

## Reviews

Eric R. Wolf, *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), pp. xi + 339, \$45.00, \$16.95 pb.

The recent death of Eric Wolf, one of the greatest of anthropologists and well-known to readers of the *Journal* as a leading Latin American scholar, comes as a shock to all those who have admired his work over the last four decades. It makes the reviewing of the last of his books a particularly poignant and difficult matter, particularly since it is clear that it is in many ways a cathartic and autobiographical work in which he revisits the problems of his childhood in the shadow of Nazi Germany.

As Wolf himself writes, the book may come as something of a surprise to those readers ‘who have understood my work as falling primarily within peasant studies and world-systems research’, yet he believes that it is ‘a continuation of concerns that have engaged me ever since I first heard of anthropology’ (p. 8). The central aim of the book, as he describes it, is to correct a deficiency whereby ‘much good work in the human sciences falls short of its mark because it is unwilling or unable to come to grips with how social relations and cultural configurations intertwine with considerations of power’. (p. ix) More specifically, anthropologists have ‘tended to disregard the role of power in how culture is built up, maintained, modified, dismantled, or destroyed’. (p. 19) Wolf hopes to rectify this omission.

The book is divided into four long chapters. The first is an extended overview of many theories of power and communication. We are given a potted history of the treatment of power in the Enlightenment, Counter-Enlightenment, by Marx and Engels, German theorists including the neo-Kantians and Max Weber, and also within structural–functional anthropology, linguistics, semiotics, and cultural anthropology. While it is likely that experts in any one of these areas will find the summary a little thin, there is not a great deal to object to here, and it does try to establish an inventory of ideas in the field. Of course it is not complete, for example in a book with ‘domination’ in the sub-title it would have been worth including a discussion of the work of Edmund Leach, James Scott, E. P. Thompson, Ernest Gellner, the ‘subaltern studies’ school and others. Likewise, we are left without any real sense of where Wolf will go from here, though his main conclusion, which is that power is not a thing but a relation, is clearly important.

Wolf summarises the three case studies with which he hopes to develop a new theory of power as follows. ‘The three populations on which I will focus are the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island in British Columbia, the Aztecs of fifteenth and sixteenth century Central Mexico, and the Germans who willingly or unwillingly became members of a Third Reich...’ (p. 16). Although Wolf admits on several occasions that in terms of civilisation, ecology and so on, there is hardly anything in common between the cases (e.g. pp. 166, 279) his implicit logic for choosing

these seems to be that all of them took the display and use of power to an extreme. So, in the detailed ethnography of the Kwakiutl, based on a thorough reading of much of the extensive literature on these peoples, Wolf shows how power was built up and manipulated, most famously through their potlatch system. In the long chapter on the Aztecs, which will perhaps be of most interest to readers of this *Journal*, he describes the way in which growing population and military power led to a centralised state and in particular he investigates the rituals surrounding human sacrifice and their possible origins. In the final case study he charts the rise of the National Socialists, suggesting that we can understand the movement better as a kind of millenarian or chiliastic movement (a theme in the literature as early as 1933, see p. 198), something similar to the ghost dance or, at times, a shamanic trance. Again Wolf has undertaken thorough research and plays intriguingly with ideas of Hannah Arendt on 'systems of systemless' and some of the work of Zygmunt Bauman.

In a final coda Wolf attempts to pull together these disparate examples and relate them to the theoretical discussion in the first chapter. The book is very clear, well-written and organised and evidently represents a huge amount of research and synthesis. For readers who want a helpful summary of large bodies of material in any of the areas outlined above, it will be extremely useful. For others who wish to understand more of what drove a great anthropologist, the glimpses of the childhood in the Sudetenland (pp. xi, 10) and then the attempt in the last section to provide an understanding of the terrible things that occurred is both revealing and moving. What, to my mind, the book does not do, however, is to provide any coherent or relatively new theory of the relations between political power and social and cultural configurations. After very extensive 'thick description', the final 'Coda' is thin. What was common about the cases was that all three systems were under extreme stress – and responded with extreme manifestations of power. Apart from this, there is little they shared, for 'the use of ideology in the three societies had profoundly different effects in the operational world'. (p. 279)

It is sad to have to admit that neither does the theoretical framework which he is trying to elaborate seem to lead to a new and fresh way of looking at any of his three case studies, nor does the richness of the ethnographic examples seem to have pushed the theory in new directions. Thus the book, as a whole, has a certain aimless feel to it, even if many of the individual parts are useful, balanced, thought-provoking. Yet, in the end, we return to a wider fact. Eric Wolf has already earned an extraordinary reputation as one of the most important of twentieth-century anthropologists, a man who was a central figure in the post-war extension of anthropological approaches from their tribal origins to the great world peasant civilisations, whether of Europe, India, China or Latin America. For that we shall always be grateful.

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ALAN MACFARLANE

Francis Barker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iversen (eds.), *Cannibalism and the Colonial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. xiv + 309, £40.00, £13.95 pb; \$59.95, \$19.95 pb.

Not every voracious reader will find this collection entirely satisfying; but as it stands, it both gluts the senses and whets the appetite for more. In many ways

this is a fine set of ten essays that gives a wide-ranging view of the ways in which cannibalism is being discussed today. This truly interdisciplinary synthesis brings together the work of anthropologists, art historians, and comparativists with that of more traditional literary critics. The two dynamic essays at the beginning and end of the book, by William Arens and Maggie Kilgour, sandwich the work of some younger scholars included in the volume between that of two of the biggest names in cannibal studies. Moreover, the stylish introduction by Peter Hulme succeeds in initiating the non-specialist reader into the scholarly rites of the politically correct ways to talk about cannibalism at the present time.

The book's problems, paradoxically, are that it is too exclusive at the same time that it is too inclusive to remain true to its title. Certain absences are puzzling: why is there no essay about the Carib culture of the West Indies, that 'cannibal' society from which (via a corruption of the Spanish *caribal*) our word for this practice derives? Particularly in light of the re-evaluations of these island people and their neighbours published in time for the Columbus Quincentennial in 1992 by Peter Hulme, Irving Rouse, and others, it seems odd that their presence in this volume is limited to various perfunctory allusions by scholars discussing other topics. The explanation for this curious *lacuna* is, doubtless, that these essays originated in a 1995 symposium at the University of Essex bearing the title 'Consuming Others: "Cannibalism" in the 1990s'. This title in fact describes the collection much more accurately than the one (somewhat mysteriously, to my mind) assigned to it here. For the book's problems are certainly inclusionary as well: vampirism (in the essay of John Kraniauskas) is not, strictly speaking, the same thing as cannibalism; Crystal Bartolovich's criticism of Greenaway's art film *The Cook, the Thief, his Wife and her Lover*, while interesting, has nothing to do with the colonial world (as opposed to Luís Madureira's essay on two genuinely postcolonialist films); and Jerry Phillips's focus on Holocaust denial, while tragic in the extreme and relevant for discussions of revisionary approaches to cannibalism, likewise bears no clear relation to colonialism that I can see. Not to mention the wonderful if not postcolonial essay by Marina Warner about children's fairy tales – if these topics are postcolonial, then so is the devouring of the boiled flesh of Dionysos by the Titans.

But perhaps the most disturbing aspect of this group of essays is the almost ubiquitous anachronistic intrusion of literalised Marxist rhetoric into treatments even of Renaissance (i.e., pre-capitalist) colonial literature. One of the authors even verbalises the chronological gymnastics which would be necessary to justify these treatments in these terms: while acknowledging that the Renaissance was 'prior to the dominance of the capitalist mode of production', Crystal Bartolovich nonetheless insists upon defining early modern people as the 'emergent subjects of capital-to-be' (p. 211). She continues: '[t]he worlds of Montaigne and Marx are not the same to be sure, but the former lives in the time in which the conditions of possibility for the industrial capitalism which Marx decries in *Capital* are emerging' (p. 213). It seems to me that viable Marxist readings of early modern texts are possible (those focusing on class struggle have been particularly fruitful) without distorting the complexities of early modern economics into an oversimplified pseudo-capitalism, replete with 'proto-capitalists' and 'proto-proletariat' (p. 223), which never existed. Another contributor, Jerry Phillips, actually ends an essay on Conrad, Shakespeare, and Marlowe with a personalised manifesto which is arguably inappropriate in any

scholarly context, early modern or otherwise: '[i]f we are to avoid the eternal end of capitalism that is Hitler, then we must attend to the end of history that is utopia – a state of unadulterated communality' (p. 203). It seems to me that scholars interested in invoking Marx no matter what their subject matter would at least do well to learn from the techniques of the Cultural Materialists, a group of critics working originally in English Renaissance literature who blend Marx with Foucault in a way that (ideally) attempts self-consciously to recognise and historicise the critics' own preoccupations without displacing them onto their objects of study. The Cultural Materialists and their first cousins, the New Historicists, do not themselves always succeed in this endeavour, but at least their anti-anachronism – or rather, their emphasis on diachrony over synchrony – remains an admirable goal.

Again, paradoxically, these issues of chronology are more central than they need to be because of the determination of the book's editors to keep it 'marginal'. Their decision to jump onto the postcolonial bandwagon certainly must have made the volume attractive for inclusion in a series called *Cultural Margins*. But these same papers, if they had been collected under the title of the original symposium, would probably still have proved worthy of publication in this same venue. Gananath Obeyesekere's fascinating essay on seamen's yarns in nineteenth-century Fiji, for example, does give the volume enough 'marginality' to counterbalance Jerry Phillips' equally stimulating essay on such canonical figures as William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe. Likewise, the specialist Sérgio Luiz Prado Bellei's re-assessment of the Brazilian *antropofagia* movement is admirably offset by such items of general interest as Graham Huggan's essay on the universally appealing genre of the ghost story. The book as a whole already indulges in enough buzzwords without adding 'colonial' to the title for good measure. It could even be argued that it is exploitative to true postcolonial scholarship when non-postcolonialists seek to place their own or others' work under this rubric. Maybe with a different title, most of the problems about this book would disappear as if in one gigantic swallow.

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Ángel Palerm, *Antropología y marxismo* (Mexico: CIESAS, 1998), pp. 205, pb.

Antonio Escobar Ohmstede, *Historia de los pueblos indígenas de México: De la costa a la sierra, las huastecas, 1750–1900* (Mexico: CIESAS-INI, 1998), pb.

This collection contains articles published in Mexico in the late 1970s, and was first published in book form in 1980. The title is a bit misleading. The first essay actually does discuss the relationship between Karl Marx, Marxists, and the evolution of anthropology. Palerm alleged in his essay that anthropology was in crisis and anthropologists could benefit from the incorporation of theory. Anthropology evolved as an empirical and largely descriptive discipline, and was very much associated with imperialism and the justifications for European expansion. Marx was aware of the writings of people like Morgan, the forerunners of anthropology, and was influenced by their views. On the other hand, Palerm also points out that Marxist thought is limited when applied to the

non-western world, primarily because Marx really only understood the society and economy of industrial western Europe. Marxism is attractive, in part, because it was not associated with the theories of imperialism such as Social Darwinism, that were important in the evolution of anthropology. The post World War II process of decolonisation in Asia and Africa also brought with them new theoretical perspectives.

Palerm provides an important corrective that scholars need to be aware of even today. Marxism can provide a useful framework for scholarly inquiry, but specific Marxist constructs really cannot be taken from one context and blindly applied to an entirely different context. The class structure of western Europe does not fit well into Africa, Asia, and Latin America, or for that matter the rural sections of the United States. Rural social relations and economic patterns described for parts of Europe do not fit elsewhere. However, some scholars still try to fit a round peg in a square hole. So, we have, for example, Collin Bundy trying to create a peasantry in South Africa so that he can have the peasantry decline with the rise of mining capital at the end of the nineteenth-century. Or we have Latin Americanists, some of whom believe that they are privileged to substitute what they call theory for real evidence, applying patterns from elsewhere to different parts of Mesoamerica and South America.

The rest of the book really does not deal that much with anthropology, and addresses more issues debated in the 1960s and 1970s. These issues include the place of Latin America/Mexico in the rest of the world and the evolving world market economy, feudalism *vs.* capitalism, the dependency paradigm, and peasant economies and social relations. Palerm shows a mastery of much of the literature on colonial Mexico and the rest of the world that formed the basis for much of the debate. His discussion of Mexico's colonial economy, for example, is based on a discussion of the limits of the Marxist colonial mode of production and is very sound. Palerm's discussion of peasant economics, what he calls the 'Peasant-Capitalist Articulation', is also solid.

At the same time Palerm's writings are distinctly dated. There have been two decades of scholarly research on Mexico and the other topics that Palerm addresses in his essays, and we now have a more refined understanding of such issues as Mexico's colonial economy and the role of the indigenous peasantry in its evolution. Nevertheless, Palerm's essays are useful today primarily for pedagogical purposes. I also think that some scholars would benefit from his deconstruction of the thick description of Marxist theory or lack thereof as it applies to Latin America and the rest of the non-western world.

The second book reviewed here is one volume in a larger series entitled *Historia de los pueblos indígenas de Mexico*. This study examines the different indigenous groups that lived in the Huasteca region of Veracruz, Hidalgo, San Luis Potosí, and Tamaulipas. It is descriptive and empirical, although in a fashion that presents only a general overview and broad themes from the time of the Bourbon reforms to the end of the nineteenth century. This book would have benefited from some theoretical discussion of the type that Palerm examines, as well as from fuller examination of the general literature. The author does state that the Huasteca did not experience the same disruptive effect of the Bourbon reforms as Nancy Farriss documented for the Yucatec Maya, but he fails to elaborate in any detail on how the implementation of the Bourbon reforms differed in the two regions.

Escobar Ohmstede explores a number of themes for the late colonial period and the nineteenth century. He uses censuses and tribute rolls to discuss demographic patterns in a very general way, and concludes that the population of the region grew during the period of his study. Escobar Ohmstede also asserts that the Huasteca had become a multi-ethnic society by the end of the nineteenth century. What he means is that the population of people categorised as *mestizos* grew, particularly on private properties such as *haciendas* and livestock ranches. The author assumes that indigenous peoples and *mestizos* were ethnically different, deriving from distinctions based on definitions of blood lines. There is no consideration of culture and community identity as defining differences between groups of people.

The author examines community finances, both the tribute regime as well as the *cajas de comunidades* and *cofradías*. It is the well-documented story of abuse of these community resources, but also efforts made to reform the administration of the *cajas*. Indigenous community lands also receive attention. The communities retained considerable lands at the end of the colonial period, and actually increased community lands through purchase, rental, favourable decisions in court cases, and land invasions. The author stresses that the process of growth in community lands continued until about 1870, despite the liberal legislation of the mid-1850s. The community members also retained a communal form of land tenure called *condueñazgo* (instead of receiving individual title, community members owned shares in an undivided property). The book also examines rebellion during the late colonial period, during the independence war, and following independence. It is noted that during the late colonial period, for example, most rebellions were responses to taxes, parish fees and other exactions, and the *repartimiento de mercancías*. The Huasteca region also participated in the independence war and rebellion associated with liberal-conservative civil wars.

The author provides a useful overview, but does not examine any issue in detail. The book is richly illustrated with photographs, tables, and maps, but these illustrations are not always directly related to issues discussed in the text. The documentary appendix is useful, but the author also included small sections of documents in the main text in a fashion similar to many text books. I found the inclusion of these documents in the text to be more of a distraction. This text provides useful information, but it is not by any stretch of the imagination the definitive study of the region.

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Frédérique Apffel-Marglin (ed.) with PRATEC, *The Spirit of Regeneration: Andean Culture Confronting Western Notions of Development* (London and New York: Zed Books, 1998), pp. xv + 252, \$62.50, \$22.50 pb.; £42.40, £14.95 pb.

Development in the Andes, as in other parts of the world, has been long criticised for its repeated failures, inappropriate emphases and its inability to speak to the recipients of development projects. PRATEC (Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías

Andinas) was founded in the late eighties by Grimaldo Rengifo, Eduardo Grillo and Julio Valladolid, all of whom have many years of experience working with development agencies (although now ‘de-professionalised’) to highlight some of these problems. However, it eventually became apparent that the problem is not misconceived or maladministered development projects, but the very idea of development itself. Rural Andean life, moreover, has been fundamentally misunderstood by development workers as well as sociologists and anthropologists. This volume attempts to offer the reader a more realistic view of Andean life and one far removed from the distorting lens of the developmentalist framework.

The essays differ considerably in style and substance. Greta Jiménez translates the moving account by an Aymara woman of troubles with her husband and how they are finally resolved. The account is rich in detail of social relations and one does get quite a sense of the universe in which it is located; it is very much in the testimonial tradition of other Peruvian anthropologists such as Valderrama and Escalante. In this case, however, the original Aymara is not presented nor are we offered any idea of the context in which this fascinating testimony was given. Bizarrely, for a chapter that purports to give voice to Andean women, this very articulate woman is not identified by name. Nevertheless, this compelling account is the only one in this volume to illustrate in very human and real terms the complexities and realities of life in an indigenous Andean community.

In quite a different mode Eduardo Grillo delivers a polemic against Western civilisation as a plague visited upon Andeans which they are now finally and resolutely resisting. At the centre of many of these essays is the idea that Andean peasants have a very different orientation to the world around them than Europeans and consequently those ideas that underpin development, ‘The Andean world and the modern Western world are incommensurable’ (p. 128). The Andean peasant has an intimate relationship with all living and non-living entities and holds conversations with the nature spirits and the earth: there is no fundamental ontological difference between humans, the dead, and what Europeans call ‘nature’. One particular *leitmotif* is that Andean peasants ‘crian y dejan criar’ and are embedded in a rich network of nurturing relationships quite at odds with any economic idea of exploiting the land. In the words of Grillo (p. 128):

Here in the Andes we are our living and life-giving world; we ourselves are our Andean world. We are all living and we all engender life. We are all relatives. We all belong to our community which we nurture and which nurtures us in turn. The contribution of each one of us is indispensable in the daily nurturance of our harmony and our harmony nurtures each one with the same love.

