

Reviews

Eduardo Zimmermann (ed.), *Judicial Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1999), pp. vii + 123, £12.00 pb.

Lack of judicial autonomy and professionalism have often been identified as critical defects in Latin American political systems. Historical research on the actual functioning of law enforcement and judicial institutions, however, is a relatively neglected aspect of the historiography of nation and state-building in the region. In 1998, the University of London's Institute of Latin American Studies focused its Fourth Nineteenth-Century History Workshop on 'The History of Justice in Nineteenth-Century Latin America' to encourage further study of the topic. This small collection of provocative essays based on extensive archival research and synthesis of the most recent research on colonial and post-colonial criminal justice and administration is the product of that workshop.

Editor Eduardo Zimmermann's introduction makes clear that a basic tension in understanding nineteenth-century judicial institutions was the survival of many aspects of the corporatist, authoritarian colonial legal culture and institutions, at the same time that 'nation-builders' wrote constitutions inspired by liberal ideas emphasising individualism and equality. Most of the articles in this volume, therefore, offer a snapshot of *colonial* judicial institutions and administration before moving to national cases in the first half of the nineteenth century. In common, after considering the colonial legacies in varying detail, the articles describe recent research on state formation and the evolution of judicial institutions in post-independence Latin America. The authors agree that after independence the countries of the region experienced, in their different ways, a 'contrast between liberal ideals and authoritarian practices'. With the editor, the authors conclude that the 'dynamic interplay between continuity and change that characterised nineteenth-century Latin American societies was particularly salient in the evolution of judicial institutions' (Zimmermann, p. 7).

While all the essays treat topics related broadly to post-colonial 'judicial institutions', they are, individually, a synthesis of disparate research programmes rather than a collection of articles intended to provide representative geographical or chronological coverage on particular themes. Only brief consideration of the individual contributions allows an accurate overview of the collection.

The volume's first article examines colonial legal culture, the second the role of colonial and republican lawyers, the third the significance and operation of the military *fueros* (in Mexico) after independence, the fourth the influence of the legacy of colonial judicial institutions in Brazil, and the fifth focuses on criminal justice and state formation in early nineteenth-century Buenos Aires. A great strength of these different research programmes is their systematic incorporation of findings from the expanding secondary literature and their heavily-documented, archive-based research on colonial as well as nineteenth-century

topics. On matters of interpretation it is possible to disagree with some of the conclusions that the authors offer, but these researchers have paid their dues in full in colonial and nineteenth-century archives.

Charles Cutter's summary of the 'legal culture of Spanish America on the eve of independence', sets the methodological example and the tone. Cutter emphasises the importance of the notions of *equidad* and *arbitrio judicial* (fairness, balance, compatibility with community expectations, judicial discretion) in the colonial regime, concepts that contrasted markedly with liberal notions of literal 'rule of law'. He concludes that in the colonial period 'in a striking number of cases, provincial magistrates used their judicial discretion to find solutions that met the expectations and upheld the contemporary values of the community', (p. 23) and that judicial discretion 'allowed magistrates to respond to community needs and sensibilities reasonably well', or even as a 'legitimate expression of popular values' (p. 24).

Liberal legal principles, at least formally, espoused equality before the law and uniform application of legal norms. For this reason independence posed the challenge to judicial institutions of accommodating and adapting to the new political paradigms. Law, almost everywhere, embodies custom and also expresses existing power relationships in society. Social, economic and cultural change create contradictions between law and 'necessity' or make contradictions between law and community expectations more evident. Given that colonial law, particularly criminal law, was dispensed in accord with the 'calidad' (genotype, phenotype and social status) of subjects, and that 'social harmony' depended on maintaining, as far as possible, the discriminatory system imposed by colonial law and administrators, it is at least necessary to ask if Cutter has somewhat romanticised the subordinates' attachment to this system, even while recognising, as he points out, that to maintain harmony, 'the law had to provide not only for elites but also for subordinate members of society. They, too, held certain expectations of the legal system' (p. 22).

From Cutter's overview of the colonial legal culture the reader jumps to a witty study of colonial and republican lawyers (V́ctor Uribe) and to a detailed analysis of cases decided within the jurisdiction of military law in early national Mexico (Linda Arnold). Uribe focuses on the question whether there were 'too many' or 'too few' lawyers in colonial Latin America and in the early republican period. Comparing lawyers per capita in New Spain, Peru, New Granada and Ŕo de la Plata, he demonstrates that there were far fewer trained lawyers per capita in the colonies than in the British North American colonies and early independent USA. France and England had even more lawyers. But for Spanish colonial administrators there were 'too many' lawyers – because of their 'inconvenient activities and expectations' (pp. 34–7). Moreover, the lack of sufficient trained legal personnel hindered establishment of effective national and regional judicial institutions in the decades after independence. Arnold concludes in her study of the *fuero militar* that it persisted in early national Mexico 'because thousands of people – plaintiffs, outlaws, abandoned wives and abandoned children, privates and corporals, attorneys and judges, guards and officers – actively asserted agency, albeit some not voluntarily, in corporate society' (p. 61).

Arnold's careful research on Mexico contradicts Bushnell and Macaulay's (1994) general observations that the military jealously guarded its jurisdiction. But Arnold (at least in this article) does not distinguish between the importance

of civil and criminal jurisdiction cases. Her conclusions seem to reinforce those of Cutter, that somehow historians and others have given colonial institutions, like the military *fueros*, a bad rap. At least after independence in Mexico ‘there is no evidence to suggest that justice was any more or any less privileged in the military corporation than in ordinary jurisdiction’ (p. 61). Perhaps an equally important question, following the lead of Zimmermann’s introduction, would be: what were the *political implications* of maintaining military jurisdiction over cases involving public order, ‘bandits’, and *facciosos*? What we do know is that into the twentieth century military jurisdiction over such cases transformed adversaries into ‘bandits’ – subject to summary execution, making the survival of the military jurisdictional *fuero* a matter of life and death rather than semantics. Conveniently, even US diplomats adopted this semantic legalese, for example for Pancho Villa in Mexico and Augustus César Sandino in Nicaragua.

From consideration of the Mexican *fuero militar* the reader then moves to Thomas Holloway’s description of evolving judicial institutions in early independent Brazil and Osvaldo Barraneche’s analysis of change and continuities in Buenos Aires from 1810 to the 1830s. Holloway’s article, drawing on his *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a 19th Century City* (1993), focuses on the gradual centralisation of the judicial system and its subordination to the national government at the same time that police discretion and functions expanded. Holloway concludes that this outcome was a response to the disorder and violence of the city, an effort to contain and suppress the ‘seamless continuum’ of military sedition, mob violence, proliferation of urban gangs, slave escapes, personal assaults and petty theft (p. 84). In Brazil, as in Spanish America, politics meant the exercise of power against the many to defend the few – making judicial institutions an arm of political control rather than a set of procedures to protect citizens in their encounters with branches of the state. Authoritarian liberalism combined high-sounding constitutional principles with repression to assure ‘system maintenance’. Barrenche analyses changes and continuities in criminal justice administration from 1810 to the 1830s in Buenos Aires, documenting in case law the clash between penal practices based on *calidad* (social status) of defendants and the new liberal legal principles. Nevertheless, he concludes that *criollo* society (1810–1820) was ‘not ready to appreciate the merits of a liberal system’ (p. 89). Understandably, the authorities gave precedence to police and military budgets into the 1840s and political instability meant job insecurity for judges. After 1835, the Rosas regime thoroughly politicised judicial appointments. But Barrenche concludes that adaptation of colonial criminal procedures to nineteenth-century circumstances were not only transitional – they ‘remained as a permanent feature of the system’ (p. 103).

In the final article, Eduardo Zimmermann surveys legal education in Argentina to approximately 1880. This is the only article in the collection that considers judicial institutions after the 1860s. Zimmermann takes the reader back to 1821, describes the formation of the first *juzgados letrados* in the 1820s, then quickly vaults to the 1860s, summarises the Alberdi-Sarmiento debate over the role of lawyers in state-building (and returns to the ‘too many’ or ‘too few’ lawyers debate introduced by Uribe), the debate over the utility of US constitutional and legal principles in Argentina, and the battle to introduce study of the civil code into the law school curriculum. Zimmermann concludes the article as he began the collection, emphasising the blurring that occurred between legal, judicial and

political matters – to which should be added that this blurring was not, and is not, unique to nineteenth-century Latin America. This intertwining of political, legal, judicial and law enforcement themes might have been the proper topic for a brief bringing-together of themes by the editor from the other articles to supplement the six-page introduction that prefaced the volume.

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BRIAN LOVEMAN

Jeremy Adelman, *Republic of Capital: Buenos Aires and the Legal Transformation of the Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. x + 376, £35.00 hb; \$55.00 hb.

This ambitious work considers an often overlooked issue in the historiography of Latin America: how new and unstable states undertook to create and protect property rights. Without transparent and enforceable property rights – backed by clear contract law – market economies will not function. Unless the entire population enjoys equal rights under both law and tradition, then markets will generate *both* inequality and inefficiency. However, establishing clear property rights was no easy task for new and unstable Latin American republics. Using concepts taken from the New Institutional Economics, Jeremy Adelman has crafted a clear and compelling narrative of how nineteenth-century Argentine governments eventually succeeded in creating a body of law and a governmental structure that allowed them credibly to commit to protect private property rights.

Argentina, in particular, faced extreme political instability upon gaining independence. However, the nation's contesting factions faced a dilemma. They all knew that without, in Adelman's words, 'defensible contracts and fiduciary' business would be impossible, and the Argentine economy would stagnate. Yet factions which attempted to commit to protect property rights and establish a stable currency faced defeat by less scrupulous opponents.

Argentina's creole elite failed to agree on the rules for a new political system. In Buenos Aires, the regime resorted to inflationary confiscations in order to finance its battles against the rebellious provinces. When provincial forces invaded Buenos Aires, they looted and pillaged. Peace in Buenos Aires came only under the iron dictatorship of Juan Manuel de Rosas (1829–32 and 1835–59). With Rosas came property rights and growth. Dictatorship produced economic growth: Argentine exports, for example, essentially stagnated between 1822 and 1837, but more than doubled in the next 12 years, despite British and French blockades in 1838–40 and 1845–47. Why, however, was the Rosas regime so successful? Was it due to the implicit competition provided by competing factions in the provinces? Adelman's evidence makes this unlikely – in fact, it was resumed warfare with political factions that caused the Rosas agreement to begin to collapse in promiscuous issues of paper money and 'the confiscation of property to an immense extent' (p. 137).

Why then did merchants and landowners in Buenos Aires not fear that Rosas would confiscate their properties? Adelman mentions that Rosas was unable to make credible commitments, but the fact that economic activity apparently expanded so prodigiously means that his commitments must have been at least partially credible. What, then, was the basis for this partial credibility? What kept

Rosas from simply stealing everything? Why exactly was Argentine cronyism under Rosas less (or perhaps more) successful than Mexican cronyism under Porfirio Díaz? Did Rosas succeed despite or because of the existence of external opposition? The Rosas episode contains fascinating lessons for all students of politics and political history. By the same token, a more rigorous approach to the analysis of the constitutional deal that was finally struck in the 1860s that would have helped make the book's conclusions more general.

This is not to take away from Adelman's accomplishments. His command of the history, both political and legal, is wide and deep. The chapters on the evolution of the private legal system used by the Buenos Aires merchants are excellently written. Not only does he cover the influence of changing ideologies on legal conventions, but he shows why changing political and economic circumstances made the old conventions increasingly untenable. The older merchant law could deal with neither political instability nor the tremendous increase in 'the number, value, and complexity of exchanges' (p. 163).

To sum up, this is an excellent work that will be of immense value not only to scholars of Argentine history, but to anyone who is interested in the history of ideas or the impact of laws and political institutions on economic change.

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NOEL MAURER

Gisela Cramer, *Argentinien im Schatten des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Probleme der Wirtschaftspolitik und der Übergang zur Ära Perón* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), pp. x + 395, DM 128 pb.

Scholarly works on Argentina during the Second World War focus predominantly, as Gisela Cramer points out in the introduction to her book, on the political dimension, particularly foreign policy, Perón's rise to power and the formation of the Peronist movement. Overall accounts of the economic policies of the war years are, on the other hand, still lacking, although it is generally argued that with the birth of Peronism Argentina's economy was profoundly and lastingly transformed. Cramer sets out to address this imbalance. Her objective is to identify the economic problems that arose during the war years, the strategies contemporary protagonists developed to avert them and the public reaction to these measures. In order to achieve this ambitious aim, Cramer describes economic issues and decisions against the background of the political altercations and debates of the period under discussion. Preceded by an overview of the Argentine economy during the 1930s, the main body of the book is divided into three chapters, all of which nicely interweave the political and economic spheres. The first looks at the crisis caused by the outbreak of the war and the plans for reforms which were proposed in order to avert, or at least minimise, its impact on the Argentine economy, particularly the *Plan Pinedo*. The second chapter analyses the last years of the conservative restoration, which ended with the overthrow of the administration of Ramón S. Castillo by the military in June 1943. The last section discusses the period between the military coup and Perón's victory in the presidential elections in February 1946.

Characteristic of all three periods was, as Cramer demonstrates, the primacy of politics and the trend towards increasing state intervention. The return of

electoral fraud and intimidation under Castillo, who assumed the presidency after Ortíz's de facto resignation in July 1940, was, for instance, a crucial factor for the foundering of the initial efforts to stabilise the economy; the opposition Radicals simply refused to consider government proposals. Until the end of his administration the economic debates were overshadowed by altercations over Castillo's increasingly authoritarian course within the country and a foreign policy which openly defied the attempts of the United States to forge a united front against the Axis powers. The government benefitted, however, from the fact that the export restrictions imposed by Washington after the Rio conference were limited – the Allies still needed Argentina's agricultural products – and therefore they did not immediately harm the economy. The restrictions meant, rather, that new jobs were created. Still, Cramer points out that the economic growth was 'qualitatively precarious', because the transport system as well as the industrial and agricultural sectors 'lived on their capital' (p. 189). Although the direct impact of the US sanctions, then, was limited, they nevertheless caused harm in the long run. At the end of the war the items of capital expenditure and the transport sector showed signs of wear, and the degree of mechanisation of the agricultural sector had markedly declined. The economic growth registered until 1944 was essentially due to the maximal use of existing production capacities, while at the same time the rate of efficiency deteriorated. This development stood in sharp contrast to Canada and Australia as well as Latin American countries, particularly Brazil, where the USA helped to lay the foundations for a modern heavy industry.

During the military regime political considerations still outweighed economic ones, as the various administrations, which were increasingly dominated by Perón, initiated measures that primarily aimed at the strengthening of their positions. Rents for housing and agricultural leases were lowered, for example, and military expenditures were considerably increased. Cramer consequently rejects claims that the 'Peronist economic policy' can be described as 'a kind of reflex to US-American sanctions' (p. 353), because the industrial policy emphasised the consumer goods industry but did not reduce the dependency on critical imports. Key elements of Perón's conceptual measures were ad hoc decisions, often addressing day-to-day issues related to the preservation of power, rather than the elaboration of a coherent economic plan. It is therefore hardly justified to argue, she notes, that Perón aimed at Argentine's 'autarky', since this would have implied different positions on social measures and military expenditures, which continued to be high. Perón's strategy can be more adequately described as a 'pronounced form of *desarrollo hacia adentro*' (p. 354). And although the economic politics of his administrations did not lead to optimal results, Cramer states that they should not be held responsible for the decades of economic stagnation that followed, as for instance Carlos Waisman has argued. In general Argentina's political elite was badly prepared for the problems it was about to face after 1945. Cramer consequently claims that Perón's strategies ought to be seen in a broader context. He belonged to a generation of post-war politician that was convinced that the state should play a decisive role in levelling social differences within Argentine society, ban poverty and cut back unemployment.

Despite the generally fluid style and her well-presented arguments, the book has two shortcomings. Firstly, Cramer fails adequately to incorporate the

available literature, limited as it may be, and thereby undermines her own efforts, as it is not always entirely clear where she breaks new ground. Secondly, the frequent quotes from Spanish sources, and to a lesser extent English ones, are generally not translated, even when they are used within the main text. Occasionally the reader faces the problem that one paragraph consists of three languages, which considerably reduces the readability of the text. Still, Cramer's book is a welcome contribution to an aspect of Argentine history that has been ignored for too long.

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MARCUS KLEIN

James W. McGuire, *Peronism without Perón: Unions, Parties, and Democracy in Argentina* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. xvii + 388, £37.50 hb.

Peronism Without Perón makes an important contribution to our understanding of Argentina's power regime instability and, in the process, offers a rich and insightful look inside of one of Latin America's least understood political parties. The book's central theoretical claim is that institutionalised parties are critical to regime stability, particularly in countries with powerful socioeconomic actors. When sectoral elites lack an institutionalised party to channel their interests in the electoral arena they will have less of a stake in the preservation of democratic institutions and will be more likely to engage in actions that subvert those institutions. The book draws on the case of postwar Argentina, where the Peronist (now Justicialista) party was never 'infused with value', and trade unions never acquired a strong stake in electoral politics. As a result the unions routinely employed regime-threatening praetorian tactics – and in a few cases supported military coups – in defence of their interests.

McGuire centres his analysis on the question of why the Peronist party never institutionalised itself. Although he locates the 'genetic' causes of weak institutionalisation in Peronism's charismatic origins, he focuses primarily on its *sustaining* causes. This leads him to an analysis of the strategies of leading political and sectoral elites. The book examines two major missed opportunities for party institutionalisation: the party-building project of metalworkers union leader Augusto Vandor in the 1960s and the 'Renewal' process of the late 1980s. In each case, efforts to establish a more institutionalised party fell victim to the plebiscitarian tactics of top leaders.

