners, especially during the long Porfirian Age, 1876–1911?' – but restricts himself to such a narrow focus that his concluding remarks seem myopically self-serving: 'Much more research and analysis of data', he sighs, 'will be required to substantiate the standard beliefs' (p. 24). Dawn Fogle Deaton is much more insightful when it comes to interpreting peasant uprisings in Jalisco. There she finds that 'alienation of property does not appear to have contributed to the explosion of peasant rebellion between 1855 and 1864' (p. 58), instead attributing the causes of unrest to 'the combination of war, pestilence, disease, land disputes, racial and ethnic struggles, political instability, and lack of economic and military resources'. In his erudite account of 'Liberal Theory and Peasant Practice'. Michael T. Ducey notes that 'popular liberalism' as construed by scholars such as Florencia Mallon and Guy Thomson 'bridges the gap between peasants and liberal ideologues'. He establishes that, in northern Veracruz 'local villagers often delayed the implementation of laws or greatly modified them before allowing the government to privatise their land' (p. 65), noting that 'villages fought back with lawsuits in the courts and sometimes with rifles in the fields' (p. 82). Ducey stresses the role of human agency, observing that 'the view that peasants lived unaware of the political events around them is erroneous' (p. 85), as recent events in Chiapas also suggest.

If issues pertaining to Indian community lands predominate in the three essays on Mexico, Hubert Miller helps redress the book's thematic balance by focusing on liberal moves to strip the Church of property, and authority, in nineteenth-century Guatemala. Miller charts 'the establishment of an adversarial relationship between the two powers', in which 'liberal governments saw the church as an obstacle to progress and the achievement of a modern state'. Especially under the 'radical' stewardship of Justo Rufino Barrios, as opposed to the more 'moderate' tendencies of Miguel García Granados, liberal governments embarked 'on a collision course with the Catholic church and with religious congregations who had substantial corporate holdings and [who] were in charge of education' (p. 104). Jesuit fathers, whose order had only returned to Guatemala in 1851, saw their properties nationalised and sold at public auctions following decrees brought into effect on 24 May 1872; predictably 'some of these holdings ended up in the hands of Barrios's friends', while other assets were used to capitalise the Banco Nacional. Convents and monasteries were turned into secular use as schools, university lecture theatres, hospitals, prisons, post and telegraph offices, and lunatic asylums.

The move south from Mesoamerica to the Andes furnishes three further contributions, two on Bolivia and one on Peru. Nils Jacobsen's essay on Peru is

perhaps the strongest in the collection, a meticulous, fine-grained, regionally sensitive yet elaborately contextualised reconstruction of how 'the strength and role of liberalism in the transformation of Andean peasant communities ultimately depended on local constellations of power, social structure, and the specific mechanisms by which communities were integrated into broader economic circuits'. Jacobsen finds no evidence of 'liberal anticommunity campaigns by the Peruvian central government comparable in strength and duration to those waged in Mexico during the Reforma and the Porfiriato, in Guatemala since the presidency of Rufino Barrios (1872–1885), and in Bolivia between the rule of Mariano Melgarejo (1864–1871) and Bautista Saavedra (1920–1925)' (pp. 123–4). What he does find, contrary to José Carlos Mariátegui's assertion that liberal ideas were utterly shunned by Indian communities, is 'a complex pattern of purposeful, piecemeal adoption and partial rejection' (pp. 155–6). Erick D. Langer and Robert H. Jackson are as nuanced in their approach to 'Liberalism and the Land Question in Bolivia' as Jacobsen is in relation to Peru, linking differences in the 'apparent contradictions in liberal ideology' that led to variable experiences and outcomes to the fact that 'the communities were much more powerful during the nineteenth century than the Catholic church (p. 187). Jackson goes on to highlight the patterns of coexistence between haciendas and Indian communities in the Arque and Vacas regions of highland Bolivia before bringing matters to a tidy end in a compact Conclusion.

While the book has its strengths, it also has some flaws. If a book's title is somehow mant to reflect its textual content, then this one might best be renamed *Indian Peasants*, *Liberals*, *and the Church*, for such a reconfiguration more properly fits the balance of the information that the reader is exposed to. A minor quibble, for sure, but I think a valid one. More serious is the near total absence of basic maps, let alone creative cartography. An interested reader unfamiliar with the lay of the land, particularly at the local or regional level of analysis, is deprived of even rudimentary orientation and so will be hard pressed to imagine how, geographically, the history of corporate dispossession unfolds from one very distinct part of Spanish America to the next. Finally, there is the eternal matter of how to put well into words, or at least to try to breathe a bit more life into dry, tired, at times frankly uninspired 'academic' prose. Given the enormous narrative drama of the subject matter, it seems a pity not to be able to read about it in a more animated, engaged style of writing.

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GEORGE LOVELL

Malcolm Deas, *Vida y Opiniones de Mr. William Wills*, vols. I and II (Santafé de Bogotá, Colombia: Banco de la República, 1996), pp. 315–579, pb

> Mr. Wills is a glaring exemplification of the truth of the saying of the Right Hon. George Canning, viz., that an Englishman residing abroad ought to return to his native country every five or six years in order to shake off the un-English notions sure to be imbibed by a protracted residence abroad. Mr. Wills has been six times five years here without once returning to England, and we see the consequences of it. (p. 261)
>
> (Philip Griffith to Lord Woodhouse, 1861)

William Wills arrived in Colombia in 1826 at the age of twenty-one. He remained there for the duration of his long life, dying in the small town of Serrezuela in

1875. A friend of Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera and related (by marriage) to Francisco de Paula Santander, Wills was a participant-observer of many important political developments. He also established himself as a leading figure in Colombia's expatriate community. During his half-century residence in Colombia he wrote a series of pamphlets, articles, letters and essays on subjects ranging from geology and road-building, to the foreign debt, external trade, and the value of elections. Malcolm Deas has assembled these varied texts into a valuable anthology in which readers can consult Wills' best-known essay, the 'Observaciones sobre el comercio de la Nueva Granada', as well as his lesser-known, previously-unpublished works. The anthology, which constitutes volume two of this two-volume set, is accompanied by a biography of Wills (volume one).

In his biography Deas has approached Wills' writings thematically. Individual chapters comment on his anti-clericalism, his plans for the formation of a national bank, his views on the tobacco tariff. An introductory section on Wills' private and professional life paints a suggestive portrait of the small British community resident in Colombia in the decades after independence. Deas makes effective use of travellers' accounts and letters to depict the context in which Wills' developed his Anglo-Colombian identity. All the chapters are constructed around lengthy quotes from Wills' own writings; indeed, the multi-page quotations from the very documents presented in volume two is something of a defect.

Wills emerges as a complex figure. An Englishman married to a Colombian woman, a British subject residing permanently in Colombia, a fervent anti-Jesuit in a Catholic country, he maintained a precarious balance between his different (and potentially conflicting) identities. As the quote at the head of this review suggests, some of his British acquaintances considered Wills to have 'gone native' in the most flamboyant way, and Wills himself repeatedly stressed his identification with the policies of the Colombian liberal party, rather than with the country of his birth. Yet he did not hesitate to lobby the British government for aid when he considered himself the victim of unjust Colombian policies. Wills' attitude towards his own Britishness is hinted at rather than tackled head-on: the occasional comparison between British and Colombian tax laws, and an unexpected eulogy to British road-building efforts in India emerge from his writings without attracting particular comment. Greater exploration of this topic would have been extremely interesting. Fundamentally, however, this anthology constitutes an erudite contribution to the history of political and economic thought in nineteenth-century Colombia, and a valuable resource for Latin Americanists.

University of Warwick REBECCA EARLE

Miguel Tinker Salas, *In the Shadow of the Eagles: Sonora and the Transformation of the Border during the Porfiriato* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), pp. xi + 347, $40.00 hb; £30.00 hb.

Miguel Tinker Salas has written a very detailed account of material and cultural development in nineteenth century Sonora, particularly in relation to what he describes as the construction and re-definition of the border between Sonora and Arizona. The title is, however, somewhat misleading, since at least half of the book is devoted to the period prior to the Porfiriato.

The book would have benefited from closer editorial supervision. The presentation is sometimes eccentric – there are very few tables, which is odd given the attention paid to economic development, and of those which are included, some have no title or explanation (pp. 186, 189) – and the English occasionally lacks fluency. The reproduction of the sometimes minute detail of life on the border (including inventories of the shipments of Arizona merchants in the 1870s, lists of contraband goods seized at the Sonoran border in 1880, the number of 'hat makers, belt makers and buggy drivers' in the mining camp of Minas Prietas in 1895, and even the introduction of dog licensing laws on both sides of the border) is sometimes over-indulgent. Such detail would be appropriate if were used to illuminate broader trends, such as the complex patterns of regional development, or the controversial question of the evolution of US-Mexican relations during the Porfiriato. However, these links are rarely made. Despite the explosion in historiographical attention now paid to the Porfiriato, above all in the abundance of excellent regional studies from Chihuahua to Chiapas which have thoroughly revised our understanding of the complexity and diversity of Porfirian development, there is a notable reluctance here to place events in Sonora/Arizona in a comparative regional or national context. The concentration upon the microhistory of Sonora/Arizona is resolute, and all-engrossing.

This is a missed opportunity, since there is a wealth of useful information and detail on local economic, social and cultural life during a period of profound transformation, much of it explained with great clarity. The bibliography (certainly in relation to local history) and the extent of archival research are certainly impressive. The chapters on land and labour (Ch. 2), and mining (Ch. 9) are clear and very well informed. The decisive impact of the railway on economic, social, cultural and political transformation of Porfirian Mexico is a familiar story, and it was no less the case in Sonora, as Tinker Salas explains. This (superabundant) wealth of detail is channeled into a nuanced analysis of the subtle, slow, irregular, but ultimately decisive transformation of Sonora from internal frontier to international border, which is the book's principal focus. The underlying thesis is that the process of construction of the Sonora/Arizona frontier (illustrated by the symbiotic growth of Nogales, Arizona, and Nogales, Sonora, referred to, significantly, as Ambos Nogales) stimulated a degree of social and economic interaction and co-operation which was distinct from other Mexican/US frontiers (California and Texas, for example, are briefly mentioned, although no detailed comparison is forthcoming). Whilst cross-border economic, cultural, racial and social tensions were certainly far from absent in Ambos Nogales, there is equally strong evidence of a high degree of interaction and co-operation. As a result, the Sonorans became known as the 'Yankees of Mexico' (ch. 9), reproducing, it would appear, the same sense of cultural superiority in relation to both indigenous groups (the Yaqui and the lesser known Tohono O'odhams), and to the immigrant *guachos* (non-Sonoran Mexicans), as the 'real' Yankees maintained towards their southern neighbours.

A further weakness is the failure to address the political implications of economic and cultural transformation and cross-border interaction. The power wielded by the Porfirian 'triumvirate' within the state (Luis Torres, Rafael Izábal, and Ramón Corral) is assumed, and never analysed or explained and their relationship with Mexico City and the Porfirian regime passed over. The key

political and historiographical controversies of the late Porfiriato – the rise of US-Mexican diplomatic tensions, labour conflict (even the Cananea strike is only briefly mentioned), anti-reelectionism, elite schism – are given very short shrift. In fact, the impression given here is that the political agitation of 1910 and 1911 in Sonora was a consequence rather than a cause of the downfall of the Díaz regime. Ultimately, the narrowness of focus is frustrating, and it limits the usefulness of what is otherwise a compelling narrative.

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PAUL GARNER

Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico: 1930–1940* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1997), pp. xiii + 262, $45.00, $17.95 pb.

For decades, the myth of the omnipotent and centralised state roamed freely in the open fields of Mexican society's post-revolutionary imagination. The history of Mexico in our century has, until recently, been told exclusively from the state's viewpoint, or more precisely from the vantage point of the Revolution. It was the history of a direct chain linking the 'postulates' of the revolution, the formation of policies derived from them and their positive application in the different spheres of intervention of public power. A docile society identified itself through first degree blood ties with a far-sighted state that was protector of the poor and destitute and friend to peasants and workers. According to both official history and the 'revisionist' critics of the seventies, the omnipotence of the centralised state that came out of the Revolution – which was fulfilled for the first, deformed for the second – has been an incontestable truth. Mary Kay Vaughan's book attacks the basis of this principle from the perspective of what she calls 'post-revolutionary historiography'. She affirms that, contrary to the apologists for the official line, modern Mexico was not born of a state which was the administrator and executor of the Revolution – whether manipulated or not – but of a dialectic of 'negotiation'. According to Vaughan, this dialectic has confronted the state with the resistance of civil society in several instances and on different issues, pluralising the project as needed, and creating in the process the contemporary nation.

Cultural Politics in Revolution analyses this dialectic by focusing on the Mexican rural school during the thirties, particularly under Cardenas, and by examining the avatars of the cultural–educational project of the SEP in four Mexican municipalities, highlighting the conflicts provoked by socialist education. The book has eight chapters. The first introduces the basic conceptual framework. Here the concept of 'negotiation' is stressed, sometimes through 'interaction', as well as Gramscian notions, such as 'hegemony' (recently reintroduced into peasant studies by William Roseberry and Derek Sayer amongst others). The second chapter dedicated to general issues related to the formation, politics and structure of the SEP. The third describes the direction taken by the teachers union and the relationship of teachers with the Secretariat and with the Federal government apparatus in the states. Chapters 4–7 form the main body of the work. They are a detailed study of the cultural revolution and its outcome in four municipalities: Tecamachalco and Zacapoaxtla located in the central state of

Puebla; Potam and the region around the left bank of the river Yaqui; and Pueblo Yaqui and its periphery in the northern state of Sonora. Here the demographic, ethnic, occupational, gender relations, and school statistics are used along with life stories to provide a base to the argument. Vaughan also resorts heavily to the specific economic and political history of each locality to trace a line of causality by which the previous experience of the communities with schooling ultimately explains the reception of the new proposal. The last chapter is a recapitulation of the main thesis expounded throughout the work.