Julio Valladolid and Grimaldo Rangifo offer two essays describing Andean life, its resilience, equilibrium, and endurance. However, for a book which seeks to represent a genuine peasant reality these paeans to peasant life are not properly located. There is woefully little sense of diversity in this model and there is a very strong danger of falling into an essentialising ideal of the Andean peasant at one with nature. In these lyrical accounts of Andean life where humans and the environment nurture each other in a self-regulating equilibrium there is no room for the endemic malnutrition that plagues many Andean communities, for the reality of land shortages, even less for the idea that many parts of the Andes suffer

from environmental degradation despite reliance on ‘traditional methods’ of agriculture, let alone the communal struggle and strife that is part of communal life.

The contributors of this volume make an important point in emphasising that there is a serious problem with developmentalism and its application to communities with little understanding of the cultural context into which these projects are to be received. To be sure, there can be no substitute for a profound knowledge of the communities, their social and political structures and how they perceive their needs. This volume, however, presents ‘the Andean’ in such essentialising and idealistic terms that it undermines the very arguments around cultural appropriateness which it appears to be advocating in the first place. In fact, one could argue that it merely resurrects an old European motif of the Indian in harmony with nature. Such a view is no more helpful than that of the ignorant peasant unwilling to modernise.

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ANDREW CANESSA

Richard Pace, *The Struggle for Amazon Town: Gurupá Revisited* (London and Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997), pp. xi + 237, £39.95, £14.50.

A difficulty in reviewing accounts of contemporary Brazilian Amazonian peasantries is that there is so little comparative literature in relation to which new offerings may be assessed. A corollary is that Wagley’s *Amazon Town* – long the standard account by default – assumes a perhaps unwarranted prominence. These are not fatal problems, but they have the tendency to distort the significance of contemporary work, and Pace is in a particularly exposed position in that he was not only a student of Wagley, but also chose to do – for his PhD dissertation – a re-study of Wagley’s ‘Amazon town’, Itá – long-known to be a pseudonym for the town of Gurupá, in the Lower Amazon.

The shadow of Wagley hangs over this book, then, for good and for bad. In terms of the former, Pace reconstructs a virtuous research path, examining Gurupá as an exemplary *caboclo* community and drawing attention to the diverse sources of its formation. Through the Wagley connection, Pace is able to insert himself into Gurupá as an anthropological *parente* and deal face-to-face with some of Wagley’s key informants. As a consequence, he is provided a substantial basis upon which to mount his new ethnography.

In terms of the latter – the downside – the representativeness of Gurupá as a ‘typical Amazon town’ is questionable, and given the prominence of Wagley’s monograph as the standard account of non-Amerindian Amazonian society, Pace’s work both enhances the ethnographic record and succumbs to what may be quite local conceits (for example, that life in an Amazonian town is pretty awful; see p. 135, ‘Gurupá never had a chance. It was doomed from the start.’).

There is a third shadow, and this is provided by Darrell Miller – another student of Wagley – who provided an afterword to the 1976 edition of *Amazon Town* (the first edition was published in 1953). Pace is thus not only providing a (relatively) rare ethnographic restudy, but also taking on a project which has long



represented 'non-Amerindian Brazilian Amazonian ethnography', virtually without challenge.

There are obvious tensions in this attempt to address both the ethnographic present and past. One of these is evident in the citation of recent work in Amazonia. From Wagley's perspective, Gurupá represented a so-called 'fusion of cultures'. Pace identifies, describes and analyses a number of features of the modern landscape which evade the 'fusions' model. He addresses the archaeological evidence which has subverted standard accounts of the inevitable miserableness of 'tropical forest culture', recognizes the political tendencies which defy the 'lost world/lost people' stereotypes, and notes the impact of developmentalist discourse. He also (in the early sections) acknowledges the fraught position of ethnographic exposition (torn between scientific ethnography, e.g., non-random samples, 51.2 per cent suffers from first degree malnutrition (p. 29), percentage with palm roofing (p. 27) and so on) and a desire to address issues in local terms (p. 4).

To say that this is a valuable contribution to a specialist literature scarcely noted for its richness is not to damn with faint praise. Pace's monograph significantly extends the project commenced by Wagley, but it is also constrained by Wagley's perspective: this is a miserable place and these are miserable people. This may be an accurate assessment of Gurupá, but the degree to which 'Amazon town' is generically Amazonian is clearly open to question, and in this regard it is not only Wagley who hangs heavy over this monograph, but also a case study approach (in these circumstances informed by a then maturing 'cultural ecology') which may lend itself to stereotype. Pace is well aware of the problems of doing justice both to the particularities of Gurupá and to its position within the larger scheme of things Amazonian peasant, but – largely due to the durable influence of Wagley – it is hard to escape the sense of *mise en scène*.

The author has attempted something quite ambitious: to write a monograph which acknowledges the virtues and limitations of its predecessor (*Amazon Town*) while also addressing new work which looks at *caboclo* society not just as the unfortunate outcome of a failed 'fusion of cultures', but as an active agent in the complex negotiations between Brazil and its large internal colony.

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Joseph William Bastien, *The Kiss of Death: Chagas' Disease in the Americas* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1998), pp. 301, \$39.95 hb.

This is an interesting book describing the history of Chagas' disease since its discovery by the Brazilian Carlos Chagas in 1909. It concentrates on the experience of Andean peoples, amongst whom indications of contact with the disease have been found among mummies from as early as 400 A.D. The book revolves around three questions: Can humans be as effective in eliminating such diseases as they are in promulgating them? What are successful prevention projects and what are not? What factors are necessary to design a successful intervention project? The experience of two Chagas' control projects set in the

Departments of Chuquisaca and Tarija are central in this assessment of the role of ethnomedicine in the control of Chagas' Disease.

The book starts by presenting medical information about Chagas' disease (symptoms, prognoses, chemotherapy, etc.) allowing readers to familiarise themselves with this very debilitating disease. It then concentrates on the ways Andean culture, through *curanderos*, rituals and herbal medicine, tries to ameliorate the symptoms of the disease. An account of several herbs believed to be effective is given – in particular the herbal drug named *Regenerador* – a secret mixture developed by Bolivian herbal doctor Nicolas Carrasco and *Sangre de Drago* (*Croton roborensis*).

The author emphasises the importance of ethnomedicine in Andean culture and quite rightly defends the proposition that ethnomedicine must not be ignored by existing Chagas control programmes as it has been in the past.

Andeans perceptions not only of Chagas' disease but also health in general are expressed by complex symbolism and rich connections with nature. Any programme seeking to educate them about the life cycle of *Trypanosoma cruzi* in order that they might avoid infection must be designed from a knowledge of the traditional view if it is to be both capable of dealing with that view and effective. It is here that the most important contribution of the book lies.

A lack of sensitivity to cultural values has been one of the major reasons for failure of health intervention programmes in other parts of Latin America (the Brazilian Amazon is a case in point). Nevertheless, the effectiveness of the herbal remedies used by Andeans against Chagas' disease remains unproven, and the author underestimates the importance of this. Most *Regenerador* tests were based on the direct examinations of the blood, where *T. cruzi* is not easily found. The properties of *Sangre de Drago* as a parasiticide have yet to be verified by laboratory tests (p. 42).

The difficulty in diagnosing the diseases is recognised by the author (on p. 34). Chagas' disease lends itself to multiple interpretations because of its unclear and varied symptomatology, being difficult to diagnose even clinically without laboratory tests by doctors. Nevertheless, the book overplays the role of herbal remedies which appear to be used to ameliorate symptoms rather than cure or prevent Chagas' disease. Breaking the life cycle of *Trypanosoma cruzi* through housing improvement and promotion of adequate hygiene are key to preventing the spread of Chagas' disease in Bolivia. That country is already trying to implement these measures despite difficulties such as lack of skilled labour at the community level, poor community participation and limited resources.

The author concludes quite correctly that there is a need for a culturally based multidisciplinary approach to an effective control of Chagas' disease and proposes a model named Culture Context Model for Chagas' Control, which is very interesting and of practical use. Overall the book presents a rich anthropological account of Andean ethnomedicine, but it is rather let down by the medical account of Chagas' disease which is mainly descriptive, lacking sufficient information on morbidity and mortality rates during the period of study.

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EVALDICE EVE

Kris E. Lane, *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500–1750* (Armonck, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), pp. xxiv + 226, \$58.95, \$19.95 pb.

This book presents students with ‘a condensed chronicle of pirates’ exploits compiled from various sources’ to help them relate to the human side of early modern world history. Six clear and concise chapters survey the irruption of French corsairs in the Caribbean in the 1520s; the age of Elizabethan pirates dominated by the figure of Drake; the war against Spain waged at sea by Dutch sea-rovers; Caribbean-based buccaneers and their hub of Port Royal in Jamaica; the shift of pirate operations to more hospitable seas of the Pacific; and the early eighteenth-century ‘suppression of piracy’ marked by the legendary execution of Captain Kidd.

In contrast to earlier synthetic treatments, Lane draws from his expertise in Latin American history. As a result, he usefully incorporates the earlier exposure of the Spanish to Mediterranean piracy, considering the role of renegades among Barbary Coast corsairs, as well as ‘a second pirate cycle’ in the South Sea at the end of the seventeenth century.

Does *Pillaging the Empire* succeed in placing pirates ‘in the context of their time’ and, as the series editor claims, showing that history can be ‘broadly interpretive’? Not quite, as this reviewer sees it. First, a social historian should have provided a more fleshed-out picture of these male, mobile, maritime societies, with rules and structures different from those that are bi-gendered and sedentary. Secondly, no attempt is made to introduce students to the nature of maritime trade and the processes of state-building in early modern world history, which this episode of piracy and privateering reveals so much about. Although today we see war and trade as mutually exclusive, there was a close relationship between them in that period: to be successful as a merchant meant bringing home valuable cargo, no matter how acquired. Furthermore, in a world of shifting political and economic powers, the aggressions and depredations of pirates challenged established political authorities. Those that would dominate the subsequent period were to demonstrate their strength precisely by repressing their own pirates.

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ANNE PÉROTIN-DUMON

Pablo E. Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain’s Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. xi + 289, £25.00 hb.

This present volume, translated by Carla Rahn Phillips from *Los hombres del océano: Vida cotidiana de los tripulantes de las flotas de Indias, siglo XVI* (Seville, 1992), joins others which during little more than a decade have made significant contributions to our understanding of Spanish maritime power and enterprise, especially with reference to expansion across the Atlantic Ocean. Amongst them figure two works by Fernando Serrano Mangas, *Los galeones de la Carrera de Indias: 1650–1700* (Seville, 1985) and *Función y evolución del galeón en la Carrera de Indias* (Madrid, 1992); J. L. Rubio Serrano, *Arquitectura de las naos y galeones de las flotas*

*de Indias, 1492–1590* (2 vols, Málaga, 1991); David Goodman, *Spanish Naval Power, 1589–1665: Reconstruction and Defeat* (Cambridge, 1997); and Carla Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain. Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore and London, 1986). As in Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge, 1987), to which reference is regularly made for comparison, the ships themselves are relegated here to the background except as the physical environment in which the lives of seamen unfold.

Pérez-Mallaína demonstrates a deft and skilful manipulation of sources such as chronicles of voyages (including those across the Pacific Ocean), records of the *Casa de Contratación*, numerous judicial proceedings involving sailors such as claims for unpaid wages, petitions for recognition of their services, charges of criminal or unruly behaviour, and their wills, all of which in the main are to be found in the Archivo General de Indias. The product of wide-ranging and thorough research, the outcome is a dense web of minutiae on topics such as the homes of seamen in the district of Triana (Seville), the establishment of social hierarchies at sea, the fixing and payment of different forms of remuneration, the opportunities for additional (sometimes illegal) recompense, or the basic elements of daily life at sea – occupational, nutritional, recreational, sexual and at rest. What makes all of this palatable and extremely enjoyable as well as informative, is the gift – rare in a text of this sort – for quiet humour and successful comparisons in the main between the maritime worlds of then and now.

Following a translator's introduction which places little faith in English-speakers' knowledge of the Spanish world and constitutes a potted history, the bulk of the information is arranged in chapters which comprise the communality of being a seaman: the onshore environment of sailors, mainly in Seville; their motives of embarking on a life at sea, their number, origins, and social condition; the highly technical context of work aboard ship, the division of labour, pay and purchasing power of seamen; life and death in an isolated but overcrowded space; the causes and resolution of conflict and delinquent behaviour, and the sometimes brutal enforcement of discipline which not infrequently resulted in the punishment of ships' masters; and, finally, the attitude which moulded a distinct culture from experience, acquired knowledge, religious beliefs and superstition. Where it is relevant, the author is attentive to the impact of sailors' lifestyle on their women and their families.

Moreover, judiciously interwoven into the fabric of this structure are numerous vignettes and tales of the lives of sailors, authentic historical gems which enliven and enrich the factual and analytical text. Typical is the story of a knife fight in the pulsating market along the Arenal in Seville, awash with mariners looking for a ship, porters, pedlars, thieves and pickpockets, or that of one of its destitute orphans who by good fortune entered maritime service and rose through the ranks to the point of taking the examination to become a pilot. Elsewhere we hear tales of bribery, nepotism and smuggling, or follow the chequered career of the Portuguese mulatto Lope Martínez (the 'Lope de Aguirre of the Pacific'), who after piloting ships to the Philippines later returned there carrying his own death warrant for defrauding the treasury, only escaping death by staging the mutinous murder of the ship's officers.

In short, Pérez-Mallaína offers a lively and comprehensive insight into the human component of overseas maritime enterprise. The book is attractive in its

presentation, contains many illustrations, including some excellent ones in colour, but lacks a bibliography separate from the information included in copious footnotes.

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Andrés Bello, *Selected Writings of Andrés Bello* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. xvi + 295, \$30.00.

Andrés Bello (1781–1865) was the leading intellectual figure of nineteenth-century Latin America. Although a Venezuelan by birth, Bello spent most of his productive life in Chile, where he settled in 1829. He was involved in the early stages of the independence struggle: in 1810 he joined Bolívar in a diplomatic mission to London, where he stayed for the next 19 years, sometimes serving in the Chilean and Colombian legations, but often suffering economic hardship.

Bello did not gain his reputation for his diplomatic skills but for his outstanding work in the world of letters. His *Obras Completas*, edited by the Fundación la Casa de Bello in Caracas, ran to twenty-six volumes. His vast literary production also reflects the impressively wide scope of his intellectual endeavours in the fields of grammar, education, international law, history, civil legislation, philosophy, and poetry. Equally distinguished was his public career in Chile, his adopted country – first, as an *Oficial Mayor* of the ministries of Finance and Foreign Relations, and later, perhaps more significantly, as Rector of the University of Chile and as a Senator.

Yet for all his achievements, Bello remains relatively unknown in the English speaking world, partly because his work has hardly been translated into this language. Thus his *Selected Writings*, edited by Ivan Jaksic and translated by Frances M. López-Morilla, are a major historiographical contribution, which should be welcomed – and not just by Latin Americanists. This book offers an excellent introduction to Bello's work, its contents being as varied as Bello's own production, including the prologue to his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1847), his presentation of the Civil Code to the Chilean Congress (a code adopted by six or so other Latin American countries), his address at the inauguration of the University of Chile, and extracts from his major work *Principios de Derecho Internacional* (1832–1864).

Ivan Jaksic has done a superb job in putting together this selection of Bello's writings. He has also succeeded in arranging Bello's varied work in a systematic fashion, around his concerns with the central question of order – a question of paramount significance to the emerging nations of Spanish America after independence. As Jaksic points out, Bello's view of order 'rested on three interrelated spheres: the ordering of thought via language, literature and philosophy; the ordering of national affairs via civil law, education and history; and the participation of the new nations in the world order of the nineteenth-century via international law and diplomacy'.

In all these areas, Bello showed himself to have deep American feelings, and an understanding of the need to create new institutions, suited to the circumstances of the emerging nations. Bello was no revolutionary. Yet in his role as a nation builder, he aimed to consolidate the revolutionary order brought about by independence, in spite of his early sympathies with

constitutional monarchies. However, he was a reformer in the truest sense, favouring gradual change within the boundaries of tradition. Thus his insistence on the study of Roman Law, ‘source of the Spanish legislation that govern us .... Those who regard it as a foreign body of law are themselves strangers to our law’.

A concern with the law was central to Bello’s thoughts, to his belief that liberty could only be developed together with order: ‘if we want freedom as it can exist on earth, we must be subject to the law; if we scorn laws, we must be enemies of freedom’. Observance of the law was a condition for the happiness of nations and, as such, the law had to be applicable to all, ‘no matter how different the condition of persons’. Of course Bello acknowledged the existence of social inequalities, but he also recognised that ‘all persons have an equal right to well-being and all must contribute to the equal welfare’. It was the duty of governments to ‘form useful citizens’, and this would be achieved through education.

Bello underlined the principle of equality when dealing with international law: ‘since individuals are by nature equal, the group of persons who compose universal society are also equal’. It may now seem obvious, but as Jaksic usefully reminds us, the status of the emerging Latin American nations was a novelty in the literature on international law available in the 1830s. Bello’s *Principios de derecho de jentes*, originally published in 1832, was therefore a major contribution to the field. His lucid discussion ‘On the Nation and the Sovereign’ is still relevant to current debates on the intervention of foreign powers in domestic affairs.