The analysis of the rise and eventual defeat of *vandorismo* (chapters four and five) is the core of the study and its greatest contribution. The book presents the Vandor–Perón struggle as rooted in a conflict between 'routinizing' and charismatic projects. After Perón's overthrow in 1955, material interests created a strong incentive for union leaders to seek out stable mechanisms for the channeling of demands. Given that Perón's return was unacceptable to the military, such a mechanism would have to be a 'neo-Peronist' party based on unions and provincial bosses. Yet for Perón, whose primary objectives were to maintain control of Peronism and eventually return to power, the consolidation of a 'Peronism without Perón' was a worst-case scenario. Indeed, much of the

exiled leader's seemingly erratic behaviour between 1957 and 1966 can be understood as an effort to prevent such an outcome. McGuire shows how the strategic interaction between Vandor and Perón evolved into a full-scale battle for control of the movement, and how divisions within organised labour, which led key union leaders to back Perón in an effort to weaken Vandor, ultimately helped to ensure Perón's victory.

One of the book's most important claims is that the collapse of Vandor's party-building project was an important cause of Argentina's post-1966 regime instability (pp. 145–50). Because the *vandoristas* were moderate and staunchly anti-communist, military leaders viewed a Vandor-led PJ as an acceptable political alternative and might well have allowed it to participate in the 1967 election. Hence, it is quite conceivable that if Vandor had succeeded in gaining control of Peronism, organised labour would have been re-integrated into the party system. Such an outcome could have produced what Collier and Collier (1991) call an integrative party system, which, by giving labour a stake in democratic politics, might have facilitated democratic consolidation. Although the book may overstate Vandor's capacity to consolidate a labour-based party (Peronists' lack of interest in party-building after Perón's death suggests that Vandor would have faced enormous obstacles to party institutionalisation), this argument is nevertheless a compelling one.

Chapters seven and eight apply a similar analytic framework to the PJ's evolution in the 1980s and 1990s. McGuire argues that although the 'Renewal' movement of the mid-1980s made unprecedented strides toward party institutionalisation, two factors undermined this process. First, major union factions, such as the '15' and *ubaldinismo*, did not invest in the party, but rather pursued their goals through mass mobilisation (*ubaldinismo*) or direct negotiations with state (the '15'). Second, Carlos Menem's plebiscitarian leadership 'abruptly reversed' the institutionalisation process after 1988 (p. 24). Like Perón, Menem disdained party organisation, preferring to 'cultivate direct, affective links between himself and ordinary Peronists' (p. 212). As president, he de-activated the party organisation, chose non-party members for key cabinet posts and encouraged the nomination of outsider candidates for public office (pp. 241–48). In the conclusion, McGuire suggests that Menem's de-institutionalisation of the PJ helped to prevent democratic consolidation in the 1990s (pp. 281–83).

Although *Peronism Without Perón* is not the first study to examine the party systematic causes of regime instability in Argentina, it breaks new ground in several ways. First, unlike structuralist approaches to Argentine regime instability, which essentially take the 'populist threat' as given, McGuire treats it as a historically contingent outcome. He goes inside O'Donnell's (1973) 'impossible game', analysing the interrelationships among the strategies of party and union leaders, weak party institutionalisation and regime instability. Ultimately, he concludes that the 'impossible game' scenario was not inevitable. Union leaders had an incentive to institutionalise a party, and had Perón not invested his considerable political skill in defeating that project, it might well have pushed Argentina down a more stable regime path.

Second, the book provides what may be the best available analysis of the internal dynamics of post-1955 Peronism. Instead of simply treating Peronism as a charismatic (and hence 'irrational') movement, McGuire provides an explanation of Peronist behaviour that is firmly grounded in interests. The book's

analysis of union behaviour is particularly strong. Drawing on Waltz's theories of international relations, McGuire claims that union alliances and conflicts are often a product of 'turf battles', or the 'balancing' strategies of union leaders seeking to weaken a powerful rival. Given the autonomy from the rank-and-file enjoyed by Argentine union leaders, the assumption that unions act as power maximisers is reasonable, and the book provides a compelling explanation of union alignments in the 1960s, the 1980s and the 1990s. However, the story also has an institutional component: Argentine unions behave like Waltzian states because power is concentrated in industry-level unions, rather than in a centralised confederation. If the General Labor Confederation functioned as an encompassing labour confederation capable of disciplining individual unions, then union behavior would be quite different.

Although one is hard pressed to find major flaws in this work, one weakness is its failure to take the PJ's *informal* structure sufficiently into account. The PJ developed a powerful patronage-based organisation after 1983. Although this organisation was thoroughly informal, party and union leaders invested heavily in it. This process of informal party-building continued unabated in the 1990s, despite Menem's anti-party behaviour. McGuire's focus on formal party structures leads him to ignore this process and, as a result, he overstates the PJ's de-institutionalisation (and, arguably, the vulnerability of democracy) in the 1990s.

Still, *Peronism Without Perón* is the most important work published to date on the evolution of the Peronist party and its relationship to the labour movement. The book establishes McGuire as a leading expert on Peronism and Argentine labour, and it makes a compelling case for the importance of institutionalised parties to democratic stability. It is a must-read for students of Argentine politics.

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STEVEN LEVITSKY

Judy Bieber, *Power, Patronage, and Political Violence: State Building on a Brazilian Frontier, 1822–1889* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), pp. ix + 253, £30.00 hb.

Patronage is experiencing something of a renaissance in the field of Latin American history and Judy Bieber's study makes a valuable contribution. The benefit of studying patronage has always been its ability to reveal society's multiple layers, allowing us to see kin, class and politics interact within a web of local, provincial and national interrelations. Early works in the field, notwithstanding notable exceptions, were limited by reliance on traditional political meta-narrative and stereotyped imagery of caudillo patrons and brutalised peasant clients. Richard Graham's seminal study *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth Century Brazil* (1990) arguably sparked the renaissance. He and a host of other scholars have since added breadth and depth to the standard queries. Additionally, they are adding new layers of complexity by employing social and cultural concepts such as honour, gender, power, identity, ethnicity, language and space. Beyond their obvious contribution to the pool of historical knowledge, these scholars are raising broader theoretical and methodological issues. They challenge us to consider the numerous layers of identity in society and to allow for multiple explanatory variables.

The strength of Bieber's work is that it functions on many different levels. Her primary focus is local, specifically three municipalities in the isolated *comarca* of Rio São Francisco in the semi-arid interior, or *sertão*, of northern Minas Gerais. Her three main arguments revolve around the contribution of regional politics to our understanding of broader Brazilian politics. First, Bieber insists that local politicians were not backward, as they have been portrayed previously, but rather were as adept at playing the game of patronage as their provincial and national counterparts. Next, Bieber contends that political centralisation had negative consequences for the municipalities. Party replaced kin and region as the basis of patronage when provincial and national officials gained control over municipal politics and finances by 1850. The result was a surge in sectarian violence as overlooked locals exacted revenge on their favoured adversaries. Lastly, Bieber argues that the origins of Brazil's patronage system can be found in the imperial era (1822–1889) rather than in the decentralised First Republic (1889–1930), as some past scholars have contended.

Bieber constantly moves in and out of her regional focus as she explores the many layers of political life. She goes upward to provincial and national levels showing how they are central to understanding conditions in São Francisco. She also moves downward into the personal realm of the household, illustrating the relevance of identity and its attendant notions of honour and gender. In any section in the book the reader might be asked to move conceptually from a household or an individual up the emperor in Rio and back again. It is a sophisticated, often challenging, and ultimately rewarding approach.

A notable contribution is Chapter 7, 'The Moral Economy of Partisan Identity and Liberal Ideology'. In this chapter Bieber describes how politicians constructed notions of political honour and used to portray themselves and their factions as righteous relative to opponents. Bieber employs two sources of documentation: private correspondence between municipal authorities and their superiors; and the public, partisan press. By looking at the language in these sources, or what she refers to as the 'language of liberalism'. Bieber links partisan factionalism with ideology, or the lack thereof, to illustrate political identity formation. This chapter provides us with a rare opportunity to see how patronage looks in the mind's eye of its participants.

My reaction to this book is overwhelmingly positive, but there are issues worth raising. There are some recurrent contradictions between Bieber's arguments and the imagery that her language and evidence sometimes brings to mind. An example of this can be found in her portrayal of patronage before and after political centralisation. In making state centralisation responsible for municipal degradation, patronage prior to 1850 sometimes comes across as being more benign than she intends. In the conclusion to chapter 5 Bieber says that local elites did not '*go out of their way* to target or punish the popular classes prior to 1850' (my italics). This vague wording creates a soft premise upon which to base a major argument. It also seems contradicted by evidence. For instance, the case of José de Azevedo, a local political boss active prior to 1850, reveals a murderous thug with acted with impunity and punished many a poor person with vigour. I had difficulty seeing major differences between him, other pre-1850 bosses and the supposedly more oppressive post-1850 bosses. This contradiction is lessened somewhat when the readers appreciate that Bieber's pre/post-1850 argument is meant to be more qualitative than quantitative and to address

electoral issues specifically rather than violence against poor people in general. Nonetheless, the contradiction is hard to shake.

There is a similar dichotomy at work in Bieber's effort to build up local politicians. In arguing that they were no less skilled in politics than their provincial and national counterparts national patronage sometimes comes across as more legitimate than Bieber intends. This is evident in Bieber's discussion of the language of liberalism. Bieber illustrates that politicians employed language laden with references to liberal ideology. She says that these references were little more than the bloated rhetoric of patronage bosses creating the illusion, or self-delusion, of governmental modernity. When locals used it, however, Bieber sometimes credits them with ideological depth. 'My sources contradicted assumptions voiced by nineteenth-century commentators...that the rural elite adopted liberalism purely out of convenience...rather than ideological commitment' (p. 13; see also p. 158).

I also wonder if there is not more to this issue of language. Instead of language being a passive reflector of politics, perhaps the language of liberalism acted as an independent variable. After many decades of liberal discourse being associated with non-liberal political structures, could it have become a foundation of the status quo and a bulwark against political change? Political reformers would have had the challenge of not only introducing, but also rehabilitating, liberalism in the collective political consciousness.

One issue I have encountered in my own research on patronage is the difficulty in using political and electoral documents to determine what actually happened in a given case. So many accusations of wrongdoing flow back and forth between opposing factions that it quickly becomes apparent that the material reveals more about the political process in general than specific events. Bieber points this out clearly in her introduction (p. 13), but then appears to betray herself on occasion by presenting accusations as events (see p. 88 for just two examples).

Overall, Bieber has provided us with a heavily documented, nuanced monograph that makes a strong contribution to two historiographic fields, Brazil and patronage studies. The contradictions I describe above reappear occasionally and can reveal chinks in the argumentative armour. But if read closely the book is rewarding at several levels as Bieber unfolds and exposes the layers of Brazil's patronage system.

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ERIK CHING

Hendrik Kraay (ed.), *Afro-Brazilian Culture and Politics: Bahia, 1790s to 1990s* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), pp. xiv + 208, \$61.95, \$22.95 pb.

Combining history and anthropology, this book offers six focused vignettes of Afro-Brazilian life in the state of Bahia. An opening chapter by Kraay provides a very useful introduction to Bahia, to the basic lineaments of slavery and abolition there, and to race and politics in the twentieth-century. In her afterword, Kim Butler draws out, rather better than Kraay, the issues raised by the central chapters.

Each chapter is well-crafted and fascinating in its own right. Kraay looks at the changing relationship between black militia officers and the government,

1790–1840. This changed from a situation of racial segregation in which black officers could nevertheless achieve some authority, to an apparently liberal and colour-blind, but actually racist, regime in which black officers were marginalised. Graden provides a good description of Afro-Bahian intellectuals' attacks on *candomblé* and their energetic adherence to a liberalism that categorised such religious practices as backwards. Wimberley shows how *candomblé* was both persecuted and tolerated by the Bahian elite and describes the linkages between *candomblé* and lay Catholic sisterhoods. Mahony asks whether the small-holding economy that emerged on the cacao frontier of southern Bahia favoured the upward mobility of Afro-Bahians, especially in the context of a 1897 land law designed to promote smaller-sized holdings. In practice, smaller landowners, including many Afro-Bahians, were pushed out by larger, whiter landowners.

Two anthropologists – the only contributors based outside the USA – then take up the thread. Santos traces changing twentieth-century attitudes to *capoeira*: its repression and its later appropriation as either invigorating sport or commoditised folklore. Agier examines the resurrection of a *candomblé* house that had fallen into disuse, tracing the priestess's social networks and how she came to occupy that role.

This is well-written and engaging stuff, but I wished some of the chapters had developed their themes more strongly. Agier is one of the few to set his case study in the context of existing theories about *candomblé*, successfully combining symbolic and social network approaches in a rich and complex analysis. Other chapters left me wanting more. The issue of liberal ideologies, for example, crops up in Kraay's and Graden's chapters: in one case, the black militia officers viewed liberalism with suspicion since it threatened their colonial status; in the other, the black middle classes were more bourgeois than the bourgeoisie. Yet we are given little idea of why such a difference existed or of the wider dimensions of liberalism and its meaning for people discriminated against by race – an 'American dilemma', as Gunnar Myrdal called it in his eponymous 1994 book, that affected all the Americas.

More effectively dealt with throughout the book is the fascinating theme of ambivalence and appropriation: Kraay's officers were fiercely loyal to the government, yet eventually rebelled against it; they wanted segregation and also equal treatment. Graden and Wimberley show that *candomblé* was ambivalent: condemned by a black middle class which was nevertheless well acquainted with it; repressed, yet tolerated and even appropriated. Santos shows the same for *capoeira*. Yet the theme – one well-known for black culture in the Americas and well-rehearsed in post-colonial studies – could have been pushed further by these authors, who stayed tied to the Bahian context. Wimberley might have explored, for example, the finer details of the ambivalence of Colonel Tosta, a judge who nevertheless allowed a well-known *candomblé* house to flourish on his plantation. Wimberley notes how *candomblé* was both persecuted by the judges while plantation owners permitted the practice in order to placate their slaves, but Tosta combined the two roles, so how did he square that circle? Also there is nothing about the attractions that *candomblé* might have held for the elites themselves – something that is clearly the case in the twentieth century, but which might have existed previously.

Butler takes up the theme more satisfyingly in her afterword where she adopts the metaphor of *capoeira* to characterise the cultural dynamics of Bahia which

were not 'a match of brute force between two adversaries, but an artful dance of strategy and position involving all of the participants in the circle' (p. 165). This is an excellent image to encompass the multivalency of the various cultural practices and ideas that are described in this book and the complex interplay of the meanings which are constructed by seeing from different perspectives. Even Butler falls back into more oppositional mode at times when she refers to Afro-Bahian alternative spaces subverting 'the elites' attempts to impose a hegemonic world view' (p. 164) or the 'elites' general desire to rid Bahia of its African customs' (p. 165). These may be useful shorthand, but they do not do justice to that 'artful dance' which is hegemony in practice. Butler gives a better feel for this in her brief but good analysis of the Bahia carnival's *blocos afros* and the delicate line they tread between commercialisation and political radicalism, between exploring poor Afro-Bahians and providing them with a livelihood.

University of Manchester

PETER WADE

Michael Hanchard (ed.), *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 225, £34.00, £11.95 pb.

Rebecca Reichmann (ed.), *Race in Contemporary Brazil: From Indifference to Inequality* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1999), pp. xiv + 290, \$57.50 hb, \$19.95 pb.

These two edited volumes complement each other nicely. As its title suggests, the Hanchard volume focuses on political dimensions of Brazilian race relations: specifically, on racial(ised) aspects of politics and citizenship, on black mobilisation, and on possible policy solutions to problems of racial inequality. The contributors to the Reichmann volume are certainly interested in racial politics, but cast their net more broadly to examine other forms of racial inequality as well: in hiring and the workplace, in the criminal justice system, and in education. They also pay much closer attention to the question of gender, and to the relationship between gender inequality and racial inequality, two topics passed over rather lightly in the Hanchard volume (with the exception of a useful essay by Peggy Lovell). A final point of complementarity is that, while the contributors to the Hanchard volume are evenly split between Brazilian authors and North Americans, the Reichmann volume is composed entirely of Brazilian scholars and activists, reflecting the editor's desire to make recent Portuguese-language writings on these topics available to an English-speaking readership.

Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil is based on papers presented at a conference held at the University of Texas in 1993. At that event political scientist Michael Hanchard laid out an ambitious agenda both for the conference itself and for future scholarship on race in Brazil. Acknowledging the contributions of earlier work on the political economy of race, Hanchard called for scholars to build on that work by using 'theoretically innovative approaches' and 'more interpretive approaches...to explain the multiple significances of "hard" [statistical] indicators of inequality' (p. 13).

Some of the best essays in this volume do precisely that Edward Telles and Howard Winant both offer provocative comparisons of Brazilian and US race relations. Seeking to explain lower levels of racially-based political mobilisation

in Brazil as compared to the United States, Telles focuses on levels of residential segregation (which are higher in the United States, lower in Brazil) as a crucial factor. And in a clearly argued, very thoughtful piece presenting some of the arguments from his 1994 book, *Racial Conditions*, Winant examines salient similarities and divergences in the post-1945 history of 'racial formation' in the two countries.

Other essays are perhaps less theoretically innovative, but no less informative. Richard Graham's 'Free African Brazilians and the State in Slavery Times' is a masterly survey of how, from the colonial period through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 'most nonwhites have been excluded from full participation as citizens in the Brazilian polity. Little has changed in this regard since colonial times' (p. 51). Representing the 'political economy' school, Peggy Lovell, Carlos Hasenbalg and Nelson do Valle Silva examine various statistical indicators of racial inequality. And in the final three essays of the volume, Benedita da Silva, Thereza Santos and Ivanir dos Santos reflect on the role of black movements and activists in Brazilian politics, and on their own experiences in those movements. These first-person reflections lend a welcome note of immediacy and vividness to the book, and would make good reading for undergraduate classes.