Vaughan's central thesis is that the school that emerged in the thirties is a synthesis of the state's project and the resistance of the peasant communities (actors that sometimes seem to be placed in an identical position). Within this synthesis there is a combination of the communities' insistence on preserving culture and the objective of the state of injecting with the rural world a populist-nationalist ideology. It is a process of 'interaction' through which the school would have served State objectives (according to Vaughan, basically aimed at the well-being of the Mexican population, especially the poor and marginalised). But it would at the same time have empowered peasant communities to resist and take advantage only of what was appropriate to their particular interests. Vaughan argues that it is this negotiation that allows us to understand the rural school and subsequently the appearance of the state cultural project which came out of the harmonisation of interests that were initially in conflict. Moreover, she attributes to it the merit of having decisively contributed to the creation of civil society that, at the end of this century, is on the verge of finishing with the one party system of the Mexican regime. The use of the current situation as a framework in *Cultural Politics in Revolution* is important. In effect, Vaughan's proposal is articulated by recent events, and she tries to relate its propositions with the present process of discussion over ethnic autonomies that is developing in the guerrilla zone of Chiapas. As with many other authors the indigenous uprising of 1994 has given Vaughan some kind of interpretative tool that 'ties' issues and concepts that were dispersed in her previous works. However, apart from being an interpretative aid, the insurrection should have led her to consider some questions as blatant as the participation of non-indigenous ideologues, especially intellectuals, in the movement. In her study of the thirties, in which the intellectuals and the rural teachers, necessarily play a crucial role, there is little discussion of the methodological problems that result from the massive presence of cultural intermediaries as 'representatives' and spokespeople of the peasant communities. Vaughan generously uses, and in the majority of cases with undoubted precision, theoretical notions from contemporary sociology and rural anthropology. Some of these, however, have suffered important semantic changes in the half century that separates us from the thirties. This is so in the case of the use of the term 'populism', which Vaughan uses in its pejorative meaning, popularised by the Latin-American political sociology studies of the seventies; the 'populism' of the thirties that dominates the post-revolutionary cultural project is, by contrast, the 'original' one of the socio-revolutionary Russians; which Marxists satirised as a demagogic discourse and practice. Related to this is another peculiar issue in Vaughan's study – the undifferentiated treatment given to the intellectuals that led the SEP project during the thirties, as if it were a consistent and homogeneous block ('the revolutionary left'). In reality, the conflicts between diverse cultural-ideological proposals within the Secretariat and especially in its institutions linked

to indigenous and peasant education, were constant during the first half of the decade. In them the Marxist-Leninist currents articulated in the first years of the thirties led by Bassols fought any divergent vision with violence, such as the proposals defended from the initial years of the SEP by the group around Moisés Sáenz of clear social-revolutionary tendency, which was finally defeated in 1933. The disputes were not limited to the rooms of the SEP, but were reproduced in every detail between rural teachers, the rank and file members of the post-revolutionary cultural crusade. They were, moreover, not reduced to ideological differences, there being sharp conflicts over the proposals to homogenise or maintain the ethnic diversity of rural society (although Vaughan maintains that the proposal of SEP was for a 'multiethnic society'). In this sense, they are crucial to understanding the final result of the educational project.

But these are interpretative nuances. *Cultural Politics in Revolution* is the result of impressive archival research, modelled with impeccable balance, expressed in a colourful and nimble narrative. It is a book that crowns a brilliant record of inquiry and reflection by one of the most consistent authorities on educational history in modern Mexico. In it the original vision propagated by the PRI and its governments of a state and its revolution as faithful servants of the nation and creators of modernity in an environment of peace and stability and its critique based on the theory of a revolution betrayed and hijacked by the very same PRI, are treated to 'post-revisionist' synthesis that discards them both as manichean visions, and believes that the 'truth' is where it has always been; in the middle. It is a generous *tour de force*, essential for the understanding of the contemporary history of peasant and indigenous Mexico.

El Colegio de México GUILLERMO PALACIOS

A. Kim Clark, *The Redemptive Work: Railway and Nation in Ecuador, 1895–1930* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1998), pp. 244, $48.00 hb.

This volume in some ways succeeds in spite of itself. It presents a clear and convincing portrait of the centrality of the Guayaquil and Quito Railway for the rapid transformation of the Ecuadorian economy, society and politics during the first quarter of the twentieth century, but is repeatedly in danger of obfuscating that achievement by insisting on hypertrophied, jargon-laden theorising.

Until the 1890s the miserable transport conditions between the Guayas river basin and the highlands – apparently even worse than those in the Peruvian or Bolivian Andes due to the humidity of the western slopes in Ecuador – constituted the greatest obstacle to economic growth and modernisation in the highlands, more or less languishing since the early eighteenth century. While conditions seemed propitious on the coast for growth through the production and export of cocoa, the region was scarcely populated and it seemed unlikely that a Quito government beholden to inward-looking, if not traditional, large landholders would undertake the kind of state-building measures that could spatially integrate and modernise the country. This was the historical achievement of Eloy Alfaro's Liberal revolution of 1895.

Clark's book vividly tells the story of the construction of the railway, from failed projects from the 1880s, through the successful ten-year effort under North-American entrepreneur Archer Harman culminating in the arrival of the

first train in Quito in 1908, to subsequent branch lines built through the 1960s. The railroad was only profitable for a few years between the 1920s and 1940s. Yet, while never serving the purpose of facilitating the transport of export commodities, the railroad did have an extraordinary impact on trade, diffusion of technologies, changing labour regimes and capitalisation in some sectors of highland agriculture, initial industrialisation, finance markets, and the unfolding of Ecuador's public sphere. Clark demonstrates how the cocoa barons, merchants and bankers from Guayaquil saw the railroad primarily as a tool for accelerating labour migration from the highlands, while the *hacendados* from the sierra hoped for expanding markets for their livestock products and staple crops. In one chapter she shows how these changes worked out in one region on the rail-line, the canton of Alausí in Chimborazo province, transforming the central town within a few years, creating new opportunities for some large landholders while marginalising others, and leading to severe conflicts with the peasant communities and labour tenants.

Throughout Clark strives to demonstrate the conflictiveness of Ecuador's rapid modernisation in which the railroad tying coast and north-central highlands played such a large role. Writing from the perspective of the hegemony approach, she stresses both discourse and power struggles, alliances and ruptures, winners and losers. Yet what is remarkable about this book is that – seemingly in spite of her own inclinations – the author on balance presents a very upbeat portrait of the liberal project. Nearly overnight it brought about the kind of developments underway elsewhere in Latin America since the 1850s. It did so in a fashion that, if anything, improved the conditions of significant sectors of the indigenous peasantry, and certainly avoided the kind of single-minded repression which hegemony analysts have diagnosed for Ecuador's neighbour Peru during this era.

While much of this may not be entirely new, there is no other monograph in English which presents such a compact, balanced and comprehensive view of Ecuador's Liberal era.

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NILS JACOBSEN

Daniel Nugent, *Modernity at the Edge of Empire: State, Individual and Nation in the Northern Peruvian Andes, 1885–1935* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), $55.00, $19.95 pb.

Professor Nugent's *Modernity at the Edge of Empire* is a study of social and political power in North-eastern Peru, specifically the Chachapoyas region in Amazonas Department. Based on a solid empirical foundation of oral interviews and archival evidence, *Modernity* examines the process of state formation from the vantage of region. Nugent's main argument is that nation-making in Peru was as much a bottom-up as a top-down process. The state did not grow solely by imposing its will on outlying regions. Rather, regional actors created their own political agenda and then invited the state to participate as an equal partner in its implementation. Nugent's evidence is strongest at the local level, so *Modernity* is at its best when describing Chachapoyas. The author shows that political and social power in the region was based on patronage. Local elites accumulated clients from the 'subaltern' population and constructed political networks (*castas*)

to control elections and gain office. Elites shared the belief that power was their exclusive right, but they vehemently disagreed as to whom among them should hold office. Hence, local politics consisted of *casta* factions battling incessantly over the spoils of office.

Nugent's examination of this local level patronage system is not limited to the political arena, but also includes a social and cultural context. He shows that marriage, family and the household shaped patronage relations. He also describes the peculiar discourse that accompanied patronage-based conflict. When read alongside the work of Richard Graham, Linda Lewin, Joseph Love and Judy Bieber, among others, such a contextualised examination of regional politics based on rich empiricism makes a significant contribution to the growing literature on patronage in Latin America.

Nugent pushes the limits of his evidence, however, when he shifts the analysis from the local to the national level. His argument hinges on a series of political events in the late 1920s and early 1930s, especially a moment in 1930 when the subalterns of Chachapoyas overturned the traditional *casta* system. He might be a little quick to collapse regional, class, ideological, and especially ethnic differentiation under the terms 'subaltern' and 'el pueblo', but his description of local politics is well founded and insightful. National politics is presented less systematically, and the link between the local and national levels is often discussed in contradictory terms. The national state is at once the defender of Enlightenment-based principles of government and an integral component of the patronage system. While this contradiction is partly explained by the limitations of available secondary work on Peruvian politics, Nugent is responsible for building his main argument around a topic that regional evidence struggles to sustain. Richard Graham's seminal work, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, would have helped by providing a comparative framework on this issue of state building in a patronage context.

In short, *Modernity* has many strengths, and it should be placed near the top of reading lists on state formation, patronage and Peruvian political and social history. The limitations of the book point the way for future research more than they detract from its overall value.

Furman University ERIK CHING

Alfredo Montalvo-Barbot, *Political Conflict and Constitutional Change in Puerto Rico, 1898–1952* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997), pp. viii + 166, $37.00

This short study aims to provide a new interpretation of Puerto Rico's constitutional transformation since 1898. The author develops a 'political conflict perspective' to examine how Puerto Rican political leaders were able to influence the policy process in Washington. The three seminal laws that govern US–Puerto Rican relations are the Foraker Act (1990), the Jones Act (1917) and Public Law 600 (1951) which authorised Puerto Ricans to draft a constitution, subject to congressional approval. Each of these measures contained within it the seeds of its eventual demise since they set up a republican form of government that provided Puerto Rican elected officials a legislative platform to challenge the policies of US appointed colonial officers. Moreover, according to Montalvo-Barbot, since the civil rights of the colonial subjects were constitutionally

protected, Puerto Ricans were able to use the rule of law to extract concessions from the United States. He concludes that US policy toward Puerto Rico was contradictory and created political, social and economic conditions that threatened to undermine colonial rule.

Montalvo-Barbot rejects the classical colonial perspective that depicts the United States as engaged in a systematic campaign to economically exploit Puerto Rico. The author also dismisses the gradualist approach that emphasises Puerto Rico's incremental advance toward self-government. He states that both approaches implicitly accept the myth that Puerto Ricans have passively acquiesced in their subordination and have relinquished any role in shaping their country's history. In contrast, Montalvo-Barbot emphasises the 'capacity of subordinate people to exercise various levels of power to construct and reconstruct social reality' (3). Puerto Ricans were able to forge political alliances that influenced the constitutional development of the country.

This is an appealing thesis and joins a number of other works that emphasise the fluid and contestatory nature of US administration. Montalvo-Barbot marshalls an impressive body of primary US government documents to retrace the politics of colonial legislation. Nonetheless, the study has some shortcomings. By depicting a history of systematic, widespread and potentially violent resistance by Puerto Ricans to colonial rule, Congress is portrayed as almost captive to the tropical tempest that periodically threatens social stability. Montalvo-Barbot seems to reduce the dynamics of colonial rule to a process of bargaining between unequal political partners. Many would take issue with his thesis and argue that the US government has historically demonstrated that it has the will and capacity to act decisively in defence of the national interest with little concern about Puerto Rican reaction.

The study ends with the establishment of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in 1952. As a result, the author does not examine other episodes that have affected the country's constitutional development in the intervening forty-six years. One important change is the emergence of a highly competitive two party system that pits advocates of commonwealth against statehood forces. Consequently relations between the federal government and Puerto Rico's political leadership are now fundamentally different from those of the heady days of the founding of the commonwealth.

Rutgers University PEDRO CABÁN

Carlos Malamud Rikles, *Partidos Políticos y Elecciones en la Argentina: la Liga del Sur (1908–1916)* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1997), pp. 331, pb.

This book provides a rich and detailed study of the Santa Fé-based *Liga del Sur*, a small, regional party which became the basis for the national *Partido Demócrata Progresista*, a liberal-conservative coalition which unsuccessfully disputed the 1916 presidential elections against the *Unión Cívica Radical* candidate, Hipólito Yrigoyen. In its introduction, however, we find a problematic declaration of principles: Malamud celebrates the emergence of a new political history in Latin America, but, paradoxically, at the same time condemns the use of concepts such as 'imaginario colectivo', 'sociedad civil', 'esfera pública', or 'invención de la nación', as a passing 'moda académica', making no allowance for the critical

contributions made by recent historiography, precisely through the incorporation of new analytical tools such as these. Again, in Chapter VI, the author chooses a strictly 'political' approach to the study of elections, condemning the use of cultural and anthropological approaches to the meaning of elections in the societies under study as a hindrance to our genuine historical knowledge. Yet, these new approaches have, in fact, made possible the new type of political history which the author celebrates.

Setting aside historiographical quibbles, the book covers a good narrative of turn of the century Argentine political history; a precise description of the workings of the electoral system during the period, and an engaging discussion of municipal politics in Argentina. Moreover, Malamud rightly emphasises in the introduction the importance of including Spain and Spanish political experience at the turn of the century, for example the spirit of *regeneracionismo*, as a source of influence for Latin America, an element frequently neglected by historians and political scientists.

One of the principles that the different strands of Argentine reformism struggled for was precisely a political *regeneracionismo*, that is, the purification of the political system through the overcoming of personalistic, *caudillista* politics, and the organisation of modern political parties. The *Liga del Sur* was an example of this trend, but at the same time, argues Malamud, the party was also the vehicle for the national projection of its leader, Lisandro de la Torre, who, at times, was an indispensable presence in order to keep the party united as a cohesive force. In some sense, the dual character of the party reflects a paradox present not only in the story of the *Liga del Sur*, but in many other expressions of early liberal reformism: the coexistence of a modernising impulse, aimed at the creation of an impersonal organisation, and which depends heavily on the fortunes of its leader, and the use of 'traditional' politics to achieve its purpose. One senses in the book's study of the party, its organisation, its electoral performance at municipal and provincial levels, and its projection into national politics through the *Partido Demócrata Progresista*, the tacit presence of the forthcoming biography of de la Torre, which Malamud promises will complement the present study. Clearly written, this fine book gives us a good point of entry to the world of early twentieth century Argentine liberal politics, and as such furthers our understanding of the process of political reform culminating in the 1916 election.

Universidad de San Andrés, *Buenos Aires*
EDUARDO A. ZIMMERMANN

Susana Menéndez, *En búsqueda de las mujeres*: *percepciones sobre género*, *trabajo y sexualidad*, *Buenos Aires*, *1900–1930* (Amsterdam: Center for Latin American Research and Documentation, 1997), pp. x + 204, $23.50, pb.

For the past decade the author, an Argentine historian, has studied the formation of left parties, social change, and an emerging 'woman question' (as it was called) in Buenos Aires at the onset of the twentieth century. This book deals with the same setting and process from a cultural point of view. It draws upon a wide range of sources: publications by women leaders and feminist thinkers, hygienists, social reformers and male politicians; novels and popular songs as well as parliamentary reports and debates. It aims to elucidate how the position of women in a changing society generated public concern and discussion – often

marked by 'polarisation, tension and insecurity' – within which the issue of female work in factories and workshops was central.

The first two chapters describe Buenos Aires, its political institutions and parties, its society of immigrants and a changing female condition. For the latter Menéndez signals the importance of female access to education and subsequently to liberal professions; unfortunately, no data are provided on the rise of female wage-labour. The core of the book addresses how working women were perceived through analysis of the various sources mentioned above.