The significance of Bello’s work was truly continental. However, his contribution to the development of Chile was unique because he was directly involved in so many aspects of Chilean political life at a time when the country achieved an extraordinary degree of stability, material progress, and political freedom, admired elsewhere in the region. His vision of the role of university education, and his ideas on national history and legislation, demonstrated a genuine interest in setting solid foundations for Chilean nationhood. Not being a national, he could be above factions. As he wrote to Manuel Ancízar in 1856, in the letter that closes this magnificent book, he belonged ‘to no political party’. What he professed in his ‘heart of hearts’ was ‘skepticism. Don’t think that this means I am in opposition to new things; but I do demand for them the credentials of experience and guarantees of *social order*, which for me means *security, peace, mutual tolerance*, and *material well-being*, with a moderate dose of freedom’.

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Hans-Joachim König, *En el camino hacia la nación: Nacionalismo en el proceso de formación del estado y de la nación de la Nueva Granada, 1750–1856* (Santafé de Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Banco de la República, 1994), pp. 562, pb.

This is a five-part work. A long theoretical introduction is followed by sections on the formation of a New-Granadan identity in the late colonial period, nationalism 1810–1816, nationalism 1819–1830, and finally nationalism and

modernisation in the mid-nineteenth century. The range is large, and though the sources and bibliography contain few surprises, there is much material for rumination on the particularly interesting case of New Granada's emergence as a nation.

The book was clearly conceived before the recent febrile expansion in studies in nationalism and identity, and though the author is at pains to incorporate new approaches, his focus is somewhat uncertain. As his title suggests, he inclines towards strict ideas about what a nation should be, and the New Granadans are from time to time chided for their shortcomings. This is especially the case with the last section, where the republic fails to meet criteria of equality and inclusion for its citizens that it does not seem to have occurred to the author were hardly met anywhere else in the world at that time, except in a minority of the United States.

This reviewer would maintain that New Granada certainly contained a sense of proto-national identity by the close of the colonial period, and that it can properly be described as a nation by 1830. This does not imply that it was a united or egalitarian place, that it did not have some uncertain frontiers or resentful regions, or that it had a 'national project' enjoying the support of the majority of its inhabitants. A great many nations have shared, and share, such unsatisfactory characteristics. There is a deal of evidence to show that New Granadans were early on in the years covered by this book conscious that they were not – simplifying the terms to fit the space of this review – Venezuelans or Ecuadoreans, and that the attempt to unite all three in the grand republic of Colombia was doomed to fail. Much of this evidence is still to be found in José Manuel Restrepo's classic narrative of independence, which historians today might well spend more time reading and less time deconstructing in their modish search for nefarious myth.

In König's sections on independence there is an interesting analysis of the symbolic indian and much on trees of liberty, but he misses out a number of events of high significance for his theme. Examples are the elections for the Spanish Cortes of 1809, and the evidence they provide for embryonic national political articulation, and a more striking and curiously deliberate omission, the *reconquista* of 1816–1819, in which General Pablo Morillo did so much to emphasize to so many New Granadans that they were not Spaniards. The old historiography remains superior in recognising certain themes regarding the unavoidable importance of popular experience. Likewise, his republican epilogue ignores entirely the *Guerra de los Supremos* of 1839–1841, which many would consider reveals more about the vicissitudes of New Granadan nationality than the events of 1854 on which he chooses to concentrate.

*En el camino hacia la nación* is less happy on New Granada than in its parts on the late colony and the chosen years of independence: the author is altogether too schematic about the social origins of political allegiances, landowners, bourgeoisies, oligarchs and the *hacienda*, exaggerates the power of the military, takes too much rhetoric at face value and anachronistically nods himself into deploring the absence of modern parties and mass participation. Finally, there is curiously little interest shown in the two major figures of the era, one in which such contemporaries actually believed they were creating nations, Francisco de Paula Santander and Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera. The first has a better claim than anyone else to be the founder of the nation, and the second, aristocrat,

*latifundista* and soldier who does not fit the author's sociological theses, was also the outstanding nationalist moderniser of its first half-century. With all deference to those bewitching trees of liberty, both have rather more to say.

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Ricardo Cicerchia, *Historia de la vida privada en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Troquel, 1998), pp. 281, pb.

To reach beyond the elites, the politicians, and the public life of the past, and to enter the private homes, intimate thoughts, and domestic life of ordinary people, are ambitions that have long inspired historians and influenced the writing of history. But it is in recent decades that significant progress has been made in family studies and women's history, and the techniques of measurement have been vastly improved, to the point that private life is no longer hidden from history but can be revealed almost as a new category of interest and research. Argentine history has not been isolated from these trends: Susan Socolow, Cynthia Little, and Mark Szuchman, among others, have identified the sources and the themes of social and family life inside and outside the elites. Now Ricardo Cicerchia takes us a step further and makes a new contribution to this history, drawing on his own research into ordinary families in Buenos Aires, and focusing on the period 1776–1850. His prime sources are taken from the records of criminal and civil courts in the Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, a rich store of information on human behaviour and on the aberrations of the Argentine male.

The opening chapter sketches the political, social and cultural environment of the Río de la Plata in the late colonial and early modern periods, but does not quite fulfil its promise. The aim of the author is to get beyond the anecdotal events in the lives of public figures such as Mariano Moreno, Camila O'Gorman and Esteban Echeverría, and uncover the daily lives of hitherto anonymous people. But in discussing the entry of the enlightenment and the influence of romanticism, he confines himself to the usual cases from the elites – Maziel, Belgrano, Alberdi, and Sarmiento – and has virtually nothing to say on the reading habits of ordinary people. The limits are set by the sources, and from Chapter two onwards these come to his rescue. Striking, and often amusing evidence is adduced to bring to life domestic scenarios, the importance attached to dress and physical appearance, food and drink, health and the rituals of life and death, and the prospects for women. The research is skilfully presented and conceptually aware, and if the themes are 'ordinary' the treatment is sophisticated. Behind all this history lies a sombre thought: awareness of the brevity of life affected all Argentines, high and low. Life expectancy in the years around 1800 averaged 40–45 years; only four per cent of the total population joined the over sixties.

Domestic life is revealed through the study of conflicts within and between families, which the author uses to reconstruct customs, practices, and values of people in their homes and in their relations with others. Argentine families were decreasing in size, even in traditional Córdoba and Jujuy, as couples controlled births in one way or another. There were now more single women, separated,



abandoned, or widowed. They still bowed to traditional morals, but some struck out for a life of their own; the author argues that Camila O’Gorman, executed with her priest lover, was a victim not of prevailing morality but of the class system; as a middle class daughter she was expected to fulfil a middle class role. Yet private family life was in disorder, as women protested against their treatment and the courts were invoked to resolve conflicts and dispense justice. Men were punished for wife-beating, sued for maintenance, pursued for fleeing. Neighbours practised litigation on each other, and a characteristic charge was not excessive noise but slander and trouble-making. Sentences were favourable to plaintiffs in 80 per cent of cases and the majority of plaintiffs were women. There were signs here of some modernisation of values and procedures: the agents of family justice were judges and local magistrates, and the author takes this to signify a more interventionist role for the state in the regulation of private life at the expense of the Church, a process which, unlike Patricia Seed, he applauds as progress. There is an issue here, though it may simply mean that Argentina was not the same as Mexico.

Some conceptual problems remain. The author is arguing in effect for the emergence of a private life more autonomous in its values than previously; yet he also produces evidence of greater government regulation of private lives in the interests of social order. There is a further paradox. As the state advanced, the Church receded and religion no longer provided the certainties of the past. Yet the author shows that some of the Church’s functions and in particular public ritual held firm. Many Argentines apparently still believed that it was necessary to purchase the bull of crusade to allow them to eat meat on Fridays and during Lent. Preachers and sermons were still regarded as part of the social scene, certificates of attendance at Easter duties still issued, and elaborate fiestas and processions in honour of favourite saints still held their appeal. While the private life described by Cicerchia is increasingly a secular life, there is much material in his book for the study of popular religion.

The book ends with a chapter on women, divided according to the options available to women at the time: to remain single, to marry, or to enter a convent. The best deal for a woman was to be a widow: then she could gain independence from father and husband, acquire property, and enter into a real private life. The author confirms the research done for other parts of Latin America that the patriarchal society of the colonial regime did not survive intact upon entry into a new state and nation: women now had alternative lives and careers, managing their estates, entering politics, and launching lawsuits, faint previews of times ahead. The author promises a further volume.

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Adriana Méndez Rodenas, *Gender and Nationalism in Colonial Cuba: The Travels of Santa Cruz y Montalvo, Condesa de Merlin* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1998), pp. xii + 317, \$34.95 hb.

María de las Mercedes Santa Cruz y Montalvo was born in 1789 into a prominent Cuban family. She spent her first twelve years in Havana, moved to Madrid where she remained after marriage to a French nobleman, and fled in the face of the

invasion of French Napoleonic troops to France where she made her home until her death in 1852. Known in France as Madame la Comtesse de Merlin, a popular figure in Parisian social circles, she developed her musical and literary careers, writing mostly in French, although the initial Spanish travel journal *Viaje a la Habana* that recorded her sentimental return to Cuba in 1840 following the death of her husband, was enlarged to three-volumes in the final French version, *Le Habane*, published along with *Viaje* in 1844. The observations and descriptions of Cuban history and society that are contained in Merlin's novels, memoirs, and travel writings are prudently introduced and highlighted to emphasise the bases for Méndez Rodena's aim to have Merlin, also referred to as Señora la Condesa and Santa Cruz y Montalvo, viewed as a Cuban creole writer, Cuba's first female historian, and the first woman writer in Cuban literary history to portray a sense of national identity.

Merlin was, however, marginalised from Cuban literary recognition for reasons that, according to Méndez Rodenas, ranged from her linguistic 'extraterritoriality' and the elite resistance to female authorship to Spanish colonial authority that fluctuated between cycles of censorship and expression (pp. 74–78). Méndez Rodenas documents the sentiments of Cuban intellectuals of the del Monte circle who refused Merlin literary recognition despite favourable assessment of her early memoirs like *Mis doce primeros años* that were known in Cuba prior to her 1840 return. Merlin's portrayals of local colour literature or *costumbrismo* were aligned with those of contemporary writers, but were also targeted as an appropriation of ongoing Cuban quests for a national identity. As a Cuban *criolla* who returned in search of her past as well as a French outsider of aristocratic leanings, Merlin faced ambivalence 'toward [her] dual nationality [that] only cloaked a far deeper, earlier ambivalence – male resistance to a woman author' (p. 90).

Abundant bilingual quotations of mainly male Cuban writers then and now document widespread admiration for Merlin's outstanding operatic talents by many of the same Cuban intellectuals who disparaged her identity as a Cuban creole writer and labelled her as a 'colonialist' writer (pp. 9, 86). Méndez Rodenas draws on feminist and psychoanalytical writings of, among others, Joan W. Scott, Jessica Benjamin, Marianne Hirsch, and Sander L. Gilman that she applies to exhaustive interpretations of French, Spanish, and English language editions and editorial transformations of Merlin's works and the commentaries about them. Méndez Rodenas evaluates the language, class, and gender discourse of Merlin's supporters and detractors. Evidence for reasons for Merlin's exclusion from the canons of Cuban literary history emerges from contemporary depictions of Merlin as a 'madwoman in the attic,' reflections of local reactions to Merlin's unsolicited discussions and viewpoints on slavery and other issues in the forefront of colonial debates. An evaluation of multiple editions of Merlin's slavery letter that originally appeared in 1841 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* leads Méndez Rodenas to propose that the letter 'reflected a feminine position of mediation between metropolis and colony' (p. 146). Yet Merlin's ambivalent views also generated controversy among Cuban women over her cultural stereotype of woman as 'a universal and homogenous subject, lacking in any distinguishable individual features beyond a generalised passionate nature whose perfect symbol is the searing black eyes and fiery look' (p. 194). Similarly, Merlin's observations on Cuban independence, education, and national identity

are extracted from a broader conjuncture of conflictual relations between Spain and colonial Cuba and between her own images and concepts of self-identity.

Méndez Rodenas's elegant 1840s depictions of colonial Cuba by Frédéric Mialhe, her carefully documented assessments of travel writing, of the interface of Merlin as the European observer with Merlin as the colonial 'other' in Merlin's quest for self-identity make for a compelling endorsement of the inclusion of Madame le Comtesse de Merlin/Señora la Condesa in the foundational discourse of Latin American, especially Cuban literary tradition.

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NANCY PRISCILLA NARO

Hilda Sabato, *La política en las calles: Entre el voto y la movilización: Buenos Aires, 1862–1880* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1998), pp. 290, pb.

This is a thought-provoking and imaginative book that shows how voters and the people at large were actively involved in the 12–14 parishes of Buenos Aires between 1862 and 1880. Sabato concedes that voter turnout rates were low in Argentina during this period; no more than ten or 20 per cent of the eligible population bothered to make use of the public franchise. But, she points out, this does not mean that politics in the port city was nothing more than the naked exercise of class power by local elites: suffrage rights were universal for men since independence in Buenos Aires and were enshrined by the 1852 constitution for the entire public. So, the questions that need to be asked, Sabato claims, are why so few citizens bothered to vote and whether elections were the only means by which the 'governed' communicated with the 'governers'.

The answer to the first question is to be found, Sabato suggests, by figuring out why political machines appeared to have so few reasons to defeat each other by seeking to mobilise ever larger shares of the electorate. By analytically privileging largely embryonic parties and not individual voters, she echoes the findings of recent research on political participation which argues that voting is a costly activity, and so one that parties must make more attractive for citizens. While, to her credit, Sabato concedes that a comprehensive explanation of why turnout rates were low remains 'pending' (p. 174), her descriptions of elections, of electorates and of machines is highly compelling.

As for the second question, Sabato offers a resounding no. In what is the most innovative part of the book, she shows how labourers, artisans, middle and upper class groups participated in politics by organising marches, rallies and otherwise pressuring public officials. A vibrant and diverse press moulded and reflected public sentiments in a city where over half the inhabitants were literate. Civil society, that network of private and quasi-public organisations, created a public sphere where assemblies – and not voting – took the place of honour in the citizenry's repertoire of political actions. The capstone of this section is a marvellous portrait of the burning of the College of Salvador in 1875, which Sabato uses to explore how the complex interplay of newspapers, clubs, parties and associations embodied and shaped public opinion and the behaviour of political groups.

My own criticism of the book is that it could have benefited from some quantification. Despite the focus on elections, Sabato does not present tables

summarising their results. To shed light on low turnout rates, she also could have presented a statistical model of turnout rates that she claims varied by election and parish. Such a model would have permitted determining whether electoral competitiveness, district magnitude and other institutional features typically invoked in the comparative study of electoral systems help explain the ebb and flow of turnout. Furthermore, I suspect that the fact that between 1862–80 several elections were held in Buenos Aires every year is fundamental for explaining the puzzle of low turnout rates. As Arend Lijphart argues, multiple elections can deter parties and citizens from visiting the polls, especially if the elections are held at times inconvenient for most citizens.

Quantification could also have helped Sabato contend with the criticism that these elections are not worth studying because they were fraudulent – a view that I do not share, but which is commonly held by sceptics of these sorts of studies. Determining the extent, magnitude and nature of fraud from the large number of denunciations that appeared in newspapers and were presented to legislative bodies would allow her to dispel this charge. Perhaps elections that attracted large numbers of denunciations are precisely those that also encouraged parties and citizens to turn out in larger numbers.

Through the study of 20 years in the political life of Buenos Aires, *La política de las calles* suggests that Latin America's political past is about a lot more than curious personalities, class domination and violence. Sabato succeeds in painting a portrait of nineteenth century Buenos Aires that is evocative as it is insightful.

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Adrian A. Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1998), pp. xix + 320, \$50.00.

Adrian Bantjes' title is taken from the claim of a Sonoran peasant that during the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas, Mexican campesinos had prospered because their lands had been returned through his agrarian reform (p. xi). Yet another Sonoran peasant claims that '*El ejido fue una alcabuetería*' (p. 123) – the ejido was a swindle (translated politely). Based on appearances in the northern state of Sonora, one initially might agree with the latter. Despite being the 'cradle of the Revolution', political and social power in Sonora remained in the hands of a conservative, capitalist elite at the end of the Cárdenas *sexenio*, thirty years later. Yet Sonora did not escape unscathed from *cardenismo*, and it is precisely this phenomenon that Bantjes sets out to evaluate. Just as there were many Mexicos, so were there many *cardenismos*. Revolutionary reforms were imposed from without, but were imposed upon a population mobilised by years of social upheaval. As a result, revolutionary reform was implemented unevenly throughout Mexico, not so much because of a lack of political, economic or cultural development on the part of its people, but because the reforms were interpreted, refashioned and utilised by Mexicans to achieve their own goals.

Bantjes traces the trajectory of politics in Sonora: from the project of developmental capitalism and cultural transformation, veiled in revolutionary

rhetoric and expounded by governors Rodolfo Elías Calles and Ramón Ramos; to the regionalist discourse of General Ramón Yocupicio, used as much to establish his regional power base as to defend the Sonoran autonomy; to the conservative, conciliatory policies of General Anselmo Macías Valenzuela, which enabled industries and traditional elites to completely reestablish their predominance in Sonora. Rejecting the thesis that Cárdenas' negotiations with regional politicians and factions alone resolved post-evolutionary Mexico's internal divisions, Bantjes illustrates how the negotiations of regional politicians and factions affected the Mexican national political system and altered its revolutionary project.