The utility of this volume is slightly marred by occasionally slapdash editing and translation. For example, the Telles article is missing two statistical tables referred to in the text (p. 88); and in the Santos essay, it appears that the concept of *consciência*, referred to repeatedly, has been translated as 'conscience' rather than 'consciousness'. Problems of editing and translation also intrude on the Reichmann volume, particularly as concerns the statistical tables. In Table 2.4 (p. 62), it appears that the column labelled 'Some Delay in Grade Advancement' should actually be 'No Delay in Grade Advancement'. In Table 4.2, *graus* are misleadingly translated as 'grades'. The text on page 184 suggests that the figures reported in Table 10.2 are incorrect; numerous other references to data in tables are simply wrong.

The cumulative effect of these errors is to undermine one's confidence in essays that in fact have a good deal to offer. Carlos Hasenbalg, Nelson do Valle Silva, Maria Aparecida Silva do Bento, Nadya Araújo Castro, Antônio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães, Sérgio Adorno and Caetana Maria Damasceno examine racial inequalities in education, the criminal justice system and employment. (Though again, when Castro and Guimarães refer repeatedly to 'discrimination', it appears that what they actually have in mind is 'inequality'. Was this their wording, or the translator's?)

Reichmann and Luiz Cláudio Barcelos offer informative summaries and analyses of black political mobilisation in recent decades. Cloves Pereira examines the 1992 city council elections in Salvador, when the council went from one-tenth black and mulatto (in a city that is three-quarters nonwhite) to one-third Afro-Brazilian. And Antônio Sérgio Guimarães examines current debates over Brazil's existing anti-discrimination legislation, and proposals for new programmes of affirmative action and equal opportunity.

As suggested above, some of the most interesting material in the book concerns the relationship between racial and gender inequality, and the position of women of colour in Brazilian society. It was demographer Peggy Lovell who provided the first empirical proof (in a pathbreaking article published in *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* in 1993 and in *Latin American Research Review* in 1994) that the

effects of gender discrimination, as measured in salary differentials, are even more powerful and pervasive in Brazilian society than those of racial discrimination. When those two forms of discrimination are combined, as is the case for black women, the impacts are absolutely devastating. Castro/Guimarães and Oliveira reinforce this point, showing that, both in the workplace and in politics, white and black women tend to be much more highly educated than white and black men holding similar positions; a clear sign of discriminatory hiring and promotion practices.

Essays by Edna Roland and Elza Berquó consider the causes and implications of extraordinarily high sterilisation rates among Brazilian women. Roland (and, in another essay, Sueli Carneiro) sees sterilisation as a genocidal policy aimed at reducing or eliminating the Afro-Brazilian population. But she and Berquó both acknowledge that in fact white, black, and brown Brazilian women undergo sterilisation at essentially the same rates *by region*, and that higher rates of black and brown sterilisation for the country as a whole are traceable to the concentration of Afro-Brazilians in the Northeast, where sterilisation rates are much higher than in the Southeast. Furthermore, argues Berquó, virtually all sterilisations in Brazil take place at the request and even insistence of mothers unable or unwilling to use other forms of contraception. The result is a 'culture of sterilisation' that is as widespread among white women as among black.

Concluding the discussion of race and gender, long-time activist Sueli Carneiro describes the origins and trajectory of black women's activism in Brazil. As with the da Silva, Santos, and dos Santos contributions in the Hanchard volume, her essay is a forceful, vivid reflection on black women's mobilisation, ideal for undergraduate audiences.

In short, these two volumes represent important additions to the burgeoning literature on race in Brazil and Latin America. They are particularly well suited for undergraduate courses on these topics, and can be read with profit by specialists as well.

University of Pittsburgh

GEORGE REID ANDREWS

Brian Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. xv + 336, £35.00, £11.95 pb; \$49.95, \$17.95 pb.

Intended both as a university and college textbook and as a broad introduction for general readers, travellers and members of the business community, Hamnett's history of Mexico succeeds in filling a gap in the existing literature. Aimed mainly at the 'beginner', it is a particularly useful starting point for anybody interested in Mexico's past. While providing a clear and yet highly sophisticated synthesis of the main themes that have characterised Mexico's development from the pre-Columbian era to the present, Hamnett also revises the periodisation that has been generally accepted in the traditional historiography. In other words, he succeeds in pulling off a near-impossible feat: to provide the newcomer to Mexico with an engaging introduction to the country's history *and* provoke the specialists into rethinking the way historians have tended to portray the country's political progression, in particular from colony to nation-state. Moreover, Hamnett's synthesis, in incorporating the different interpretations that have come to be

espoused over the last twenty years, provides a refreshingly novel and revisionist approach to the subject. Generally accepted, albeit misleading, labels such as ‘mature colonial period’, ‘age of chaos (or Santa Anna)’ or ‘oligarchic period’ are, for instance, discarded. Hamnett does not employ the usual historical divisions either: e.g. Independence (1820–21) or Revolution (1910–40). Instead, after introducing the book with an overview of Mexico at the end of the twentieth century and providing a chapter on the pre-Columbian era and another on the European incursion (1519–1620), Hamnett links the colonial period with independent Mexico (1770–1867) and the latter half of the nineteenth century with the mid-twentieth century (1867–1940), providing a thought-provoking, thematically orientated analysis that will, no doubt, represent a significant contribution to the ongoing debate concerning the interpretation of Mexican (and Latin American) history. Moreover, by incorporating US history both regularly and consistently in his discussion of modern Mexican history, Hamnett also succeeds in breaking away from the more introspective accounts that have tended to characterise previous general studies of the country. It becomes evident that, beyond what Hamnett defines as a history of misunderstanding between the two North American nations, much of what has happened in Mexico has been inextricably linked to what has happened in the USA and vice versa. What this reader found most compelling about Hamnett’s book is the author’s willingness to adopt a combative political stance. Unlike so many general histories in which in the name of a very questionable ‘objectivity’ the authors seldom come out and explicitly state where they stand, Hamnett’s book is uncompromising in its condemnation of the lack of political progress that has been achieved since the *porfiriato*. The achievements of the Revolution were essentially minor in political terms. The process of democratisation that was started under Benito Juárez in the mid-nineteenth century was abandoned once Porfirio Díaz rose to power. From 1940 onwards, with the PRI in power, in the name of stability and material progress, recycling some of the main tenets of *porfirismo*, political progress (i.e. democratisation) was sacrificed. Hamnett argues very persuasively that Mexico’s ongoing troubles are not so much rooted in the country’s economic problems but in a political culture that has stifled diversity, plurality and the true expression of free opinion since 1876. Without political progress, material progress is, in the end, redundant. In what amounts to a very dark conclusion, Hamnett does not see a significant change taking place in Mexico in the near future. In brief, this is a book that will prove extremely useful to all ‘beginners’ who are interested in learning about Mexico’s past and how it has come to be the country it is today. It is also a must for the specialists, whether it is to refresh their understanding of the nation or to make them rethink their general overview of Mexico’s history.

University of St Andrews

WILL FOWLER

Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1999), pp. xxii + 280, \$55.00, \$19.95 pb.

The effects of the policies of Spain’s enlightened Bourbon monarchs on their New World colonies have been amply documented. In Mexico, historians have shown the economic changes that occurred under the Bourbons in the latter half of the

eighteenth century, the tensions their policies created within the creole community as well as their attacks upon the Church and baroque religious culture. In his *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, originally published in Mexico in 1987, Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán takes the study of this era in a new direction, that of popular culture. In his innovative and well researched work, Albán studies the fate of popular entertainments in Mexico City such as bullfights, the theatre, religious festivals and street acrobats, under Bourbon administrators.

The problem he seeks to address is whether, as later historians maintained, there occurred a decline in the customs and traditions of the city's working class during the period, or whether this argument merely reflected the new enlightened attitudes towards longstanding practices and traditions revealed in archival sources from the Bourbon period.

Albán shows how the bullfight slowly lost its symbolic power as a mirror of the colony's caste system; high Bourbon officials copying their monarch's distaste for the game did not encourage its ceremonial role during critical political junctures such as during the festivities to honour a new viceroy. The fixed hierarchical seating plan, which demonstrated each group's place within the caste system, was slowly abandoned and the bullfight became merely yet another game, staged for the profit of the viceregal treasury. While authorities minimised the symbolic importance of the bullfights, however, they actively tried to adapt the theatre to the enlightened purpose of educating the masses as to the Enlightenment's new values and their civic duties within the new order. While the theatre was to be the bastion of progress, traditional popular festivities such as carnival with its subversive potential for social inversion, were curbed. In addition to raising the price on pulque, regulations limited the number of *pulquerías* and banned musical entertainment or the consumption of food on the premises. The streets, traditionally the domain of the poor, were more strictly policed and neighbourhood festivities banned while efforts were made to regulate the activities of street entertainers. The results of all this were that feasts were brought into the private sphere, into houses or the patios of the *vecindades* while *pulquerías* became asocial places, solely visited to achieve a quick state of drunken stupor. The populace's – including the upper classes' – appetite for baroque theatre, however, was not to be quelled, and the theatre remained to a large degree a noisy, unprofessional and disorganised spectacle in which the tastes of the rich and poor were joined.

While Bourbon administrators did not succeed in the eradication of the popular traditions so distasteful to their enlightened mindset, Albán argues that the latter half of the eighteenth century can nevertheless be seen as an indication of the new order to come in which the leisurely activities of the upper and lower classes became segregated. The seeds of this new order are to be found in the authorities' encouragement of the *paseo* and the game of *pelota* as a healthy and moderate entertainment for the affluent, while the disorderly poor were banned from these spaces. In the nineteenth century, when market forces were given free rein, this segregation completed itself, as public entertainment became a private enterprise, their content and admission price changing according to the social group they were created for.

The fundamental merits of Albán's work are that he tackles the 'new' questions of cultural history with solid tools, mixing the myriad of Bourbon decrees and regulations regarding public entertainment with chronicles and

published works. The structure of his analysis is clear, providing a linear narrative from the baroque context to the changes that occurred in the late eighteenth century. Approaching the lives of the anonymous poor, especially during the colonial era, is notoriously difficult for lack of written sources. Albán's aim, as he himself states, is not to provide an authoritative analysis of popular culture in the late eighteenth century, but rather the enlightened persecution of it. While the perspective he provides – that of the elite's scorn for the lives of the poor – may seem a distant one, his narrative skills and vivid historical imagination, coupled with his careful reading of the sources, bring the reader as close as one feels is possible to the everyday life of Mexico City's colonial masses.

University of Iceland

ELLEN GUNNARSDÓTTIR

Jennie Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The 'Agraristas' and 'Cristeros' of Michoacán* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. x + 271, £34.00, £11.95 pb.

With an historian's mastery of primary sources and a political scientist's knack for problem solving, Jennie Purnell has produced a wonderfully impressive book on the Mexican Cristero rebellion. Well-written and precisely argued, it will be without doubt the standard work scholars turn to for not only a discussion of the Cristero revolt but for how relations between peasants, the Catholic Church and revolutionary elites conditioned the local formation of the early revolutionary state.

The problem Purnell sets out to solve is this: 'Why, in the context of a conflict between Church and state, did some peasants support the Church and defy the state, whereas others supported the state and defied the Church? Why did some peasants define themselves as anticlerical agraristas whereas others defined themselves as anti-agrarista Catholics?' (p. 3). Purnell writes that neither 'orthodox' scholarship – with its emphasis on the popular nature of the Mexican Revolution – nor 'revisionist' work – which see the revolution as an elite affair designed to install a modernising capitalist regime – help to explain the diverse manifestations and apparent contradictions of popular rural consciousness during the first two decades of the revolution. The *Cristiada*, argues Purnell, was neither an atavistic counterrevolution spurred by superstitious, reactionary clergy nor a popular rebellion against a Leviathan state.

'Peasants', writes Purnell, 'were deeply divided in their responses to revolutionary state formation' (p. 7). For some communities, agrarian reform offered a chance to reclaim lost lands and anticlericalism – often espoused by peasants holding aloft banners emblazoned with the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe – became a forceful ideological tool to undercut the power of hated local authorities. For other communities, 'these two policies constituted a threat to community resources, understanding of property rights, and institutions of politico-religious authority' (p. 7).

A political scientist, Purnell brings a healthy criticism of causal variables made too easily by historians. 'Explanations of partisanship based on religiosity,' she writes, 'are often simply tautological: the cristero peasants rebelled because they were more religious, and the proof of their greater religiosity lies in the fact of

their having rebelled' (p. 8). Likewise structural accounts of peasant consciousness come under scrutiny. Many have argued that the predominance of mestizo small property holders in Mexico's centre-west region accounts for an initial indifference to the revolution and then active resistance to the new state's agrarian and anti-clerical initiatives. 'This type of structural analysis,' Purnell points out, 'is as problematical for the cristero rebellion as it is for the Mexican Revolution more general.... If the rancheros of the center-west tended to be counterrevolutionary, their counterparts elsewhere figured heavily in the ranks of the revolutionary armies...' (p. 9).

In relation to other works on the Mexican Revolution, Purnell situates herself squarely within the 'post-revisionist' camp. The nature of the post-revolutionary state, she argues, was not 'predetermined by the structural imperatives of capitalism or some internal logic of centralisation. Rather, state formation was a historically contingent process in which different actors, elite and popular, struggled to define the normative and institutional parameters of the new state' (p. 11). She has conducted an impressive amount of archival research in order to get at how elite and popular actors fought over these norms and institutions. Both agrarian reform and anticlericalism elicited a variety of popular responses dependent on an array of regional and social variables. She locates the cause of peasant partisanship in the complex histories and social relations of particular communities and regions. Some communities, particularly in the northwest highlands of Michoacán, enjoyed 'good Porfiriatos' and the revolution brought 'little but difficulties to the region' in the form of rebel abuse and assaults on property rights (p. 164).

If there is one minor criticism to be made of this book, it is of Purnell's tendency to oppose the formation of local political consciousness to class or ethnic identity: While her rejection of class or ethnicity as a presupposed determinant variable is well-taken, it does not preclude an incorporation of these identities – once constructed from different local experiences and manifested in diverse ways – into an analysis of political consciousness and action.

Much has been written on the interdisciplinary borrowing that takes place between history and anthropology. Purnell reminds us that there could be mutual benefits between history and political science as well. Her finely researched book situates the rational decisions individuals make not only within community – as some political scientists, such as James Scott, have tried to do – but within changing historical and regional contexts as well.

Lately, the new Latin American social and cultural history, much of it concerned with the Mexican Revolution, has received a fair amount of criticism. A few have protested that books, such as Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent's *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule* and Florencia Mallon's *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*, do not pay enough attention to material relations. Others complain of a supposed surfeit of unfalsifiable assertions. *Popular Movements and State Formation* gives the lie to charges that theorising around such concepts as hegemony, popular consciousness and state formation cannot be grounded in archival research and empirical reasoning. It is an indispensable advance in efforts to construct a holistic model of state and identity formation.

Duke University

GREG GRANDIN

Neil Harvey, *The Chiapas Rebellion: The Struggle for Land and Democracy* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. xviii + 292, £34.00, £11.95 pb.

The Chiapas Rebellion persuasively shows that the Zapatista movement is mainly about land and democracy. The Zapatistas were quite explicit about their understanding of the linkages between social injustice and political exclusion. As they declared in their second communique, published on January 11: 'The grave conditions of our compatriots have a common cause: the lack of liberty and democracy. We think that the authentic respect for freedom and the people's will are the indispensable prerequisites for the improvement of the social and economic conditions of our country's dispossessed...' This explanation stood economic determinist ideology on its head, putting democracy first while simultaneously transforming its content and practices. Harvey's research contrasts with widespread claims that resistance to NAFTA or 'post-modern' identities were primary among the rebellion's characteristics (indeed, the EZLN's decision to launch the rebellion on 1 January 1994, the date of NAFTA's inauguration, turns out to have had little to do with NAFTA [p. 198]).

Harvey's carefully documented, analytically nuanced account addresses the rebellion's complex causes. His approach draws effectively on the relevant historical and anthropological literature, while remaining fundamentally a political science analysis. His focus on political actors more than economic conditions or social trends is quite convincing. Any explanation of the rebellion must grapple with the fact that political factors are what made Chiapas so different from Mexico's many other regions that suffer similar economic and social problems, yet did not revolt. Primarily, however, the study focuses on interpreting the political meaning and impact of the last two decades of peasant and indigenous protest in Chiapas. Harvey focuses on the political construction of citizenship, a politically contingent, inherently uneven process that involves both state-society interaction and waves of conflict and convergence within civil society between social and political actors. This process involves gradually transcending defensive struggles, particularistic demands and campaigns for discretionary material concessions, towards establishing what is now known in Mexico as 'the right to have rights'.

Harvey shows conclusively that the EZLN emerged from an already densely-organised rural civil society in Chiapas, the result of more than two decades of grassroots organising. This contrasts with the common tendency to ignore the prior (and current) existence of a wide range of both independent (and pro-governmental) mass organisations throughout the state. During the 1970s and 1980s, Chiapas' independent rural organisations followed diverse strategies, some pursuing agrarian reform, others trying to build community based economic enterprises, while sharing an aversion to conventional party politics. Some previous independent social movements sought alliances with state reformers, while others confronted state power more directly – depending both on movement ideologies and state linkages. Meanwhile, government resources bolstered the official peasant organisations. In spite of occasional partial state concessions to these social movements, the dominant pattern was repression and frustration, leading many local activists to seek more radical political options – especially when the Salinas presidency closed off the few remaining channels for

negotiation. In the process, local communities are acknowledged to be politically constituted and internally differentiated, rather than implicitly single, unified actors.