The literary material in chapter 4 (poems, novels, plays, popular tunes) shows a common focus on lower-class women and their daily struggle. Chapter 5 (writings by feminists and male thinkers of various sensibilities on female wage-work) clearly indicates the contemporary gap between the two groups: feminists aim to improve the education of working women and their lot more generally, and men – pretty much across the political spectrum – cannot reconcile the fact of women working outside the home with a persistent archetype tying them to it as mothers. Chapter 3 ('Categorizing Gender and Work'), which examines national and municipal census data between 1895 and 1914, is more problematical methodologically. Menéndez does not adequately address the relationship between census occupational categories and contemporary perceptions of male and female work.

Porteño discourse on women and work as presented in Menéndez's study shows many similarities with that elsewhere in the Western world at the time, with women entering schools and factories in massive numbers: a concern with female poverty, pointed demands for equity by educated professionals, and calls for protective labour regulation, with medical and moral overtones (e.g. the fear that working women would produce a 'degenerated race'). What does this sameness suggest about the merits and limits of this study of 'discourse on gender and work' (p. 3)? One might expect greater methodological rigour: a corpus of texts more clearly delineated according to specified criteria or greater attention to elements of style, such as metaphor, for its insight into 'representations, perceptions and imagery'. Nevertheless, by gathering a broad sample of testimonies placed in their historical context, she reminds us how the question of male and female roles are found troubling during periods of major social change.

Catholic University of Chile ANNE PÉROTIN-DUMON

Jürgen Müller, *Nationalsozialismus in Lateinamerika: Die Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP in Argentinien, Brasilien, Chile und Mexiko, 1931–1945* (Stuttgart: Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1997), 566 pp, DM 69.

This book, originally submitted by the author as his Ph.D. dissertation in Heidelberg, deals with an aspect of German–Latin American relations which scholarly publications generally only discuss in the form of country studies, not from the point of view of the Third Reich. There is no comparative analysis of the activities of the *Auslandsorganisation* (AO) of the NSDAP, the foreign organisation of the German National Socialist Workers Party, in Latin America. Müller's book successfully fills this gap, basing his investigation on the cases of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico between the early 1930s and the disappearance of the Third Reich in 1945. (There is no chapter for Brazil during the war years because the AO was effectively dissolved after the establishment of

the *Estado Novo*.) In addition to looking at the relations of the AO with the German communities and the diplomatic representatives of the Third Reich, as well as indigenous fascist movements, the author considers the role of the organisation as an instrument of National Socialist propaganda and examines the reactions and attitudes of the different governments *vis-à-vis* the local party organisations.

A discussion of the position of the AO within the structures of the NSDAP in particular and the Third Reich in general, divided between the pre-war period and the war years, opens the work and puts the importance of the organisation into perspective. Neither before nor after the outbreak of the war, we are told, did the AO play more than a subordinate role in the network of Nazi institutions, despite the fact that it was nominally assigned important tasks, like controlling German citizens abroad and helping to portray a positive image of the Reich. Even at the height of his power, after his nomination as permanent secretary in the Foreign Office in 1937, Ernst Bohle, the leader of the AO, only marginally influenced the decision-making process in the ministry. Unfortunately, this well-argued chapter does not inform us about the general objectives of the Third Reich *vis-à-vis* Latin America. Only in the appendix is this matter addressed. Then we are told that Hitler, like the rest of the Nazi leadership, was generally not interested in Latin America, the sub-continent being seen as part of the US-American sphere of influence. The incorporation of this analysis at an early stage of the text would undoubtedly have helped to put AO activities in better perspective.

After discussing the position of the AO, Müller turns to Latin America itself. The attempts on part of the local party leaderships to bring German associations into line were generally futile. Müller convincingly demonstrates that the AO, with its confrontational style and claim to be the sole representative of true Germandom, antagonised the leading members of the German communities who felt their peace and achievements threatened. Even the leadership of the AO had to concede that it never managed to bring into line the *Auslandsdeutschtum*. The admiration for Hitler and the 'New Germany' amongst the German communities, on the other hand, was not affected by the rejection of the local party leaders.

This lack of substantial progress is also characteristic of the AO's relationships with indigenous fascist movements (above all the *Acção Integralista Brasileira* and the *Movimiento Nacional Socialista* in Chile). The dilemma facing the German descendants – integration versus preservation of German identity – was, despite the shared attitudes of anti-communism, rejection of liberal democracy and, to a lesser extent, anti-Semitism, an insoluble problem. It is Müller's contribution to show for the first time the connections between Chilean National Socialism and the AO, so far denied or simply ignored in scholarly publications.

The chapter on the AO as an instrument in the struggle for the public opinion is very illuminating and provides interesting new evidence. Using previously unexploited German archive sources, Müller shows that the AO was attempting to improve the image of the Third Reich in Latin America through articles which portrayed Germany in a positive way. That the effect of the German propaganda in the end was rather limited – because important publications only occasionally printed these articles and those which accepted them were generally too unimportant to influence the public opinion – once again underlines the limited influence of the Third Reich in the Latin American countries.

As Müller demonstrates, the reaction to the activities of the party organisation varied from country to country, reflecting internal political developments, the strength of the German settlements and the importance ascribed to the economic relations with the Third Reich. The Chilean government – and here Alessandri and Aguirre Cerda took the same view – were not prepared to threaten the economic relations with Berlin and, unlike the Argentine and Brazilian administrations, did not ban the party before the outbreak of the war. Contrary to its intentions, the existence of party organisations caused a negative reaction, and the AO was tolerated, but never really welcomed.

The book would have benefited from a clearer structure, especially the chapter that deals with the activities of the AO. While for the early period the author understandably opts for a global approach, given the scant evidence available, this decision becomes less convincing once the work progresses. Some factual errors, for example that *Bandera Argentina* was the official publication of the *Legión Cívica Argentina*, also have to be noted. Despite these reservations, however, Müller's work impresses with the amount of material processed, not least the incorporation of Latin American archive sources. This book undoubtedly is a major contribution to the field of the German-Latin American relations as well as specific aspects of national histories. One can only hope that it will find the readership it deserves despite its publication in German.

Institute of Latin American Studies, MARCUS KLEIN
London

Oscar Battaglini, *El medinismo* (Caracas: Monte Avila Editores, 1997), pp. 283.

Political analysts have long differed over which government deserves credit for setting in motion industrialisation and economic modernisation in Venezuela: that of General Isaías Medina Angarita (1941–1945); the *trienio* government of Acción Democratica (AD, 1945–1948); the military dictatorship of General Marcos Pérez Jimenez (1948–1958); or the post-1958 democratic governments. Medina's World War II Communist allies have been among Medina's staunchest defenders. Other leftists, however, such as Teodoro Petkoff and historian Manuel Caballero of the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), have justified the October 1945 coup which overthrew Medina on grounds that it paved the way for political reforms including direct elections and universal suffrage.

Oscar Battaglini writes in the tradition of Medina's Communist allies who point to the 'democratic thread' which dated from the mid-1930s and which would have gradually and pacifically led to full-fledged democracy had it not been for the 1945 coup which ushered in political violence. Although the thesis presented by Battaglini regarding Medina's progressive role has been well represented in works by historians and ex-political activists over the last fifty years, the author draws on an impressive array of documents and formulates original and cogent arguments. He denies that the differences between Medina and the AD *trienio* on a range of issues including oil policy was one of form rather than substance. While AD attempted to conserve the prevailing system of non-productive, 'rentist' capitalism, Medina attempted to overcome that aberration and achieve what the author calls 'normal capitalism' (p. 52).

Most important, Battaglini refutes the notion that industrialisation under Medina was what economic historians refer to as 'spontaneous import substitution' induced by international circumstances rather than government policy. In fact, 'Medinismo' consisted of a conscious strategy of fomenting industrial growth in priority sectors. Medinismo was intent on extending and deepening World War II emergency measures, including exchange controls, rather than revert to laissez-faireism once the war was over. Among the reforms it considered was the establishment of acceptable profit rates for the production of basic consumer items. Medina's policies with regard to commercial restrictions and private investments represented 'a truly radical break' (p. 52) not only with the past but also the economic model dictated by the US State Department for Latin America.

According to Battaglini, the difference in approach between Medina and the State Department explains the latter's support for the October coup. The author points to the close contact between Allan Dawson, the behind-the-scenes man of the US embassy, and the AD conspirators as proof of involvement in the coup. At the same time he criticises sociologist Margarita López Maya for denying US participation on the grounds that there is no hard evidence for it. To claim neutrality simply because the documentation does not openly demonstrate the contrary, is 'a totally indefensible position' (p. 222) for an historian.

Battaglini takes issue with other assertions of historians who have written on the period, including some generally accepted ones. Thus, for instance, he compares the pay scale of military officers with that of top government functionaries. In doing so, he questions the widely held view that military discontent stemmed from the Medina government's material neglect of the Armed Forces and its failure to promote young professionally formed officers to higher ranks. Battaglini attributes military restlessness to Medina's commitment to democratic institutions which jeopardised the Armed Force's role as a major prop of the state with important decision-making power.

Battaglini's major criticism of Medinismo is that in its zeal to promote economic development and prioritise productive investments, the administration minimised the economic demands of the popular classes and their formal participation in political decision making. Thus, for instance, Medina insisted on 'apolitical' trade unionism in accordance with existing legislation which obliged labour leaders to be politically neutral. This observation could easily lead to the conclusion that Medina embraced an elitist approach to development. Nevertheless, Battaglini opposes this viewpoint and questions the thesis of political scientist Arturo Sosa that reduces the differences between Medina and AD to the elitism of the former, in contrast to the latter which was a mass-based movement.

Battaglini's work can be considered a definitive analysis of the discourse and doctrine of the Medinista movement. Historians now need to go beyond official statements to examine the concrete effects of government policy on the economy during the 1940s and 1950s, preferably on an industry by industry basis. When this inquiry is completed, historians may well reach the conclusion that 1945, 1948 and 1958 are not magical cut-off points which initiated or terminated economic trends, as is implied or explicitly stated by traditional historiography.

Universidad de Oriente,
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STEVE ELLNER

Jonathan C. Brown, (ed.), *Worker's Control in Latin America, 1930–1979* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) pp. xiv + 328, $49.95, $19.95 pb.

It is not easy to write about trade unions at the current time of neo-liberal dominance over economic policy. Adherents of the currently fashionable ideology in effect treat trade unions as rather inconvenient obstacles to the proper functioning of the market, and as relics of a statist past. On the left, the emphasis on social movements and on grass-roots participation has led to criticisms of unions based upon their supposedly centralised and bureaucratised leadership, their lack of participation, their links with the state, and their failure to act as leaders of the urban and rural poor as a whole. There is a need for serious and balanced treatment of the historical role of unions and, this is splendidly offered by Jonathan Brown and his contributors. Though it could be objected that the definition given by the editor of 'workers' control' is so wide as to render it not particularly useful as a working definition. It is extended from the normal definition of control over the work process to much broader consideration of living conditions and to political commitment. These are separate areas for analysis, even if there is obviously a linkage between them.

The editor has clearly imposed strict guidelines upon his contributors and they try to answer similar questions and to treat their material in a similar way. This does give a welcome coherence to this book and certain marked themes emerge. One is the constant tension between leaders and rank and file. This is, however, far from a simple tension between conservatives and radicals but rather more between those acting from broader political consideration and those firmly fixed upon immediate and specific grievances. Even the most militant of rank and file members were suspicious of nationalisation as a formula unless it clearly was perceived to be in their interests. Nor were the unionists opposed to economic modernisation – indeed in some chapters they emerge as more modern than their employers. Another theme is the deep suspicion of the rank and file towards most political parties – above all the Communist Party.

Although the sympathies of most of the contributors clearly lie with the subjects of their research, a number of them draw attention to the divisions in the union movement – between different skills, between different regions, between genders and, interestingly enough between different ethnic groups. There is a story to be told of struggle within the workers' movement as well as between the workers, and the employers and the state.

The case studies cover crucial episodes in the histories of Cuba, Mexico (two chapters), Guatemala, Argentina (two chapters), Brazil, Bolivia, Peru and Chile. Three of the ten chapters deal with railway workers, and three with miners. This reviewer particularly liked the chapters on the US railway mission to Mexico by Andrea Spears; the chapter on the railway nationalisation in Argentina by Maria Celina Tuozzo; and the chapter on the Peruvian copper miners by Josh DeWind. But there is not a weak chapter in the book.

One minor objection. Too often the authors try to project this heroic phase of workers' struggle on to the future and suggest that the working class is regrouping ready to launch another project when the time is ripe. This pays scant attention to the massive changes in employment and economic structure – not the least of which is the emergence of public-sector, white collar workers to the

forefront of the union movement. Teachers, not miners, occupy centre stage. Nonetheless, this minor criticism should not deflect from the many qualities of this book. It has been edited expertly; it contains much original material and new interpretations; it is based on skilful use of difficult source material; and it is eminently readable. In short this is one of the best books on labour history to have appeared in recent years.

St Antony's College,
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ALAN ANGELL

José A. Cobas and Jorge Duany, *Cubans in Puerto Rico: Ethnic Economy and Cultural Identity* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. x+156, $39.95 hb; £36.00 hb., and Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. xv+224, £27.50 hb.

These two books focus on aspects of the Cuban emigré community which have received less attention in the abundant literature on this distinctive diaspora: Cobas and Duany examine the Cuban business community in Puerto Rico, while Tweed turns his attention to what he calls diasporic religion, as practised by the Cubans of Miami.

The literature on Cuban-Americans is dominated by research on Greater Miami where the largest concentration, around half a million, is found. The Miami Cubans are known as much for their energetic anti-Castro politics as for their striking economic success, which caused them to be dubbed *el exilio dorado*, The Golden Exiles. In Puerto Rico the much smaller Cuban community of some 20,000 was able to follow the fortunes of their Miami counterparts, enjoying considerably higher rates of education, occupation status and income than their hosts. What was it, then, that made the Cuban exiles so successful?

The first wave of Cubans to leave after the revolution contained a sizeable proportion of the more privileged sectors of society who had reserves of capital, both cultural and financial, to draw upon in exile. They also received special treatment from successive US administrations which lavished generous assistance programmes upon them as refugees from Communism. These circumstantial factors undoubtedly helped them in gaining a foothold in the host economy. Yet it does not explain why subsequent arrivals, less well endowed materially and less privileged by handouts, also did comparatively well. Alejandro Portes, among others, has argued that it was through the workings of a spatially concentrated 'enclave economy' that Cubans were able to achieve a high degree of economic integration in Miami.