Furthermore, Sonoran political culture was made by more than career politicians and generals. The strength of Bantjes' book lies in his detailed and organised descriptions of the panoply of actors who participated in local and regional politics in the 1930s. No one group of 'rebels' could make or break revolutionary politics – but ranchers, rural *serrano* farmers, indigenous communities, and Catholic activists repeatedly mobilised against the anticlerical 'defanaticization' programme, the political dominance of the Calles family, the supremacy of federal agencies in labour and educational conflicts, and the implementation of agrarian reform as dictated by Mexico City. These social factions were interdependent, and their relative success lay in their abilities to combine religious, regional and ethnic ideologies, to balance ideological motives with those of necessity, and to forge broader alliances in order to gain support for their actions. However, many local activist movements were gradually co-opted into larger federal and state bureaucracies. As their leaders negotiated *pactos* with the federal government, national labour unions and commercial alliances, the social role of individual activists and the democratic processes of their organisations were weakened. Within the corporatist reorganisation of Mexican politics, popular associations became the clientele of the centralised government and its agencies, their influence limited and controlled. Although *cardenismo* promised the redistribution of material resources and political capital to the Mexican population, it did not give rise to a new, popular democratic culture. It did give rise to an enduring desire for one, as recent events in Mexico and the campesinos cited by Bantjes demonstrate.

While popular mobilisation was extremely important to the development of regional and national politics, Bantjes asserts that the traditional explanation of a worker-peasant *cardenista* alliance defeating reactionary, bourgeois *callistas* does not hold true for Sonora (p. 59). While Cárdenas did rebuild Sonoran and Mexican politics by purging Plutarco Elías Calles' supporters and replacing them with his own allies, these often proved more loyal to their own interests than to his Six-Year plan. The general political realignment after the fall of the *callistas* resulted in greater regional independence, but not *cardenista* hegemony. The polarisation between *cardenista* supporters and politicians dissenting from Lázaro Cárdenas' programme including state governors like Yocupicio and Macías, ushered in an era of more conservative, conciliatory politics, exemplified by the installation of Manuel Avila Camacho of Puebla as president in 1940.

Bantjes thus critiques the enduring conception of Cárdenas as having imposed a '*presidencialismo feroz*' upon Mexico during a momentous term (p. 219). The *sexenio* was momentous, but not for the reasons typically delineated in hagiographies of Cárdenas or in the condemnations of revisionist history. Bantjes

argues that generalisations made from a national perspective distort the political, economic and social meanings of *cardenismo*, and uses Sonora to prove his case well. The reader is almost spoilt by Bantjes' thorough research and presentation – only in a very few instances does Bantjes rely on outside sources to describe the mentalities of hard-to-reach historical actors, such as the Mayo (drawn largely from American anthropologists' field research) and local-level Catholic activists (from a Sonoran bishop's biography and from United States diplomatic and military archives). Overall, Bantjes impressively achieves his goal of synthesising revisionist and populist theses to present the different effects that the politics of the 1930s had on the heterogeneous population of Sonora, and the wider influence that local and regional struggles, such as those of Sonora, had on Mexico as a whole.

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KRISTINA A. BOYLAN

Thomas Miller Klubock, *Contested Communities: Class, Gender and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904–1951* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. xiii + 363, £18.95 pb.

Thomas Klubock's careful study of the El Teniente mining community sheds new light on how gender identity, and working-class masculinity in particular, shapes and is shaped by labour processes, company welfare policies, and the state. Klubock combines rich oral histories of El Teniente residents with Braden Copper Company records, working-class novels, trial records and labour office documents to reconstruct the 'structures of feeling' that shaped popular responses to the exigencies of foreign capital. At once a sophisticated analysis of gender relations in the mining community and an argument for the Popular Front's catalytic role in the rise of organised labour, *Contested Communities* also provides a rich, memorable narrative of life, love, and labour among the men and women of El Teniente.

*Contested Communities* is divided into three roughly chronological sections, the first of which describes the rise of the copper industry in Chile after 1900. As the world demand for copper grew, foreign investment brought improvements in mining technology but failed to attract a permanent workforce to El Teniente's isolated mountain camps. The company's earliest attempts to retain and discipline workers combined repression with moral reform, requiring couples to marry and prohibiting alcohol and gambling in the camps. In an effort to domesticate workers and single women, Braden also sponsored family allowances, welfare services, housing, schools, and workers' clubs. Despite increased policing of workers' sexuality, however, miners and single women clung resolutely to their ways until the Depression, after which workers increasingly complied with the company's moral codes in exchange for financial security.

Despite the popularity of company benefits and a rise in marriage rates in the 1930s, Braden's experiment in social control produced precious little loyalty from workers and their families. Instead, Klubock argues, welfare policies augmented worker aspirations for social mobility, which were constantly frustrated by the high cost of living, inadequate wages, and ethnic discrimination in the camps. Even as the company secured its permanent workforce, Klubock argues,

Braden's social welfare policies reinforced class solidarity in the camps, as miners and their wives made common cause against the company.

The book's second part examines how the changing structure of El Teniente's labour market shaped gender relations and working-class consciousness. Klubock takes the extreme sexual division of labour in the camps into account by analysing the three major groups in the mining camps: single women who worked as servants and prostitutes, men who laboured in the mines, and women who depended on male wages. Klubock stresses how the mining environment itself shaped miners' codes of masculinity: because mine work was dangerous and demanding, physical strength and unity with other miners were highly valued. Union leaders would later rely on this 'intensely masculine' culture, which stimulated increased production as well as conflict with employers, to fuel unionisation in El Teniente.

Klubock also points to how this normative, aggressive masculinity contributed to women's sexual and economic subordination within the mining community. Despite single women's repeated efforts to safeguard their sexual and economic autonomy, by the 1940s most women living in the camps had married miners in order to secure financial security, sacrificing most prospects of future employment. Married women turned this dependency to their own advantage, however, relying on the company's Welfare Department to guarantee access to male wages and protection from domestic abuse. By examining the changing economic and sexual relationships among these three groups, Klubock teases out a nuanced analysis of the tensions and solidarities among women and men in the barracks, *cantinas*, and company houses of the mining community.

The final section of the book reconstructs the narrative of popular protest and unionisation under the Popular Front. Here Klubock shows how the left parties in government reaped the benefits of El Teniente's tightly-woven community of miners, wives and *empleadas*, transforming the strike of 1941 into an episode of successful arbitration. Popular Front officials, critical of Braden's treatment of workers on the one hand, lavished praise on the company's Social Welfare Department on the other. Here Klubock's analysis would have been more complete had it considered the legacy of the leftist gender politics of previous decades, in which many union militants regularly called for the moral uplift of the working classes through the male family wage.

Finally, *Contested Communities* clearly demonstrates that, while working-class women and men challenged hegemonic notions of gender and class, their actions were nonetheless circumscribed by the communal norms shaped by the company over time. Within the legal and economic parameters established by Braden, for example, women who chose to remain single remained vulnerable to job discrimination, sexual abuse, and criminal prosecution for their sexual independence. Similarly, miners who emulated the aggressive, lonely heroism of the '*roto macanudo*' sacrificed access to family benefits, and both groups remained outside the increasingly narrow communal definitions of sexual respectability. By examining the interplay of company and community norms for male and female behaviour, *Contested Communities* offers valuable insights into the changing relationship between gender subordination and class solidarity in El Teniente's missing community.

*The University of New Mexico*

ELIZABETH QUAY HUTCHISON

D. S. Parker, *The Idea of the Middle Class: White-Collar Workers and Peruvian Society, 1900–1950* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998), pp. xii + 266, \$49.50, \$19.95 pb.

Middle-class identity is a slippery subject. For scholars of Latin America, where the development of industrial societies has been uneven at best, it is a particularly difficult topic. David Stuart Parker has done an admirable job of tracing the public debates, political lobbying, and legislative tools which helped endow Peru's white-collar workers with the social standing that won them the label of 'middle-class'. The author uses the records and newspapers of employees' associations to illustrate how office workers, bank employees, and retail clerks distinguished themselves from manual labourers, even as they embraced purportedly working-class tactics such as strikes, unions, and collective bargaining to pursue the interests of their occupational sector. He provides a valuable new approach to the history of Peruvian society.

At the heart of this work lies a familiar question: were these white-collar workers revolutionary or were they guardians of conservatism? Parker shows that Peru's employees were primarily concerned with gaining, and then preserving, a social standing that was *not* working-class, largely because the line between the lower ranks was not only thin but uncomfortably porous. Clerks' demands for shorter workdays, rest breaks, summer hours, severance pay, pension plans, and health insurance may have appeared radically progressive but the platform was geared to benefit solely this 'shirt and tie proletariat'. Their lobbying intentionally heightened the social distinction between office workers and manual labourers. Resistance from managers pushed office and retail employees into temporary alliances with industrial labourers, a strategy that successfully pressured the elite leadership to make concessions to white-collar workers. However, such victories only ratified the distinctive status that employees believed set them apart from their less favoured blue-collar compatriots.

The author has uncovered an important element in the emerging concept of class identities in Lima. Parker finds that the office workers' support for reform emerged from an earlier idea which claimed that employees not only deserved higher wages than labourers, but that, during economic downturns, they also suffered more than their working-class brothers because of the unavoidable expenses of a 'middle-class' lifestyle. Despite rising costs and wage stagnation, employees spent large portions of their income on expensive education, decent housing, suitable clothing, and respectable recreational activities, all of which they considered indispensable to their social standing. By the 1930s, this idea of the 'most-suffering middle class' was a familiar theme that garnered support not only from Haya de la Torre's APRA, but also from reactionary leaders such as Luis Sánchez Cerro and Oscar Benavides.

Parker's work makes an important contribution to the history of Latin America's modern societies and he is most effective in displaying the employees' perceptions of themselves. However, the author is less successful in suggesting why such a version of middle-class identity dominated or where this idea of a 'middle' class originated. Although the author's evidence is solid, his interpretation of the findings is limited.

Parker sees this 'middle class in a world of two classes' as a modern replication of an earlier social order with 'deep colonial roots' in which *gente decente* were



distinguished from *gente de pueblo*. However, a far more modern source for this perspective existed. The enthusiasm Latin American intellectuals displayed for positivism at the close of the nineteenth century has long been acknowledged. Auguste Comte's vision of a future 'positivist society' divided and delegated duties among three social groups: manual labourers, financial/intellectual leaders, and women. By 1900, literate, urban, Peruvian men may have absorbed this positivist interpretation of secular society and that framework may have underpinned their effort to carve a place for themselves among the male directorial sector. Despite Parker's vivid description of the 'idea of a middle class' as it was expressed by Peru's white-collar workers, the source(s) for this design remains debatable.

While 'refusing to impose [an] *a priori* definition of middle class', Parker has charted the emergence of an occupational group whose members relentlessly sought to win the appellation 'middle class'. But any discussion of this group's definition of its unique characteristics and needs cannot but consider those elements that did *not* become part of its formula. Parker illustrates Peruvians' construction of middle-class identity as it arose within a public debate which focused upon men's job status and the differences between categories of male workers. Paradoxically, this also reveals the minimal impact of Peruvian discourses regarding the private sphere, individual virtue, masculine and feminine moral codes, and domesticity. Such features were crucial to middle-class identity elsewhere and many scholars of nineteenth-century social and cultural history have acknowledged that these elements gave women a critical role in the construction of class identity. What happens in a society where these features are peripheral to the formation of class concepts?

The author's analysis of race is more successful than his attempt to address gender. Parker draws his readers' attention to overt racism in several public statements made by the employees' lobby and he diligently scrutinizes these efforts to cast middle-class status as 'white'. However, though the idea of an 'essential difference' was enlisted by office employees to win a privileged place over manual labourers, the author does not acknowledge that this concept was most commonly and triumphantly utilised during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to construct artificial distinctions between the sexes. Fortunately, Parker has recorded various incidents that deserve further investigation. For example, a 1931 strike by female telephone operators won support from all the ranks of Lima's male workers though a good portion of these men did not share a common class identity with the strikers. To which 'class' did these women belong? Interestingly, while many writers attempted to define class as a reflection of men's occupations, when critics attacked the pretentious lifestyle and ambitions of the impoverished middle class, women were most frequently enlisted to illustrate the typical *buachafa* (social climber). In this narrative the novelty of a middle class founded upon public, masculine roles rather than a feminine, domestic performance remains unexplored.

Despite these limitations, Parker's study offers a new path into the complex world of class identity and shifting social concepts in modern Peru. The author's brief recourse to fictional, composite characters in order to illustrate the vastly different experiences of men who shared the status of employee seems unnecessary in light of the abundant and provocative material he offers to readers.

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RONDA WARD

Bonham C. Richardson, *Economy and Environment in the Caribbean: Barbados and the Windwards in the Late 1800s* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. xvii + 294, \$49.95 hb.

The islands of the Caribbean, although close to each other in terms of latitude, are very varied in terms of geology, climate and soil. These differences, often ignored in comparative studies of the region, help to explain the wide range of incomes per head, growth rates and degrees of inequality found in the islands.

This excellent book by Bonham Richardson takes environmental variations as its starting point to explore the different patterns of development in four Caribbean islands: Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent (the Windward islands) and Barbados. The study concentrates on the period between 1880 and 1905, when the colonial elites and the imperial power (Great Britain) were finally forced to come to terms with the long-run decline of the once powerful sugar industry.

Richardson makes good use of primary sources, of which the most important is the West India Royal Commission of 1897 ('the first full-scale, investigative, regionwide commission since 1842', p. 6). The justification for this report was the difficulty faced by the sugar industry in the British West Indies as a result not only of competition from beet sugar, but also the system of export bounties used by continental European governments that had the effect of driving down the world price. The low world price, coupled with excessive reliance on sugar exports, had produced real hardship in many parts of the British Caribbean leading in some cases to riots, which Richardson suspects – probably correctly – may have provided the ultimate rationale for the Royal Commission.

The Royal Commission could not agree on a solution to the problem and it was left to Joseph Chamberlain to persuade Britain's European rivals to phase out the export bounties to the advantage of colonial cane sugar producers. By then, however, local colonial administrations had begun to put in place the reforms needed for export diversification and the creation of a small-scale peasantry made up in large part of former sugar workers. This process was most successful in the Windward islands, where Grenada became linked to spices (particularly nutmeg), St. Vincent to arrowroot and St. Lucia to cacao production. In Barbados, the purest and oldest sugar colony in the Caribbean, the process of diversification was successfully resisted by the plantocracy until much later in the twentieth century.

The parallels between sugar a century ago and bananas today are very strong. Richardson does not dwell on this, but many of the arguments used to defend the continuation of a monocultural economy based on sugar were exactly the same as those used to defend high-cost banana exports in the Windward and Leeward islands in the late twentieth century. In both cases, reference is made to the lack of alternatives and the parlous consequences of phasing out the dominant crop. Yet Richardson's study shows that environmental conditions did not rule out either export diversification or peasant cultivation, although the optimal product mix varied from island to island. This part of the book should be compulsory reading for the officials of the European Commission charged with helping the Caribbean islands to find alternatives to banana exports.

Students of imperial history will also find much of interest in this book. Richardson demonstrates that colonial officials in both London and the colonies were motivated by a complex mixture of views varying from support for the *status quo* to a genuine concern for raising living standards for all and a willingness

at times to confront the local elites. Land reform programmes may have been timid by comparison with Mexico, Bolivia or Cuba in the twentieth century, but they were sufficiently radical to generate fury among many large landowners and bring charges of treachery from the planters.

Richardson's ambition does not extend to a new theory of Caribbean development or colonial history. Instead, what he does is remind us of the complexity of this region and the need to avoid facile generalisations. The reader is left with a detailed picture of four islands divided not just by space, but also by culture, history and even language (French patois in St. Lucia, for example). It is a fine piece of research and a pleasure to read.

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VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS

Efraín Gonzales de Olarte (ed.), *Ajuste Estructural en el Perú: Modelo Económico, Empleo y Descentralización* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1997), pp. 308, pb.

In 1996 Efraín Gonzales de Olarte edited a book entitled *The Peruvian Economy and Structural Adjustment: Past, Present and Future* (University of Miami: North-South Center Press) and that work has one feature in common with the volume under review, as Shane Hunt's 1996 chapter 'The Current Economic Situation in Long-Term Perspective' reappears in Spanish in the 1997 book. In other respects the two books have a different focus, but work well when taken together. Whereas the 1996 book is mainly concerned with macroeconomic questions, the current work looks at more microeconomic factors, in particular employment and decentralisation. It contains a number of papers presented at an international workshop at the IEP in May 1995 (some in Spanish translation).

After a brief introduction by the editor, John Sheahan discusses the effects of adjustment programmes on poverty in Chile, Mexico and Peru. In the case of Peru, the data presented suggest that poverty increased between 1985 and 1991 and then declined between 1991 and 1994, though not falling to the levels of 1985. Shane Hunt's chapter puts recent developments in Peru in a long-term perspective by presenting data from 1900 and raises questions concerning the viability of neo-liberal policy, given the weakness of the Peruvian state apparatus. Jürgen Schuldt contributes a chapter on political economy in transition and the process of capital accumulation and uses the interesting phrase 'un control orwelliomontesiniano' to describe some of the potential dangers for the Peruvian economy. Ricardo Infante has a chapter on the reactivation of urban employment from 1990 to 1994. It suggests that between 1990 and 1994 employment in the urban informal sector increased by about 26 per cent compared with an increase of about five per cent in the formal sector. The chapter ends with a useful appendix of statistical data on the labour market from 1990 to 1994. Francisco Verdera discusses the limited effect of structural adjustment on the labour market, in terms of the lack of absorption of wage earners into the labour market in Peru. Efraín Gonzales de Olarte's chapter is concerned with decentralisation in Peru and begins with a useful summary of constitutional changes since 1993 in relation to decentralisation. However, it takes more than changes in the Constitution to

change regional distribution and, since the author's data compare 1980 with 1991, it is not clear whether there has been much change since 1993 in reducing the dominant position of Lima. Cesar Martinelli considers fiscal decentralisation in Peru in the context of structural adjustment and the free market and presents a non-technical theoretical discussion of the merits of fiscal decentralisation. The chapter ends with a list of eleven factors to be considered in formulating a policy of fiscal decentralisation. Finally, Jesús E. Guillén Marroquín discusses whether the current situation represents the final opportunity for decentralisation in Peru. Recent changes in the Constitution are considered in an historical context stretching back to the 1930s. There is an interesting discussion of the effect of different methods of aggregation and dis-aggregation of the country into regions and departments on political and social cohesion.