Harvey underscores four kinds of political impact. First, the rebellion empowered the *rest* of Mexico's indigenous movement, bringing them into national politics. The EZLN-government political agreement signed in 1996 (but later abandoned by President Zedillo), known as the San Andrés Accords, became the touchstone for indigenous movements for democracy throughout Mexico. Second, the EZLN learned after the brief, overtly military phase of its conflict that its fate depended on the rest of Mexican civil society, as well as the national process of democratisation. Third, the EZLN revitalised independent agrarian movements in Chiapas, creating the space for a massive wave of land invasions that was followed by a (corrupt) government buy-out of landowners. Fourth, the EZLN, with its famous Revolutionary Women's Law, created the political space for the emergence of an indigenous women's rights movement in Mexico. Beyond Chiapas, Harvey's study contributes to two broader trends in the rethinking of Latin American politics. First, he effectively articulates the interactive linkages between local, subnational and national politics. Political change has followed a patchwork quilt pattern in Mexico, varying greatly by region and state, which suggests that the implicitly homogeneous nation-state is insufficient as a unit of analysis for understanding regime change. Second, Harvey's focus on forms of representation within civil society, and the difficult construction of autonomy from below, contributes to the trend towards a broader definition of 'social movement impact'. However, Harvey did not detail changing, potentially diverse political meanings of democracy within the Zapatista movement itself. Until a political resolution of the conflict makes such research possible, *The Chiapas Rebellion* is likely to remain the most comprehensive book-length political analysis of the rebellion so far.

University of California at Santa Cruz

JONATHAN FOX

John Mason Hart (ed.), *Border Crossing: Mexican and Mexican-American Workers* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1998), pp. xii + 246, \$55.00, \$18.95 pb.

This edited volume examines the diverse experiences of Mexican and Mexican-American workers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book's main goals are to identify 'social, cultural, and political continuities in the history between the Mexican and Mexican-American working classes' and to demonstrate 'the important linkages between the heritage derived from the country to the south and the history of their people in the nation to the north'.

Five of the nine contributors address different aspects of working-class formation in Mexico. They include works by Mario Camarena Ocampo and Susana A. Fernández Apango (on culture and politics among textile workers in the Mexico City area), Bernardo García Díaz (on the socioeconomic and geographic origins of textile workers in Orizaba, Veracruz), Carmen Ramos Escandón (on gender and class formation among textile workers), Elizabeth Jean Norvell (on citizenship and postrevolutionary mobilisation in the port of Veracruz) and Alberto Olvera Rivera (on the sociopolitical origins of working-

class identity among petroleum workers in Poza Rica, Veracruz). Even though most of these pieces focus tightly on a particular sector or geographic area, they are broadly concerned with the characteristics of the early Mexican industrial working class.

Four other authors depict the experiences of Mexican and Mexican-American workers in different parts of the United States during the early decades of the twentieth century. They include essays by Emilio Zamora (Texas), Antonio Ríos Bustamente (Arizona), Gerardo Necoechea Gracia (Chicago), and Devra Weber (California). Weber extends her discussion from the 1920s and 1930s into the 1980s and 1990s by emphasising the continuous role of transnational social networks in Mexican migrations to California. Zamora and Necoechea Gracia focus on Mexican and Mexican-American workers employed in diverse occupations in a particular geographic area; Ríos Bustamente is, however, primarily interested in Arizona copper mining communities, and Weber draws much of her empirical material from cotton farming in California's San Joaquín Valley.

By placing side by side analyses of working-class formation on both sides of the US-Mexican border, this volume illuminates different facets of the Mexican and Mexican-American labour experience. Yet despite the allusion to transnational ties in the book's title, only a few of the contributors focus specifically on cross-border connections between labour organisations and working-class communities in the two countries. Necoechea Gracia's essay relates to this theme mainly in the sense that his central focus is on the way in which Mexican migrants' earlier experience with a more traditional workplace culture shaped their adaptation to work and community in the Chicago area in the early twentieth century. Zamora's essay on Mexican workers and community development in Crystal City, Houston, and San Antonio, Texas, does demonstrate the importance of deep-rooted mutualist traditions in helping sustain these migrants' identity as Mexicans. (John Mason Hart's introductory essay provides important background for this discussion by examining the distant origins of the mutualist tradition in Mexico and its prominent role in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century labour organisation.) However, Weber is most explicit in detailing the transnational character of Mexican migrant workers' experience and cross-border organisational ties and political interactions dating from the first decades of the twentieth century.

Nor do all the contributions in this volume provide strong evidence of the social and political continuities between Mexican and Mexican-American working classes that Hart emphasises in his introductory chapter. Indeed, the essays by Zamora and Ríos Bustamente indicate that political status – the fact that many Mexican workers who sought employment north of the Rio Bravo were not legal US residents or citizens – produced sharp differences in the character of the working-class experience in Mexico and the United States. Indeed, legal and racial discrimination against immigrant Mexican workers was a key basis for persistent labour market and community segregation in many areas.

More generally, the contributors to this volume (especially those writing on working-class formation in Mexico) give insufficient attention to political elements and context, including such factors as the role that repression, elites' co-optive strategies, and regional or national political alliances had on forms of labour organisation and worker consciousness. Important exceptions in this

regard are Zamora's discussion of Mexican workers' political responses to diverse workplace and community problems in Texas, and Olvera's analysis of the way in which union organisation, actions by postrevolutionary state elites and the oil industry's strategic economic importance imbued petroleum workers with a strong sense of class consciousness. The other essays are, nevertheless, valuable for their analytic focus on the role of ideas (especially anarcho-syndicalism, nationalism, and evolving conceptions of citizenship) and community-based organisation in working-class activism in Mexico and the United States, as well as on industrial transformation, shifts in labour force composition and changing worker attitudes in the historically important Mexican textile industry.

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José del Pozo, *Historia del vino chileno, desde 1850 hasta hoy* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1998), pp. 316, pb. US\$16.50, CLP\$79.20.

This is a first-rate piece of economic history. Not only does it fulfil its primary object of detailing the development of the Chilean wine industry, but it is also a significant contribution to the broader economic history of Chile and to the scholarly literature on viticulture.

There is vast amount of 'popular' wine literature, which prefaces its discussions of classed growths and great vintages with potted histories and geographies of wine. Most of these are derivative, often inaccurate, pieces of 'myth', and overwhelmingly Eurocentric and Francophile. Here, José del Pozo provides an excellent case study of almost four centuries of vine cultivation in Chile, and a very thorough and proper historical study of viticulture in the New World. In that regard, this is a major contribution to the limited academic literature on wine.

Throughout the book there is also an excellent sense of context. The narrative of the evolution of the wine industry is well set within Chile's economic, social and political history. Important themes include the emergence of commercial viticulture as a by-product of economic prosperity in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the impact of the moves towards agrarian reform in the 1960s and the consequences of the period since 1973, when the changed economic context of the Pinochet years saw what the author describes as a 'radical transformation' of the wine economy, from one dominated by internal consumption to a position of increasing significance in the world wine trade.

However, the greatest value of the book lies in its detailed account of the wine industry per se, which is described in five substantial chapters. The first provides an overview of the establishment of viticulture in the colonial period and the early years of independence. The second deals with the emergence of commercial vineyards and the profound French impact on the nature and quality of wine production, with the introduction of French grape varieties to compete with the traditional *pais*, the employment of French winemakers, and an emerging taste for quality wines. The period 1880–1938 saw further innovations in the trade, but also growing concern with the problem of alcoholism, which resulted in legislation in 1938 to restrict output. This somewhat stultifying influence, and the moves towards agrarian reform (where, despite its skewed pattern of

landownership, viticulture proved something of a 'special case'), form the basis of Chapter 4. The final chapter gives a thorough account of the profound changes in the industry since 1973, since when Chile has become a major exporter of wines of increasing quality. Exports have risen from less than one per cent of output in 1975 to over 33 per cent in 1995, with increasing use of 'classic' grape varieties and a changing geography of vine cultivation.

This study is a comprehensive and careful chronicle of change over the past two centuries, but also conveys a real sense of the dynamism and major shifts in Chile's wine industry. It covers a considerable variety of topics and offers insights into a range of issues. A number of these – such as the nature of vineyard ownership, changes in technology, and the circumstances of the labour force – recur in the various chapters, giving a sense of continuity and change. There are also, however, some very effective vignettes on such varied topics as the family histories of early vineyard owners, the impact of Catalans on the industry in the late nineteenth century, the problem of alcoholism in the early twentieth and the emergence of viticultural cooperatives from the 1940s.

Professor del Pozo's study is extremely well-rooted in a wide range of Spanish and English language sources, archival material and interviews with wine producers, and contemporary and current secondary material. The bibliography is a valuable entrée for any would-be student of the wine industry. Overall, this is an impressive and valuable contribution to the economic history of Chile and of an agro-industry of increasing significance in Latin America. It will be much welcomed by Latin Americanists, and it is to be hoped that a translation into English will make it available to serious students of viticulture and the wine trade in a variety of disciplines.

University of Liverpool

JOHN DICKENSON

Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868–1898* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. xi + 273, \$43.95, \$15.50 pb.

Josep Conangla i Fontanilles, *Memorias de mi juventud en Cuba: Un soldado del ejército español en la guerra separatista (1895–1898)* (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1998), pp. 260, pb. 1575 Pts., £9.47.

In a frequently quoted statement the mulatto general, Antonio Maceo, once declared that he was fighting a war for a new Cuba in which there would be 'no whites nor blacks, but only Cubans'. A similar message was conveyed by José Martí when he wrote in 1893 that 'we have all suffered for the other' in the struggle for independence. Cuban nationalist historians have used the ideals expressed by Maceo and Martí to portray the insurgent movement of the late-nineteenth century as seeking not only independence from Spain but also racial equality and social justice. In this fine study, Ada Ferrer presents a corrective interpretation. She has conducted extensive research in Cuban archives and concludes that the insurgent movement was afflicted as much by conflict as consensus over the question of race. The issue became so controversial and potentially divisive that it was deliberately and conveniently ignored. Ultimately, the aspirations of black and mulatto Cubans for racial equality were defeated not

by US military intervention in 1898 but by the actions and attitude of their own white leaders.

By treating the insurgent movement as a coherent whole lasting from 1868 to 1898, Professor Ferrer is able to place more emphasis on the much neglected topic of the Ten Years' War. She shows that the problem of slavery bedevilled the insurgent leaders throughout the conflict. On the one hand, they held out the promise of emancipation to attract recruits from the slave population. To gain the support of whites, however, the same leaders condoned the continuation of slavery. The contradiction was damaging and was effectively exploited by the Spanish government who warned that blacks were savages intent on establishing a Haitian style republic. Indeed, white anxieties over the possibility of a race war were apparent even in ostensibly pro-insurgent regions such as Puerto Príncipe, where the local white elite feared the people 'of colour' and quickly made peace with the Spanish government. Despite the rise of mulattos and blacks within the ranks of the insurgent army, Ferrer convincingly argues that racism persisted. Maceo's celebrated refusal to accept the terms of the peace of Zanjón in 1878 reflected not only opposition to the specific terms of the agreement but also his disgust that the 'race question' had been deliberately by-passed.

Ferrer explains the puzzling brevity and lack of success of the Guerra Chiquita of 1879–80 not in terms of military failings but as the result of the reluctance of whites to support a movement in which blacks and mulattos had achieved a visible prominence. But white fears were calmed by the failure of race revolts to occur after the abolition of slavery in 1886. When fighting erupted again in 1895, the Spanish government found that traditional racist propaganda was not so successful in influencing white opinion as in the past. In addition, they had also to content with the ideas of José Martí which asserted that the insurgent movement not only endorsed racial equality but had risen above the race question. Blacks and mulattos had acquired a new status in the movement and were presented not as savages but heroes who had demonstrated their loyalty and military skill during the Ten Years' War when they had fought side by side with whites. Many had risen to positions of leadership. As Professor Ferrer perceptively reveals, however, appearances were deceptive. In the struggle between 1895 and 1898, black and mulatto insurgent commanders, including even Maceo, were often discriminated against in terms of the provision of military resources and in gaining promotion to officer rank. When the war came to an end in 1898, they found themselves displaced by new white recruits who had contributed little to the fighting. Protests were met with silence as traditional social hierarchies based on colour were restored within the insurgent army. The emerging model of the new Cuban citizen was an educated and cultured gentleman, an ideal that theoretically transcended race but excluded, in practice, the large majority of people of colour. Professor Ferrer acknowledges that the US intervention undoubtedly influenced this development. Her excellent study shows, however, that the failure to achieve racial equality was also directly in accordance with the racism that had been such a pervasive feature of the insurgent movement throughout the struggle from 1868 to 1898.

Memorias de mi juventud en Cuba gives an interesting Spanish perspective of life in Cuba from 1895 to 1898, but is narrowly conceived and has little value for the professional historian. Its author, Josep Conangla i Fontanilles, served in the Spanish army in Cuba from December 1895 to November 1898. With his

professional middle-class Catalan background, the young Conangla should have been secure from conscription into the army but was a victim of the outburst of patriotic fervour that struck Spain in 1895 and demanded that large numbers of troops be sent to quell the revolt in Cuba. Though given the rank of an ordinary soldier Conangla's social class and education meant that he was assigned to relatively safe and apparently undemanding clerical duties first in Sancti Spíritus, then Aguacate and finally close to Havana. The latter posting as an aide to a colonel was secured by a personal friend. One of its major attractions was that he had time to read and compose poetry and make frequent visits to the capital to meet with his circle of literary friends.

While Conangla only occasionally mentions the actual fighting in Cuba, he is strongly opposed to the war. He denounces the 'criminal policies' of the Spanish government and is particularly scathing of Weyler and the 'execrable' policy of reconcentration. After the news of death of Maceo in December 1896 he notes the mood of quietness that had descended upon the residents of Aguacate and contrasts this with their sudden confusion and alarm caused by the sudden arrival of Weyler and his troops in the town. Indeed, Conangla regards the aims of the rebels as 'just' and admires their 'tenacious resistance and heroism'. Nevertheless, his memoirs give no indication as to whether his personal sympathies affected his conduct as a soldier in the Spanish army. Their value as documentary evidence for the historian is also undermined by the fact that they were completed in 1958 and have evidently been written with the benefit of hindsight. Moreover, Conangla is writing about his 'adopted' country. After returning to Spain in 1898 he decided to emigrate to Cuba in 1905 and lived there until his death in 1964. While *Memorias de mi juventud en Cuba* adds little to our knowledge about political and military events, it does have value in showing that life for some Spanish soldiers in Cuba was not quite as grim and deadly as it has often been portrayed.

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JOSEPH SMITH

Gladys Marel García-Pérez, *Insurrection and Revolution: Armed Struggle in Cuba, 1952–1959* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), pp. xiii + 138, £31.95 hb.

Cuban historiography of the insurrectionary period of the Cuban revolution (between 1956 and 1958, but perhaps dating from the Batista coup of March 1952) has long tended to fall into two categories, with prominent exceptions. On the one hand, there have been those raised to the status of 'classics', the 'broad brush' portrayals of the guerrilla struggle or the accounts of the urban terrorism of the so-called *lucha clandestina* – in either case usually presented in somewhat Manichean terms as an essentially 'heroic' period. The alternative tendency has been to portray the period through memoirs, either of the main protagonists (such as Che's *Reminiscences*) or of significant political or military actors, or increasingly through somewhat hagiographic studies focusing on Fidel Castro. What has often as a result been missing has been the less 'heroic' and more mundane detail of the broader struggle (away from the two key Sierras – Maestra and Escambray – and away from the largest cities of Havana and Santiago) and the wider picture of resistance, opposition and radicalisation.

This is precisely where García-Pérez's excellent study is so welcome, correcting

those tendencies and filling in the missing detail, with its focus on a relatively neglected and supposedly more marginal area (Matanzas), and using local sources rather than the already familiar accounts. As a result it is a gem of micro-historiography, using and reproducing a wealth of detail from evidently painstaking research in local archives (private and court records, for example), in the local press (often neglected by historians) and garnered from innumerable interviews with remaining participants of both the national and the local struggles.

In the process, the study brings to life a complex and vibrant collective experience, and also throws valuable light on at least three questions. Firstly, the chapter on the 1952 coup itself constitutes a much-needed explanation of the often contradictory factors behind an otherwise enigmatic event, focusing attention on the nationalist impulses of many of the military conspirators (recalling their ‘radicalism’ from 1933), who either then collaborated with a Batista who had long lost any pretension to radicalism or later conspired against him for his subsequent ‘betrayal’ of their cause. Secondly, it reminds us that the 26 July Movement was actually a far more coherent, cohesive and organic movement for rebellion and resistance than many accounts would have us believe (preferring the picture of a Cuba less prepared for deep social revolution), even in the often forgotten trade unions. Thirdly, it presents a corrective picture of a widespread if uncoordinated opposition to Batista from the day of the coup, led by trade unionists and students from a variety of groups, backgrounds and political motivations, a movement which gathered pace and cohesion as a broad rebellion. Here, the conventional picture of the rebellion as a generational phenomenon is reinforced by García-Pérez’s narrative. Given two countervailing Cuban tendencies since 1959 – either to present the Revolution as attributable mostly to guerrilla action or to write the Cuban working class centrally into the insurrection under the leadership of the pre-1959 Communist Party (the PSP) – this is a valuable exercise, creating a picture of broad and popular rebellion, of an insurrection that was a popular movement for fundamental change, but in which the PSP hardly appears. Instead of the larger canvas, what this study gives us is the narrative of small-scale sabotage, strikes, protests, arrests and other activities, alongside the persistent and increasing collective resistance directed by trade unions in the canefields and sugar *centrales*, at the La Rayonera plant and in transport – all vital to the growing movement. In this context, the chapter on the political economy of the *batistato* is especially useful, as an essay in its own right, outlining well the often overlooked economic factors that contributed to the radicalisation process after 1953.

Overall, then, although the study’s sweep is still broad and the whole book perhaps a little short, and although the detail in the text really demanded a regional map to guide the reader, the research carried out by García-Pérez provides Cuba scholars not only with a rich source of data and detail on which to build further research, but also points the way forward for further similar work. Given the tendency towards the ‘broad brush’ approach for all 50 years of insurrection and rebellion, it is precisely this sort of meticulous and local focus which is now clearly needed. This study proves what excellent historiography is waiting to be revealed in the process.

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ANTONI KAPCIA

Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. xiii + 203, £47.50, £15.95 pb.