Cobas and Duany find that the Cubans in Puerto Rico came from a narrower social band than those who settled in the US; largely from the middle and upper stratum of Cuban society, those who went to Puerto Rico became a vibrant sector of the local business community, mirroring the success of their Miami counterparts. Yet despite their similar fates, Cobas and Duany argue on the basis of research conducted in the early to mid-1980s, that the Cubans in Puerto Rico followed a different mode of economic adaptation, one which corresponded, in its essentials to the characteristics suggested by middleman theory. Originally developed by Max Weber to account for the success of Jewish diasporas, the idea

of the middleman gaining an economic niche by servicing the financial and commercial needs of those above and below them, has found a wider application. Cobas and Duany argue that the Cubans in Puerto Rico were classic middlemen. Largely comprising middle and upper middle strata, they specialised in commercial roles: seventy per cent of Cuban exiles in Puerto Rico were located in the tertiary sector, and over half were self-employed. They retained their cultural identity and, despite a common language and religion, aroused envy and antagonism from elements in the host society. In common with immigrant communities everywhere, Cubans in both Miami and Puerto Rico evidenced a high degree of group solidarity and ties of co-operation and interdependency. Unlike most other immigrant communities, these characteristics, underpinned by their other resources, both human and material, helped them to forge an unusually strong economic presence in their adoptive countries.

Tweed's book is concerned less with the material than with the spiritual endowments of Cuban exiles. He begins his study of the exile community in Miami by questioning the common view that Cubans are more secular than religious in outlook. While conceding that they are less 'churched', i.e. less involved in formal, institutional, religious practice, than other Latin Americans, he argues that Cubans both on the island and outside it consider themselves Catholics and hold religious beliefs of one kind or another, most evident in Santeria, the syncretic belief system whose distant origins lie in Yoruba culture. The story of Cuban Catholicism in exile begins with the abduction in 1961 of a replica statue of Our Lady of Charity from Havana. With the help of European and Latin American diplomats, it was smuggled to Miami and delivered to a rapturous crowd of 25,000 Cuban exiles waiting in the football stadium. The statue's eventual installation twelve years later in a shrine overlooking the sea towards Cuba made it into a potent symbol of the exile diaspora. The original statue of Our Lady of Charity remains in Cuba in the town of El Cobre. It was an object of veneration from the moment of its discovery in Cuba in the 17th century, but it became an even more important symbol of popular devotion during the 19th century wars of Independence when it acquired significance as protector of those who fought for the birth of Cuban nationhood. The removal of the replica statue at a time of major tension between church and state in Cuba, turned 'La Virgen de Cobre' into a symbol of anti-communist resistance for the exile community. The Miami shrine in turn became the sacred centre of the diaspora, and as Tweed argues, served to create a new sense of collective identity and of a *Cubanidad* that had been eroded by emigration.

Tweed suggests that as the exiles struggled to make sense of themselves as a displaced people, religion took on an increased significance. Three times the proportion attended mass than did so in pre-revolutionary Cuba. In exile some 15–20 per cent were found to be 'practising' Catholics, compared with 5–8 per cent in the 1950s. This apparent increase in religiosity was, however, tempered by the multiple meanings ascribed to the rituals associated with it. Tweed shows that the shrine was used for the expression of different forms of religious devotion, drawing in *santeros* and the orthodox faithful alike.

Moreover, an essential function of diasporic religion was its role in affirming a certain exile identity and imagined moral and political community. Tweed's study of the ways in which religion helped to create a specific kind of displaced nationalism which evoked as it reinvented the exiles' attachment to the traditions

and geography of the homeland. However, this diasporic nationalism, at least in Miami, also affirms a political allegiance in its antipathy to the Castro regime and its hopes for a liberated homeland. The Saturday masses held at the shrine are broadcast to Cuba the following day by Radio Marti in an effort to create links of solidarity with the community still on the island, while the officiating pastor, talks of the Virgin as the first Cuban *balsera*. In the shrine itself are samples of soil and stone from the six Cuban provinces, mixed with water taken from a raft on which fifteen refugees perished at sea. The shrine's murals tell a version of Cuban history which claims the national heroes Martí and Varela while the revolution is represented only by the fleeing figures of the rafters. If for Tweed diasporic religion moves practitioners between a constructed past and an imagined future through its rituals artefacts and stories, it also helps to forge a political community, one which has enjoyed considerable success in its campaigns against the Castro regime. Tweed's careful ethnography is a reminder of the powerful links that nationalism can forge between politics and identity, and the reformulation it can effect of religion.

Institute of Latin American Studies, MAXINE MOLYNEUX
University of London

A. W. Maldonado, *Teodoro Moscoso and Puerto Rico's Operation Bootstrap* (Gainesville FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. xiv + 262 $49.95 hb.

The story of Fomento, Puerto Rico's economic development agency, and its strategy of promoting external investment via attractive tax incentives, is inextricably linked to Teodoro Moscoso, Fomento's genitor and untiring proponent of Operation Bootstrap. In a beautifully written and brilliantly researched book, the struggles of a relatively small, but intellectually powerful cadre of young Puerto Ricans, joined at critical junctures by sympathetic academics and politicians in the US, are explored from their beginnings in the 1940s. Moscoso, a pharmacist from Ponce, became one of the most energetic champions of Puerto Rico's transformation from an agricultural, sugar-based economy to a modern, industrial complex, and he is always at or near the centre of the action.

The 1940s were a critical juncture. It was the time of Luis Muñoz Marín, his new and dynamic Partido Popular Democrático (PPD), a party Moscoso enthusiastically supported, and the shared New Deal value of the art of the possible. It was also a period in which public service was still an honourable pursuit and when visionaries could and did make a difference. Moscoso went against the tide of his party, arguing that industrialisation, and not agriculture, was the only means to increase Puerto Rico's standard of living. Further, he firmly believed that US capital had to be a significant source of any new investment, a view quite at odds with the more nationalist sentiment of many in the PPD. The detailed story of the creation of Fomento, and the implementation of its goal of attracting US investment, is as compelling as those of the political struggles of the PPD in other arenas.

Moscoso was unstoppable in pursuit of his dream of industrialising Puerto Rico, and he seemed never to be short of new and creative ideas. He was behind the idea to create a publicly-owned plant to produce bottles for the local rum

industry, even as he made it clear he would do almost anything to promote private sector industrial expansion, once going so far as to state before a US Senate committee, 'I will do business with the devil himself if he comes and establishes a factory in Puerto Rico' (p. 40). Moscoso also succeeded in convincing Conrad Hilton to build the still-lovely and dramatically-located Caribe Hilton as part of the link in building both tourism and industrialisation on the island. The beginnings of the world-famous annual Casals Festival are to be found in another Moscoso/Fomento project.

Convincing the PPD and its leader, Muñoz, that 100 percent local tax exemption for US companies locating in Puerto Rico was the way to promote industrialisation was a hard sell. Nonetheless, Moscoso prevailed. In carrying out his mission, he enlisted the assistance of the consulting firm, Arthur D. Little, at key junctures along the way, from designing Fomento's ad campaigns for rum at the beginning to steering the development strategy in new directions later. Moscoso knew his limitations, and he did not hesitate to surround himself with talented people with ideas about how to promote Puerto Rico. He seemed never to take 'no' for an answer, or to long suffer personal rebuffs, when there was even the slightest chance of advancing his industrialisation imperative.

For anyone at all interested in the history of Puerto Rico's development, this book cannot be too highly recommended. Moscoso interacted with the best and brightest (e.g. Galbraith, Leontief, Dorfman) wherever he found them, many of whom came to Puerto Rico to participate in the creation of a new development model, one that then was recommended to other less-developed nations. Irrespective of how one judges the success or failure of the Operation Bootstrap/industrialisation-by-invitation strategy, there is no better recording of the trajectory of that project as seen through the actions of its most resolute advocate. Add to this Moscoso's stint as US Ambassador to Venezuela and then his appointment as head of the Alliance for Progress, and one has a life history full of drama, dreams and accomplishments, as well as a few failures, captured in this volume.

California State University, Fullerton JAMES L. DIETZ

Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Jesús Velasco (eds.), *Bridging the Border: Transforming Mexico–US Relations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997), pp. viii + 208, $65.00, $24.95 pb.

Bridging the Border is yet another attempt to explain continuity and change in US–Mexican relations. The main assumption of the book is that the signature of NAFTA was both a cause and a consequence of major changes in Mexican foreign policy. Unlike Echeverría and López Portillo's 'new' foreign policy, Mexico's latest 'new' foreign policy has been determined mostly by closer commercial and financial relations with the USA. As the USA explicitly becomes a commercial partner, crucial Mexican foreign policy concepts, such as non-intervention, have to be redefined, and, as de la Garza argues in his chapter this includes the possibility that it is now the Mexican government who intervenes in US politics. The chapters of the book however qualify, sometimes implicitly, the very idea of transformation, revealing that there have been changes in some issues of US–Mexican relations, but these are not radically different from the past.

The book starts with history and concludes with theory, giving the reader a comprehensive view of different topics, actors and historical periods that have shaped Mexican–US relations. To begin with, Alan Knight reminds us of an easily forgotten feature in US–Mexican relations over time: convergence. In recent years, as Víctor Godínez argues in his work, Mexico's economic crises have confirmed the existence of shared interests by the USA and Mexican governments. This however does not mean that the USA has lost her capacity to impose her own views to manage Mexican crises. Power asymmetry has not decreased.

Jorge Domínguez identifies other continuities in the bilateral relationship, using traditional and recent theoretical perspectives. The process of negotiating NAFTA is a very good example of the role of presidents in conducting foreign policy so that neo-realism/presidentialism is still useful to understand Mexican–US relations. At the same time, new institutions created by the treaty as well as the more visible distinction between elites and non-elites related to NAFTA provide other theoretical approaches to study the bilateral relationship, that were neglected in the past. The chapter by Todd Eisenstadt and Jesús Velasco, respectively, on the Mexican lobby in Washington and the role of US think-tanks, offer strong evidence of the coexistence between old and new ways in foreign policy making, underlining the emergence of a variety of actors.

Edward Williams' work on the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation, NAALC, focusses more explicitly on divergence. Williams demonstrates that the labour unions of the two countries do not share interests or objectives, an idea favoured by de la Garza in his analysis of the Program for Mexican Communities Living in Foreign Countries, PMCLFC. Solidarity between labour unions cannot take place since an increase in employment in one country would mean unemployment in the other. Concerning the Mexican diaspora, on the other hand, the Mexican government has found it difficult to obtain such community's support for its own goals.

Bridging the Border certainly contributes to the debate about the margins for change in US–Mexican relations. The question remains, however, as to how definite the transformation has been, or whether it is merely the case that Mexican–US relations have become more transparent and direct than before.

El Colegio de México ANA COVARRUBIAS

James G. Blight and Peter Kornbluh (eds.), *Politics of Illusion: The Bay of Pigs Invasion Re-examined* (Boulder, Co and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), pp. xviii + 284, $45.00 hb.

This timely study, seen as 'critical oral history', is essentially a record of the discussions (held at a short 1996 conference in Georgia) involving 10 Cuban, Soviet and American participants in the seminal – and evidently still traumatic – 1961 crisis, and 10 academic specialists, discussions which follow the chronology from the pre-1961 anti-Castro opposition, through the invasion itself to the post-1961 US Operation Mongoose.

Overall, four themes emerge as characteristic of the whole process: organisational incompetence, American arrogance, the sense of 'loss' and betrayal, and, underlying it all, collective self-delusion. Thus there is consensus

about the inadequacy of CIA intelligence (set against the effectiveness of Cuban vigilance and defence, the disillusionment of the internal Resistance, and the power of Cuban nationalism after 1959) and CIA judgements, not least in the decision to 'militarise' the anti-Castro struggle into a CIA-controlled invasion plan, and of the long-term damage done in so many respects (especially to the opposition). Moreover, that incompetence continued after the debâcle, with the attempt (through Mongoose) to rescue some pride and to be seen to be acting powerfully. Indeed, the theme of *machismo* recurs in the repeated retrospective perception that Washington's Cuba policy was a manifestation of the 'John Wayne myth' and in the conclusion that the whole episode indicated the 'paternalistic, intrusive, imperial attitude' (p. 152), in a context where policy-makers believed that Cuba was being 'lost' and that Washington (and especially the Kennedys) needed to 'act big' and where the political costs of cancellation were seen as great. Yet, interestingly, the illusions of 1961 still seem to recur among some of the participants in a nagging belief that the Resistance could have succeeded if handled correctly (exaggerating opposition strengths – while the Appendix on the 'Cuban Resistance' actually presents a picture of small group activities easily isolated – and underestimating Castro's popularity).

Does the study work? As a record of memories and revisions it does contribute to confirm a familiar enough picture of what has been termed the 'perfect failure', and the Appendices provide useful data, especially in the chronology and the released documents. However, one remains uncertain about the value of the exercise as historiography. While the conversational approach undoubtedly increases authenticity, seems at times to produce productive dialogue, and does succeed in 'getting under the skin' of the motivations of the episode, it also tends towards incoherence and, apart from the conclusion and the occasional academic intervention, the text lacks the necessary historiographical interpretation of the oral testimony. Indeed, one suspects that the real value is to the participants themselves, as a therapeutic healing exercise, to exorcise ghosts and bitterness, and to justify the commendable concluding exhortation of 'Keep 'John Wayne' out of it; keep your hands off Cuba' (p. 154). Overall, the study adds valuably to our archive but possibly not to our understanding.

University of Wolverhampton ANTONI KAPCIA

John M. Kirk and Peter McKenna, *Canada-Cuba Relations: The Other Good Neighbor Policy* (Gainesville, Fl: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. xiv + 207, $49.95 hb.

Despite often massive pressure from Washington, Canada has maintained correct, often good relations with the Cuban government of Fidel Castro since the bearded revolutionary came to power in January 1959. While only marginally more impressed with Castro's policies than their southern neighbours, Canadians saw little reason not to live and let live where the Cubans were concerned and steadfastly refused blandishments to come into line with the rest of the hemisphere, with the notable exception of Mexico, when policies aimed at isolating Havana were applied from the early 1960s on.

Cuban–Canadian relations have rarely been truly warm but there has been an acceptance by Ottawa of the idea of ideological pluralism in the hemisphere,

anathema to Washington especially where the troublesome island was involved. A relatively minor issue for Canadians, who watched with often bemused detachment their ally's struggling with Castro, Cuba soon became rather the litmus test of Canadian governments' foreign policy independence for a surprising portion of public opinion.

Canada's best *cubanólogo*, John Kirk, has in the present volume teamed up with a rare specialist on that country's relations with the Organisation of American States, Peter McKenna, to tell story of the Cuban–Canadian relationship over the nearly four decades of Castro's rule. This is done with verve and a clear love for the subject. It is also clearly done with a view to convincing United States readers that there is a better way to deal with the Cubans than seeking to destroy their government and that the one approach taken by Canada has yielded much better fruit than has anything Washington has tried.

The resulting book is well arranged, humorous on occasion, and a generally good read. It deals with a little known subject and tackles it well. And it is the only work of its kind. There are, however, some points of history which need a fair bit of nuance. The volume on occasion comes close to polemic in its generally valuable desire to show the benefits of the bilateral relationship while remaining critical of Canadian foreign policy as well. For example, it is surely an exaggeration to refer to Ottawa and Washington as having a 'common front in foreign policy', as indeed the book goes on to show in the case of Cuba. Likewise it is an overstatement to say that 'Ottawa steadfastly refused to criticize Washington's activities in the (Central American) region', or that 'the prime minister strongly supported the 1989 invasion of Panama'.