Decentralisation is a problem in Latin America, as the over-centralisation of economic and political power in many countries has led to stagnant regions. Peru has suffered badly in the past from a lack of balance, both political and financial, between Lima and the rest of the country. The government of President Fujimori is committed to decentralisation and the topics covered in this book raise many issues relevant to the current political situation in Peru. It is to be recommended.

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JIM THOMAS

Philip Mauceri, *State Under Siege: Development and Policy Making in Peru* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 1998), pp. xv + 175, £44.95, £14.50 pb.

From military-directed developmentalism under Velasco to business-oriented neoliberalism under Fujimori, via structural adjustment under Belaunde and state populism under García, Peru over the last thirty years provides a particularly useful prism through which to view the vicissitudes of state reform. Philip Mauceri's book is therefore of interest not only to *peruanistas* but to students of Latin American politics more generally; there are certainly important lessons to be learnt from the Peruvian story that can usefully be taken to heart elsewhere.

Mauceri insists – rightly in the opinion of this reviewer – that the specificities of such processes of reform mean that there is no substitute for the historically-grounded case-study approach. In seeking to analyse the capacities of the Peruvian state, the book is organised around three major interpretative ‘arenas’: the organisational arena (the ability to achieve macroeconomic order and to provide basic security to citizens); the international arena (the ability to reduce vulnerability to external influences) and the social arena (the capacity to interact with society in such a way as to maintain social stability and promote regime legitimacy). On all three scores, Peru at the end of the 1980s saw such capacities severely tested. The state lost control of the macroeconomy as price inflation spiralled out of control, whilst its ability to provide even a modicum of public security was undermined by guerrilla insurgencies. The country found itself at the mercy of the international banking community, facing a severe balance of payments crisis and having failed in its attempts unilaterally to cap debt payments. Furthermore, the inability of the state to engage with society was made manifest, amongst other things, by the breakdown of the party system.

In retrospect, it is perhaps easy to blame the reformist project of the Velasco years (1968–1975) for leading to what can rightly be described as a ‘crisis of the state’. Yet, as Mauceri argues, policy makers of that time bear a heavy responsibility for what came later. In particular, they grossly exaggerated their own abilities to transform the country by reducing its external dependency, reforming the basis of its economy and restructuring its society. It was a cruel irony that these attempts to build a new, more powerful and effective state ended in its virtual collapse. At the same time, it is also too easy to give President Fujimori all the credit for reconstituting the state (albeit on a very different basis) in the years that followed the crisis of the 1980s. Yet, as this book argues, some fundamental ‘retooling’, such as the creation of a reasonably effective tax system, have been achieved, without which it is impossible to place any sort of state on a firm footing. Still, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that such reforms were only partial, and leave much to be done, for example, in building a new and more durable rapport between the state and society.

In seeking to highlight the different types of constraint on the autonomy of the state in a country like Peru, Mauceri creates a useful organisational framework for analysing the politics of the last 30 years. Yet covering such a large theme over such a long timespan necessarily obliges him to be selective in the material he has chosen to use. In many ways, this is more a book of essays than a comprehensive account of Peru since 1968, with the author building on and branching out from his earlier work on the Peruvian military in the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, in order to demonstrate the relationship between state and society, two chapters are devoted to the development of self-government model (*autogestión*) in Villa El Salvador and the circumstances that gave rise to Sendero Luminoso in Ayacucho. Although important, neither are necessarily typical of Peru as a whole. Other themes could have usefully been developed more extensively, such as the breakdown of the party system in the late 1980s. At the same time as highlighting specific issues, the book also adopts a narrative approach to keep the reader abreast of events. Not only will a lot of the narrative be familiar to many, but the two approaches sometimes jar with one another. But this is not to detract seriously from a volume which students of Latin American state reform will find both stimulating and instructive.

Oxford

JOHN CRABTREE

Walter T. Molano, *The Logic of Privatization: The Case of Telecommunications in the Southern Cone of Latin America* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press), pp. xii + 138, \$39.95 hb.

Until relatively recently, the standard explanation for telecommunications reform was based on technological progress. The dramatic pace of technological innovation this industry experienced during the last decade transformed the traditional natural monopoly status of telecommunications firms and led countries around the world to deregulate and privatise their industries. Technology has indeed been a significant force towards liberalisation. However, each country has selected a different model of reform, and technology alone cannot explain these differences. Molano’s book is a valuable step in advancing a multidisciplinary interpretation of telecommunications privatisation in Latin America.

With the objective of examining the political and economic aspects of privatisation policies, the author provides a comprehensive study of the privatisation attempts of telecommunications companies in four Latin American countries: Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina. He is interested in exploring the initial conditions that may lead a government to pursue or abandon privatisation as well as the economic and political conditions for the public to support such policies. To use his own terms, understanding the dynamics that shape privatisation will provide insights into the method of designing more efficient policies.

Molano proposes three alternative hypotheses to explain privatisation in these countries. The first states that poor micro-economic performance of state-owned telephone companies increases the likelihood that countries will approve privatisation programmes. The second argues that poor macro-economic conditions motivate countries to approve privatisation, that countries with large deficits sell their telephone companies to improve their fiscal situation. The third hypothesis considers that the approval of privatisation is contingent on a political variable: the political strength of the national executive.

Although one of the findings in this study is that there is no single variable strong enough to provide a complete explanation of telecom privatisation, Molano's study emphasizes the importance of political dynamics in shaping these processes. The study reveals that poor micro-economic performance cannot explain why Telebras, a very inefficient firm, was not privatised, while a relatively more efficient company such as the Chilean telephone company was. Macro-economic conditions, and particularly large fiscal deficits, help explain the consideration of privatisation but not the timing of implementation. More explanatory power was found in the political climate, in particular the power of the national executive. Argentina's first attempt to privatise the telephone company, Entel, was successfully blocked by the opposition, due to the weakness of the executive. President Alfonsín privileged the use of his electoral mandate to consolidate democracy and by the time he sought to sell Entel, his authority was significantly diminished. This was also the case in Brazil and Uruguay. The absence of political leadership and the fact the military governments weakened Brazil's political institutions explain the failure to privatise Telebras. The Uruguayan President Lacalle suffered from a lack of support in congress and a fragmented party system and was thus unable to control the bargaining process. Chile and Argentina's second attempts, however, are cases of strong national executives able to implement the privatisation. Pinochet in Chile dismantled most democratic institutions and opposition forces were thus unable to change the outcome. Menem in Argentina led key interest groups and had strong support in Congress.

With the aim of generalising his argument, Molano complements his case studies with a set of statistical analyses that include all attempted privatisation of telecommunications companies between 1981 and 1995. The results support his previous findings: micro-economic variables did not turn out to be significant, macro-economic factors showed mixed results and political factors were the most robust.

Molano offers a well-documented and compelling interpretation. However, he omits the Mexican case, limiting his study to that of the Southern Cone, and thereby bypassing the process of privatisation of one of the most important

companies in Latin America which sheds light on all the variables under examination in this book.

A second more important critique is the fact that the author is implicitly assuming that privatisation, in itself, guarantees improved efficiency. By focusing on whether privatisation does or does not occur, the author is missing perhaps the single most important issue that leads to improved performance in telecommunications: effective regulation. In fact, a strong executive is a double-edged sword; it does support the implementation of privatisation but it also leads to a closed process where narrow interests may prevail in determining the form this takes. In many of these cases a public monopoly is replaced by a private monopoly. If privatisation is not accompanied by effective regulation that assures competition and equal access, a privatised monopoly performs in ways that are not in the country's best interest. The author's objective of providing insights into more efficient policies is thus not adequately fulfilled.

Despite the above critiques, this book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the motives and logic of telecommunications privatisation and will be an important reading for students in this area of research.

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JUDITH MARISCAL

Kees Jansen, *Political Ecology, Mountain Agriculture, and Knowledge in Honduras* (Amsterdam: Thela Publishers, 1998), pp. x + 277, £13.95; \$26.50, pb.

The issue of frontier agriculture and its contribution to land degradation is not a new one in the academic literature. Much less common, however, are analyses of environmental deterioration within mountain production systems. Recognition of this void prompted the EU to fund a project examining 'Farmer Strategies and Production Systems in Fragile Environments in Mountainous Areas of Latin America', Jansen's text emerging as a concrete output of the project.

The central argument of Jansen's book, based on field research undertaken in the Honduran municipality of Santa Bárbara between 1992 and 1995, is that land degradation can only be understood through a detailed examination of; (i) local resource access patterns, (ii) forms of state intervention, (iii) communal knowledge generation and technological change, (iv) local divisions of labour and (v) interactions between commodity markets and production organisation (p. 26). Herein, then, lie both the main strengths and weaknesses of the text. It scores highly in terms of its meticulous unravelling of local production systems, subsequent chapters detailing local land tenure relations (Chapter Two), land use and local perspectives on burning, agro-chemicals and fallow periods (Chapters Three and Four), community differentiation and labour relations (Chapter Five) and local knowledge systems (Chapter Six). The documentation of NGO shortcomings in this latter respect is particularly instructive (p. 186–91). Its principal weakness, as Jansen himself admits (p. 26), is that the (necessary) narrowness of focus probably prevents his conclusions from being extended to cover the rest of Honduras – let alone the Central American region.

The approach to detail is commendable – few researchers, myself included, were probably aware of the difference between Spanish and English inches

(*pulgadas*). Yet, this 0.2206 cm difference could well signify that official agrarian census data understates the true land area by almost 20 per cent in certain municipalities (p. 230)! Equally evident is Jansen's skill as both an observer of, and interviewer in, his selected community (*El Zapote*). Oral testimonies such as 'The Pact with the Devil' (p. 133), 'Pedro Delgado's story' (p. 142) and 'If I don't work I don't eat' (p. 86) and 'The land occupation' (p. 50) are deployed with great effect to illustrate how Zapotecs may explain rapid wealth accumulation and household labour constraints or respond to evolving external circumstances. This expertise as a raconteur sits somewhat uneasily, however, alongside the author's desire (need?) to help sharpen the conceptual framework of the newly emerging discipline of political ecology (p. 221). Consequently, in attempting to harness collected producer perspectives on environmental degradation in order to; '...challenge theoretical (epistemological and ontological) confusions about social and biophysical causation of environmental deterioration in environmental social science' (p. 27), there is a very real risk that Jansen will alienate a large number of less academically-inclined potential readers.

One particular problem with the political ecology methodology employed by Jansen is that, by creating a 'chain of explanation' which starts with the producer and views the state and world economy as the last links in the chain (p. 22), there is a danger that the longer-term implications of macro-legislation upon the local producer are overlooked. A substantial number of Honduran cooperatives have discovered to their cost for example that ignorance of the 1992 Agrarian Modernisation Law (*Ley para la Modernización y el Desarrollo del Sector Agrícola – LMDSA*) did not prevent said law from dispossessing them of their land. While *El Zapote* has no agrarian cooperatives, it seems inconceivable that the community will remain unaffected by the LMDSA. Similar arguments could be advanced with regard to both the 1990 Economic Adjustment Programme (*Programa de Ajuste Estructural*) and the 1990 Municipal Law (*Ley de Municipalidades*) – yet Jansen fails to offer any insights as to how such legislation may ultimately impinge upon the local environment.

That said, the text is recommended to those interested in political ecology and/or the sociology of development. It will be of less interest to development planners – the text being primarily descriptive as opposed to prescriptive – or more generalist Honduran specialists – as consideration of state institutions, NGOs, legislation etc. is restricted to the local context. The bibliography however (18 pages of condensed type), will be a more than useful starting point for anyone about to embark upon rural research in Honduras.

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ANDY THORPE

Laurence Whitehead (ed.), *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. xii + 431, £35.00.

After its initial steps in describing historical experiences, comparing them and trying to establish some patterns and regularities, the literature on political democratisation has moved mainly in three directions. One is the attempt to construct a middle range theory of political democratisation as a part of a theory



of democracy, validating it with the analysis of a broad range of cases and situations. The second is oriented towards a balance of the results of the process of democratisation and the performances of new democracies. The third is to focus both theoretically and empirically on one specific dimension, i.e. cultural, economic, international, of the democratisation process and establish some regularities or general hypothesis about how this dimension affects the overall process.

Placing itself within that third current, this book is one of the most important contributions on the role of international dimension in political democratisation to emerge to date, going far beyond the standard statement that the international context is an important element but internal factors are predominant or crucial, and that the main question is the relation between both. Four accounts explain how this relation operates. If one doubts the importance of the international dimension, the editor reminds us in the first chapter that out of the sixty-one 'free' states in 1990, only three democracies were not affected by the international context. Moreover, between 1990 and 1996, two thirds of democracies existing in the world have their origin in impositions from abroad.

The first part of the book offers a complementary theoretical approach, one by Whitehead and the other by Schmitter. Whitehead distinguishes three international dimensions of political democratisation: contagion from other cases; control from some dominant power; and consent in interaction with the internal actors. Schmitter adds one other; conditionality, that is the imposition of conditions by multilateral institutions. He also describes four 'dynamics of interaction between the international sub-contexts of power and influence' and the national cases of democratisation: adaption to the trends in the wider context, the impact of discrete events, democratisation waves, and the influence of the international context upon different stages of the democratisation process.

The second part (the Americas) and the third (Europe) present very good analyses of regional and national cases (the Caribbean, Brazil, Chile, Southern Europe, Spain, Greece, East Central Europe) and of specific dimensions of the international context, such as human rights and the role of United States, party internationals and foundation, in the democratisation process in the Americas. In the last part, Whitehead essays a comparative perspective, identifying some trends about the distribution and content of the experiences of democratisation since the end of the Second World War. Among these we find reduced resistance of the world to democratisation processes, on one side, and a very important tendency to regional cooperation for promoting the principles of democracy, on the other.

Because of the structure of an edited volume, the analyses of national cases or specific aspects (except when the editor is the author) do not follow the general hypothesis and framework elaborated in the first part; each author uses their own analytical framework. While this does not create any problem for rich information and analysis of cases and dimensions, it certainly introduces a gap between the attempt to theorise and the task of analysing concrete situations. On the other hand, the link between a theory for the specific dimension of international context, (presented here), and the general theory of political democratisation, remains pending.

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MANUEL ANTONIO GARRETÓN M

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. xx + 479, £45.50, £15.50 pb.

One of the most important problems affecting the vast literature on political democratisation or 'transitions' has been the trap between a nominalistic debate classifying different types of democratisation or 'transitions' and a very descriptive and non-explanatory account of single cases.

This book is the most important attempt so far to construct a theory of political democratisation in contemporary societies validated with a complete survey of empirical evidence based on the different historical experiences of recent decades. The fact that it is an authors' book, and not a reader of different theoretical approaches or a selection of national cases, allows for a coherent relation between theory and historical experiences. In order to overcome this non-resolved problem in the literature of political democratisation, the authors follow a twofold strategy. First, the building of a middle range theory not of democracy but of democratisation, theory that they consider must be part of a 'grand theory' of democracy, which remains an unfulfilled task.

This theorisation is based on four elements. One is a limited definition of what the authors call 'completed democratic transition' ('agreement about procedures to produce elected governments ..., government in power that is the direct result of a free and popular vote and has the authority to generate new policies ..., executive, legislative and judicial power that does not have to share power with other bodies *de jure*'), as well as of 'consolidated democracy' (when democracy is 'the only game in town').

The second is the elaboration of a prerequisite for a consolidated democracy: the existence of a functioning sovereign state and its interaction with five other arenas: free civil society, autonomous political society, rule of law, state bureaucracy, and institutionalised economic society. The third element is the construction of different ideal types of modern non-democratic regimes (authoritarian, totalitarian, post-totalitarian and sultanistic in terms of four variables (pluralism, ideology, leadership and mobilisation), and the effect of these regimes on the different paths to democratic transition, which are: *reforma pactada-ruptura pactada*; defeat in war; interim government; extrication from rule by hierarchically led military and other paths coming from the specificities of some non-democratic regimes.

The fourth element completes the theoretical framework with five other variables: two actor-centred variables, the institutional composition and leadership of previous non-democratic regimes and the question of who are the main actors of the transition; and three context-variables: international influences, the political economy of legitimacy and of coercion and the constitution making environments. With all these elements the authors construct different typologies and examine the mutual effects of the variables, providing a very complex and suggestive analytical map that they use for the cases in the rest of the book.

The second part of the strategy consists in analysing three kinds of historical experiences of democratisation in order to discuss the elements of their

theoretical framework. These are: Southern Europe (Spain, Greece and Portugal) identified by the authors as ‘completed consolidations’, the so-called ‘constrained transitions’ of South America (Uruguay, Brasil, Argentina, Chile), and the ‘most complex paths and tasks’ of post-communist Europe (nine cases including, among others, USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia).

Another major question in the literature of political democratisation has been whether to isolate political democratisation from other social processes or to subordinate it to cultural or, mainly, economic requisites. The present book attempts to understand at the same time the autonomy of political processes and its relations with other social spheres and dynamics of society. But here lies an unavoidable problem of political science perspectives on social processes. The general and clear definition of democracy gives an ‘objective’ and universal meaning to a social and political process, imposing itself upon the consciousness of historical actors and to the meaning they give to their own actions. Democracy becomes a given that societies must fight for, but its sense, meaning, ‘imaginary’, and thus creativity and innovation, are not constructed by the people. Perhaps the same problem is faced by economic theories when they try to explain the process of development.