From Two Republics to One Divided is a carefully researched and convincingly argued analysis of the transition from colonial to postcolonial rule in the Huaylas-Ancash region of north-central Peru. It is also the definitive study to date of the great Atusparia Uprising of 1885. Told from the perspective of the Indian peasantry, the book makes important contributions to the historiography of nineteenth century Peru. The volume is also informed by the concerns of the subaltern studies school, making it of interest to a general audience.

From Two Republics locates the dilemmas of postcolonial Peruvian nation-making in a core contradiction – one involving the problematic status of the Indian peasantry within the Creole project of national construction. The national community imagined by Creole elites was to be based on the elimination of the differentiated statuses of the colonial period, and the creation of a homogenous, property-owning (male) citizenry who enjoyed equality under the law. Prior to 1855, however, the central government's fiscal dependence on Indian tribute compelled the state to preserve a modified form of colonial Indian status. The state did so by limiting the ability of elites and Indians to privatise Indian land, and by relying on indigenous (rather than state) authorities to mediate state/peasant relations. The result was to produce a form of subaltern Indian citizenship, and a related set of indigenous political concerns, that were unimaginable within the liberal discourse of the republican state. It was these very deviations from Creole republican orthodoxy, however, that were looked upon with such favour by the Indian peasant population. These restrictions represented an 'acceptable' reformulation of the colonial pact between state and Indian subject, in which semi-autonomous Indian republics had provided the state with tribute and labour service in return for protection of Indian lands. After Independence, peasant definitions of being a good 'republicano' and a 'true citizen of Peru' revolved around fulfilling their side of this reconstituted colonial pact.

State/peasant relations changed in important ways beginning in 1855, when the proceeds from guano sales replaced Indian tribute as the state's primary source of revenue. Once state solvency no longer depended on tribute derived from peasant production, the state removed obstacles to the privatisation of Indian land. The results were two-fold. Landlords were able to enclose common fields, charge peasants fees for access to common lands, and capture indentured *forastero* labour for their undercapitalised estates. From the point of view of the indigenous population, however, in retreating from its role as protector of Indian lands the state violated its reciprocal pact with the peasantry upon which legitimate republican rule was based. Thus, when national caudillos attempted to reinstate Indian tribute in 1879 (to support the War of the Pacific), the peasantry viewed the imposition as lacking in legitimacy because it was not accompanied by state guarantees of access to land. Thurner shows that Indian resistance to this 'illegitimate' tax was one of the key causes of the great Atusparia Uprising of 1885 (the other being the elite's humiliation of Indian authorities petitioning for tax relief). The violent and barbaric response to the Uprising by Creole authorities, together with the elite's paranoid, racialised account of the Uprising's

causes, delegitimised indigenous concerns, and prevented Indian views about citizenship and republic from entering national debate. The republic imagined by Indian peasants, Thurner shows, was far more inclusive than its Creole counterpart, and could have acted as the basis of a more inclusive national project.

One of the most interesting aspects of Thurner's analysis concerns his discussion of elite explanations for the Atusparia Uprising. Drawing on Ranajit Guha's notion of the 'prose of counterinsurgency', Thurner shows convincingly that these explanations systematically denied the subjectivity and collective agency of subalterns, and instead located the causes of revolt in the deviant behaviour of disgruntled elite social actors. Thurner does a very effective job of showing how peasant definitions of legitimate state/subject relations informed subaltern behaviour in ways that were independent of the wishes and intentions of elites. Indeed, Thurner's discussion of Indian notions of citizenship and republicanism is one of the most exciting and important aspects of his analysis. The same can be said for his creative and suggestive discussion of the indigenous social mechanisms that made possible what appeared inexplicable, even 'magical', to elites of the time – the massive mobilisation of Indian peasants upon which the Atusparia Uprising was based.

It is in the author's very efforts to recover subaltern agency and autonomy, however, that one sees the weaker aspects of his analysis. *From Two Republics* suffers from the tendency to attribute homogeneity and unity to indigenous society. The book considers neither conflicts within nor differentiation of the Indian peasantry in any systematic manner. Rather, Indians in general are represented as having common interests, as having a shared view of legitimacy (based on the colonial state-subject pact), and as being united under political authorities who defend common Indian interests. Representing indigenous society in these terms does indeed make it easier to attribute agency to 'the peasantry', or 'the Indians', conceived of as a unitary actor with a shared set of values and inclinations. Such an approach, however, is based on a somewhat dated understanding of the concept of culture. It is not necessary to attribute to all Indians the same will, interest, orientation, etc., in order to recognise that subaltern subjects exercise agency. Nor is it necessary to insist that all non-Indians played a secondary or marginal role in 'peasant' uprisings.

These points aside, *From Two Republics to One Divided* is an impressive and compelling book, one that is sure to find a permanent place among important works on nation-making, and on state/subaltern relations, in the postcolonial Andes.

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DAVID NUGENT

Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780–1840* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. xiii + 330, £34.00, £11.95 pb.

Charles F. Walker's book is the result of many years of thorough research in Lima's and Cuzco's archives. It is one of the few historical accounts on the Andes (and elsewhere in Latin America) that does not start or stop at the wars of

independence. Walker presents an equally balanced research before and after the wars of independence, framed by the Tupac Amaru II Indian rebellion (1780–1783) and the Agustín Gamarra conservative caudillo presidential episodes (1829–1833 and 1839–1841). According to Walker, the political propositions of both the Indian leader and the mestizo caudillo had ‘to search for ways to reconcile the demands of disparate and contentious groups into a formula for the seizure and practice of power’ (p. 2). Based on this complex view of politics and society, the book moves on to disentangle the many-layered expectations and wishes from the lower classes and how they related to wider political movements at the regional and national levels. In this process a dialogue ensued which, in turn, informed the historical record. The book illustrates bottom-up politics from a Cuzco-based regional perspective. Its basic conclusion is that neither the colonial nor the republican state could arbitrarily impose its (often fragmented and hazy) agendas on the lower classes and the region. On the contrary, the prevailing dialogue shows how the lower classes and Cuzco has a distinct region with its own history, symbols and political culture managed – at least to a certain degree – to preserve some autonomy, thus safeguarding their interests and livelihoods.

Walker’s portrayal of local politics goes beyond the analysis of mass political uprisings. His research is nuanced as it traces political threads and connections by looking into electoral processes, celebrations and rituals, military campaigns and judicial proceedings. This allows him to uncover a changing political culture and the functioning of caudillismo in this specific context. The generalised perception that caudillos are competing, greedy generals acting in a political vacuum is dismantled and replaced by a historically more accurate account. In Walker’s view *caudillismo* is a rich process of forging a political culture in which competing and antagonising visions of how to achieve political stability are debated and in which we see attempts to define the role(s) of the lower classes, especially Indian peasants, in the construction of the new nation-state.

It is revealing that Walker’s analysis begins with the Tupac Amaru II rebellion. In his reading it was this rebellion (which itself was the culmination of several upheavals throughout the Peruvian Viceroyalty) that foreshadowed Indians’ political destiny in the making of the new nation-state. The fears this rebellion evoked in the memories of Creole and mestizo elites was an overarching element leading to Indian exclusion. Walker provides us with a detailed account of the spread of discontent leading up to the rebellion. The violence of the rebellion, spurred by the Enlightenment, neo-Inca revivalism and the disenchantment with the Bourbon reforms, led to massive destruction of human lives and physical infrastructure. In its wake the accents of the political agenda shifted from lukewarm incorporation of all ‘Americans’ to the expulsion of the Spanish and solidarity among all Indians. Ethnic distrust among Spanish, Creoles, Mestizos, Blacks and Indians led to the rebellion’s downfall as much as did the official discourse sponsoring the idea of an eminent caste war and – of course – the colonial state’s military reprisals. In spite of harsh repression, in the aftermath of the rebellion the colonial state was only partially successful in dismantling Indian resources and identity. Especially through legal and judicial means, many Indians and even caciques managed to recoup their power.

Overall, this part of the story is quite well-known to many historians. What is new in Walker’s interpretation is the lines of continuity that linked the

experiences during this rebellion to the events following it in the decades to come. The end of the Tupac Amaru II rebellion did not mark the end of Indian-based uprisings. These were sporadic and more localised but they did not subside, and were again followed by a massive upheaval – once again centred in the Cuzco region – surrounding the promulgation of the Cadiz Constitution (1814–1815), and almost immediately afterwards by the wars for independence. Throughout the wars of independence and despite the drastic weakening (both in terms of economic power and political hopes) of the Indian population, some efforts to create alternative visions to a colonial or a republican system are detected. These locally framed alternatives were then recaptured by an imaginative caudillo – Gamarra – who in 1821 switched from the Spanish to the patriot army, became Cuzco's first prefect, and then twice Peru's president. He created a regional coalition that included city elites and peasants, and opposed his liberal contemporaries. His Cuzco-specific programme included the adoration of the Incas, a powerful political symbol of the region. However, the coalition was short-lived. Not even Gamarra could bridge the gaps between Indians and non-Indians. Indians – increasingly labelled uneducated, backward and lazy – were once again forced to 'autonomy'.

Walker's book presents a new way of addressing nation-state building and identity in Peru. As he sees it, it was a process persistently mediated by a strong, stubborn and surprisingly resilient Indian population on one side and by alternative views of politics-thinking and politics-making on the other. Sometimes both aspects coincided, mostly they did not. It is the evolving nature of disruptions and coincidences that makes Walker's analysis so rich and Cuzco so manifold.

In the long run, however, political initiatives shifted to the non-Indian coast, and then the story as we know it continued and sealed the victory of a capitalist, sometimes liberal, export-oriented path. In hindsight, Walker contends, we are left with a sense that there is something implicitly authoritarian in Peruvian politics born out of the convergence of caudillism and Indians. If, however, this means that Tupac Amaru II, Mateo Pumacahua and Gamarra are potent symbols and 'bearers of alternative paths for Peru', this maybe overstretches the message. One may agree or disagree with this inspired and even inspiring interpretation. My own concern is that Walker's conclusion is too much framed by politics and too little by economics. Many fights ensued over the Indian and *casta* headtax, i.e. *the* main income source for state and departmental budgets was perceived and used as a political instrument to reproduce political instability. If the idea was to bridge gaps between Indians and non-Indians why did Gamarra, for instance, not use these revenues to expand and change land-tenure patterns among Indians, to build roads, etc.? Somehow there seems to be nothing 'real' behind caudillo politics. Was, in effect, the invocation of the Incas enough to blur economic inequality? It is perhaps self-evident that neither Tupac Amaru II nor Gamarra had a vision of the economic community and/or future?

Lastly, I have one general concern; together with Walker, many authors have recently insisted on the idea of 'bringing the state back in without leaving the people out'. I couldn't agree more. However, if we insist – as Walker does – on the longterm connections between the lower classes, regional and national politics, we should not draw sweeping conclusions about 'authoritarianism' and political culture. What I see missing – before such a broad conclusion may be

drawn – is yet another line of connections, the connections across regions. We have several ‘regional studies’ delving into the issues of political culture, ethnicity, regional identity and nation-building. Why do they sound so different at some levels and so similar at other levels? Especially in the Southern Andes it is recognised that upheavals followed inter-regional market routes, especially determining Indian alliances and conflicts. What would a reading of inter-regional links among elites reveal? How did regional conflicts foster locally based *candillismo* rather than class integration among regions? These are old questions, which new and exciting methodological and archival advances can help us to answer better.

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CHRISTINE HUNEFELDT

Fernando Santos-Granero and Frederica Barclay, *Selva Central: History, Economy, and Land Use in Peruvian Amazonia* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), pp. viii + 349, £27.25 hb; \$35.00 hb.

Since the 1970s Peruvian historiography has paid special attention to regional studies. Until recently, most attention has been placed on the northern coast and the central and southern highlands, home to Peru’s major export commodities (sugar and cotton, minerals and wool) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Analytically, historians have concentrated on the political, economic and cultural dimensions of regional incorporation into the world economy and, to a lesser extent, on the often related process of regional economic articulation. More recently, attention has shifted to other less studied geographic areas, such as the northern highlands and the far north. Yet, as Santos-Granero and Barclay point out, none of the regional studies of the last twenty years are dedicated to the study of a tropical forest region. For this, and other reasons outlined below, this English translation of a Spanish text published in Lima in 1995 is a particularly valuable addition to the literature.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, largely historical in approach, traces the constitution of the Selva Central from the seventeenth century to the present. A dynamic economy developed in the region as early as the eighteenth century, fuelled by demand for sugar, coca and textiles from the Cerro de Pasco mines. However, as the authors show, it was coffee cultivation (which replaced sugar as the main regional crop in the late nineteenth century) that played the key role in, first, the colonisation and, later, the articulation of the different areas of the Selva Central: the Chanchamayo, Satipo and Oxapampa valleys. Despite the creation of a favourable legal framework as early as the mid nineteenth century, mass colonisation did not occur until the 1940s when high coffee prices attracted Andean peasants to the Selva Central. Though subject to local variations, the rapid growth of the colonist economy, studied in the second part of the book, was characterised by the interrelated and often complementary expansion of coffee and fruit cultivation and logging. The recent closure of the frontier has produced an increasingly unsustainable economic and ecological situation, marked by acute minifundisation of landholdings, a product of intense demographic pressure, and environmental degradation resulting from deforestation and agropastoral

production on unsuitable land. The third part of the book examines the impact of these developments on the indigenous population. The authors show how the advance of the colonist economy led to a withdrawal of indigenous groups into peripheral areas in the region. Yet, at the same time, indigenous groups have played a key role in the formation of the regional economy, both as wage labourers and agropastoral producers, albeit to a lower degree than colonists. Unlike colonists, indigenous producers devote a relatively large proportion of their cultivated area to subsistence agriculture; evidence, Santos-Granero and Barclay argue, of a managed strategy of integration. Indeed, since the 1950s, local indigenous organisations, the authors maintain, have successfully managed integration as a means of struggle against political, economic and cultural subordination. This strategy shaped the recent violence in the region. The armed resistance to MRTA and Sendero Luminoso guerrillas by indigenous groups was not a product of manipulation by the armed forces, but rather reveals ‘on the one hand, an independence from the ideological baggage of both leftists and rightist groups, and, on the other, that their integration into the national society has not been passive, nor has it taken place under the conditions set forth by the State’ (p. 299).

In addition to amassing a comprehensive secondary literature and myriad primary and statistical sources, the authors have drawn on their own extensive scholarship on the region in writing this book. As such this is arguably the most complete synthesis of the literature on the Selva Central. Perhaps the authors’ most salient achievement is the successful interweaving of the varied scholarly perspectives (history, anthropology and political economy among others) that inform this study. Indeed, the interpretative tapestry obtained reveals how by the 1980s, after numerous ‘orderings’ and ‘disorderings’ of this frontier land, a ‘distinct regional space’ had begun to emerge in the Selva Central. Despite the presence of varying opposing identities (migrant Andean colonists, indigenous groups and even descendants of early foreign colonists), the authors argue, ‘there is evidence that a more generic regional culture and identity, based on elements contributed by each of these population sectors is emerging’ (p. 307). It is to be hoped that such findings will promote more fruitful debate on the nature of the Peruvian nation.

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PAULO DRINOT

Gustavo Gorriti, *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. xvii + 290, \$60.00, \$24.95 pb.

John M. Bennett, *Sendero Luminoso in Context: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lanham, MD, and Folkestone: Scarecrow Press/Shelwing Ltd, 1999), pp. ix + 229, £57.00 hb.

Originally published in Lima in 1990, this important book by Gustavo Gorriti represents one of the most informative accounts of the first phase of the insurrection launched by the Partido Comunista del Perú – Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL) to overthrow the Peruvian state (the book opens in January 1979,

when Abimael Guzmán was arrested during a general strike). Before having to flee the country due to persecution by Fujimori's security apparatus, Gorriti was employed as a journalist on Peru's main weekly magazine, *Caretas*, a position that brought him into regular contact with key players inside the military, political class and intelligence services. The author was also able to make regular visits to Ayacucho. This allowed him to witness at first hand how the PCP-SL operated during the early 1980s and he was consequently well placed to present a vivid account of what was unfolding in the south central highlands at a time when detailed information was difficult to obtain. One of the key arguments developed in his monograph concerns the total inadequacy of the Peruvian state in countering the PCP-SL during the period immediately preceding the launch of 'protracted people's war' and the first two years of armed conflict: between 1978 and 1980, the military's prime concern was overseeing a controlled return to elected government; although the security services were aware that the PCP-SL was planning an insurrection, the information was not acted upon; while the incoming Belaúnde government that assumed office in 1980 consistently underestimated the PCP-SL's strength and survival capacity. Gorriti provides a convincing assessment of the political circumstances and personalities that combined to produce these outcomes, outcomes that allowed the guerrilla to consolidate at a time when it was particularly vulnerable. Utilising internal PCP-SL documents, the author also presents valuable information on PCP-SL ideology, strategy, the political culture reigning within the organisation and the crucial internal debates occurring in the late 1970s and early 1980s that led to the decision to embark on armed struggle. When discussing these issues, Gorriti suggests that the PCP-SL's revolt differed from other Latin American guerrilla movements, although he unfortunately fails to provide a full explanation as to how and why this might have been the case.

Through employing a fluid journalistic style, the author succeeds in providing a clear account of the events he relates he is adept at maintaining the readers' interest. This approach, however, does have its shortcomings. The book is totally descriptive and there is an overall lack of analysis or engagement with theory. For example, the question of what induced individuals to join the PCP-SL is not discussed properly. Neither is the organisation's relation to the urban and rural population. Despite these understandable limitations, the book provides an accurate and informative account of what was occurring between 1979 and 1982. It therefore represents essential reading for anyone wishing to study the origins and development of the PCP-SL. Indeed, it is to be regretted that the two subsequent volumes the author intended to produce on the topic failed to materialise due to Fujimori's '*autogolpe*' of 1992 and Gorriti's subsequent exile. Finally, the translation into English and the explanation of Peruvian idioms (by Robin Kirk), has been undertaken with sensitivity and skill. Overall, the monograph is especially well-suited for undergraduate students who wish to start to 'understand' the PCP-SL but possess limited Spanish.