More troubling if understandable is the sometimes rather uncritical view adopted of the Castro government and this can lead to some difficulties in figuring out why Canadian policy developed in the ways it did. There is little mention of the important problem of Cuba's 'export of revolution' phase in foreign policy from 1962 to 1968 and its impact on Ottawa's perspective. There is no mention at all of more recent backsliding on the part of the Cuban government where its opening up to the outside world is concerned. Ottawa has been especially disappointed by Cuban performance in the area of human rights and troubled by such retrograde steps as the hamstringing of Cuba's prestigious *Centro de Estudios de la Américas*, and the seemingly growing resistance to change, including with joint programmes in collaboration with Canada and Canadian universities.

Despite these difficulties, this work is absolutely essential reading for those interested in either the international relations of Cuba or Canada, or both, and will reward those with an interest in US–Cuban relations as well.

Royal Military College of Canada HAL KLEPAK

Carlos Escudé, *Foreign Policy Theory in Menem's Argentina* (Gainesville FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. 166, $49.95 hb; £45.00 hb.

This book evaluates the tradition of Political Realism in the theoretical discourse of the discipline of international relations, and finds it wanting on theoretical, normative and practical grounds. It offers what is described as a theory of

'Peripheral Realism', which is based on a 'citizen-centric' foundation. This 'Peripheral Realism' takes foreign policy making as the primary locus of theoretical investigation and argues that, for peripheral (the term is Escudé's) states, the primary goal of policy must be economic development for the benefit of citizens, not elites. The approach is Realist because it advocates self-interested behaviour to achieve these ends. Peripheral states should avoid unnecessary conflict with great powers and abstain from both interstate power politics and 'costly idealistic interstate policies' (p. 88). The approach is deeply critical of Realist theories and theorists such as Kenneth Waltz, Hedley Bull, Robert Gilpin and Stephen Krasner, who, Escudé argues, are guilty of over-simplification, naiveté, logical inconsistency, empirical errors and ideological bias (as is all international relations theory according to Escudé). Another criticism of Realism is the excessive anthropomorphism in relation to the state. The book utilises empirical material from the practice of Argentine foreign policy to assert that where Argentine foreign policy-makers follow the dictates of orthodox Realism, the policies pursued are disastrous for Argentine citizens (as under Alfonsín) but where Peripheral Realism is pursued (as under Menem) the results are somewhat happier.

The most interesting of the criticisms of Political Realism is that which highlights the tendency to treat states as akin to a human individual and, at the same time, to ignore the costs to real individuals of foreign policies that result in war or conflicts with other states. Escudé's remaining criticisms are not new and have been articulated with more sophistication elsewhere. One of the problems with this book is that its author is culpable of the very failures of which he accuses the Political Realists, particularly in the form of over-simplification of the theories and authors he chooses to pillory. Generalisations way beyond the scope of the data are presented and in a tone that verges on personal abuse as opposed to careful evaluation. Hedley Bull, for example, displays a 'condescending sympathy' towards issues of justice which 'is consistent with his ideological drive to upholster the state system' (p. 73).

The author's argument rests on the premise that foreign policy makers who put Realist theories into practice cause damage to the interests of their citizens. To make this argument the author must insist that foreign policy makers in peripheral countries actively read and utilise Realist authors as guides to policy. Such an interpretation is at best highly improbable and at worst demonstrates a basic error in terms of conflating Realist theory (explanations of policy) with the political practice of statesmen and women (the policy itself).

University of Kent HAZEL SMITH

Fabrice Lehoucq, *Lucha electoral y sistema política en Costa Rica, 1948–1998* (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Porvenir S.A., 1997), pp. 77, pb.

Fabrice Lehoucq intended to write an introduction to contemporary Costa Rican political institutions and, predictably, the result was a basic book though not an uninteresting one. In eight chapters Lehoucq charts the features of the 1949 Constitution, their relationship with the country's political crisis in the 1940s, and their role in promoting both remarkable political stability and a chronic fiscal

crisis. The chapters include profiles of the electoral system, the dynamics of the party system, the role of the judiciary and, crucially, executive-legislative relations, arguably the most intractable issue in presidential regimes.

The book's main merit is in showing, with the help of recent neo-institutionalist literature, that purely institutional factors are crucial in understanding Costa Rica's successful political development in the last 50 years. Lehoucq's thesis is that Costa Rica has managed to resolve the executive vs. legislative conundrum by means of a clever institutional design. This design includes an electoral system conducive to the existence of two large and disciplined parties – by means of closed lists, concurring presidential and legislative elections and vertical candidate-selection processes in the parties – and a comparatively weak presidency, which can nevertheless secure legislative allegiance through the dispensation of limited forms of patronage. The existence since 1949 of an electoral authority fully independent from the executive has been equally important, since it has removed the main cause of political instability in pre-1948 Costa Rica. This analysis of Costa Rica's recent political evolution is a welcome qualification of the traditional mantras of an egalitarian colonial past and widespread civic traditions that have been used to account for the country's political exceptionality. Lehoucq reminds us of how different institutions, particularly the powerful presidency of the 1871 Constitution, failed to guarantee political stability and finally culminated in the 1948 Civil War. In this sense, Lehoucq's book makes useful reading for would-be political reformers.

The book is weaker in establishing a link between political institutions and the fiscal crisis of the Costa Rican state. Lehoucq attempts to find such a link through the explosion, since 1949, in the number of decentralised public agencies, which are under the political control of the executive and outside the legislature's budgetary oversight. But he never offers an explanation as to why such an explosion happened, other than suggesting that the 1949 Constitution made it possible. Such analysis would have been more complex than the book's objectives allowed, involving ideological trends in the 1950–80s, structural features of the relationship between the state and social classes, etc. The origin of the fiscal crisis thus remains a side dish in the book, and the attempt to turn political analysis into Political Economy fails. Other shortcomings include a tendency to intersperse between the analysis a catalogue of recent political anecdotes that add little to the clarity of the exposition or its historical perspective, as well as casual editing which leaves sources of quoted information largely absent. Overall, in spite of its limitations, this book is a valuable addition to the scant bibliography on contemporary Costa Rican politics.

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KEVIN CASAS-ZAMORA

Kyle Longley, *The Sparrow and the Hawk: Costa Rica and the United States during the Rise of José Figueres* (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), pp. xiv + 240, $29.95 pb.

In successfully pursuing an independent foreign policy with the United States, Costa Rican President José Figueres benefitted from Washington's historic perception that Costa Rica was markedly different from its Central American

neighbours and that Figueres was able to understand the dynamics of US politics and society.

According to Longley, Costa Rica's unique political development can be traced to its outpost status during the Spanish colonial period of Latin American history that enabled the 'Ticos' to develop a more egalitarian society with greater political participation at the local level. In the nineteenth century, after Costa Rica's independence, US emissaries consistently commented upon the uniqueness of this society in comparison to its neighbours. The rise of the coffee oligarchy and the arrival of the British bankers failed to derail Costa Rica's political development. In the twentieth century closer economic and cultural linkages reinforced the positive view each had of the other.

The first two generations of the twentieth century also were punctuated with Costa Rican challenges to US hegemonic policy in the region. For example, President Federico Tinoco successfully withstood President Woodrow Wilson's non-recognition from 1917 to 1919; President Ricardo Jiménez challenged Washington's Central American policy in the 1920s; and President León Cortés had greater pro-Nazi leanings than Washington liked in the 1930s. On the domestic side, the Great Depression revealed cracks in Costa Rica's tranquil social order.

Although Costa Rica unhesitatingly supported the USA during World War II, its social fabric began to unwind. In responding to its societal problems, Costa Rica would soon run afoul of US post war anti-communist policy. Into this dynamic stepped José Figueres.

Efforts to address the socio-economic disparities began with Presidents Rafael Calderón (1940–1944) and Teodoro Picado (1944–1948), but relied on support from the Communist party led by Manual Mora. To Costa Rica's coffee oligarchy and US policymakers alike, Costa Rica appeared to drifting to the left of the political scale. In the complexities of the 1948 presidential election, Figueres intervened to save the country from the alleged communists. According to Longley, the brief, and almost bloodless, 1948 civil war marked Latin America's entrance into the Cold War, as US Ambassador Nathaniel Davis scurried to negotiate a peace settlement. In the aftermath, Figueres headed a junta that governed until 1949 and served again as elected president from 1953 to 1957.

Figueres became a tempest in both regional affairs and at home. Within the region his support of the so-called Caribbean Legion that sought the ouster of such dictators as Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic challenged the US desire to maintain political tranquility in the region. His support of the reforms of Juan Jose Arevalo and Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala challenged US policy. In addition, Figueres' socialistic reforms and renegotiated contract with UFCO ran counter to the conservative administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

According to Longley, Figueres was able to pursue his independent policy for several reasons, not just Washington's historic perception that Costa Rica was the 'Switzerland of Central America'. Because problems in Europe and Asia preoccupied Washington's top policymakers, diplomats in the field and the desk officers at the State Department sympathetic to Costa Rica exerted greater influence on US policy decisions. More important, Longley asserts, was Figueres's ability to work successfully with US liberal groups such as the Americans for Democratic Action and the Inter-American Association for

Democracy and Freedom and congressional leaders like Paul Douglas, J. William Fulbright and Wayne Morse.

Longley makes a valuable contribution to the historiography of US–Central American relations. His utilisation of primary sources in both the USA and Costa Rica add credibility to the thesis that Washington did not always have its way south of the Rio Grande River and that small countries on the periphery are capable of pursuing independent foreign policies *vis-à-vis* Washington.

University of North Florida THOMAS M. LEONARD

Laura J. Enríquez, *Agrarian Reform and Class Consciousness in Nicaragua* (Gainesville, Fl: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. viii + 206, £49.95 hb.

This book, by an authority on the Nicaraguan revolution, constitutes an important contribution to our understanding of the challenges facing revolutionary governments in their attempt radically to restructure economic and social relations to benefit the poor majority. It is an original, incisive analysis of the political consequences of economic development, focusing on the conditions under which peasants support social transformation. An important body of literature has examined the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, focusing on the period of the insurrection. Enríquez makes a significant contribution to this literature by confirming that the poor peasantry represents the most revolutionary subject and remained so throughout the consolidation of the revolution.

Enriquez' work provides us with rich case studies of the Sandinista agrarian reform, illustrated with data from the Los Patios and Plan Masaya projects. Significantly, this is one of the few studies that seeks to find explanations for what happened during the Nicaraguan revolution by conducting extensive field research both before and after the 1990 electoral defeat of the FSLN. Enríquez evaluates the literature on development and peasant politics insofar as it is pertinent to the Nicaraguan case. She then examines the economic impact of agrarian reform policies on the peasantry in terms of the beneficiaries' support for the revolutionary government by examining two distinct projects. Enríquez relies on in-depth interviews conducted in 1987–1989 and followed up between 1990 and 1993. This longitudinal approach greatly strengthens the validity of the data. The lessons drawn from the two cases help us to understand the course of Sandinista agrarian reform policies and the FSLN's electoral defeat.

Enríquez argues convincingly that it is of crucial importance for revolutionary regimes to involve the population in the transformation of their lives and emphasises the difference between mobilisation and participation. She also notes the irony of the fact that the economic success of a revolutionary project can spell political disaster. The author possesses an excellent command of the literature and incorporates a careful analysis of the documentary evidence, including electoral data for the communities being studied. This book will be of great interest to scholars and students working on revolution, regime transitions, peasant politics, and development theory. It not only throws much light on the Sandinista electoral defeat of 1990 but also fortifies our understanding of regime transitions in general.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University ILJA A. LUCIAK

Hugo Cancino Troncoso. *Chile: Iglesia y dictadura 1973–1989: Un estudio sobre el rol político de la Iglesia católica y el conflicto con el régimen militar* (Odense, Denmark: Odense University Press, 1997), pp. viii + 254, DKK 220.00 pb.

This book offers a concise, balanced and well-documented account of the relations between the Catholic Church and the state during the period of military rule in Chile. Transformations within Catholicism, in particular the emergence and implementation of a 'liberationist discourse' in Chile, receive special attention. The development of Protestantism and its growing public presence is not treated. After a brief introduction and an overview of the history of church–state relations from independence to 1973, the author works through changing patterns of religion and politics under military rule in four successive chapters, organised in chronological terms.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine church state relations in the first seven years of military rule. In relatively little time, Church leaders moved from legitimising the coup to a stance of criticism and growing conflict with the regime. A critical church discourse evolved in the latter part of the decade in counterpoint to the military's efforts to institutionalise and consolidate their rule. New concepts of democratisation, rights, and civil society, along with a commitment of resources to their promotion, above all to the protection of popular sectors were central to this discourse and to the shaping of church-state relations in these years. The author states:

> La Iglesia emerge como la única institución que podía interpelar tanto al movimiento opositor como al régimen militar convocándolos a buscar un camino pacífico de consenso que evitase la dinámica disolvente de la violencia social. No obstante este status de referente simbólico de la unidad nacional, la Iglesia no actuó como una instancia neutral en el conflicto por la democratización de la sociedad. Esta tomó posición, asumiendo una función profética, de voz de denucia al sistema de dominación criticando sus estructuras institucionales autoritarias, su modelo económico y sus atropellos a los Derechos Humanos (148–49).

The next two chapters take the story through the 1980s, ending with the return of civilian political rule at the end of the decade. Through their promotion of civil society, Church leaders and institutions played a key role in the emergence of regular, public opposition to military rule. At the same time, the proper scope of church involvement in 'politics' was itself a source of growing disagreement with the hierarchy. Predominant church strategies slowly changed as civilian politicians returned and the transition to democracy began to dominate the political landscape. Mobilisation, civil society, and opposition yielded centre stage to mediation, reconciliation, and a role for church leaders in brokering non-violent regime change.

The author's central analytical concern throughout is with discourse, specifically the discourse of the Catholic hierarchy. Analysis relies therefore on a review of 'official' church documents, public declaration of the bishops' conference, reports by institutions like the Vicaría de Solidaridad, and statements by individual prelates. These sources are supplemented by a reading of the relevant secondary literature on Chile and Latin America.

University of Michigan DANIEL H. LEVINE

Robert I. Rotberg (ed.), *Haiti Renewed: Political and Economic Prospects* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution and World Peace Foundation, 1997), pp. xiii + 245, $28.95; £22.50.