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MANUEL ANTONIO GARRETÓN-MERLINO

Jennifer Schirmer, *The Guatemalan Military Project: A Violence Called Democracy* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. xvi + 345, \$47.50 hb.; £45.00 hb.

After more than two decades of research in Guatemala, years of fieldwork, countless interviews, and exhaustive review of primary and secondary sources, Jennifer Schirmer offers a terrifying, detailed and indispensable account of the history of the Guatemalan military’s rise to power and of the construction of a thoroughly militarised ‘façade democracy’. It is an account that convincingly documents the armed forces’ ‘carefully orchestrated massacres and sustained terror’ in planned ‘killing zones’ (*matanzas*, p. 54) and the collaboration, support, and masking of massacres, assassinations, and routine torture in Guatemala by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and other U.S. officials. According to Schirmer, the outcome, in the 1990s, is a ‘Counterinsurgent Constitutional State in which State violence has been reincarnated as democracy’ (p. 258).

But this book is not essentially denunciatory. It is a history and analysis of military discourse, military values and socialisation, civil-military relations in Guatemala, and the permanent prosecution of counterinsurgency from the early 1980s, with varying strategies, operational tactics, slogans, and degrees of repression. It combines ethnographic and anthropological methods with journalistic and historical research. The reader is offered a story that unfolds within a politico-cultural framework that takes seriously military discourse – an important advantage of an ethnographic approach to civil-military relations. It is a numbing story of a country with hundreds of villages mutilated and razed by its own army, ruled by cliques of military officers, brutalised by unaccountable military intelligence services and paramilitary death squads, littered with corpses,

populated by clandestine graveyards, and ‘reconciled’ with a series of amnesty decrees that makes impunity the foundation for ‘peace accords’ and ‘democracy’ in the 1990s. It is also the story of Indian people participating in the selective killing and the massacres of other Indians, of divisions within the armed forces, and of a society in the early 1990s in which “‘unsolved political assassinations’” remained the main feature of the electoral process’ (p. 263).

Schirmer allows the voices of military officers, paramilitaries, civilian politicians, journalists and many unnamed informants to tell the reader why the unending onslaught of killing and terror occurred. Relying especially on interviews with ex-Defence Minister, General Héctor Alejandro Gramajo, but also on interviews with over fifty other officers who explained their motives and methods for saving Guatemala from communism, Schirmer’s use of the multiple voices of the armed forces captures the essence of the military *mentalité* and military lore that made ‘salvation’ of the Guatemalan fatherland so urgent – salvation from communists, salvation from the civilian politicians, salvation from human rights activists (front organisations for the communists), salvation from democracy itself.

No short review can do justice to the author’s carefully crafted integration of the doctrinal, strategic, and tactical changes in the counterinsurgency war from the 1960s to the peace accords of 1996 and the voices of military leaders that frame the narrative. Schirmer periodically interjects artful syntheses of the chilling details: ‘After the 23 March coup, the Guatemalan army combined civil-military activity, focusing 30 per cent of the effort toward killing and 70 per cent of the effort toward providing food and shelter to the survivors – first referred to as Beans and Bullets and later as ‘Shelter, Work, and Food’ (p. 35). Likewise the analysis of army graffiti painted on highway billboards, photos in army journals, General Gramajo’s rough sketches depicting different strategies and doctrines, (with examples reproduced in the book), the language and semantics in military literature regarding key concepts such as ‘security’, ‘democracy’, and ‘subversion’ gives this study an exceptional depth and texture. Few researchers have captured so poetically the Latin American armed forces’ fundamental premises and historical justifications: ‘the military sees itself as both Creator (Mother to the Fatherland) and Parent–Guardian and Protector (Father to the Motherland), and thus retains full birth right to the Nation in terms of its past and its future’ (p. 114).

Beyond poetic depiction of Guatemalan military lore, Schirmer provides an intricate military-political history of Guatemala, focusing mostly on the period from 1982 to 1996. The analysis ranges from nuances in changing security doctrine and military views of law and constitutions to the impact of the insurgency on indigenous communities.

Inevitably, there are some gaps in the history. The voices and histories of the military’s enemies and antagonists, the guerrilla movements, the remnants of the political left, the fractured Catholic Church, the mutilated labour and peasant organisations are generally missing, precisely because the author has so carefully written the story and analysed the discourse of the armed forces. For the ritual incantations and violent practices of the left and the guerrilla insurgents, for the discourse of the radical Church and the revolutionary media, the reader must look elsewhere.

Yet these voices and deeds of the ‘devils’ that drove the armed forces to seek

salvation of *la patria* in massive human sacrifice are essential counterpoints of the military project. Taking seriously the discourse of the military means also taking seriously the voices of the ‘others’, in this case those who, according to the armed forces, threatened *la Patria*. Otherwise, the decades of slaughter in the name of patriotism were symptoms of paranoia or cynical genocidal crusades without even the ambiguous commitment to conversion and salvation of the first Conquest in the sixteenth century. Did the Guatemalan military in the 1980s believe in conversion and salvation when the reconquest was completed? And how different were these modern-day Guatemalan *conquistadores* from their counterparts in the region? Not very. Guatemalan military lore, security doctrines, and rationale for state terrorism are shared with other Latin American armed forces. Contempt for civilians and for ‘indios’, blaming international communism for the internal war, tarring human rights organisations with the brush of communist front groups, justifying torture, murder, and disappearances, and construction of an antipolitical security state was fairly common in Latin America after 1959 and especially after 1964. Collaboration and support by some agencies of the US government for atrocities committed in the name of anticommunism were also routine from Mexico to the straights of Magellan.

The Guatemalan version of antipolitics and state terrorism left more victims and a more highly militarised ‘democracy’ in the 1990s than elsewhere, but at times, perhaps due to the intensity and exclusivity of the narrative, the reader might be left with the impression that this is solely a Guatemalan story, both regarding military cosmology and state terrorism. Thus the interview with a colonel: ‘The subversives are outside the law, they are delinquents... we are within the Constitution...’ (p. 137). Might not this be a Chilean colonel in 1837? A Peruvian in 1860? A Salvadorean in 1932? Or a Guatemalan in 1871? 1920? 1931? 1980s?

As Schirmer is more than aware, there is also a historical ‘geology’ to this story, fractures and pressures underlying Guatemala and other Latin American societies that greatly predate the post-World War military discourse and recent security doctrines. Guatemala is part of an older history of conquest, of inquisition, of colonialism, of nineteenth-century ‘protected democracies’ that have subordinated civil liberties and rights to ‘stability’ and ‘order’ since independence. The tradition of constitutionally sanctified military guardianship (so brilliantly captured by Schirmer for the Guatemalan case) and of racial, ethnic, and cultural repression and discrimination – reinforced by international political and economic circumstances, also predate the Cold War and the Cuban Revolution. These fissures in Guatemala society also underlay the ‘violence called democracy’ and General Gramajo’s ‘thesis of national stability’ so lucidly depicted in *The Guatemalan Military Project*. None of my students in courses on Latin American politics and civil-military relations will escape learning of the horror that Schirmer has researched and related so intricately, nor that sometimes it takes twenty years to ‘understand’ and to write a book like this one.

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BRIAN LOVEMAN

David Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Boulder, CO, and London: Westview Press, 1999), pp. xix + 336, £20.00 hb.

This is ostensibly a book about a Guatemalan Indian woman and the causes of armed conflict in Guatemala, but it is fundamentally a story about US academia, its responses to revolutionary movements and to ‘subaltern testimonies’. Stoll painstakingly deconstructs the best-selling autobiographical text *I Rigoberta Menchú*, elaborated by anthropologist Elisabeth Burgos from interviews with indigenous activist Rigoberta Menchú in 1982. By casting doubt on the veracity of the text, or at least significant parts of it, he is, in fact, aiming his cannons squarely at those sectors of academia which championed Rigoberta as the ‘voice of the voiceless’ and broadly accepted the structuralist explanations of insurgency in Guatemala advanced in *I Rigoberta Menchú*.

Stoll accuses his colleagues of ‘deferring to the authority of fashionable forms of victimhood’ (p. 274) and of ‘accepting a very partial version of the events which produced so many victims’ (p. 40). Refuting Rigoberta’s analysis, which explains the emergence of armed conflict in terms of wider socio-economic injustices, he claims that – at least in her home town of Uspantán – the violence was not caused by the repressive actions of the state or large landowners. Instead, he maintains, it was the opportunistic action of the *Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres* (EGP) which initially provoked the army’s onslaught on the civilian population. This follows the controversial thesis presented in his earlier book *Between Two Armies in the Ixil Towns of Guatemala* (1993) that Ixil Mayans did not voluntarily support the EGP but were instead forced into a no-win situation by the latter’s reckless and voluntaristic actions.

Stoll is right to treat easy conflation of peasant grievances and support for guerrilla warfare as suspect, and his critique of structuralist readings of insurgency has considerable relevance for the study of peasant resistance, state violence and revolutionary movements elsewhere. His ethnography of Uspantán demonstrates that, as in so many other Mayan villages in Guatemala, intra-ethnic conflict between peasants over land was the prevailing pattern and this was not something which lent itself easily to guerrilla mobilisation. Stoll emphasises the complexities of local power, and rightly discourages simplistic or romanticised dichotomies wherein all Indians are virtuous, poor and oppressed and all landowners are non-indigenous and exploitative.

However, it is not only academic interpretations of insurgency that are questioned here; many aspects of Rigoberta’s life are also interrogated. Stoll accuses her of fabricating and distorting her story for propaganda purposes to serve the needs of the Guatemalan revolutionary movement, which he alleges ‘played the indigenous card’ internationally in the late 1980s in order to prolong a revolutionary enterprise long since defeated at home. This is where the politics of his *obra* become murkier. Rigoberta Menchú herself does not deny her involvement with the revolutionary movement, and she has been quite explicit in stating that she was selective with information disclosed in the early 1980s so as not to endanger the lives of people still in Guatemala. With regard to fabrications alleged by Stoll, she has since stated that parts of her story were not in fact ‘her own’, but were representative of a wider collective testimony of the extreme violence suffered by Mayan Indians in Guatemala.

Stoll mentions these points, but he maintains that his account is more ‘reliable’

than Rigoberta's because it 'encompasses a wider range of versions, deals with contradictions that she does not, and acknowledges more of what cannot be established' (p. 65). Yet, while the attempt to re-examine the dynamics of the armed conflict twenty years on is laudable, this over-personalisation of Stoll's account is distinctly troubling, and there is a notable failure to recognise the political and historical context in which Rigoberta's story was elaborated. For all its deconstructivist logic, this remains a highly positivist enterprise: Stoll sets out to prove that elements of Rigoberta's story are false and that his version of events is correct. While the contingent nature of sources is alluded to, the corresponding implications of this are never acknowledged.

In his zeal to discredit guerrilla strategies and convince us that Mayans were duped or forced into supporting the EGP by fanatics who paid little heed to the human costs of their actions, Stoll is guilty of over-simplification. Obviously, not all Mayan Indians supported the guerrilla movement, but neither is it correct to suggest that all Indians were coerced or forced into support by default. The guerrilla leadership remained resolutely white (and male) throughout the armed conflict, but in the late 1970s and 1980s its rank and file was peopled largely by indigenous people whose active role in the revolutionary process cannot be retrospectively erased or somehow excused. Instead of veiling his critique of the guerrilla movement through an attack on one person's autobiography, one wishes Stoll had simply written that critique in a less personalised and more direct fashion.

There are also wider questions here about power, authorship and responsibility. Stoll's reflections on the relationship between academic elites and their subaltern subjects are insightful but incomplete. He condemns his colleagues for 'idoliz[ing] [those] native voices that serve [their] own political and moral needs, as opposed to others that do not' (p. 242). At the same time, though, his own relation of power to his subjects is never really scrutinised: he claims to speak for peasants 'who did not view the guerrillas as a contribution to their needs' (p. 217). Surely, according to his logic, we should scrutinise his own motivations just as closely? This questioning of Rigoberta's story made the front page of the *New York Times*, but the March 1999 report by the UN Truth Commission concluding that the Guatemalan military, supported by the US government, had engaged in a policy of genocide against the Mayan people in the early 1980s, did not. Although Stoll is not responsible for the way his story is received and consumed – just as Rigoberta was not responsible for the response to her story in the 1980s – there are wider, more disturbing questions here about prevailing reinterpretations of history and memory in the post Cold War.

This is an infuriating and insightful book which will continue to generate debate for years to come. Perhaps its most useful contribution is to question the ways in which certain testimonies acquire 'authenticity' and others do not. One cannot help feeling that Stoll is right to suggest that Rigoberta's story has had such enduring appeal because it appeals to Western expectations about native peoples, and paternalist stereotypes about 'noble savages'. Ultimately, however, it was not Rigoberta who 'turned herself into a composite Maya' (p. 273), but those who received her story.

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RACHEL SIEDER

Charles D. Brockett, *Land, Power, and Poverty: Agrarian Transformation and Political Conflict in Central America* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 2nd edition, 1998), pp. xviii + 270, £13.00 pb.

Brockett's second edition is a welcome update of his first, issued in 1990. It documents the rapidly changing contemporary period for rural Central America. Since the region virtually dropped off the journalists' map with the advent of relative peace, students will find much here that will fill in missing chinks in their knowledge. The first edition was much honoured, and this one lives up to expectations, in terms of scholarship, clear writing, and logical organisation. One might only be critical of the fact that some macro data in the first chapters have not been brought up to the present, probably because they are simply unavailable.

Remaining in this book from the first edition is the excellent discussion of events leading up to the tragic civil wars in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala. Included also is the discussion of strong rural labour movements in Honduras which seemed to diffuse war, and the discussion of why Costa Rica is so different from its immediate neighbours. In addition to the update, several thoughtful sections on the environment have been added to this edition.

Brockett establishes that Central America entered the contemporary post World War II period with gross inequalities in access to land because of the conquest, the colonial period, and the Liberal reform era. Land was increasingly allocated to export crops at the expense of food crops from the late 1940s to the late 1970s. This means that a capital-intensive agriculture replaced a labour-intensive pattern, bringing with it much unemployment for the rural workforce coupled with land-grabbing by the rich as lucrative exports rendered land dear. While, theoretically, peasants should be able to rely on imported food, falling wages and farm incomes made this difficult and more malnutrition ensued. Growth in GDP, when it occurred, was often coupled with growing disparities in incomes among the rich and the poor, the elite becoming ever more entrenched. At the same time, the rural poor became economically less secure.

Brockett contrasts this agrarian structure to that in South Korea and Taiwan where production of exported commodities was preceded by land reform, rural infrastructure which provided services that included the rural majority, educational opportunities that were broadly spread throughout the country, policies that were market friendly to small scale farmers, and labour-intensive rural and urban industrialisation. Excepting Costa Rica, Central America is the antithesis of this model. Costa Rica has always been less socially stratified than the rest of Central America; in the face of agrarian problems its government was less confrontational and more open to negotiation. Similar to the Asian example, the country had some land reform and colonisation on public lands and a broad-based educational policy so the rural working class never had as many grievances against the elite as in neighbouring countries.

The argument Brockett makes is not that there is something inherently wrong with export agriculture, but that in the absence of structural reforms, rural unrest is generated which is met with minor reforms and/or serious repression by military and paramilitary forces. Peasant organisations have arisen as a response. Often peasant organising was aided by outside groups: foreign-born priests and development workers, for instance. Important also were domestic reformers such as schoolteachers and democratic politicians from the growing middle class together with leaders from the peasant class itself.



While the details differ – and Brockett spells them out well – civil war ensued in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. The Honduran government, in contrast, responded to peasant demands with spurts of land reform – enough to avert civil war. It commanded enough state land to avoid, for the most part, expropriating private properties. Nicaragua began its reform by distributing Somoza land and later it distributed some private properties. Only El Salvador could not escape direct confrontation with the rural elite by distributing public land. The result was the demise of the estate sector that had dominated the country's agriculture for so long.

As Brockett explains, Central America presently experiences somewhat less inequity and repression than a few decades ago. Reform and the threat of reform has reduced the amount of land that is not used productively. Economic growth has reduced poverty in Costa Rica and land redistribution has benefited tens of thousands of peasants in Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador. Free and fair elections have been held in each country and peasants have participated in them. Nonetheless, there remains a core of destitute people in rural areas of each country. It is especially large in Guatemala where little contemporary reform has been accomplished; rural society is still very unequal in the region; unemployment is still high and will continue to grow unless a basic transformation along more equitable lines takes place. 'Until such a transformation occurs, the contradictions of rural society will continue to generate political conflicts that at times will threaten the stability of societies and perhaps even that of the region (p. 227)'. Brockett reminds us that the 'consequences of sociopolitical conflict are not an abstraction but are measured by the blood, tears, death, and anguish of real individuals – by the hundreds of thousands (p. 227)'.

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WILLIAM C. THIESENHUSEN

Lucy Taylor, *Citizenship, Participation and Democracy: Changing Dynamics in Chile and Argentina* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998), pp. viii + 204, £42.50 hb.

This book analyses the construction of new modes of citizenship in post-transitional Argentina and Chile. It examines four main theories of citizenship – the welfare, elite, participatory and neo-liberal models – assessing the historical development and current nature of citizenship in both countries in the light of these models. The author argues that both countries developed a welfare model of citizenship that was modified under military and subsequent democratic rule, becoming closer to the elite, neo-liberal variants of citizenship. This form of citizenship tends to promote de-mobilisation, elite modes of decision-making by 'experts' that are not very transparent and participatory, and a general trend towards the de-politicization of the content of citizenship, which is conceived primarily in social terms.