The bibliography assembled by John Bennett aims to provide an extensive database on Peruvian and non-Peruvian publications dealing with the PCP-SL. It also includes items that discuss the wider socio-political and cultural context in which the organisation emerged over the 1970s and later engaged in armed insurrection. To this end, in addition to chapters on the history and political trajectory of the PCP-SL, the volume contains sections on José Carlos Mariátegui,

Haya de la Torre, land reform, to coca economy and the Peruvian left. Publications on the Velasco, Belaúnde, García and Fujimori governments are also included. Many of the listed items are accompanied by a short description of their content (usually between two and four lines). Although none of the topics selected for inclusion provides an exhaustive compendium of the literature on a particular theme and the choice of items frequently seems illogical (important work is omitted and peripheral texts are included), the book represents a useful study aid for a researcher approaching the PCP-SL phenomenon for the first time. Another problem is that on occasions the author's comments are misleading. For example, Bennett states that Simon Strong's *Shining Path: the World's Deadliest Revolutionary Force* (item 1322) represents 'an objective and excellent' account 'based on extensive research...an essential work', even though the book has been the object of punishing criticism by Peruvian and non-Peruvian specialists on the PCP-SL for its sensationalism and superficiality. Finally, it also needs to be stated that at £57.00 the volume is outrageously priced.

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Gabriel Marcella and Richard Downes (eds.), *Security Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Resolving the Ecuador-Peru Conflict* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), pp. ix + 256, £35.95 hb.

Small wars involving smaller powers get little attention in eras where large ones involving great powers are common. And such is the case with the Ecuador-Peru conflict of 1995. This is a pity because these conflicts can have a remarkable impact on the region in which they take place, and can have lessons for contemporary international relations, strategy and even tactics which are far more important than one normally thinks.

The 1995 fighting was the continuation of a long series of wars, border incidents, and diplomatic wrangling pitting the small and insecure state of Ecuador against its larger and more powerful neighbour Peru. The struggle to decide on their common border goes back to the formation of the two republics in the 1820s. The countries fought one another in 1829, several times at smaller levels of conflict over the next century, and in dramatic fashion during the Peruvian invasion of Ecuador in 1941.

The resulting 1942 Protocol of Rio de Janeiro, signed and ratified under heavy United States pressure in the name of hemispheric solidarity in the face of the fascist menace, left Ecuador again 'the victim' and the terms of the accord have rankled with Quito ever since. In 1981 and 1991 significant fighting broke out, and the continuing disagreement over the border had kept the two countries at loggerheads on a permanent basis, despite the drive for regional integration under the Andean Pact, wider Amazonian cooperation, and even wider hemispheric schemes for collaboration.

It is impossible to assign blame for the 1995 conflict. Suffice it to say that both countries sent significant forces to their disputed border region along the Cenepa River and fought a six-week war which, while fought generally at fighting patrol levels, was sharp enough. And although casualties were relatively light, certainly fewer than 400 dead, it was fairly serious.

For Ecuador, the results were excellent on the political front. Peru was obliged

to return to the bargaining table after well over a half century. Success on the battlefield boosted national morale, and the army, bested each time by the Peruvians in the fighting since 1829, could now consider itself to have saved the nation's honour. For Peru, things were not so good and were rather the reverse of the Ecuadorean coin.

Gabriel Marcella and Richard Downes set about the daunting task of trying to contribute to the peace process after the conflict and studying the ways in which it demonstrated problems with, and prospects for, security cooperation in the Western hemisphere. All authors working on international relations and strategic studies issues in the present rapidly changing times know just how daring that can be. And indeed, the authors' book, like so many others which are so time-sensitive, was overtaken by events. The peace accords of October 1998 were achieved shortly before the book came out.

Instead of a book whose chapters would push forward the debate on how to obtain peace, we have one which raises important issues for inter-American security, the debate about which is gathering momentum at the Organisation of American States and in members' capitals. It is thus still a timely contribution to this wider discussion as well as a highly interesting case study of the Ecuador–Peru conflict.

Some very telling points are made by the contributors. David Scott Palmer and others remind us that settled democracies may not, in general, make war on one another but that some weak democracies may, if anything, be more tempted than some autocratic regimes to do so. A number of contributors make the point that Track II initiatives, often involving the press and academia, can be highly useful in such intractable disputes, to move the agenda along at least a little.

David Mares does a particularly good job dealing with the impact of the domestic scene on Ecuadorean political and military handling of the war and the subsequent negotiations. And Enrique Obando handles well the Peruvian side of the story. Other especially interesting chapters come from Eliézer Rizzo de Oliveira for the exceptional role of Brazilian diplomacy in the peace process, and Adrián Bonilla on the context of negotiations.

Despite the timing problem, there is little to criticise in this volume. There was, as the editors themselves point out, a need to balance the Peruvian perspective with more from the Ecuadoreans, a difficulty often seen in studies of this part of the Andes. A few infelicities creep in such as the highly unlikely assertion, on page 83, that the conflict was 'perhaps even more violent and costly than the 1941 war', but these are few and far between. Instead, one has a book which says much about this conflict in particular, security affairs in the Americas in general and conflict resolution in an inter-American context as a whole. It is well worth reading for anyone interested in some, or all, of those subjects.

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HAL KLEPAK

Jane Benton, *Agrarian Reform in Theory and Practice: A Study of the Lake Titicaca Region of Bolivia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. x + 207, £39.95 hb.

In a time when redistributive land reform conjures images of a distant revolutionary past, Jane Benton's forty-year analysis of the Bolivian Agrarian Reform brings a refreshing sense of present-day relevance to what might be

considered ‘the long term’. Set as a ‘tale of two villages’, Benton contrasts the reform trajectories of ex-hacienda Chua Visalaya and *comunidad originaria* Llamacachi on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca, and reminds of the complexity and unexpected outcomes of contested social change. Based on primary research conducted in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, and a careful selection of secondary sources, the book brings the full weight of a social geographer’s perspective to bear on a domain typically colonised by more spatially-challenged economists and political scientists.

The book is divided into two parts, an introductory ‘theory of reform’, which places the research into Latin American and Bolivian historical context, including a detailed account of the Agrarian Reform legislation and the most recent institutional reforms, and a second and more nuanced ‘practice of reform’, that sets out the contrasting trajectories taken by the two villages over forty years of reform. The fact that both communities are only a few kilometres away from each other, yet worlds apart in social and political self-image and outward perceptions, sets up a rich and underdetermined narrative of social change.

The trajectory of agricultural development is less than straightforward. The dual structure of hacienda agriculture, of highly modernised sheep farming alongside subsistence level *colono* agriculture in Visalaya, collapsed with Agrarian Reform. It was replaced by a highly fragmented and intensive pattern of smallholder agriculture that rapidly deteriorated through land exhaustion and miniaturisation. In contrast, the *comunarios* of Llamacachi developed a sustainable form of cash crop farming based on onion/potato rotations. By the 1970s, an onion-led union system would promote *llamacacheño* women to key posts in the La Paz wholesale marketing system. As Benton notes, ‘the presence in the community of widely respected, innovative leaders, capable of acting as ‘cultural brokers’, gave Llamacachi a substantial advantage over Visalaya and most other communities... (p. 163).’

Significantly, three factors, besides agricultural and commercial development, surface through the forty-year narrative: protestantism, primary schooling and urban migration. By 1992, one out of three *comunarios* had migrated, whereas only one out of ten former hacienda *colonos* had followed suit. ‘Traditionalists’ of the 1950s were setting up businesses in the city and managing a booming cash crop industry back home, whereas ‘modernists’ of the past were the new rural poor of the 1990s. How to explain the reversal of fortunes? Among the constellation of intervening factors, the author reveals the long-term impact of the establishment of a Baptist primary school in 1943, and a Baptist secondary school in nearby Huatajata – a school that claims former Bolivian vice-president Víctor Hugo Cárdenas as an alumnus.

Where the literature on land reform had once focused almost exclusively on the productivity effects of new technology adoption, marketing and credit access, Benton’s account adds a combination of social, political and spatial effects. The two community’s geographic location, along the main highway between La Paz and Copacabana, less than 20 kilometres away from the Achacachi heartland of Agrarian Reform grassroots organising, and only two hours by truck to the city of La Paz, confers a number of unique regional advantages. The particular histories of individual entrepreneurship and political organising that led to divergent long-term paths, however, emerge out of an almost idiosyncratic pattern of reform appropriation. The ambivalent implications of ‘successful’

appropriation are also evident in the conflicting self-image developed by commercial farmers, educated migrants and urban entrepreneurs (a point poignantly made by a successful second-generation *llamacachenã*, 'it's a great pity that my mother is a *campesina*', p. 190).

A less-developed side of the analysis is, perhaps, the politics of Agrarian Reform, particularly the impact of regional and national political networks over the scope for local legal and political action. The highly contested nature of redistributive reform at the local level and the 'MNRisation' of land reform at the national level had a non-neutral effect through which individuals and organisations gained access to political advantages and resources over time. The emergence of agrarian unions, cooperatives and other producer associations, in particular, were tied to larger processes of political engagement that moved from the revolutionary 1950s to the corporatist 1960s–70s, and the break down of the national revolutionary state in the 1980s. In many respects, however, the author makes up for such minor quibbles, with a lucid account of how Llamacachi and Chua Visalaya crafted their own reform trajectories, offering a clear rationale for how forty-year old events have a bearing on the present-day challenges of second- and third-generation legacies of rapid social change.

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GEORGE GRAY-MOLINA

Eduardo Posada-Carbó (ed.), *Colombia: The Politics of Reforming the State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, in association with the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1997), pp. xxiv + 286, £45.00 hb.

This useful book has not been lucky in its timing. Drawn from a 1995 conference at the University of London's Institute of Latin American Studies, it has reached potential readers during Colombia's worst crisis in a century. The country, increasingly the world, are spectators to an apparently escalating drama of violence between the armed forces, guerrilla bands, drug traffickers and irregular *paramilitares*. It suffers from the globe's highest rates of kidnapping and murder. And most germane to the subject of this book, authority over an area the size of Switzerland has been officially ceded to the FARC guerrillas. This dramatic concession by the government seems less a promising step toward peace than an implicit confirmation that the Colombian state cannot fulfil its most fundamental function, namely the monopoly of legitimate force within its national territory.

Readers that seek insight into how Colombia reached this condition will come across clues but will have to work hard to find them in this book. It was conceived more narrowly as a contribution to scholarly and policy debate about the state's changing role and responsibilities during a decade of market reforms across Latin America. Within this compass it presents solid policy analysis of the 1991 constitutional reform (Manuel José Cepeda), decentralisation (Gustavo Bell Lemus), education (Jesús Duarte), housing (Alan Gilbert) and the economy and budget (Jorge Ramírez Ocampo, Armando Montenegro, and Rudolf Hommes). These chapters document how policy reforms in the 1990s ran up against entrenched traditions of clientelism and, read carefully, can illuminate economic

causes of the current national crisis. A thoughtful chapter by Gary Hoskin interprets the historical evolution of political parties, and an essay by Álvaro Tirado Mejía briefly but suggestively outlines the dimensions of violence and the human rights emergency. Taken together, however, they offer a disappointingly thin interpretation of how Colombia could reach its near breakdown.

Eduardo Posada-Carbó and his collaborators cannot wholly be faulted for having failed to anticipate the depths of the current crisis. More than any other country in Latin America, Colombia might be said to have ‘institutionalised’ emergency over many decades, with an array of messy but effective ways of muddling through. It had lived a long time with armed violence (indeed, the *Violencia* of the 1940s and 1950s cost 200,000 lives), and its economy was for generations the most stable in the region. There was no way to know with certainty that the accumulated *maña* of politicians and policy makers would not this time arrest the country’s downward spiral. Nevertheless, the book could have been far more illuminating had it not so resolutely avoided the central issue of state disintegration. It is not wholly unacknowledged; Posada-Carbó recognises it clearly in his short introductory essay, understood as the loss either of Weberian legitimacy or of Hobbesian sovereignty (‘... at the heart of the modern state is its capacity to guarantee personal security,’ p. 14). But this core problem is not reflected in the book’s underlying design.

It is rather breathtaking to open a volume conceived in the mid-1990s that skirts the fundamental dynamics that have brought the Colombian state to its present condition. The book implicitly accepts the multiple *violencias* of armed rebellion, drug trafficking and white militias as normal politics and lacks any sustained analysis of how this combustible mixture might undermine what was left of the state’s fragile foundations. It has no chapters on the military or the police, which have become distressingly familiar representatives of the state to ordinary citizens in their daily lives. It offers interesting insights into judicial review (Cepeda) but does not focus on the broader reforms of the court system in this period and their consequences for the rule of law. These serious flaws cannot be explained by the absence of research on these subjects. There are abundant Colombian and *colombianista* experts on all of them.

In addition, this book perpetuates a long tradition in scholarship on Colombia of a narrow focus on national realities – a Macondo evoked by former President Belisario Betancur’s florid prologue. The large body of modern scholarship on state sovereignty in the changing international system certainly deserved more than passing mention. More directly to the point, the lack of attention to US foreign policy is perplexing. The evolving character of the Colombian state over more than a decade – most crucially, its armed forces, court reforms and drug policies – has been integrally shaped by advice and resources from the US government. Its ongoing failure to meet its basic legal responsibilities toward its citizens and its efforts at reform must be understood in terms of the growing pressures from the international arena – from the human rights organs of the Inter-American and United Nations systems and from the successes of the country’s courageous human rights movement in working with allies in the United States and Europe. In avoiding all this the book seems not just old-fashioned but irrelevant.

That is unfortunate, because it has real virtues. The contributors, a mixture of Colombians and foreign authorities on the country, bring both experience in

public life and solid academic credentials to the subject. They provide genuine insights into the nexus between proclaimed policies and actual practice, between the intentions of elites and outcomes, and between the goals of reformers and obstacles to change. While the focus is national rather than comparative, they make apt references to relevant foreign data. They write in straightforward language unfreighted by jargon. Taken as a whole, the book is a series of well-informed papers that help insert the Colombian case into contemporary debates on rebuilding 'the state' among academics and policy experts. The fundamental causes of the Colombian state's perilous decline, however, lie outside its scope.

Ford Foundation

ALEXANDER WILDE

William M. LeoGrande, *Our Own Backyard: The United States in Central America, 1977–1992* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. xvi + 773, £29.95 hb.

In describing US-Central American relations, LeoGrande cites the comment of a US government official in order to dramatise the extent of intelligence agency coverage of Nicaragua: 'you could hear a toilet flush in Managua'. Something similar could be said of this voluminous book, which covers these relations in almost all their detail. It is a work intimidating in its scale, but also accessible and instructive at the same time. Lacking in theoretical pretensions, it offers an arsenal of information permitting students to enrich paradigms and other abstractions with real-life events.

LeoGrande's book is particularly useful for those following the Colombian situation. The *via crucis* which US cooperation with El Salvador and Nicaragua repeated time and time again is currently being replicated – by almost the same individuals – for the case of Colombia. The same conflicts between the White House and Congress occur, together with the usual discrepancies between different bureaucratic agencies, with leaks to the press used as a tool in the struggle between them. The fears then are the same as the fear now: the spectre of another Vietnam, humanitarian concerns and opposing views on the human rights record of the armed forces. Similarly, condemnations of flagrant violations of human rights do not lead to investigations, or are investigated without results so that the perpetrators maintain their impunity. This is all *déjà vu*.

This book examines US relations with a region that was the site of one of the final conflicts of the Cold War. It is therefore interesting to note examples of behaviour which was then par for the course but which is now less tolerable for national and international public opinion. For example, the role of the US ambassador in the election of Magaña in El Salvador, or that of ambassador Robert White in the promotion of El Salvador's agrarian reform during the 1980s. Or the conflicts between the US government and the Salvadorean army and right (and this at the height of the Cold War), or the conflicts between liberal and conservative tendencies in the US Congress. It is also interesting to note the interference of the US embassy in the selection of presidential candidates and military commanders. The descriptions offered by the author are so detailed that the reader can easily discover the world of half-loyalties and half-enmities, of overt and covert aid. According to LeoGrande, the CIA spent almost two million

dollars on the 1982 Salvadorean election campaign to support Napoleón Duarte and \$2.1 million in the 1984 campaign to block ARENA's D'Aubuisson. The presidential candidate of the ARENA party, Hugo Duarte, commented at the time that the CIA, and not the Christian Democrats, had won the elections.

As in the case of Vietnam, the dogmatism of bureaucratic group-think predominated in policy circles concerned with Central America. In this as in other instances, the inability of the US bureaucracy to assimilate the richness of information and analysis that existed within the USA on situations that were the object of foreign policy is astounding. LeoGrande's book could substitute as a manual on how to sell an aid package to a reluctant Congress, including how to secure advantages in exchange for conditionalities that are subsequently evaded and how to use key concepts such as 'compromise' and 'bipartisanship' combined with the threat of blaming someone in order to obtain the desired result. The lessons provided by this book indicate to foreign ministries and NGOs alike the ways in which certain issues appear and disappear on the US foreign policy agenda and how interest in different countries waxes and wanes. As LeoGrande himself states, 'El Salvador faded from the American political agenda in the late 1980s, slipping out of sight and out of mind. But the lessons learned from it guided the Reagan administration in the new foreign policy struggle that replaced El Salvador as the focal point of conflict between Congress and the executive branch, between liberal Democrats and Reagan Republicans – Nicaragua' (p. 282).