Collections of conference papers rarely add up to a satisfactory book, but *Haiti Renewed* fails on many levels to live up to its own high expectations, describing itself as an 'agenda for (President) Préval and his successors'. One obvious error lies in the brief given to the dozen contributors; their essays often overlap with each other without genuinely engaging on the issues under debate. Interestingly, the effort to reinstall Aristide in 1994 is variously described as 'The American military intervention that restored Aristide…'; 'The UN-sanctioned multinational force; and 'A large multinational force led by the United States'. It may seem pedantic to note this, but the nature of the US–Haiti relationship and the role of the 'international community' is a key issue which is almost entirely unexamined by this book. Given its historic role in determining the current reality in Haiti (occupation 1915–1934, support for the Duvalier dictatorship 1957–86, CIA payrolling leaders of the 1991 coup), it is astonishing that the book fails to address the role which the USA might play in the enormous task of re-establishing, or rather establishing, democracy which faced both Aristide and current president, René Préval. The failure to deal with this issue has made the book almost immediately out of date in terms of 'agenda' though it retains some interest as an introduction to a number of important issues. Deriving from a conference held in 1995, the book was published in 1997 but throws no light on the two central questions in Haitian politics today: the apparent paralysis of the government and the split in the only existing political force in the country, the Lavalas movement. The consequences of the paralysis and split are many. There has been no prime minister since June 1997, effectively making this a lame duck government for over a year; economic progress is non-existent, foreign aid has been held up as the US promoted privatisation of the main state enterprises has failed to be pushed through. The Haitian electorate has increasingly and dramatically turned its back on the ballot box less than a decade after the high and enthusiastic turn out which gave an overwhelmingly victory to Aristide in 1990. Haitians feel completely let down by their short and late introduction to democracy and it will take radical action to rekindle their faith.

The political crisis which led to the split of the Lavalas movement and which has paralysed the country stems from divisions over the attitude which should be taken towards the USA and its demands on how the economy must be run. While Aristide was prepared to sign up for the radical neo liberal reforms which were the *sine qua non* for US support for his reinstatement, he predictably stalled when it came to implementing them. Once relieved of the constraints of office, he has demagocically opposed them without offering any alternative. The more pragmatic centrist wing of the movement led by Gerard-Pierre Charles and a sophisticated group of largely foreign educated intellectuals (mostly trained during exile) accepted the need for an accommodation with the US to set the country back on its feet. Aristide and his chosen successor, on the other hand, have adopted a more radical approach which can be seen as a form of the historic tactic of the Haitians, marronage. Originally, this meant slaves running away and living clandestinely. Today, for Arisitide and Preval it means passive resistance, a sort of downing tools, until the foreigners stop telling them what to do.

The euphoria which greeted the troops of the Multinational Force in September 1994 has largely dissipated, and it was only a short episode in a long and negative history of foreign interference and oppression of the black Haitian masses. Many in the USA and the international community fail to grasp how much they need to do, how much humble pie they have to eat, in order to make it possible for Haitians once again to trust their intentions.

The current crisis was sparked when in June 1997 the US ambassador insisted that the partial election process, the first round of which had been held that April, be suspended due to electoral irregularities. As they stood, the elections had greatly favoured Aristide's candidates. While the poll was seriously flawed, Haitians do not widely believe that the USA's record in Haiti makes them suitable electoral arbiters. Similarly, US accusations of Aristide's allies being involved in political assassinations cut little ice while they refuse to hand back the thousands of incriminating documents which US troops, under whatever aegis, confiscated from the pro-coup paramilitaries of the FRAPH – a front for the CIA-financed coup leaders.

Any book which aspires to being an agenda for government has to set the context in which the real decisions are to be made. Failing this, as has happened here, the result is abstract analysis, far removed from the reality of tough policy-making in one of the world's poorest and most mistreated countries. Unfortunately, *Haiti Renewed* does not get near to this and remains a hotch potch of academic essays which, although some are written by contributors of Haitian origin, feels like view from the outside, which it is: nearly all the contributors teach in US colleges. Most of the contributions offer some insights into Haitian life and and those by Trouillot (the need for a social contract), Pastor (the problems of democratic consolidation), and O'Neill (the challenges of judicial reform) are serious contributions to the debate on where the democratisation process in Haiti is today. The failure to get to grips with the international issues, however, results in analysis and suggestions for a Haitian government as though it had no international constraints on it.

This is compounded by an inordinate number of statements crying out for mercy from an editor's pen. 'The problem is that Haitian elites honestly believe, and have believed for a century and half, that they can survive without the poor, rural majority of Haiti' one contributor claims. When there is so little written about Haiti, this book represents a missed opportunity. For lack of editorial leadership, it remains a collection of disparate articles forced to sit unhappily together, not quite an introduction to Haitian affairs nor a successful debate on events and prospects post the UN-sanctioned restoration of President Aristide by the US army.

Amnesty International, *London* JOHN BEVAN

Menno Vellinga (ed.), *The Changing Role of the State in Latin America* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 1998), pp. xi + 312, £53.00 hb.

In times frequently characterised as being dominated by globality and the posited waning of state power, especially in the territories of the South, it is very useful indeed to have available a volume which systematically investigates the changing

role of the state in a variety of Latin American societies. The breadth and depth of coverage offered by Vellinga and his contributing authors provide the reader with a rich and thought-provoking series of analytical pathways relevant to any substantive consideration of state–society relations in Latin America.

Apart from the introduction and a chapter by Wiarda which examines the historical determinants of the Latin American state, the majority of the chapters tend to focus on the more economic aspects of the state's changing role, although the last three contributions – on the informal sector and political independents in Peru (Cotler), NGOs and the development process (Lehmann and Bebbington) and social movements and citizenship (Foweraker) – do focus on more directly social and political questions. One of the key themes to emerge in many of the early chapters concerns the tension between the adoption of externally-produced neo-liberal development doctrine, and the stubborn particularities of institutional legacies, ideological sedimentations (e.g. the histories of corporation, patrimonialism, authoritarianism and clientelism), and endogenous political tendencies. In a social science world often marked by approaches which can overemphasise the power of the external, whether it be the transnational corporation, the imperial state or global institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF, it is important to have available accounts which point to the complexities and historical specificities of internal social processes and political structures. In this context Silva's discussion of the rise of technocrats is a particularly interesting and relevant exploration of a key tendency in these debates, and this contribution is also significant for the way cultural, socio-psychological and political-economic factors are brought together in the discussion of the Chilean case.

As far as the impact of neo-liberalism is concerned there are differences of emphasis, with Smith being more critical than Glade, and Shefner more analytical than Rodríguez. Overall, however, the reader might have benefitted from a little more critical scrutiny being given to the relation between the deployment of neo-liberal doctrine (trade liberalisation, rolling back the state, deregulation, the prioritisation of the private, possessive individualism) and the production of inequality, social polarisation and the maintenance or in some cases exacerbation of poverty. What I missed here was a more critical edge. The conceptual underpinnings of treatments of the state and democratisation also tend to rely rather conventionally on Weberian notions (specifically present in the chapters by Vellinga, Wiarda and Smith), and miss out of account the quite extensive theoretical literature on the state and politics in Latin America, where the work of, for example, Lechner, Cheresky and Zermeño has been emblematic of tendencies more closely linked to Foucault and Gramsci.

The main strength of this collection is its usual combination of sustained and illuminative empirical analysis across a broad array of societal experiences, where in practically all cases an effective and concise historical backdrop is integrated into the narrative. The chapters by Silva, Lehmann and Bebbington and Foweraker are examples of excellent syntheses of their previous research on technocracy, NGOs in the development process and social movement theory. Cotler's discussion of the specificity of the Peruvian case, in which long-established political groupings went into rapid eclipse to be replaced by a plethora of 'political independents', and a form of '*democradura*', underscores the crucial importance of historically anchored investigation, – (although I still do wonder about the appropriateness of the term '*desborde popular*'/'popular deluge') – as

does the chapter by Wiarda, where the Iberian roots of the Latin American state are interestingly outlined. The contributions by Glade and Graham provide much-needed information and measured assessment of the trajectories and tendencies involved in the retreat of the state in the economic and administrative fields, although perhaps some further thought might have been given to the changing surveillance role of the Latin American state, set in a broader global context of the relentless diffusion of the 'technocratic gaze'. On the social effects of economic policy the chapters on Mexico and Venezuela by Shefner and Gómez Calcaño respectively, provide good summaries, and on Argentina, the chapter by Gerchunoff and Torre traces out important features of the social costs of economic liberalisation.

When confronted, as we often are, by generalisations about the enfeebled nature of the peripheral state, and the overwhelming power of globalisation, it is vital to have available historically-rooted empirical research which can help us evaluate the realities of changing forms of state power. For Latin America, the Vellinga collection gives us many insights and perceptive entry points for further diagnosis of the dynamics of state–society relations in a globalising world.

Loughborough University DAVID SLATER

Henry A. Dietz and Gil Shidlo (eds.), *Urban Elections in Democratic Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1998), pp. xxv + 298, $50.00, $18.95 pb.

With this collection of case studies on urban elections, Henry Dietz and Gil Shidlo make a significant contribution to the understanding of electoral processes in Latin America. As they duly note in the introductory chapter, the study of local politics in the region has attracted comparatively little scholarly attention. The editors aim to fill a deficit in the now considerable literature on transition and consolidation of democracy in Latin America, which has largely focused on presidential and congressional elections. In this light, the ten country-studies attempt to identify and examine local electoral structures, institutions and behaviour in various urban centres in the region.

The case studies highlight the historical context and contemporary role of urban elections in the region, based on three criteria: (1) the relationship between urban and national-level elections; (2) distinction between intra-urban electoral processes within a country; and (3) the formal-informal dichotomy emerging in many local electoral patterns. The case studies reflect the differing national experiences and highlight the rich and complex nature of urban elections, as well as underscoring the notion that local electoral processes in Latin America are becoming highly relevant.

Viewed collectively, the local electoral experiences suggest that urban centres have, in effect, become dynamic and decisive arenas for the development of electoral democracy in Latin America. In applying the above criteria, the authors present some interesting findings. First, a close relationship seems to have developed between local and national-level elections. While national politics has served as a mould for local politics (Argentine, Bolivia, El Salvador and Peru),

the pattern appears to be the inverse in countries such as the Dominican Republic, where politicians with national aspirations must first prove their leadership and governing capabilities as local-level *regidores* or *síndicos*. Second, the advent of local elections has contributed significantly to strengthening democracy by providing an arena for opposition-party growth and by introducing a change in the governing process as a result of the greater political pluralism. For example, in Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, new political parties and civic movements, have emerged at the local level, and have successfully challenged traditional parties' hegemonies. Third, in the experiences of Bolivia, Colombia, and Uruguay, local elections have highlighted the need for electoral reform, in order to increase levels of participation and improve the quality of political representation. Finally, local elections have engendered a more informal approach to politics by incorporating social and ecological movements, community organisations, and ethnic groups into the electoral competition with political parties.

Notwithstanding the valuable contributions found in many of the chapters, there are some shortcomings as well. Admittedly, the editors do recognise what is perhaps the most conspicuous flaw in this book: the omission of a chapter on Costa Rica (and other countries). Given that country's unparalleled experience with democracy in the region (including local elections since 1953), readers may be perplexed by the editors' disclosure that the 'only explanation possible is that contributors for these countries were not available' (p. xv). Additionally, the chapters on Uruguay and Venezuela leave much to be desired, as they concentrate almost wholly on national-level and historical analyses. Several editorial errors likewise detract from the merits of this book. In two chapters, the authors mistake 'AP' for 'AD' when referring to Venezuela's largest political party (pp. 259, 280). Similarly, there are (careless) inaccuracies in identifying key actors; 'President Julio César Gaviria' (p. 97), and 'New Liberal Party' (p. 103). Moreover, conceptual imprecisions such as the 'largest majority in Congress', (p. 190) when clearly alluding to a plurality or simple majority, as well as the ambiguous term 'unaffiliated parties' (p. 280), devalue the quality of the work.

Perhaps what the reader misses most is a stronger concluding chapter. It does not offer much analysis or interpretation of the results, which is to be expected from a comparative study. For example, given the varied nature of the electoral rules and local party systems, some comments could have been made regarding the functionability and desirability of these, based on the national experiences. What are the implications of using a simple plurality formula for local council elections in El Salvador as compared with the PR formulas found in Peru and Mexico? Why is the increased success of independent (or personalistic) candidates viewed as destabilising in Peru, whereas it was encouraged by electoral reforms in Venezuela? What lessons can be learned from the indirect election of mayors in Bolivia?

Urban Elections in Democratic Latin America is a very welcome and timely contribution to the study of local level (and specifically, urban) politics. Dietz and Shidlo make a commendable effort to bring together case studies that allow the reader to ascertain the dynamics of local-level democratic processes in Latin America. The work also evidences the pressing need for further studies on the subject, as it does leave some issues (as well as countries) unexplored. In concluding, the editors make a call for further research into local elections,

hinting at the numerous issues and questions to be addressed. This study is, in their words, 'the first of many steps necessary to come to a fuller understanding of municipal politics'.

Institute of Latin American Studies, *University of London*

FRANCISCO ROBLES

John O. Browder and Brian J. Godfrey, *Rainforest Cities: Urbanization, Development and Globalization of the Brazilian Amazon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. xxvi + 429, £40.00, £15.95 pb.

One almost instinctively thinks of Amazonia in rural terms, a domain of deforestation, agrarian conflict and pioneer frontiers. But one of the striking features of the Brazilian Amazon's modern history has been the extent and rapidity of urbanisation, not just in the historically established centres of Belém and Manaus but in the young towns which have sprung up along the highway corridors and river networks, to the point where the proportion of the region's population living in urban areas has almost converged to the national average and the state of Amazonas, to take an extreme example, is one of the more urbanised states in Brazil. The literature in English on this rich topic has been thin, restricted to a small number of articles in geography journals, a high proportion of which were produced by the authors of this book. Its publication is therefore very welcome.

In many respects the book delivers on the promise of its theme. Chapters 1, 3 and 5 cumulatively provide a good historical overview of Amazonian urbanisation from the colonial period to the present day. A rich array of survey material from two highway corridors (southern Pará in eastern Amazonia and Rondônia in the west) is presented and exhaustively discussed, demonstrating how even superficially similar socio-economic settings within the region can vary very significantly on close examination. Browder and Godfrey correctly interpret their findings as a demonstration of Amazonia's heterogeneity and make a welcome plea for theoretical pragmatism, noting that none of the established theories of urbanisation – central place, capitalist penetration, world systems, and so forth – fit the Amazonian case, or, more precisely, all Amazonian cases.

It is therefore unfortunate that the book's many good points are overshadowed to some extent by a number of omissions. The relationship between Amazonian urbanisation and national Brazilian patterns is an essential topic which is only scantily discussed. This is especially important at present, since a growing body of evidence suggests that Amazonian urbanisation rates have flattened off, as have urbanisation rates in southern and northeastern Brazil. In other words, Amazonia has become more like the rest of Brazil and the 1990s mark a new phase in the urban history of the region. A central issue I would have expected the authors to address in much more detail is the extent to which Amazonian urbanisation was regionally specific – the period from the 1960s through the 1980s also saw very significant urbanisation in other Brazilian regions, and the higher rates in Amazonia might merely be a statistical artifact, reflecting the smaller initial size of Amazonian urban centres.