However, Taylor argues that the extent of that transformation varies in both countries, demonstrating the differing intensity of change through an analysis of the constitutions, participation and the rise of new social movements in each case. According to the author, the main difference between modes of citizenship in Argentina and Chile is that the elite and neo-liberal model has become much more firmly implanted in Chile than in Argentina, given the constitutional, ideological,

social and economic heritage of military rule. In Argentina, on the other hand, while President Menem opted for a neo-liberal and elite model, the latter has not become as entrenched for a number of reasons. First, constitutional changes, while perhaps not yet effective in practice, have, unlike the case of Chile, strengthened political citizenship. Secondly, the welfare heritage of Peronism has remained strong in influencing citizens' conception of citizenship. Thirdly, the less ideological and more 'emotional' nature of loyalty towards parties that are themselves less ideologically coherent has limited the neo-liberal coherence of shifts in citizenship.

The author very deftly combines theoretical analysis with an examination of the historical and current specifics of the two case studies, interweaving both in a very readable way. Her analysis shows sensitivity to the different historically constructed 'political cultures' in both countries that inform the expectation and political and social practice of citizens and elites. She makes an effective critique of the participatory theory of democracy through her case studies. She also successfully highlights how new environments shaping the conditions for the exercise of citizenship are leading to the emergence of new social movements with more limited and 'localised' aims than those espoused by citizens that once participated more intensively in national party politics and movements. There is perhaps a problem with the too clear-cut distinction between the more 'ideological' grounding of Chilean citizenship and the importance of a 'political-culture' weight in shaping Argentine citizenship, as it is arguable that Chilean political culture has tended to express itself in more stark ideological dichotomies. However, this is a very well-written, structured and argued book that helps specialists to go beyond the more formalist studies of transition and democratisation processes by taking us 'down' to the level of the citizen and their relationship with state and government in democratising Argentina and Chile.

*University of Princeton*

ALEXANDRA BARAHONA DE BRITO

Victoria E. Rodríguez, *Women's Participation in Mexican Political Life* (Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Westview Press, 1998), pp. xix + 260, £50.00, £16.50 pb.

While it will be invaluable to those interested in Mexican politics, this edited collection deserves to have a much wider readership as the themes that it considers are important for anyone studying women's participation in all forms of political activity. The articles in the book were all given as papers at two conferences on women in contemporary Mexican politics that were held at the University of Texas at Austin in 1995 and 1996 and were attended by academics, feminist activists and women politicians. According to the editor, the papers that were chosen for inclusion are representative of the range of different political activities in which women are involved. After an introduction setting out the themes in the Mexican context, the collection is divided into three sections. The first, 'The context: Women in Political Life Worldwide', contains four articles which look more broadly at women's political participation and this section has the most obvious appeal to a wider audience. Kathleen Staudt, using evidence from all over the world, begins by positing a conceptual framework for

engendering politics, arguing for example for mechanisms such as quotas to ensure a 'critical mass' of women politicians. This piece is followed by three articles that focus more closely on Latin America, including 'Supermadre Revisited', a short update by Elsa Chaney on her classic work first published twenty years ago.

After an historical overview, the second section, 'Women in the Mexican Political Arena', deals with the contemporary experiences of women's social movements and their contribution to civil society. The broad spectrum of activities and organisations considered includes urban popular movements, feminist activists, grassroots organising in Chiapas as well as women's NGOs. The focus of this section is therefore political activity widely defined, taking place with or without interaction with the state and formal political institutions. The final section considers those women and activities that take place in the formal political arena. It begins with a short chapter examining political recruitment of women, and is followed by a piece looking at municipal power in the local arena, and Panista activists on the border. A short conclusion by Jane Jaquette again brings the focus of the collection away from the specifics of Mexican politics to the more general conclusions that can be drawn from the material which has gone before.

Most of the articles in this volume are of a high standard. Indeed it would have been useful if some, such as the pieces by Chaney and Jaquette, had been a little longer. The balance between the more general and conceptual articles and the more empirically based ones is about right. In addition, the collection addresses some of the most important issues that academics and activists are currently addressing in the study of the participation of women in both formal institutional politics and wider activities. It will therefore be useful to anyone interested in the wider debates about the role that can be played by women's NGOs as well as those considering the nature and possibilities for feminist alliances and how far feminist strategies should involve relationships with the state. The volume can also help to shed some light on the debates about the possibilities for women active in electoral politics. While a large number of the articles engage with many of the debates about gender and democratisation, the piece on Chiapas also provides a useful contemporary addition to the literature on women and revolutionary movements.

Overall, this volume avoids many of the pitfalls that typically beset edited collections that arise from conferences. The result is a tightly focused book that engages with some important issues and will be useful to those interested primarily in Mexican politics as well as those engaged in the study of gender and politics in Latin America more generally.

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GEORGINA WAYLEN

Michael Kaufman and Haroldo Dilla Alfonso (eds.), *Community Power and Grassroots Democracy: The Transformation of Social Life* (London and New York: Zed Books, 1997), pp. x + 230, £37.95, \$55.00, £13.95, \$19.95 pb.

The essays in this volume cover five countries: Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Chile. They discuss different forms of grassroots democracy, respectively housing committees, local government, neighbourhood councils,

popular organisations, and women's urban self-help groups. The Haitian popular organisations, which arose between 1986 and 1991 were part of a broad political challenge to the regime as a whole. The Costa Rican and Dominican cases had more limited community agendas. The Cuban municipalities were part of a controlled top-down promotion of participation. Only the Chilean *pobladoras* were specifically comprised of women.

Two broad arguments emerge from this range of studies. First, local democracy is closely associated not only with enhancing political democracy but with alternative development strategies. The rationale is in terms of development in a broad sense – political, economic, social and culture. The ILO, for example, has advocated popular participation as part of a basic needs strategy 'by playing a part in the definition of basic needs; by enhancing the generation of resources to meet basic needs, by improving the distribution of goods and services; and by satisfying the psychological desire to participate in decisions which affect people's lives'. Secondly, the impetus to reasserting such local strategies has come from the twin failures of market-driven capitalism and centrally planned socialism. It has arisen out of the experience of Latin American societies, on both sides of the cold war divide, with top-down political and economic development strategies. Hence the importance of including Cuba in this account: there, the organisations of local community activity were frustrated by the imposition of centralised control, just as, elsewhere in the continent, IMF-driven policies promoted a confrontation of state and local community over welfare and economic policy.

The power of these arguments, and the force of example represented in this volume, are undeniable and have implications beyond the study of state-society relations in Latin America. Yet, as the authors themselves recognise, the advocacy of empowerment and grassroots democracy is not a solution to the broad issues it identifies. In the first place, the power of external forces – be they central government or class structure – may overwhelm or at least limit what any local group can do. The only way to counter this is, of course, for such groups to organise on a broader basis – becoming parties or movements of the very kind they wish to avoid. Secondly, the ability of any group, local or otherwise defined, to promote a policy that asserts its interests is dependent on broader, historical and macro-economic, forces: no community is autarchic. Its ability to provide services or employment is dependent on a world economy, and a national context, over which it has no control. Thirdly, the advocacy of the local, the community, or the indigenous is no guarantee of democratic behaviour: as the Costa Rican and Haitian case studies suggest, corruption, factionalism, inefficiency and the workings of ethnic, racial and gender divisions may be as present in local as in national government, in developed and developing societies alike. Participation and empowerment may be enhanced, yet they also allow, as Kaufman stresses, for examination of the obstacles to such participatory democracy, from the centre and from within the communities themselves. Finally, in any attempt to link the phases of discussion of local democracy, it becomes evident how little succour the classical discussions appear to offer to the present: federalism, municipal democracy, workers' control have something to offer the present but are remarkably little invoked – Dilla's account being an exception. Indeed, few authors discuss workers' control in the contemporary world: two of the most striking exemplars of this model – Algeria and Yugoslavia – have fallen into chaos, whilst the autonomous organisation of Cuba under Guevara is now

but a memory. Neither irrelevancy nor panacea, the idea of a radical community or local democracy at once shows up the limits of centralised democracy systems and of purely spontaneous local forms. As ably discussed in this book, it presents a challenge to developing societies and developed alike.

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MAXINE MOLYNEUX

Paul W. Drake and Mathew D. McCubbins (eds.), *The Origins of Liberty: Political and Economic Liberalization in the Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 205, £40.00, £13.95 pb; \$55.00, \$17.95 pb.

If ever a book flattered to deceive, this one does. Three of its chapters employ public choice theory (the first being better than the second, and the second better than the third). The first (North and Weingast), first published in *The Journal of Economic History* ten years ago, concerns England's 'glorious revolution' of 1688; the second (Rogowski) could usefully address Latin American examples but does not, and the third (Heller, Keefer and McCubbins) manages only four anodyne pages on Chile, and not quite two on Mexico. In between the second and third are three quite different chapters, by Drake, Haggard and Kaufman, and Loveman, which do address Latin American democratisation and liberalisation, but make virtually no reference to the research programme laid out in Drake and McCubbins' own introduction, and in the public choice chapters. Instead, they address the regionally specific Latin American literature, with only Haggard and Kaufman (largely repeating work published in 1995) making occasional forays into Asia. The three 'Latin American' chapters are useful enough. Drake provides a comprehensive review of international causes of democratisation, though he overstates the claim that a hitherto existing imbalance is being corrected. Haggard and Kaufman argue, uncontroversially, for a positive relationship between economic crisis and authoritarian withdrawal. And Loveman offers a wide-ranging and well-informed assessment of military motivations for withdrawal. Taken together, these three chapters give a good sense of the state of debate among Latin Americanists, and they can be recommended (primarily for student use) accordingly. But the volume is ill-conceived and seriously under-edited, precisely because the public choice approach which informs the rest of the volume is not effectively related to the region.

Why, then, does the volume merit recognition in this *Journal*? Essentially, because it could have been so much better, and there is still the hint here of a powerful new research agenda. And paradoxically, it is North and Weingast's reprinted 1989 article on England's glorious revolution which identifies it. The essay argues that the acceptance by the new sovereign of liberal political reforms (the empowerment of Parliament, particularly in fiscal matters, and the creation of an independent judiciary, with positive effects for the guarantee of property rights) laid the basis for a new and positive relationship between the state and the market. This was reflected in the rapid development of effective capital markets, allowing England to out-borrow and thus defeat France in successive wars which

restructured power relations in Europe on the verge of the industrial revolution. The references to Hayek in the text (echoed, in the title to the collection) identify the affiliations of this approach – developed, of course, in North's own prize-winning neoclassical theory of the state. What I would regard as faults in this analysis – its assumption of the virtue of capitalist development, its artificial separation of the state (modelled as authority needing resources) and the market (modelled as resources needing authority), its reductionist individual rational choice logic, and its sidestepping of the issues of class interest and class conflict – are enormous virtues from the point of view of those wishing to provide theoretical support for neo-liberal policy in Latin America today. There is no doubting, therefore, its potential utility. What is more, North and Weingast's analysis of the virtues of institutionalisation over reputation and of 'credible commitment', in conjunction with their focus on the empirical and theoretical significance of the relationship between capital markets and the state, have obvious resonance. It should have generated a much more powerfully theorised account of Latin American democratisation from a public choice perspective, and I cannot understand why a better attempt is not made in the rest of the volume to provide one. Similarly, Rogowski's argument that small countries with potentially mobile populations (well-educated, and speaking a 'world language') are more likely to offer democracy to citizens who might otherwise up and leave prompts some reflection on the past and future of Central American states in particular. Heller, Keefer and McCubbins are less thought-provoking, because their argument that the prospects for liberalisation depend upon the desire of leaders to pursue it, and their ability to implement it (more useful a framework than it sounds when stated so baldly) is not set in a careful analysis of the global context which makes liberalisation itself both more desired and more achievable. The volume as a whole cries out for a proper assessment of the manner in which the debt crisis, the global rise of neo-liberalism, and the subsequent construction of a new 'global architecture' shaping finance, investment and trade (IMF, World Bank, WTO) have created precisely the situation in which a North and Weingast-style analysis becomes possible. Here as elsewhere, the contributors fail to rise to the challenge. A lazy collection, then, but one that suggests that public choice theory could do better.

*University of Manchester*

PAUL CAMMACK

Susan Kaufman Purcell and Luis Rubio (eds.), *Mexico under Zedillo* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), pp. xiv + 151, £10.50 pb.

This volume is the result of a study group for the Americas Society in New York during 1994. The problems of producing an academic volume when events are still unfolding (they were only two years into the administration when the group met) are amply highlighted by the editors in the introduction: 'The December 1994 peso devaluation and the ensuing uncertainty and unrest made it necessary for the authors to totally rewrite their chapters, which they did in 1996–1997' (p. 1). This is not to say that other scholars would have fared any better, but it does call into question attempts at academic analysis of this type, which effectively

become current affairs commentary and opinion pieces. The chapters cover political change (Rubio), economic change (Mauricio González Gómez), welfare reform (Guillermo Trejo and Claudio Jones) and US–Mexican relations (Kaufman Purcell). Given that the volume is the result of a study group, I had expected more rigorous and penetrating discussions of the challenges facing Mexico. Consequently, I was surprised by the lack of engagement with other debates and scholars: Rubio's piece cites no other scholars; González Gómez only refers to others in his tables and Kaufman Purcell uses three sources (all commentaries). Only Trejo and Jones engage with debates in a broader context, and consequently produce the most interesting chapter. (There is a bibliography at the end of the book but it is unclear to what this refers.)

Rubio is largely positive about Zedillo's reforms within the political sphere, particularly in regard to weakening the 'imperial' presidency. He rightly argues that problems have arisen by the way in which the new gaps created by reform have been filled with less than democratic forces. He also suggests that Zedillo thought he could take the PRI along with him in his reforms but that it 'became obvious that the members of the PRI had an agenda of their own' (p. 32). It is startling to think that the country's president wouldn't have known this from the outset, given the dissonance between elements of the PRI and the government under Salinas. Rubio is dismissive of the EZLN without looking at the government's long-term failure to address the kinds of demands it raised and without questioning the serious human rights abuses which have occurred. Although, as he argues, there have been improvements in the judiciary, there are serious flaws in the investigation and prosecution of abuses in Chiapas and the weakness of the CNDH is ignored in his analysis – a strange omission in a piece that emphasises the benefits of the rule of law.

Rubio's more positive approach contrasts rather sharply with Trejo and Jones' analysis. They argue for more intervention to address inequalities including income distribution. Although Rubio insists (unconvincingly for this reader) that in many ways Zedillo has been a strong president (i.e., able to carry out his policies effectively), Trejo and Jones demonstrate that he has relinquished his responsibility for making an equitable welfare policy by delegating it to the regions without first 'selling' it or making sure that the local structures are capable of executing their tasks. Despite Trejo and Jones' argument for greater income distribution, González Gómez does not engage with taxes and corruption in his chapter on economic change. Both of these issues seem fundamental if the pressures arising from long term social discontent are not to engulf the state over the next few years. Kaufman Purcell's chapter brings out some of the most important, and contentious, aspects of US–Mexican relations and demonstrates how the needs of the two states have changed over time. Although the points raised are salient ones, much of the analysis remains highly speculative. There are also strange lapses such as stating that the anti-reform elements of the PRI are left-wing: this belies a rather simplistic understanding of left and right and its applicability to Mexican politics.

In all this is a disappointing volume by good scholars: they would have been better served by waiting until the end of the Zedillo administration and by engaging more with other analyses.

*University of Liverpool*

NIKKI CRASKE

C. Richard Nelson and Kenneth Weisbrode, *Reversing Relations with Former Adversaries: U.S. Foreign Policy after the Cold War* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. x + 211, \$39.95 hb.

Seeking to prepare for the inevitable change in US–Cuban relations, in the mid-1990s the Atlantic Council asked an intelligent question: Is there something to be learned from other cases where the United States has ‘reversed relations’ with former adversaries? The answer in this volume tells us only a bit about foreign policy change, but much about the Council, a non-governmental organisation founded in 1961 by former secretaries of state Dean Acheson and Christian Herter, among others. Today it sponsors ‘transatlantic and trans-pacific dialogue in promoting the effectiveness of US foreign policy’ (p. 195) but, as is true of many Cold War-era institutions, the Council has drifted aimlessly in recent years, unable to develop a distinctive perspective on post-Cold War issues of international relations.

This volume by the Council’s working group on US relations with Cuba is a perfect example of how foreign policy is analysed in a conceptual vacuum. Rather than engaging in its own original thinking or in bringing experts together to identify concepts to guide the analysis of reversing relations, the working group opted to commission six isolated case studies.

The resulting volume begins with a Foreword by James Rosenau, whose identity as ‘one of America’s premier social scientists’ is belied by a brief statement of the obvious – foreign policy reversals ‘are among the most important changes that need to be probed and grasped’ (pp. ix, 194). Having set the tone, Rosenau turns the probing and grasping over to Burton Sapin, whose Introduction re-states his view that foreign policy is the product of everything, all mixed up together: the external environment, the domestic environment, and the governmental environment. But Sapin does careful readers a favour by letting the cat out of the bag: tucked away in an endnote is his admission that he has nothing coherent to introduce: ‘the six case studies included in this book not only reflect distinctive situations but are also approached from quite varied perspectives’; thus Sapin warns readers to expect no more than ‘a detailed, well-informed account of what transpired as the adversarial relationship began to fade away’ (p. 16).