One weakness of the book is the paucity of information on the negotiated peace process for the case of El Salvador, and on the impact of European or Contadora group actions on the Central American situation. But this is a lot to ask of an already voluminous tome (comprising 773 pages, of which 182 are references and bibliographical citations) which is focused on other dimensions of the process. Professor LeoGrande has provided an invaluable resource for academics, policy-makers and non-governmental organisations. In all honesty, this is an obligatory reference work for Latin Americans because we do not tend to carry out this kind of study ourselves and if we do they rarely achieve this level of detail. How war fails and peace is achieved is a relevant topic for citizens in many parts of the world. LeoGrande's book offers us historical examples that should not be passed over. The size of this book should not put potential readers off, it provides a wealth of information to understand what could be called 'the politics of aid in warlike situations'. How the transition from war to peace was achieved in Central America is linked to the end of the Cold War, yet there appears to be little difference between what happened during the Cold War and what is happening now in other parts of the world.

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FERNANDO CEPEDA ULLOA

Gary Prevost and Harry E. Vanden (eds.), *The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. xiv + 226, £17.99 pb.

The aftermath of Nicaragua's Sandinista Revolution has inspired a great deal of literature, both academic and journalistic. Most of it has faded rapidly due to

either excessive attachment to everyday details, lack of historical perspective, or shifting fashions in the social sciences. Prevost and Vanden's edited volume is a good exception to this trend. Originally published in 1997, it has gathered a broad acceptance in the academic community, which this 1999 reprint is testimony to.

A number of important conclusions can be drawn from the five chapters that make up this collection. Firstly, the undoing of the Sandinista Revolution started well before the February 1990 Sandinista electoral defeat, as a combined outcome of a number of factors, both domestic and international. Second, the immediate impact of neoliberal structural adjustment on the downgrading of labour and living conditions of poor Nicaraguans as well large segments of the middle classes has been aggravated by the intentionality of its policy implementation. Political revenge, and not just market biases, did play a decisive role in the distribution of gains and losses. Thirdly, in spite of massive mobilisations and a confrontational rhetoric, both the FSLN's and grassroots organisations' strategies vis-à-vis post-Sandinista social and economic policies has been one of protest and adaptation much more than one of across-the-board opposition and defence of previous achievements. Lastly, the FSLN has faced a difficult process of learning how to behave as an oppositional political force while keeping a basic attachment to a political system they contributed to enact as well as to people's claims. Its key challenge has been to avoid the temptation of either going back to open, armed or mass confrontation, or relaxing commitment to the social demands stemming from its popular constituencies in order to reach an opportunistic compromise with subsequent administrations.

The individual authors discuss how the dismantling affected the many dimensions of the revolutionary design for socio-political and economic change; participatory democracy, agrarian reform, social and welfare policies, gender relations, labour market, the armed forces, Nicaragua–US relations. The authors also explore the way these mutations and drawbacks have impacted upon FSLN's internal unity, leading to ruptures and secessions, as well as on its ability to preserve itself as a meaningful player in the politico-electoral arena.

A number of factors contributed to the dismantling of revolutionary achievements. Some of them go back to the mid 1980s, that is, to the very Sandinista regime: economic crisis, US-backed counter-revolutionary war (which included an economic embargo as well Nicaragua's isolation vis-à-vis multilateral financial agencies), together with a shift in FSLN-people relationship from democratic participation and a certain autonomy of grass-roots organisation, to a top-down, *vanguardista* scheme of leadership and control. Vanden's chapter discusses the many factors favouring this shift, and its impact upon peoples attitudes and perceptions with regard to the FSLN both as a political party and as government. In turn, La Ramée and Polakoff offer a close analysis of how these changes affected each of the main mass organisations, focusing with particular emphasis on territorial organisations such as the Communal Movement. In addition, they also account for the changes these organisations experienced as an effect of the new political and socio-economic settings, as well FSLN's internal quarrels. Stahler-Sholk's chapter on the post-Sandinista economic policies is a well documented piece which combines the author's long dedication to this particular subject. His chapter identifies the many ingredients of continuity between economic adjustment during the last years of the Sandinista government and that implemented during the subsequent Chamorro's administration, in

addition to pointing to the similarities and differences between the two main versions of structural adjustment during the Chamorro years. Of particular relevance is Stahler-Sholk's presentation of the FSLN's ambiguity with regard to Neoliberal economic policies, and its shifting tactics to retain people's allegiances while avoiding open confrontations with the government. According to Chavez Metoyer, women have been particularly affected by post- (and anti-) Sandinista policies; some neoliberal reforms such as privatisation of state-owned assets, reduction of labour employment in the public sector, and the like, place a heavy burden on women. Blaming conventional social science analyses for hiding this reality, her chapter includes testimonies of a number of poor Nicaraguan women on the many ways in which the dismantling of revolutionary institutions and relationships is affecting them.

Absent in this collection is an analysis of how post-Sandinista Nicaragua has dealt with the Atlantic Coast issue, something throughout the 1980s and early 1990s that was subject to persistent academic and political debate. Prevost dedicates two pages to it in his own chapter; however, a specific contribution would have been important to assess what is left of the FSLN's attempt at building a multi-ethnic/multicultural state.

In all, this is a well documented book, accesible to an educated although not necessarily academic reader, and particularly useful for teaching purposes. The authors' evident sympathies towards the Sandinista regime do not prevent them from providing a balanced and, in a number of cases, critical perspective.

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Rachel Sieder (ed.), *Guatemala after the Peace Accords* (London: University of London, Institute of Latin American Studies, 1998), pp. viii + 269, £12.00 pb; \$19.95 pb.

To the outside observer, perhaps no other country in Latin America generates as much confusion or controversy on a regular basis as does Guatemala. To an extent, this situation derives from the cryptic nature of Guatemalan political life itself, in which public discourse only partially conveys the underlying political realities of any given topic. Indeed, the complexities of Guatemala's past and present inhibit most scholars from even attempting an overall judgment about recent political history.

In this context, *Guatemala After the Peace Accords* represents a propitious collection of essays by US, British and Guatemalan scholars, as well as by key Guatemalan political actors. This volume edited by Rachel Sieder is based on a conference held at the Institute of Latin American Studies in November 1997, less than a year after the December 1996 signing of the Guatemalan peace accords. The book was released within six months of the conference, which was possible because the papers and presentations were left in their original language, either in Spanish or English.

At the time of this conference in 1997, both domestic and international reactions to the promise of the Guatemalan peace accords were far more positive

than they are as of this writing in 2000. However, the fifteen essays and perspectives presented in this volume reflect on and anticipate some of the potential obstacles to democratic development in post-war Guatemala.

The collection is divided into four main topics – demilitarisation; indigenous rights; truth, memory and justice; and political reform – with a useful introductory presentation on the peace process by the Arzú government's key peace negotiator, Gustavo Porras, one of two government participants in the conference. Each topic is followed by the moderator's summary analysis along with the transcription of questions and answers from conference participants, a discussion which points to, but hardly resolves, some of the more hotly disputed issues in each topic.

These four topics are well chosen, if only because each represents an aspect of Guatemalan political life that continues to be highly contested. Papers on demilitarisation by Jennifer Schirmer and Guatemalan human rights activist and analyst Edgar Gutiérrez include substantial doubts about the prospects for a real diminution of military power, while anthropologist David Stoll raises questions about the human rights community's ability to understand local conflicts that resist facile explanations. The papers on historical memory, by the government's human rights coordinator Marta Altolaguirre, human rights activist Frank LaRue and anthropologist Richard Wilson, focus mainly on the role of the UN-sponsored Historical Clarification Commission, but reveal the lack of consensus – not unique to Guatemala – over the meaning of reconciliation.

The papers on indigenous rights are among the best, and reveal substantial agreement in the authors' diagnoses of the principal problems of governance and legitimacy facing the Guatemalan state as well as the challenges of the majority indigenous population in pushing for due recognition of their rights. Two of the most important Guatemalan scholars on ethnicity and indigenous issues, Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil and Marta Elena Casaús Arzú, contribute essays here. Roger Plant, who formerly worked on indigenous affairs with the UN Verification Mission in Guatemala, contextualises the issues within the peace process, while Rachel Sieder provides an insightful overview of issues of customary law and local power.

The final topic discussed in this collection is that of political reform, and includes pieces by leftist congresswoman and indigenous leader Rosalina Tuyuc, as well as by Anne Vinegrad, who provides an excellent overview of the political transition of the armed rebels of the URNG (who are otherwise not represented in this collection, despite the best efforts of the conference organisers.)

Significantly, in this topic opposition politician (and now President) Alfonso Portillo provides a critique of the Arzú government's autocratic management of the peace process, arguing that its modernising image was not reflected in practice. Portillo's contribution does not answer how or why he – as a populist lawyer and economist with political roots in the left – decided to ally himself with former military general Ríos Montt, under whose rule genocide was carried out, but one can see a great deal of consistency between his discourse in 1997 and that which propelled him to power two years later.

Equally important, and baffling to many outside observers, is that fact that two other contributors to this volume, Gutiérrez and Cojtí, both long-standing critics of militarism and respected proponents of human rights causes, have also taken up posts in the new Portillo government. The answer may lie, in part, with the

dissimulation of the Guatemalan left and the exhaustion of any viable alternative political parties for those seeking progressive changes.

While this volume may not provide ultimately satisfying explanations to the eternal puzzle of Guatemalan politics, it nevertheless makes a laudable contribution to presenting a wider audience with some of the complexities confronting contemporary political life in Guatemala. As such, it should be an obligatory reference volume for scholars and others attempting to decipher the meaning of the Guatemalan peace process and assess the obstacles to democratic transition.

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DAVID HOLIDAY

Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder, *The Legacy of Human Rights Violations in the Southern Cone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. xvi + 367, £48.00 hb.

We have come to appreciate all too well that it is narrow-minded to conceive of transitions from authoritarian rule as linear progressions toward reconciliation and democracy. Time has clearly not erased the trauma of the violence. There is no such thing as closure. While the Southern Cone dictatorships brutally eliminated the intense conflict, mobilisations and polarisation characteristic of their predecessor regimes, the legacies of struggle and the ghosts of those who were murdered and disappeared at the hands of the military continue to sear the uneasy consciences of Argentine, Chilean and Uruguayan postauthoritarian societies. As Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder convey in their ambitious and very rich multidisciplinary study, the process of coming to terms with the atrocities is exceedingly complex and continuous.

Roniger and Sznajder extend the umbrella of human rights to examine the politics, public policies, discourse and cultures framing Southern Cone countries' attempts to reconstruct and consolidate democratic regimes. They trace the sinister national, regional and transnational character of the human rights violations, as well as the emergence of local human rights groups and their transnational advocates. While the authors examine the specific approaches that postauthoritarian Southern Cone governments have employed to address (or fail to address) the human rights violations, they are even more concerned with the ways in which a range of actors have adopted, framed, and politicised the discourse and meaning of human rights from dictatorship to democracy.

One of Roniger and Sznajder's chief interests is how well or poorly Southern Cone countries have been able to secure true democratic public spheres, in which societies discuss and debate their painful histories, free from fear of repercussion. While they hold government as primarily responsible for shaping policies that encourage or inhibit a public sphere, the authors devote a good deal of attention to civil society actors, including human rights activists, intellectuals, writers and filmmakers who are positioned at the vanguard of debates about 'memory and oblivion'. Much of the authors' descriptions of government handling of human rights issues can be found elsewhere. Yet other passages feel fresh and unique when coupled with the more conventional treatments of the human rights policy process.

For example, Roniger and Sznajder analyse and contrast historical memory debates within the Argentine and Uruguayan intellectual communities between former exiles and ‘insiles’, those returning from exile and those who remained in the country during the dictatorship. The authors use these debates as a lens on the challenges to articulating not only shared visions of the past, but a tolerant, communicative discursive atmosphere in the current period. Drawing from testimonial narratives, novels, plays and films from the 1970s through to the 1990s, Roniger and Sznajder examine the cultural production of the *tiempo presente*, attempting to provide a more culturally-minded view of Southern Cone struggles over having to incorporate the atrocities of their recent pasts into their national identities. Moreover, throughout their analysis, the authors provide ample and fascinating treatments of the role (or displacement, or marginalisation) of Southern Cone intellectuals in today’s formal political realm.

In a vein that is wholly within the growing realm of human rights scholarship, Roniger and Sznajder assess the evolution of the internalisation of human rights discourse in the Southern Cone, including the influences of ‘Western’ human rights actors on local political and social actors. The authors argue that international human rights claims are often caught in debates over sovereignty, and they imply that human rights discourse in Latin America assumes politicised dimensions, becoming a ruse behind which intensely ideological conflict is fought. One angle the authors underplay is the influence of Southern Cone human rights spokespersons and political activists (particularly those in exile) upon the North American and European human rights communities. The relationship among very sophisticated political actors from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay and the growing human rights communities in the northern hemisphere was more dynamic than Roniger and Sznajder allow. Nevertheless, the authors are right to signal the importance of this transnationalised movement, particularly in light of the Pinochet arrest, upon local human rights debate and the impossibility of closure.

Roniger and Sznajder leaves little untouched in this comprehensive exploration of the legacies of human rights violations in the Southern Cone. This can and does make for dense reading, and it is not always easy to follow the thread of their arguments. Nevertheless, the study is a very useful contribution to several debates. Roniger and Sznajder manage to piece together the questions of what must be done with the violators, how societies and cultures, individually and collectively, fitfully rebuild and interpret their identities, memories and histories.

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KATHERINE HITE

Sheila Page, *Regionalism among Developing Countries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. xii + 322, £55.00 hb.

One of the puzzles of globalisation in the last 15 years is that it has been accompanied by the spread of regionalism. This phenomenon has been widespread in Latin America and the Caribbean, but – as Sheila Page shows in this excellent book – it has been repeated throughout the world. Indeed, one of the great strengths of this book is that it makes explicit comparisons between all

the different integration schemes in the world so that the reader can easily see to what extent there are similarities and dissimilarities between the various regional arrangements.

Page begins by addressing the issue of new regionalism, which is widely recognised as going far beyond the static concepts of trade creation and trade diversion that defined the old regionalism. She then explores the motives that lead countries to adopt integration schemes. While each scheme does appear to correspond to a clear set of motives, Page stresses that these motives differ substantially from one scheme to another. In this respect she is surely correct; the motivation for NAFTA, for example, is clearly very different from the motivation for MERCOSUR.

The link between globalisation and regionalism is explored in a number of ways. Page examines the obligations of countries under both the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the different integration schemes. Although the WTO is still struggling to find a satisfactory definition of integration that is consistent with its own rules, Page makes clear that the conflicts in practice are quite rare. Indeed, countries seem anxious to demonstrate their credentials by adopting 'higher' standards in the case of possible conflicts.

Part II of the book is devoted to a careful study of trade and investment patterns. The formal arrangements adopted by each scheme are explained before an examination of the trade and investment dynamics. The differences among the integration schemes are very striking. In the case of investment, for example, Page finds evidence that MERCOSUR has not only been able to promote inward investment, but also to attract investment in one member country by other member countries. By contrast, no such effect was found for the Central American Common Market.

Throughout this part of the book, Page uses the concept of 'intensity' to look at the impact of integration. This measures 'the ratio of the share of intra-regional trade for a country or for the region as a whole to the share of the region in total trade' (pp. 114–5). Inevitably, this means that the smaller regions have higher intensity ratios than larger regions. However, it does allow for comparisons over time in order to see the impact of integration on trade patterns. There are a large number of tables in this part of the book that provide details on intensity.

The third part of the book deals with many of the new issues raised by globalisation and asks how these have been addressed at the regional level. Examples are services, labour mobility, environmental standards and the harmonisation of macroeconomic policies. The picture that emerges is very complicated, although there is evidence that countries have adopted standards at the regional level that are generally consistent with global recommendations. Indeed, in the case of NAFTA (signed before the completion of the Uruguay Round), the regional standards clearly influenced those later adopted at the global level.

Page concludes by stressing the complexity of the new regionalism and its relation to globalisation. However, she states provocatively that 'regional trading groups either move towards more integration (culminating, at least in the past, in what are now federal countries) or prove to be unstable temporary alliances of countries whose common interests diverge as they diverge economically or in policy approach' (p. 293). Applying this to Latin America and the Caribbean is salutary since it implies that the efforts to create a Free Trade Area of the

Americas (FTAA) by 2005 are more than simply an adjunct to the existing integration schemes. If Page is right, the stakes are therefore much higher than most of us had assumed.

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VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS

Chile: Crecimiento, empleo y el desafío de la justicia social (Santiago: Naciones Unidas en Chile coordinado por la Oficina Internacional del Trabajo, 1998), pp. 388, pb. \$20.

Reestructuración, integración y mercado laboral: Crecimiento y calidad del empleo en economías abiertas (Santiago: Oficina Internacional del Trabajo, 1998), pp. 327, pb. \$20.

There is an enormous need for data on and analysis of the changes witnessed in labour markets and social policy in Latin American countries since these have undergone economic restructuring and market reforms during the 1980s and 1990s. These two recently published collections by the ILO, present both new data and analytical perspectives on these phenomena. The volume on Chile presents a timely review of changes in labour markets and policy responses from the mid-1980s to mid-1990s, which coincides with the period of recovery from 1986, and then the phase of policy innovation after the re-inauguration of democratic government in 1990. It offers a useful reference for those interested in a balanced appraisal of employment and policy performance in the one Latin American country with a completed neo-liberal restructuring programme. The reader will get a sense of the institutional and financial difficulties democratic governments faced in developing and implementing active labour market policies following the more restricted targeting programmes and the market neutral approach to employment issue so the preceding years. There is not much new data in the background review of aggregate labour market trends, which fills the first 150 pages or so. The most valuable contribution lies in the detailed, well-researched and insightful discussion of specific policy programmes in the volume's third and fourth parts. This is more a development report than an academic book (hence perhaps the somewhat superficial treatment of the relationship between labour market flexibility and institutions, pp. 219–22), but the presentation and discussion of different policy programmes is excellent. For the reader unfamiliar with the Chilean case, the volume compiles a vast list of sources and insights, and offers useful guide to employment policy.