My own feeling, which Godfrey and Browder seem to share, is that there was something regionally specific about Amazonia up to about 1990, and it had to do

with the way urban centres are used as bases for much more mobile life-strategies in northern Brazil as compared to the rest of the country. Frustratingly, the space which could have been devoted to discussing these central issues is instead given over to an over-detailed comparison of the two survey sites, which for all their differences are still both highway corridors and thus represent only one type of regional urbanisation. Much valuable space is also taken up by long summaries of a series of theoretical frameworks which are then discarded as not being relevant, except, astonishingly, for 'The New Biology', commended for its conceptual pluralism, which is to confuse analogy with analysis. Non-geographers will find these sections very heavy going, and it is unfortunate more concessions were not made to a readership which was obviously going to be from a number of disciplines.

There are other less important problems. Browder and Godfrey use official statistics in a rather uncritical way, which is strange since they also describe in some detail the impulse towards the formation of new municipalities in frontier zones, the criteria for the definition of which are to a large extent demographic. In other words, a recipe for the systematic over-reporting of urban populations for political ends, implying that the urbanisation rates reported for Amazonia in the 1991 census may have been high, but not that high. The 1996 IBGE household survey has furnished us with hard evidence of this distortion at work in Pará, too late to be incorporated into this book, but the authors are naive not to have anticipated the possibility. The manuscript also shows all the signs of having been rushed into press too quickly, and is dotted with irritating errors which a thorough copy-edit should have removed. Percival Farquhar, the American magnate behind the Madeira–Mamoré railroad, is systematically rendered as Farguhar (p. 146 and passim); it is the river Solimões, not the Solimães, and it is west of the confluence of the Amazon and Rio Negro, not east (p. 158); *cachaça* rum is translated as brandy (p. 162); foreign contractors on the Madeira–Mamoré between 1907 and 1912 are described as American on p. 146 and British on p. 166 (they were American). There is a delicious typo. on p. 276: Brazil's president, impeached in 1992, is given as Fernando Collar. A white Collar criminal he may have been, but his name was Fernando Collor.

Harvard University DAVID CLEARY

Andrew Gray, *Indigenous Rights and Development: Self-Determination in an Amazonian Community* (Providence, RI, and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997), pp. xxi + 354, £40.00 hb.

The indigenous peoples of the Americas continue to struggle for survival after 500 years of contact with their uninvited guests, although in this century they have gained recognition of their existence in Peru. Internationally, the natives can now lobby through the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, as well as through ILO. The Arakmbut peoples from southeastern Peru are one example of the strength and determination to survive as a people. Dr. Grey argues that the Arakmbuts use non-indigenous concepts as a defence strategy against western encroachment.

The Peruvian state's policies towards indigenous peoples were influenced by the philosophies of enlightenment and positivism. For instance, while Locke emphasised individual rights and property, Comte and Spencer believed that

indigenous rights, legislation and constitution had to be subjugated to state control. The emphasis on individual rights, rather than collective identities, undermines the Amazonian peoples' concept of their society and threatens their survival. The state argues that collective rights jeopardise the sovereignty of the nation, and so only recognises the Arakmbuts as individual citizens and seeks to integrate them on this basis. Grey argues that Arakmbuts are neither isolated nor integrated into the state. For instance, they use the law of the native communities to defend their rights, while rejecting total integration. This is due to government's double standard in dealing with them, as witnessed by its policy towards colonising indigenous lands.

The land is vital for the Arakmbuts' survival, and the new Peruvian land reform threatens that source of vitality. The land legislation of 1974 and 1978, under which the native lands were inalienable, unmortgageable and imprescribable has been repealed. In the Constitution of 1993, only the imprescribable clause remains intact and the indigenous lands are made available for concession. The government's prime interest is to make the land available for exploitation by foreign investors. For instance in December 1991, the oil company Mobil was granted a concession for oil exploration in the Arakmbuts' lands. The Arakmbuts see their lands not only as the key resource which makes continued life possible, but also a spiritual connection with an invisible world on which the whole notion of territoriality is based. By contrast, the government sees the land as a means for reducing under-development through the market economy and competition. Thus the natives are perceived as obstacles to national progress. Grey argues that Arakmbuts should be allowed to live within the framework of their own patterns of development, that community development begins with subsistence and self-sufficiency from the lands and only later moves towards commercialisation.

To counteract encroachment, the Arakmbuts have formed federations at the local, regional and international levels to defend their rights. This demonstrates the Arakmbuts' self-governing capacity with regard to decision making and conflict resolution in indigenous communities. Their self-determination is based on decisiveness and action once their community is threatened by *colonos*. The Arakmbuts adopt the notions of rights and self-determination from the western world in order use them as grounds for resistance to the government's policies of integration.

This book is an excellent work which brilliantly depicts the Arakmbuts' struggles as well as their reliance on the spiritual world as a source of strength in their quest for survival. It is compulsory reading both for indigenous leaders and the more general reader in indigenous issues. As an Amazonian indigenous leader, I found it both informative and inspiring.

University of Oxford MIGUEL HILARIO

Miguel A. Centeno and Patricio Silva (eds.), *The Politics of Expertise in Latin America* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998), pp. x + 238, £42.50 hb.

'From the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego, technocrats are triumphant.' Miguel Centeno and Patricio Silva's opening line in this book highlights the importance of the subject and the object of the study. They define technocrats as 'personnel who use their claim to knowledge (as opposed to representation or authoritarian

control) to affirm their right to rule' (2). Their own principal focus is on the prospects for 'technocratic democracies' in which 'elected representatives still have nominal control over the final decisionmaking, but the framing of policy alternatives is largely in the hands of experts' (3).

The editors have assembled an outstanding collection of scholars who have produced first-rate essays. All are interesting, informative, and well-written. Michiel Baud demonstrates that technocrats are not new to Latin America, but were already common and decisive in the years of 'Positivist' intellectual influence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Patricio Silva, too, calls attention to the long record of technocratic leadership in Latin America through a detailed biography of Pablo Ramírez, one of the architects of economic and political reform in Chile during the dictatorship of the late 1920s. Silva argues that the relationship between technocrats and democracy has been uneasy at best. Miguel Centeno emphasises the anti-democratic core of technocratic ideology, and illustrates it through a study of the work of Friedrich Hayek.

Ben Ross Schneider argues that 'presidents appointed technocrats with neoliberal discourses' in the 1980s and thereafter 'in order to restore the [international] investment climate' (90). He seeks to show that such an international explanation is superior to endogenous explanations based on knowledge, socialisation or bureaucratic pluralism. Pitou van Dijck analyzes the role of the World Bank with special attention to its relative shift away from project lending to programme lending, that is, away from infrastructure projects and toward the design, execution, and financing of sound sectoral and overall macroeconomic policies. Verónica Montecinos examines the rising role of economists in Chilean party politics, and in both legitimating opposition politics to the Pinochet dictatorship and setting the tone for political debate in the 1990s.

Catherine Conaghan examines the lesser ability of Peruvian economists (in comparison to Chilean economists) to cohere epistemically and to build a stable and influential role within political parties and government. She demonstrates that Peruvian technocrats have lacked autonomous power. Ineke van Halsema examines 'femocrats' in Brazil, that is, officials whose claim is special knowledge about how the state can best assist women. She finds that the role of femocrats was fleeting and ephemeral, principally limited to the moment of the democratic transition in the early 1980s. Carlos Huneeus compares the role of expert influence in Argentina under the Alfonsín and Menem presidencies. He argues that experts as such wield little power. Their influence and success depend on political criteria, such as the size of the government's majority and its relationship to labour unions, and the relative cohesion of the economic team and the extent of the president's support for the economic programme. Roderic Ai Camp, too, examines the institutional and political structures that allow experts to exert influence in Mexico. Camp concludes that the 'technocrats, per se, are neither democrats nor authoritarians' (211).

There are at least three subtle intellectual debates within the pages of this book. The first is the question of the chronology of the rise of technocrats. Some authors demonstrate the technocrats are not a new phenomenon whereas others insist on the emergence of technocrats in the last fifth of the twentieth century. The second is the relationship between technocrats and democracy. Some authors believe that technocrats have an elective affinity for non-democratic or anti-democratic procedures. Others argue that technocrats can and have flourished in

quite different political regimes. The third is the source of power of technocrats. Some authors argue that technocrats shape the economic and political agenda and are empowered by their scientific claims to seek to rule. Others argue that technocrats only have the power derived from those who appoint them. Even towering technocrats have tumbled when presidents withdraw their support.

Therefore, the comparative chapters by Conaghan and Huneeus, who look at Chile and Peru and Argentina and Chile, respectively, are especially helpful. Technocrats become powerful at the national level if and only if they enjoy the president's backing. Technocrats can and do work for a quite varied array of political regimes and leaders; they are not 'inherently' committed to one form of politics over another. Technocrats in democratic politics are most effective if they engage directly in the life of political parties and if they employ the procedures of constitutional government to advance their goals.

Harvard University JORGE I. DOMÍNGUEZ

Douglas A. Chalmers, Carlos M. Vilas, Katherine Hite, Scott B. Martin, Kerianne Piester, Monique Segarra (eds.), *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. xv + 644, £45.00, £16.99 pb.

The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America will probably remain as a seminal work. It brilliantly embodies a highly welcomed evolution in the way the political changes in Latin America are studied. Instead of focusing almost exclusively on the modes of evolution from authoritarian toward democratic forms of regimes, this book analyses the type of political regimes that result from that change. If the debate about democratic consolidation is to be of any interest, it has to start with an assessment of the nature of democracy produced by the transitions. *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America* represents a pathbreaking effort to contribute to that research agenda. As Carlos Vilas puts it in the introduction, entitled 'Participation, Inequality, and the Whereabouts of Democracy', this book deals with the vicissitudes of democracy and political participation in Latin America. Indeed, the 20 chapters, plus an introduction and a conclusion, offer a very rich panorama of these vicissitudes. The book is divided in five parts ('Traditional Actors, New Settings', 'Searching for new forms of participation', 'the Stubbornness of violence', 'Dilemmas of a social democratic project', 'Reconstructing representation') and gathers case-studies of nine countries.

Overall, in contrast to many collective essays, the different chapters are connected to a central questioning about democracy, detailed in the introduction, and they all feed into a theoretical reflection, which is laid out in the concluding chapter. This coherence has probably much to do with the fact that this book is a product of a six-year collective research project involving a large group of scholars.

I adhere completely to the book's conception of democracy, which goes beyond a traditional emphasis on rules and procedures, because, as Vilas puts it, this emphasis 'leaves aside the configuration of power relations and overlooks the modes in which actors interpret rules, negotiate around them, and apply them as a function of power resources which are distributed unequally' (p. 11). This politics from below approach is probably the only one that offers hope of real progress in the democratic consolidation debate.

On the other hand, the theoretical lessons drawn from the empirical studies here are open to question.

In the concluding chapter Douglas Chalmers, Scott Martin and Kerianne Piester, rightly point out that there is in contemporary Latin America a 'social question', but no mass mobilisation against neo-realism nor a pattern of electoral sanctions against political parties defending it. They explain this apparent contradiction by identifying a trend toward a reconstruction of popular participation and representation. They consider that the 'ongoing reorganization and reinsertion of the popular sectors into the political process has not followed the classic model of popular incorporation in the post-Depression era' (p. 544), and call the new structures of popular incorporation 'associative networks'.

It is not possible to discuss here the details of the associative network model of popular incorporation. But each time a new approach is suggested to explain new trends, we must ask: are the trends so new that they require a revision of the concepts, or is it a new mode of thinking that helps us to see things differently?

My impression is that we have in this book of mixture of both. There are definitively some new trends in Latin American social movements that have triggered a theoretical reflection and the elaboration of a new approach. However, not all developments on the ground are as innovative as the theory. This associative network approach does, however, provide a lens that helps us to focus on previously ignored dimensions of popular politics.

Indeed, reflections on authoritarianism laid stress on these dimensions of popular politics some time ago. The notions of 'politics from below' and of 'popular modes of political action' were used to underline the autonomy of social actors and their capacity to produce a political discourse. It is therefore surprising to see Chalmers, Martin and Piester stressing the 'continued capacity for reinvention of popular politics, even in hostile environments' (p. 544). The present conjuncture is, for sure, not as hostile as it used to be, and the different characteristics of an associative network, – flexible, non-hierarchical, cognitive politics, etc. – resemble the ones that were described in terms of popular modes of political action under authoritarian regimes. But with a major difference: the associative networks can nourish the study of multi-level governance processes.

This is a very rich book that will be a reference for the years to come.

University of Nice OLIVIER DABÈNE

José Vicente Zevallos (ed.), *Estrategias para reducir la pobreza en América Latina y el Caribe* (Quito, Ecuador: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, PNUD, 1997), pp. xii + 468, $22.00 pb.

The field of development economics is increasingly focusing on the centrality of human capital in explaining why some nations develop more rapidly than others. The financial crisis in Asia notwithstanding, one of the key lessons from the Asian experience over the last thirty years, especially among the so-called 'tigers', is that countries which invested heavily in human capital saw their economies surge ahead. In marked contrast, much of Latin America failed to make similar investments and has paid the price in terms of economic growth.

One manifestation of the under-investment in human capital has been the

inability of most Latin American countries to reduce their disturbingly high levels of poverty, even when their economies are growing. When poverty levels are high, significant portions of the potentially productive labour force are excluded from making a meaningful contribution to economic growth. This exclusion emerges largely because the poor, overwhelmingly, have little or no education and suffer from a variety of chronic illnesses that sap their productive energies. For example, each additional year of education reduces the chance of an individual being poor by 3–4 per cent. In this context, the present volume offers especially important insights as to how poverty can be reduced and human capital built. Edited by Dr José Vicente Zevallos, an expert in development at the United Nations Development Programme in Ecuador, the book presents three case studies in which innovative and successful anti-poverty programmes in health and education have been implemented.

The book begins with a helpful summary by the editor of various measures of poverty, and presents data covering the period 1989–1997. Zevallos shows that even when economies are growing strongly, gains to the poor can be minimal. For example, the 3 per cent growth rate of the economies in Latin America in the period 1990–1996 translates into an increase of only 3 US cents per day for the poor, and even less for the poor who live in high birth-rate countries. Furthermore, the high levels of income inequality found in most countries in Latin America, coupled with regressive social spending policies, serve to mitigate the impact of economic growth on the poor.

Three themes that emerge in the volume are the importance of targeting, decentralisation and gender discrimination. Poverty programmes that do not directly target the poor (by income and geographical location) are inefficient because they spread their effects over both the poor and non-poor. Decentralisation of poverty programmes can make them more responsive to the particular needs of impoverished groups and also can be more cost effective. Poor females in Latin America turn out to be especially important targets of human capital investments since education can enable them to compete effectively for jobs, which in turn can help extricate them from the household and, eventually, reduce fertility levels.

The core of the book is a series of detailed case studies covering unusually successful cases of poverty reduction in Costa Rica, Chile and Colombia. In each chapter an extensive review of poverty data is presented, followed by detailed examinations of programmes in the fields of health and education that have served to reduce poverty. The volume also contains an excellent overview of the macro-economic context of poverty by Albert Berry, an overview of the role of education in poverty reduction by Osvaldo Larrañaga and a similar overview in the health field by a team lead by Julio Frenk. The book concludes with an exceptionally accomplished essay by Osvaldo Hurtado linking poverty reduction to the problems of governability in the current democratic context in Latin America.