That is what we get in some of the case studies. Robert Legvold’s analysis of the breakdown of the Soviet Union, Robert Sutter’s discussion of normalisation with China, and Bruce Jentleson’s examination of the failed US strategy toward Iraq would all be good starting points for undergraduates preparing term papers on relations with the United States during these complex transitions. But the chapter on Vietnam is a real clunker, written by Richard Childress (the former director of Asian affairs on the Reagan administration’s National Security Council) and by former member of Congress Stephen Solarz, a dove surprisingly born again as a hawk on matters related to Vietnam. The chapter is focused almost exclusively on the POW–MIA issue, and interprets Washington’s decisions to lift its trade embargo and to establish diplomatic relations as premature moves leading to a loss of leverage on the POW issue. Aside from a brief introductory acknowledgement that Vietnam was the site of a particularly nasty war, the authors do not mention the conflict – it is as if the POWs parachuted into Vietnam directly from the moon, not after defoliating cratering, and napalming



the country for over a decade. Childress and Solarz place the blame for continued strained relations entirely on the shoulders of the Vietnamese: ‘historic antagonism can be muted only by a credible effort to resolve the POW-MIA issue, the only path to real healing and full normalization’ (p. 123).

Readers of the *Journal of Latin American Studies* will be most interested in the two Latin American cases. Written with his customary graceful prose, William LeoGrande’s analysis of the Nicaraguan transition highlights the issues that arose after the 1990 electoral defeat of the Sandinistas, focusing on US policy toward continued FSLN control of the Nicaraguan military and, as always, property claims. In what is the most analytic of the book’s six chapters, LeoGrande emphasises how bilateral negotiations were complicated by domestic politics – divisions within both the Bush and Chamorro administrations, and between the US Congress and the Bush-Clinton State Department. Pamela Falk’s choppy essay on US–Cuban relations is much less successful. She begins with the controversial assertion that ‘the Cubans have passed up several opportunities to negotiate an end to the U.S. embargo’ (p. 164), but never identifies those opportunities. Instead, she provides a forty-year chronology that often gets ahead of itself, suggesting that time was unavailable to revise a rushed draft. Had there been time, the narrative almost certainly would have been developed more logically, and perhaps the factual errors would have been spotted: e.g., the Hotel Theresa stay was in September 1960, not April 1959 (p. 166); the 20,000 visas per year place Cuba at the norm, not the exception (p. 179); ARA was renamed Inter-American Affairs in 1949, decades before Pete Vaky became assistant secretary (p. 171). When combined with an obvious failure to proofread – the middle paragraph on p. 180 will be incomprehensible to anyone unable to guess that the word ‘petroleum’ belongs in there somewhere – the confusing style and the factual errors spoil what should have been the volume’s capstone chapter.

Readers are not told why the volume has no conclusion, but one good hypothesis is that the Atlantic Council has nothing to conclude. There may be general lessons in the cases, but they are not obvious, and anyone searching for guidance in managing the upcoming transition in US–Cuban relations will have to look elsewhere.

*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

LARS SCHOULTZ

Donna Rich Kaplowitz, *Anatomy of a Failed Embargo: U.S. Sanctions Against Cuba* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), pp. x + 246, £39.95 hb.

Donna Rich Kaplowitz’s book is strongest in its early chapters covering the origins of the US embargo and its elaboration as compensation for the failures of the Kennedy and subsequent administrations to dislodge the Castro regime. The secret US/USSR accord ending the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, which promised that the United States would not invade the Cuban mainland, had one anticipated and one unanticipated result. The anticipated result was a series of inept and unsuccessful CIA plots to destabilise the Castro regime while adhering technically to the ‘no invasion’ pledge. The unanticipated consequence was that, once the plotting ended, the embargo became the sole instrument through which

the United States could vent its frustration with the Castro regime and placate a disillusioned and increasingly powerful exile lobby.

The weakness of this indictment of four decades of US–Cuba policy comes later when the author tries to explain the persistence of the embargo policy after the Cold War. For Donna Rich Kaplowitz, and the readers who learn about Cuba policy through her book, it would be hard to explain how a systematic review of US–Cuba policy could avoid the conclusion that a good Cuba policy would require the elimination of the US–Cuba embargo.

That is why her book does little to help one understand the declarations of a study group report issued in January 1999 by the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations. Authored by former Assistant Secretaries of State for Inter-American Affairs, Bernard W. Aronson and William D. Rogers, and counting among its members a broad range of centrist foreign policy elites, ‘U.S.–Cuban Relations in the 21st Century’ begins its review of the same period addressed by Rich Kaplowitz by announcing that, ‘...we believe that U.S. policy toward Cuba, including the embargo, has enjoyed real though not total success.’ The CFR report goes on to state that, although US policy sought to achieve many goals, its ‘dominant’ objective of preventing the ‘advance of Cuban-supported communism in this hemisphere’ has been achieved. Because of this success, the report argues that, ‘...the time has come for the United States to move beyond its focus on Fidel Castro, who at 72 will not be Cuba’s leader forever, and to concentrate on supporting, nurturing, and strengthening the civil society that is slowly, tentatively, but persistently beginning to emerge in Cuba today beneath the shell of Cuban communism.’ Essentially, these are the same set of policy recommendations first introduced to US–Cuba policy in the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act: retention of the core elements of the economic embargo and elaboration of so-called “Track II” initiatives to open up contact with the Cuban people around the walls of the Castro regime.

As Rich Kaplowitz points out, from North Korea to China to Guatemala, the Bush and Clinton Administrations were willing to take some political risks to move US policy beyond the Cold War paradigm of containing communism. How, then, to explain the persistence of these policies?

Her focus on a peculiar Cuba obsession by US policymakers and a deathgrip by Cuban American exiles on Washington is unpersuasive. Perhaps this is because in exploring answers Rich Kaplowitz is limited by her sources for the period of the 1990s. Despite the return of Democrats to the White House after twelve years and the new faces and personalities conducting US–Cuba policy, she does not appear to have conducted any interviews with current or former officials to flesh out the actual thinking of the administration on Cuba. This is a particularly critical analytical deficit for a policy which, because of its political sensitivity, is debated almost entirely behind well-closed doors. If she had conducted such interviews, she would have encountered key US officials working on Cuba, both career and political, who were opponents of US intervention in the Latin American and Caribbean region and far from the unrepentant Cold Warriors her narrative assumes. She also might have discovered the significant changes that US–Cuba policy underwent in the 1990s. These changes included declarations by the Bush Administration that the United States did not wish to order Cuba’s internal affairs, an emphasis on peaceful change by the Clinton Administration that sought to encourage the Castro government to lead Cuba toward an

economic and political system closer to what the rest of the Western Hemisphere had embraced, abandonment of 40 years of migration policy ending the privileged status of Cuban refugees and providing a regulated escape valve for Cuba's economic and political discontent, revisions in remittance and travel regulations that by 1999 made the United States one of the principal sources of external capital for Cuba, and offers by the European Union, with US blessing, to reintegrate Cuba into the Hemispheric and global political system.

Harvard University

RICHARD A. NUCCIO

Sergio Aguayo, *Myths and [Mis]Perceptions: Changing U.S. Elite Visions of Mexico* (La Jolla: University of California, San Diego, Center for U.S.–Mexican Studies, 1998), pp. xvii + 423, pb.

It is only fitting that Sergio Aguayo, one of the first Mexican academics to study the United States, and then to teach that subject in Mexico, should offer the first full-length appraisal of how American elites view their southern neighbour. Aguayo graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1984 where he initially explored this topic, waiting thirteen years to rewrite the manuscript and publish it in its present form. It was worth the wait.

Basically, what Aguayo has done is to analyze some 6,900 articles on Mexico which appeared in the *New York Times* from 1946 through the end of 1986, four crucial decades in the evolution of Mexico's political system. The book includes over one hundred pages of easy-to-read graphs, presenting longitudinal data on every conceivable topic the elite American media sought to discuss.

Despite this wealth of data, which will prove useful to future studies, the heart of the book is Aguayo's chronological analysis of those years, for which he combines other sources, documentary, academic, and interview. Having waited so many years to write this book is also a blessing, for Aguayo's analysis is enhanced by a matured perspective. Aguayo himself is both an academic and a practitioner of civic activism, having directed one of Mexico's most important NGOs, Alianza Civica.

Aguayo offers the thesis that the United States, through the backing of its cultural and political elite, contributed significantly to the permanence of Mexico's political model. He provides an eclectic, theoretical framework for establishing a casual relationship between ideas and social and political change. Included in the scope of his analysis are language, vocabulary, and content, and he argues that the first two are as important in their impact as the substance of each group's interpretation.

The author lays the groundwork for analyzing elite views through several chapters identifying the important institutions conveying those views, and the traditional bi-lateral relationship. In the succeeding analysis of the post World War II era, Aguayo is forced to cover much ground, and many interrelated topics. He offers numerous, juicy tidbits of historic information, some of which go a long way to explaining current patterns. Since he has combed through State Department and Central Intelligence Agency documents, he exposes these two critical agencies' views. For example, the CIA made it clear in 1953 that the antecedent to Mexico's contemporary security agencies was already corrupted by

drug traffickers. The author's special expertise on Mexican security affairs allows him to make judicious use of information on this topic. He identifies differing consequences of US elite views on separate policy issues in the 1940s and 1950s.

In his chapter on the 'Myth of Mexican Democracy', perhaps his most interesting, Aguayo reveals the lack of sophistication on the part of leading *New York Times* correspondents, one of whom characterised the most influential peasant guerrilla of the 1950s as a 'hard-riding pistol-packing bandit', as though he were a cardboard character taken from Hollywood's portrait of Pancho Villa. Some of his most interesting insights examine the influence of individual Mexican presidents on this relationship, and the impact of specific, prominent Mexicans, such as foreign relations minister and ambassador to the United States, Antonio Carrillo Flores.

As most analysts have observed, the data cited in this study support the view that North American elites typically have ignored Mexican failures and shortcomings, and instead have helped to legitimise authoritarian institutions. Aguayo's empirical analysis ends at 1987. He adds an interpretative chapter, without the corresponding data, to bring his assessment through to 1997. He argues that US support generally, continues, and emphasises this positive posture toward Carlos Salinas during the 1988 elections and for most of his administration.

These conclusions, while supported by a content analysis of the *Times*, illustrate several limitations of the methodology. First, beginning in the 1980s, the tone in United States press coverage became more critical, especially among those writing for the *Wall Street Journal*, or even the *Washington Post*. While it is true that some reporters were taken in by President Salinas, many, writing in the important regional papers, some of which historically have provided more comprehensive, consistent and well-informed appraisals of Mexico, offered an increasingly critical view, affecting the attitudes of other American elites. Thus, Aguayo's conclusions that American elites continued to view Mexico optimistically should not be assumed to extend equally among all influential actors.

These limitations aside, few Mexicans have captured the United States so effectively. This book provides many fresh insights on how American elite views evolved, especially from 1946 to 1987, and on the personal linkages between Mexicans and Americans and their consequences for the bilateral relationships and Mexican political transformation.

*McKenna College*

RODERIC AI CAMP

Nancy Caro Hollander, *Love in a Time of Hate: Liberation Psychology in Latin America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), pp. 270, \$50.00, \$21.95 pb.

This book has a central core and many outer layers. The core is substantial, important and well-written. It consists of a narrative that weaves a complex personal, social and political story and it does it very well. It is based on the life story of ten progressive psychoanalysts from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, who conducted their clinical and social practice during the 'time of hate', namely, the time of dictatorship and repression in their countries, and the times of transition

afterwards. The people Hollander interviewed were, in different ways, very active socially and politically before dictatorship. They were committed to a psychological praxis that was enmeshed in a political understanding of exploitation and oppression (for some, rooted in an openly Marxist understanding of reality; for others, in more general 'progressive' ideologies and commitments). They suffered the repressive dictatorships in their countries in direct ways: life-threats, imprisonment, abduction and disappearance of family members, exile (external or internal). During and after dictatorship they devoted a great part of their professional practice to the treatment of victims of repression. And they also contributed in more theoretical terms to the understanding of the psychological processes involved in imprisonment, torture, disappearances, exile and return. They are the bearers of what the author calls 'liberation psychology'.

The book is superb in telling this layered story. One finds here the testimonial story of a victim who happens to be a psychologist, conceptual discussions on the psychological efforts of torture or the subjectivity of exiles, and clinical experiences regarding techniques of treatment of victims of torture. The strength of the book is that these are not three different kinds of narratives; rather, they are interwoven in one. There is also a fourth thread in the tapestry: the place and role of Nancy Caro Hollander, the author, and her own subjectivity, in the process of interviewing and writing the book. The reflexive mood of the stories told, the dilemmas and tensions that the actors faced at different times of their life, the subjective struggles for understanding and making sense of the various painful experiences are conveyed in full force.

Readers can look forward to read, and understand, this psychological story. However, it has also other dimensions to it, and there are some pitfalls in these other levels. First, why this group of people? To what extent are they the unique players of the brave story? Unless they are situated in the professional and intellectual framework in which they were and are located, one could easily fall into an idealised vision of these actors and even the type of psychoanalysis they were practicing. How are they related to the rest of the community of 'progressive psychotherapists', and of the psychological community in general? Except in relation to the break with the 'establishment' psychoanalytical community in the late sixties/early seventies (particularly in Argentina), little is said with respect to this wider 'psy' community, an intellectual and professional community which these practitioners belong to, fight and discuss, and relate to others as friends or foes. There is no discussion, for instance, of the 'other side' of psychology in the Southern Cone countries during dictatorship: the complicity of psychologists in the highly sophisticated torture techniques in Uruguay, or the development of Lacanian psychoanalysis in Argentina during the seventies and early eighties.

Secondly, the political and institutional history of the countries, as well as the social, economic and cultural conditions, are stories in and of themselves. They set the context in which the story of Hollander's subjects unfolds, and no doubt have to be introduced in some way, as the background and the context. Yet, the subtlety and complexity of the discussion of the 'core' of the book is not matched in the discussions of these other dimensions. There is a somewhat oversimplified presentation of 'good guys' and 'bad guys', that leads to a linear presentation of dilemmas and conflicts, when in fact the socio-political and economic processes involved highly complex and diversified strategies of a multiplicity of political

actors (see, for instance, the presentation of the human rights policies at the beginning of the elected government in Argentina, or the role of the human rights movement in their development, including the trial of the Junta Commanders).

In summary, the reader becomes personally involved in the story, in understanding the feelings associated with the sufferings of repression, in getting a thorough sense of the interface between personal experience and social context. The book conveys also the strength and creativity that can emerge from suffering and pain. This book is not the place one should go to look for an understanding of the political or institutional processes, or of the transformation of the economic structures of the Latin American countries.

CONICET, *Universidad de Buenos Aires*  
and IDES.

ELIZABETH JELIN

Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *¡Que vivan los tamales!: Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. x + 234, \$37.50, \$16.95.

The dinner table in almost all of Latin America became a battlefield between the bread-eating European conquerors and the corn-eating indigenous populations. This was not always symbolic: writings of the early Conquest are filled with tales of struggles for food between the two, the Iberians having to fight for and accommodate to eating food that at the beginning seemed almost inedible. In food matters, as in any other field, necessity is the mother of invention and progress; from the subsequent exchange were born the new *mestizo* Latin American cuisines.

In *¡Que Vivan los Tamales!*, a thoroughly researched and exceptionally well written and entertaining work, the author describes the process by which wheat and corn finally complemented each other, and both became part of a *mestizo*, national Mexican cuisine, although the Mexican people still remain fundamentally a people of corn. The book examines the importance of a *mestizo* cuisine in forging Mexican identity, offering an original explanation, centred on food, of the formation of the making of modern nationalism in that country.

In so doing, the author describes a 'tortilla discourse', first articulated during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911) and implemented by the educational missions of revolutionary governments (1911–1940), by which intellectuals claimed that corn was inherently inferior to wheat and that progress would only be possible if the government could wean Indians off corn and teach them to eat wheat. He tells us that it was only in the 1940s that a growing urban middle class, self-confident in its *mestizo* identity, appropriated the food of the streets and the countryside, proclaiming them to be the Mexican national cuisine. Although the importance of the 'tortilla discourse' concept seems to me to be overemphasised, it is original and very well supported by archival research.

The role of women, on the other hand, is not as impressively analysed throughout the book. The work of upper middle class women cookbook writers in the forties and fifties is overrated, giving them the role not of compilers, but that of creators imagining national cuisine. Even though Pilcher mentions several times the significance of peasant and lower class women in the perpetuation of an original Mexican cuisine, when it comes to explaining the process by which food

becomes a generator force for national identity, it is to a handful of upper middle class writers to whom the merit is attributed. They are, no doubt, worthy of praise because they rescued the original recipes and presented them in a written systematic version, but their importance is exaggerated in order to prove the imaginary element in food as an identity maker. Possibly in this aspect, the book would have gained more from Jack Goody's influence and less from that of Benedict Anderson.

As Pilcher himself admits, while *tamales* provided the hallmark for festive banquets, tortillas have long since been the staple of everyday meals, so perhaps a better choice for a title would have been *¡Que vivan las tortillas!* They are a true metaphor for the continuity and historical development of Mexican food. Nevertheless, several authors do describe the aroma of Mexico as being that of the cauldron with hot *tamales* steaming on the streets, which finally reconciles me with Pilcher's choice.

In all, Pilcher's book is a pioneer work in the field and will be a thrill to read, not only to those interested in food (aren't we all?) but to historians and political analysts as well. It is to Mexico's culinary analysis what *Rice as Self, Japanese Identities through Time* – by Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, is to that of Japan. One had better read it on a full stomach because – even if it is a scholarly work with no recipes in it – it is bound to whet your appetite for Mexican food.

San José, Costa Rica

MARJORIE ROSS

In a review by Erik Ching in the February issue of the Journal, we wrongly attributed authorship of *Modernity at the Edge of Empire: State, Individual, and Nation in the Northern Peruvian Andes, 1885–1935* to Daniel Nugent. The editors wish to extend their apologies to the author, David Nugent, and to all others concerned.