The edited volume *Reestructuración, integración y mercado laboral* looks at the theme of employment and employment policy in comparative light, taking the Mercosur countries as the principal focus in the first two parts of the books, and bringing in some international experiences at the end. The key issue it addresses is how to create simultaneously more and better quality jobs. As Soifer points out in his introductory chapter, the problem of making lower unemployment coincide with better quality jobs can no longer be reduced to the creation of *formal* sector jobs. This question, however, is not systematically explored throughout the book. It is most starkly posed for the case of Chile: Leme, Castro, Comin and Biderman focus on the relationship between early economic

restructuring and the growth of employment (in quantity), whereas Rodgers and Reinecke measure the quality of employment through careful consideration of individual-level factors such as social security affiliation, type of contract, participation and employment stability. Taken together the two chapters hint at the existence of a trade-off between quantity of employment and its quality in Chile, but because the two are considered as separate themes (in separate chapters) the reader is not fully satisfied that the relationship has been explained.

There is no obvious connection between the three parts of the book, looking respectively at the impact of Mercosur, at issues of employment quality and training, and finally at international experiences and institutional issues. The chapters on Mercosur address the narrower question of how the common market has affected the quality and quantity of employment. The question itself is problematic, because there is no easy way to differentiate between the Mercosur experience and the broader process of economic restructuring and opening of the 'late-comers' Brazil and Argentina. The individual chapters, however, are interesting and well researched. The sectoral focus chosen by Leme et al. is useful in bringing to light one aspect of the trade-off between quantity and quality: the sectors that have adjusted well (like the auto sector in Brazil) and which provide quality jobs, add little to overall employment creation. Both this and the chapter by Soifer point to the difficulties governments face in finding ways to support employment creation *and* technological innovation and job quality in an era where no clear understanding of what industrial policy is (alternative to the old statist models) has emerged. The attempt to bring in international experiences is commendable and, viewed in the best possible light brings diverse and refreshing contrasts into a debate that is too often regionalised. Soifer has a difficult task in trying to bring the individual contributions together in the introductory chapter. As a consequence, this is a little lengthy and descriptive, and geared towards mapping out analytical territories, rather than toward illuminating the connecting pathways. To be fair, this reflects the state of the field, where the consistent but narrowly-based neo-classical paradigm and the increasingly sophisticated but still not holistic methodological challenges to it, have as yet not found effective ways of communicating.

The central trade-off (quality/quantity of employment) is most usefully and directly addressed in the middle part of the book, where the quality of employment and issues of training are considered. Individual chapters demonstrate the advancement of analytical categories, for example in the measurement of the quality of employment, as in Rodgers and Reinecke and Chahad, although the chapters also clearly bear evidence of the difficulties in extending the comparisons across countries. The chapter that perhaps comes closest to offering something akin to a systemic critique is that of Geller. In general, the problem of developing human resources demonstrates the difficulty of separating social from labour policy, and of assuming that atomised markets make for optimal resource allocation. This area is the Achilles' heel in the neo-classical paradigm. Geller's lucid analysis of Chile draws this out implicitly. His review of the Argentinean and Brazilian cases, on the other hand, highlights the danger of over-centralisation and streamlining.

In summary, both ILO publications offer high-quality and up-to-date research of employment trends and policy in Latin America and provide indispensable reference material for further research of and reflection on the changed shape of

labour markets as structures of social inclusion and exclusion. What they may lack in tightness of focus they certainly make up for in collection of relevant data (in the case especially of the publication on employment policy in Chile) and in the presentation of critical insights on how to innovate the study of labour markets.

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LOUISE HAAGH

Patricia C. Márquez, *The Street is My Home: Youth and Violence in Caracas* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. ix + 276, £30.00 hb; \$45.00 hb.

Latin America's street children have for some years been an object of fascination to western researchers and journalists. In his book on street children in Recife, Tobias Hecht describes a scene where the eight street children on a Brazilian street corner are vastly outnumbered by 40 adults, in the shape of civil and religious activists, government social workers, police and foreign onlookers. This street child 'industry' generates a mythical stereotype of hungry, helpless orphans at the mercy of death squads. The reality is very different. Lewis Aptekar's study in Colombia showed how street children see the plethora of projects and homes intended to 'rescue' children from the street as a useful resource in working out their daily strategy for survival. I have heard children in Colombia comparing the rival merits of different centres – one has nicer beds, but the food is better in a second. Such projects are unlikely to get very far in luring children off streets that are often a preferred option to violent and impoverished homes.

Street child as victim is one of the two conflicting portraits of street children in the public mind. The other portrait is more *Lord of the Flies* than *Oliver Twist* – street children as the diminutive barbarians at the gates of civilised homes, requiring strict policing and worse to keep them in check. Patricia Márquez sets out to further this debate, delving into the issue of violence by street children. She hopes to prove that a study of street children in Venezuela shows that 'the current morality of young people on the streets is the dominant morality of the last three decades of "The Great Venezuela".' In other words, Venezuela has got the children it deserves and 'shanty town [street children] and corrupt politicians share the same set of morals'.

This may be a laudable aim but the book itself is in equal parts frustrating, disappointing and dull. Frustrating because it is not all bad – there are occasional flashes of insight, for example explaining the gap between reality and media stereotypes of the 'typical' family in terms of historical layers of family structures left by colonialism, slavery, independence and urbanisation. There is a fascinating account of the Venezuelan child welfare system, including the consequences of having a largely female legal apparatus for children often in conflict with policemen and male politicians determined to seek a more retributive approach to 'delinquent' children. She gets hold of children's case files and shows how underpaid social services staff effectively pathologise children by reading the most extraordinary lessons into apparently innocent interviews. One child denies he masturbates and is promptly branded as showing 'a deficient sexual identification, masturbatory tension'. The judge is recommended to send him to a 'center for

treating his castration complex as well as his obsessive and psychopathic characteristics’.

But such bright spots are heavily outnumbered by the book’s many weaknesses. The author, a well-off *caraqueña*, provides only the sparsest of interview material with real street children, much of it inconsequential – there is nothing quite as bad as bad testimony. Early on, she admits (to her credit) that ‘my fieldwork was structured by my own fear and by what risks I was willing to take’. For example, she almost never stayed out later than 9 pm. With a couple of exceptions, she seems to have had trouble relating to the boys, and apparently never thought to try more innovative techniques, such as Hecht’s use of child-to-child interviews to get around his own ignorance of what questions to ask. Nor does she interview the children’s mothers, despite showing a clear grasp of the central role mothers play in street children’s internal worlds, even when they have abandoned them to their fate. As a result, the reader never really gets under the children’s skin. Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, that many of the best parts of the book involve her analysis of documentary evidence, rather than direct contact with children.

In addition, the book lacks context and appears untouched by an editorial hand. The author doesn’t properly define what she means by street child, she makes no serious attempt to quantify the numbers on the streets, she regularly refers to Venezuela’s economic crisis, but does nothing to flesh out what the crisis consists of, or its concrete impact on the children’s lives. There is only one passing mention of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is a crucial text in taking a rights-based approach to the study of childhood. Too often the book reads like a fieldwork notebook, dumped verbatim into a computer. Arguments and ideas aren’t followed through, anecdotes often fail to illuminate the argument, terms are not defined. Moreover, the pedestrian content is burdened with a heavy baggage of jargon of the ‘mapping their own imaginary urban topographies’ variety (I took this to mean ‘deciding where to go for a safe place to sleep’).

Even though it was not published until 1999, the book was apparently written in 1994. In the intervening years, much better researched and argued material has been published, notably Hecht’s book, *At Home in the Street: Street Children of Northeast Brazil* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Catholic Fund for Overseas Development

DUNCAN GREEN

Carlos Alberto Torres, *Democracy, Education and Multiculturalism: Dilemmas of Citizenship in a Global World* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998), pp. viii + 301, \$60.00, \$18.95 pb.

In this well-written and well-argued book, Torres is concerned to develop a theory of democratic multicultural citizenship, by which he means a theory in which democracy, multiculturalism and citizenship are integrated and each redefined in the light of the other two. Torres is highly critical of many of the prevailing theories of each. Most theories of citizenship largely think of the citizen as white, heterosexual, male and so on and exclude or marginalise the rest. Most theories of democracy are formal, concerned with the procedures of decision-making rather than with the content and enjoyment of rights. They also tend to ignore the fundamental fact that since the deep economic inequalities of

capitalist society subvert the political and civil equality of representative democracy, democracy needs to be defined not just in political and social but also in economic terms. As for theories of multiculturalism, Torres thinks that while they are right to highlight the importance of culture, identity and difference, they are wrong not to appreciate the importance of shared citizenship and the role of democratic participation in defining and constructing cultural and other identities. And since they gesture towards the relativist 'standpoint' theory of knowledge, they are unable to appreciate the truth of the Enlightenment theory of rationality and the significance of democratic and cross-cultural deliberation. For Torres the prevailing theories of democracy and citizenship cannot accommodate multiculturalism and need to be revised. Conversely the prevailing theories of multiculturalism cannot offer workable and ethically grounded theories of citizenship and democracy unless multiculturalism too is suitably redefined.

This is an ambitious philosophical enterprise that has defeated many. Although Torres does not offer a coherent and fully worked out theory of democratic multicultural citizenship, he offers many useful insights which such a theory needs to incorporate. As he rightly argues, not all differences are equally important and valuable, and require shared criteria of judgement. Additionally, differences should not be essentialised, for the identities from which they spring are human constructs and subject to conscious and unconscious changes in the light of shifting circumstances. Since individuals are bearers of multiple and mutually regulating identities and affiliations and since their identities and differences therefore overlap and cut across cultural and ethnic boundaries, they cannot be neatly located, let alone encapsulated, into any one of them. Once we see identities and differences in this way, Torres argues, we can build alliances across them and create both the conditions of democratic politics and the solidarity needed to effect large-scale changes.

For Torres democracy is concerned with the substantial equality of rights including the right to define and lead one's self-chosen way of life. It therefore requires redistribution of economic and other resources and calls for regulation of capitalism along socialist lines. Since some groups have long been subject to oppression and marginalisation, there is also a strong case for affirmative action in order to equalise them with the rest and equip them with the capacities required for full and equal citizenship. Unlike many a theorist of multiculturalism, Torres rightly stresses the unity of the politics of (economic) redistribution and that of (cultural) recognition.

The kind of multicultural democracy Torres proposes requires a complementary theory of education, including the kinds of civic virtues future citizens need to cultivate. Torres rightly stresses the political dimension and role of education and makes many valuable points. He also provides a fairly long list of desirable civic virtues. Apart from the usual liberal virtues of toleration, curiosity and the capacity for open-minded dialogue, it includes cultivation of hope as an antidote to cynicism and nihilism and a 'secular spirituality of love', by which he largely means compassion for human suffering and a spirit of communal solidarity. These and other virtues need to be defined more clearly if they are not to degenerate into sentimentalism and to remain within the power of the school to cultivate.

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BHIKHU PAREKH

Enrique (Henry) T. Trueba, *Latinos Unidos: From Cultural Diversity to the Politics of Solidarity* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1999) pp. ix + 173, £13.95 pb.

Its title would give the impression that this book is about US Latinos collectively coming together on behalf of their social interests. The introduction and a section of Chapter 1 make the claim that there is such a widespread ethnic unity. However, the book is not concerned with demonstrating this, much less analysing Latino political solidarity. The author clearly wants Latino unity. Otherwise, the chapters form a series of loosely integrated essays on various ethnic themes and in which it is identity, 'resiliency' in the struggle for survival and education that emerge as the common threads.

One of the book's main arguments is that, because they are made to live in alien worlds, Latinos have a particular need to form multiple identities. To demonstrate this, the book opens with the author's brief autobiography. Professor Trueba was born to a poor family in Mexico, and was socialised to become a Jesuit priest. He was sent to Chiapas as a young missionary. However, he decided to leave the priesthood, and went to the USA to become an anthropology graduate student. There he learnt how to love women, mastered the English language, attained a PhD., and finally established a successful career as a US academic. Each life stage laid down a dimension of identity. The entire picture is offered as a paradigm of personal Latino American resiliency.

Chapter 1 ('The Politics of Self-Identity') reveals the basis of Latino oppression. Latinos, it is argued, are historical victims to US colonisation and imperialism. They are systematically excluded by a nation-state that emphasises 'whiteness', and they fall victim to xenophobic attacks on immigrants during bad economic times. It is held that racist US citizens are irrationally destroying the foundation of their democratic society. Against this tide, Latinos are creating a whole new form of participation based on multiple identities and the ability to function in diverse situations. The provocative argument is made that Latino mobilisation has its roots in traditional social structures and religious values. Latinos also come together based on shared narratives of inequity. The strongest part of the chapter provides a glimpse into the nature of Latino unity within higher education. However, it is also observed that, 'What we have not seen in academia is the creation of strong new political fronts across Latino rival groups in pursuit of the political power at the state and national levels needed to help Latino students' (p. 25).

Chapter 2 ('Latino Diversity: Demographic, Socioeconomic, Occupational, and Educational Characteristics') provides a comprehensive look at population trends among Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Caribbeans and Central Americans. A good review of the literature is provided on the debate over the factors influencing immigrant economic status. The migration of Latinos into the USA is quantitatively described. A section is devoted to Mexican immigrants in rural California. Also touched upon are the topics of preparing teachers for Latino students and conditions of Latino educational segregation. Another break in continuity focuses on Latino cultural and cognitive capital.

Chapter 3 ('Race and Ethnicity in Academia: Latinos in Higher Education') provides a discourse on the concepts of race and ethnicity. Trueba states that there is a white conservative conspiracy to maintain control of the country, a bold

claim which tends to elide the fact that there are Latino and black conservatives. A major claim is that Latino inclusion and advancement in higher education is hampered by xenophobic white academics. White liberals resist affirmative action programmes because they are actually prejudiced and fearful of having minority 'others', particularly activist ones, in their ranks. Trueba offers his own first hand experience of having been slighted in academia as demonstration. However, he might have given some attention to the factors which enabled him to end up teaching in top universities in the USA and abroad. He also describes a number of other cases of Chicanos and Hispanics being mistreated by white academics who fear diversity. While names are not given in these accounts, a couple of them come close to disclosing confidential personnel matters.

Trueba acknowledges the problem of very small Latino applicant pools for faculty positions, but fails to square this adequately with his claim of Anglo prejudice. In particular, his reliance on white attitudes seems to neglect the overriding significance of the fact that higher education positions are filled through a highly competitive system in which all but a few whites are also excluded. It is the exclusion of Latinos from the academic skills training farther back along the educational pipeline that is the structural and statistical cause of inadequate Latino numbers in academia. Trueba is highly sensitive to the problems of educating Latinos in the primary and secondary schools, yet he fails to see the fundamental importance of this structural disconnect to what is indeed the unacceptable level of a Latino presence in higher education.

Chapter 4 ('Mexican Immigrant Families in California') is a report on the author's own ethnographic research in a small rural town in California. A good overview of the agricultural economy and the life conditions of migrant farm workers is given. The section on the resilience of the Mexican family emphasises the role of the mother/wife in providing a proper cultural socialisation or children. Trueba offers a case study of one woman's difficult struggle to provide for her children. A binational identity, a willingness to resist oppressive bosses and abusive husbands and strategic planning for life's contingencies emerge as the key factors in the immigrant struggle to survive. If Trueba is correct, most immigrant mothers instil a strong motivation in their children to succeed in school.

Chapter 5 ('Critical Ethnography and a Vygotskian Pedagogy of Hope: The Case of Mexican Immigrant Children') homes in on the problem of teaching Latino children, particularly immigrant ones. It is argued that a Freirian 'critical' ethnography is required in order to document oppression and exploitation, as well as to perceive and serve what Latinos know about the world around them. However, the account does not offer an extended theoretical rationale for this claim. The follow up account of immigrant adaptation strategies in the USA is a rather more routine sociological description. Against the 'hegemony' of mainstream educational control, Trueba joins other educational scholars in advocating a pedagogy based on the linguistic and cognitive philosophy of L. S. Vygotsky. An example is offered in the classroom techniques employed by an Hispanic teacher that the author observed in his ethnographic research. The teacher's cultural knowledge drew the attention and commitment of pupils. His 'assisted performance' approach is a liberating way of accessing the student's 'zone of proximal development', that is, the space in the child's mind between actual development level and potential development level. Critical ethnographic

‘praxis’ and a Vygotskian approach will lead to a ‘pedagogy of hope’ consistent with immigrants’ own views of a utopian good life. It is not clear whether the author is calling on educational systems to implement a Freirian–Vygotskian policy or on individual teachers to simply begin teaching this way. In any case, his discussion is important insofar as it helps keep much needed attention focused on Latino educational issues.

The concluding chapter (‘Latinos in the Twenty-First Century: The Components of Praxis for a Pedagogy of Hope’) reflects on the concepts of multiple identity and resilience. It also offers some recommendations for researchers, teachers and policy makers interested in providing a liberating educational experience for Latino immigrants. Trueba calls for an expansion of the Latino intelligentsia and he makes several recommendations to promote a cohesive cadre of Latino educational leaders. Even as it has previously stressed the binational and cultural distinctiveness of Latinos, the book closes with a vision of Latinos successfully integrating into the democratic US system.

On the whole, the book claims to speak for ‘Latinos’, but most if it is centred on the more specific experience of Mexican immigrants. While striving for a collective reference point, the generalisations are infused with a methodological individualism. The organisation of the text taxes the reader with extremely long paragraphs, abrupt transitions and a certain tendency to hyperbole (e.g., the multiple use of ‘quintessence’ on p. 117). The sense of a manifesto includes a certain conformity to the academic critical perspective. There is, for example, the obligatory knife put in to Richard Rodríguez, caricaturing his ‘type’ as Mexican Americans who, ‘in order to survive psychologically, feel obligated to reject their own language, culture and their own people (even their own family)’ (p. 9). This evinces a certain intolerance towards the several million English speaking Latinos, most of them working class, who are socialised from birth within an ethnic context that includes heavy dosages of US culture. Moreover, does it not matter that Rodríguez ranks among our finest Mexican American literary talents, someone whose skills with the pen might also be put to the service of teaching Latino youth some things about the fine art of writing?

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