Much has been written about the problem of poverty and the countless failures of government programmes to help reduce it. This volume, in contrast, talks about success stories. Those seriously interested in learning how it is possible to reduce poverty will need to read these studies with great care.

University of Pittsburgh MITCHELL SELIGSON

Etel Solingen, *Industrial Policy, Technology, and International Bargaining: Designing Nuclear Industries in Argentina and Brazil* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. xvii + 311, £35.00 hb.

This book makes a substantial contribution to understanding the outcome of decision-making and bargaining on high technology transfer and implementation. Within a general context of industrial policies, such an approach has not been undertaken with respect to the receiving state being a country on its way towards industrialisation.

The book is divided in three parts: 'Explaining Industrial Strategy', 'The Process' and 'The Outcome'. The first part reasonably accomplishes its objective and the author sets an original frame of discussion based on the degree of macropolitical consensus on one hand, and, on the other, the autonomy of the state sector agency leading the negotiation from the receiver side. Macropolitical goals are described in this framework. The approach follows for consistent reasoning. 'Industrial Strategy' is explained within a diagram of 'lateral autonomy' (either high or low) vs. 'macropolitical consensus' (also high or low). 'Happy convergence' is achieved when both are high. Low macropolitical consensus, if lateral autonomy of the sector agency is high, may be compensated by it; the author concludes this has been the case for the Argentine CNEA ('maverick'). During the period of the study, Brazil grounded its industrial policy on a high macropolitical consensus towards industrialisation. However, joint venture agreements with the technology provider, state intervention and electricity needs resulted in generally strong technological dependence, with scarce participation by either the indigenous industries or the scientific and technical community. Finally, whenever both lateral autonomy and consensus are low, bureaucratic politics may jeopardise any effort towards consistent bargaining with industrialised countries.

The second part, 'The Process', is perhaps the best of the book. Much reasoning and research is evident as the author explains the paradoxical differences in the nuclear development approach and bargaining with technology providers in Brazil and Argentina. The amount of information provided is quite substantial and carefully edited. Microeconomic information is also surveyed. Although some sources seem to have escaped detection, the author bravely attempts to correlate those available to her with the macroeconomic ones – not a minor effort, and the reader ought to be grateful for her attempt. This chapter constitutes a very useful consultation review for all those interested in the subject of nuclear development in either country. A conclusion worthy of repetition here is that, with varying success, both countries aimed mainly at acquiring the complete fuel cycle: enriched uranium for Brazil and the natural one for Argentina.

In the third part of the book the author tries to avoid the subject of which programme was more successful. She also questions the 'multiplier' effect of nuclear technology and suggests that entrepreneurial capabilities can be strengthened at much lower cost with alternative developments. From the perspective of a 'non fully industrialised country', I would like to emphasise the fact that 'multiplier' effects are difficult to evaluate in our environment. However, technology cannot be imported as a commodity, either obsolete or advanced and unproven forms often, being imposed upon an inexperienced

receiver. To implement new ones, with some chances of successful competitiveness, a level of knowledge and technical development must be previously attained. As a scientist and technologist, I always found that there is more to any advanced technology implementation than a recipe of how to do things (one Argentine technologist used to say: 'Even with the recipe, one can never bake a cake as rich as grandmother does'). Nuclear fuel cycle is a very challenging technological endowment, as is the successful independent operation of a nuclear station. As to the proposals for alternative and lower cost developments one has to understand that, 'caminante no hay caminos, se hace camino al andar'.

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Richard Tardanico and Rafael Menjívar Larín (eds.), *Global Restructuring, Employment, and Social Inequality in Urban Latin America* (Miami: University of Miami, North-South Center Press, 1998), pp. ii + 295, £19.95 pb.

This volume limits itself to an urban focus and to four specific themes in its analysis of changes in employment patterns and social inequality in Latin America. These four themes (sectoral recomposition, precarious and informal employment, gender recomposition and territorial redistribution) are centred around widely-held hypotheses about the impact of global restructuring on Latin American labour markets. The usefulness of the book lies in its attempt to test the validity of these hypotheses across a range of cases, including smaller as well as the large country cases (excepting Brazil). The individual contributing authors stick admirably to the four-theme schema.

The result is a partial confirmation of the importance of these areas of research, but at the (constructive) expense of raising new doubts about specific popular assumptions within each domain. For example, the feminisation of employment could not unequivocally be associated with an increase in precariousness, the rise of which affected men in some cases more than it did women. The importance of globalisation among the causes of feminisation was difficult to establish alongside longer-term secular changes, including intra- and inter-household 'push'-factors. Equally or more important than the female-male dichotomy were the kinds of changes taking place within and across these categories, including increased intra-group polarisation in wage- and working conditions. The hypothesis about sharply reduced public sector employment across the continent was also shaken with the finding that re-orientation (de-centralisation) of public employment (rather than net overall reductions) accounted for the slimming down of central bureaucracies in a range of cases. And, whereas spatial deconcentration of employment did occur in a number of countries, it was mainly restricted to metropolitan agglomerations, with Mexico as the only significant exception.

Hence the book ends up charting the movements towards greater *differentiation* rather than unity on the changing map of urban labour markets in Latin America. This includes local policy responses to globalisation, both among the countries that have pursued radical neo-liberal policies, and those that have taken a more mixed approach. In this context, the juxtaposition of Costa Rica and Chile, the

two cases where 'opportunity' was more important than 'hardship' in the shaping of labour market changes, usefully brings out the different bases of these countries' relative success in adjusting through the 1980s and 1990s, and the possible trade-offs in terms of sustainability and the quality of employment with which each path was associated. The challenge of increased employment differentiation itself and indeed the more broadly-based role of the public sector in social welfare in Costa Rica, compared for example with Chile, raise the question of the role of public institutions in mediating socially equitable responses to globalisation, though without addressing the problem of comparability of welfare systems and outcomes. The book also usefully points to the varied employment and social gains from the growth of new cites of export production, depending on such factors as local community organisation (Guatemala) and public social infrastructure support (Costa Rica).

A possible weakness of the book (which the editors acknowledge) lies with the availability and comparability of data, as the country authors rely largely on the generally accessible national-level datasets. These exclude new forms of labour market insertion, as again the authors point out, whereas the varied traditions of data-collection between countries preclude a strict comparative analysis of employment conditions even at the aggregate level. Definitions of key concepts vary almost by chapter and are partly dictated by available statistics, but the book does provide an important insight into the practical nuances of concepts such as informality and precariousness, including the rising precariousness of *formal* work, and the resultant need for a sensitized re-evaluation of traditional dualistic analysis (formal-informal). The discussion of national data is especially useful in the longer country chapters, particularly on formality and precariousness (Chile), feminisation (Costa Rica), and precariousness and regionalisation (Mexico). Readers will search in vain for analysis of non-urban employment, and of such areas of importance to employment conditions as training or the framework of industrial relations. Still, this omission may well have been useful in allowing the contributors to probe more deeply within the selected areas, and hence does not detract from the book's main attractiveness, namely the cogent discussion of a delimited set of employment themes across a broad section of country cases.

University of Oxford LUISE HAAGH

Eileen Stillwaggon, *Stunted Lives, Stagnant Economies: Poverty, Disease, and Underdevelopment* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), pp. xv + 342, $50.00, $23.00 pb.

The book considers relationships between poverty, health and development, focusing principally on the Argentine experience. It is virtually the only substantial study of health and healthcare in Argentina to have been published in English. Indeed, the Spanish language literature is itself extremely limited and of variable quality. Given the scale of healthcare problems in Argentina and the funds (both national and external) currently being ploughed into reforms, this study is a very welcome addition to a debate, which has been almost entirely defined by neo-liberal economists. It provides an important counterweight to the up-beat orientation of recent World Bank reports and a reminder of the colossal

institutional and political barriers to developing a decent health service for the country's most vulnerable groups.

A key strength of the book is that it takes a holistic approach to health issues, putting them in as broad a context as possible. It shows that there is no quick fix for Argentina's healthcare failings. Instead, problems such as an extreme over supply of doctors and a failure to immunise about 40 per cent of the population against measles, can only be understood with reference to the country's historical experience, institutional traditions and general development trajectory. Although the author takes pains to avoid being what she considers to be culturally judgmental, she claims that many of these problems are facilitated by a culture where civility, altruism and the work ethic are often alien concepts.

Stillwaggon makes effective use of anecdote and newspaper reports to support the limited 'formal' data available. Many of these stories, such as the 'disappearance' of over a thousand patients from a single Buenos Aires psychiatric asylum (most probably victims of the illegal human organ trade), are shocking and graphic reminders of just how bad things are on the ground, although they sometimes give the book a journalistic tone. At times Stillwaggon's use of data is rather lax. Although reliable up-to-date information does not always exist, some figures (such as government and private healthcare expenditure) are taken from the late 1970s or early 1980s, when more recent information is readily available. Also, the author tends to take interviews with medical personnel at face-value, without questioning the individual's objectivity or potential bias.

As is apparent in the title, Stillwaggon argues that failing to ensure acceptable levels of health for society as well as a whole imposes an economic as well as a social cost. This point is made convincingly, as are the potential improvements to health policy listed in the final chapter. Due to its originality and its at times depressing realism, this book should be recommended reading for all those interested in health and social development in Latin America as a whole.

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PETER LLOYD-SHERLOCK

John D. French and Daniel James (eds.), *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. viii + 320, £52.00, £17.95 pb.

The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers, a collection of essays about women's factory labour in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Guatemala, uses a wide range of levels of analysis – the individual, the family, the community, the workplace, the labour union, elite discourses about women workers, and electoral life – reflecting the different 'worlds' inhabited by working class women.

The aim of this collection 'to combine analysis of structural conditioning features with the study of gendered agents' (p. 5) is admirably achieved in an engaging series of essays which examine working women's agency and consciousness, the impact of women's work outside the home on the dynamics

of power within the patriarchal structure of the family, and the permanently contested negotiation of female identity which takes place as a result of the contradiction and consonance between the reality of working women's lives and the feminine ideal sponsored by the dominant patriarchal system(s). The need to recognise and explore the existence of multiple patriarchal norms, ideologies and practices, instead of accepting as given a single, undifferentiated patriarchy, is a point made by the editors in the opening chapter, but is not particularly developed in most of the chapters. While this research leaves behind univocal constructions of female identity and successfully reflects the multiple identities of women workers, the 'gendered worlds' examined in the book seem to be structured by a unique, 'Latin American' patriarchal system, impervious to differences of ethnicity, race, region, and generation. Klubock's chapter sets out specifically to explore the 'articulation of male mine workers' masculinity and working-class women's femininity as part of the process of class formation' (p. 233), thus highlighting the fluid and constantly negotiated nature of patriarchy, but some of the other studies do not explore in depth the impact of, for example, immigration or rural-urban migration on the construction of what may be multiple co-existing systems of patriarchy, or a single system in a state of constant flux and re-negotiation.

This one weakness, however, does not diminish the importance of this otherwise analytically-rigorous and rich collection which makes full, but not uncritical, use of oral testimony to document the lives of those doubly silenced by virtue of their class and gender. Personal narratives are combined with creative use of official sources, such as legal documents, company employment and disciplinary records, to explore topics which have tended to be ignored by most Latin American social and labour histories: domestic violence and its link to men and women's changing positions in the workplace; sociability and paternalistic discipline in the workplace; attempts by industrialists to reorganise gender relations in order to establish a constant and stable labour force, through the systematisation of vocational education or the policing of women's sexuality.

The Gendered World of Latin American Women Workers is an illuminating collection, the diversity of which reflects the multiple gendered spaces inhabited by women factory workers and the multiple identities negotiated by them in their daily lives. It represents an important step towards the development of a fully gendered labour history which recognises that the issues of class and gender are 'inside one another', neither one more important or prior to the other.

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Geertje Lycklama à Nijeholt, Virginia Vargas and Saskia Wieringa (eds.), *Women's Movements and Public Policy in Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean: Vol. 2, Gender, Culture, and Global Politics* (Hamden, CT: Garland Publishing, 1998), pp. xiii + 189, $38.00 hb.

This book examines the struggles to attain full citizenship rights for women at national, regional and global levels, using as its analytical framework the metaphor of the 'triangle of empowerment', described as the interaction between

the women's movement, feminist politicians and feminist civil servants. This transnational study of these actors' struggles to increase women's participation in the public sphere, translate women's demands into policy issues, and widen political support for their goals makes an important contribution to current research into the gendered meanings of democracy and citizenship.

The first chapter provides a useful discussion of often-contested issues which inform the construction of triangles of empowerment, such as women's movements and interests, autonomy and solidarity, and the relationship between civil society and the state. It then provides a comparative overview of historical and contemporary women's movements in Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe, carefully located in the socio-political specificities of these regions. Chapter two provides a valuable account of the development of the international institutional arena within which women have struggled for their rights from its emergence in the post-war period to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The mapping of the triangle of empowerment onto the global institutional framework illustrates how growing interaction between the different actors has led to gains at national and global levels and provides a lucid evaluation of the construction of a global women's network.

The following seven chapters provide national-level case studies (Jamaica, Peru, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, the Netherlands and Norway) of the struggles around women's rights, although not all the chapters are equally successful in maintaining the focus on the specific issue of the triangle of empowerment. McKenzie's chapter on Jamaica is a well-documented account of the development of feminist activism within and outside the state, but includes little analysis of the relations between the various actors. Halsaa's chapter on Norway and Lamas' on Mexico, on the other hand, provide cogent analyses of the construction of triangles of empowerment between the women's movement, feminist politicians and femocrats. While Outshoorn and Swiebel's chapter on the Netherlands also maintains a clear focus throughout on the three-way relations between these actors, the trajectory of their struggles is rather confused – an appended chronology would have been helpful.

This book encompasses a wide range of countries with differing political and socio-economic histories, and inevitably the specificity of the national political culture influences the articulation of the triangle of empowerment and the degree of success it enjoys in each case. The fate of state gender institutions in Peru (Anderson) and Pitanguy's account of the rise and fall of the National Council of Women's Rights in Brazil, for example, clearly illustrate how institutional space for dealing with gender issues within the state may expand or shrink, depending on the realignment or restructuring of political forces and the strength of conservative reaction. However, what the comparative angle of this collection highlights most strongly are the common issues which, in all the countries examined, prove central to the struggle for women's citizenship rights: how social interests crosscut the gender interests of the actors in the triangle of empowerment; how the issues of solidarity and autonomy affect the articulation of that triangle; the fact that women's presence within the arenas of state power is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the advancement of women's struggles; and the practical problems encountered in the attempt to institutionalise gender issues and develop gender-sensitive public policies. What is missing is a final chapter pulling together these common threads and drawing

political and strategy implications. Such a conclusion would have recovered the transnational and global perspectives of this collection, which set it apart from previous research on women's movements.

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