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Reviews

N. P. Macdonald, *The Making of Brazil: Portuguese Roots, 1500–1822*. (Lewes, Sussex: The Book Guild, 1996), pp. xv + 520, £30.00

The blurb on the dust cover does a disservice to the contents and could lead potential readers to regard this as another drum and trumpet history with 'brave explorers', 'intrepid adventurers', 'jealous foreigners', and 'fantastic riches'; in short, 'an epic to fire the imagination'. The reality is that this is a coherent, eminently readable, narrative history of Portuguese America by an author whose previous books include *Hitler Over Latin America* and *The Land and People of Brazil*, and who was founder editor of the Latin American edition of *The Economist*.

Mandatory introductory chapters on Portuguese antecedents and a bird's-eye view of the land, hydrographic systems, flora, and fauna, set the scene for a voyage through time from the landing of Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500 to Brazilian independence in 1822. There are no surprises in the choice and treatment of topics: early settlement, failure of the donatory experiment, institution of crown government, foreign interlopers, settlement beyond initial core settlements, and penetration into the Amazon in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; and the 'time of the Flemings', Paulista *entradas*, inroads into the *sertão*, Amazonia, and far south, and revelation of precious metals and stones in the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century receives lengthier treatment: unrest between sons of the soil and outsiders and between cane growers and merchants, French capture of Rio de Janeiro, extractive industries, southward expansion, and Pombaline reforms. Chapters treat the economy, administration and society at different periods and provide food for thought on administrative centralisation and decentralisation, and the dynamic of changing demographic and economic core-periphery relations. The author concludes with a concise account of preconditions and precipitants of the move to independence.

This is a good introduction to the colonial period as a whole. It is not 'the first book to put the country's colonial history into perspective' as claimed, but it does make the English language reader aware of the delicate balancing act between metropolitan and colonial interests, of the role of Brazil in Portugal's overseas empire, and of the degree to which crown policies were dictated by, or in response to, European considerations and how European hostilities were played out on an American stage. It is not clear to this reviewer what is to be gained by referring to the Brazils from one through six, introducing an artificial chronological construct which fragments the historical narrative by reinforcing the erroneous notion of a cyclical economy and social discontinuity whereas any visitor to modern Brazil will experience no problem in identifying aspects of a continuum from the colonial era to the present. More seriously, the book is based on outdated sources from the 1950s and 1960s at best: there is no acknowledgment of the by now classic works of Robert Conrad, John Hemming,

Kenneth Maxwell, and Stuart Schwartz or of Brazilian scholars of the eminence of Laura de Mello e Souza or Emilia Viotti da Costa. These and other works of recent scholarship would have led the author to reassess his views on the alleged mildness of Brazilian slavery, on internal commerce which he finds absent, and on an 'atmosphere of intellectual isolation' (p. 420). Professional historians and graduates will find little new information or interpretations between these covers. There are no notes, the bibliography is selective, and the index is adequate. The publisher is to be congratulated on an error-free text; the maps, glossary of Portuguese terms and chronology are useful. This book achieves its goal of providing a historical perspective on modern Brazil for the general reader.

The Johns Hopkins University A. J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD

Rafael Varón Gabai, *Francisco Pizarro and His Brothers: The Illusion of Power in Sixteenth-Century Peru* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), pp. xvi + 352, $34.95.

The Spanish conquests in the Americas were motivated by money. Conquistadores had subsidiary objectives – personal glory, pursuit of power, performance of their 'one talent' of military prowess, and to a lesser extent propagation of Christianity and service to the Spanish Crown. But the main impulse was accumulation of personal wealth, in an age when estates were normally acquired by inheritance and only rarely by spoils of conquest, trade or political office. Rafael Varón is therefore right to concentrate on the wealth amassed by Francisco Pizarro and his brothers Francisco, Juan and Gonzalo and his half-brother Francisco Martin de Alcántara.

The author starts by analysing the financing of the expeditions from Panama: the nature of the agreement between Pizarro and his partners Diego de Almagro and the priest Hernando de Luque. The latter may have used his own fortune, or he may have been the agent of Governor Gaspar de Espinosa. There is equally fascinating detail about the *capitulación* and other privileges and tax exemptions that Pizarro obtained when he returned to Spain in 1529. The powerful courtier Francisco de los Cobos helped Pizarro get these advantages, and he was well rewarded from the subsequent conquest. Once Peru was successfully conquered, the gang of adventurers moved swiftly to rake in their personal shares of the loot. This book gives much information about the various official and clandestine meltings of Inca treasures, with allegations of careless handling of the royal marks that indicated that bullion had paid the royal fifth, problems over differing quality of Inca gold and silver (for the Peruvians valued these metals only for their decorative effect and therefore often mixed or adulterated them), theft of objects that did not pass through official meltings, and complicated criteria for dividing the spoils.

During the brief periods when Pizarro ruled Peru without the turmoil of civil wars or native insurrection, his main concern was to create a vast personal estate and pass it to his legitimised children by Inca princesses. Pizarro's wills sought to perpetuate the Pizarro name through an entailed patrimony. He and his brothers, Inca relatives, and compatriots from Extremadura in Spain took the bulk of *encomiendas* throughout the Inca empire. They also particularly liked precious metals, and Pizarro's prized possession was the mine of Porco, close to the future silver-mining eldorado of Potosi.

The most valuable part of this book is a detailed examination of every Pizarro *repartimiento*, with all that is known of its geography, numbers of Indians, and the tribute they were obliged to pay, as well as town houses, villages and mines awarded to each Pizarro brother. Maps show how these estates were distributed across what are now Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. Varón also explains how the Pizarros managed their extensive holdings, through a large staff headed by agents and *mayordomos*. This was especially necessary after the brothers had all been killed apart from Hernando, who was imprisoned in Spain for the execution of Almagro. When the conqueror's only surviving legitimised child, Francisca, was taken to Spain to avoid reprisals following the execution of her traitor uncle Gonzalo, the fifty-year-old Hernando married his seventeen-year-old niece, to keep control of the family fortune. The couple fought a bewildering series of legal actions, to fend off adversaries claiming damages from various Pizarros, and to recover possessions confiscated by the Crown. The author discovered many documents about these lawsuits.

This admirable book is marred by a misleading title and subtitle. It is in no sense a biographical study of 'Pizarro and his brothers'. Nor is it narrative history. Indeed, readers are expected to have a thorough knowledge of the events and personalities of the conquest and of Peruvian geography. The subtitle 'The Illusion of Power' (which was the main title of the original Spanish edition) is equally misplaced. In their accumulation of wealth, the Pizarros fulfilled their ambitions and were under no illusion that this was a substitute for political power. Also, the book contains little about government, largely because the conquistadores were far more interested in plundering the Inca empire and in fighting off rivals than in governing their hapless new subjects. The only passages on political power concern Bishop Berlanga's brief inspection of Peru for the King before Pizarro expelled him, and Vaca de Castro's incompetence as an administrator because he was also too busy lining his pockets.

Rafael Varón Gabai draws largely on research and documents published by other historians, such as Raúl Porras Barrenechea, Guillermo Lohmann Villena, James Lockhart, Ella Dunbar Temple and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco. But he has performed a most valuable service by pulling this material together into a comprehensive and definitive study of the wealth acquired by this band of brothers. Had their conquest not unravelled in the civil wars against rival gangs and Gonzalo Pizarro's unilateral declaration of independence, Francisco Pizarro and his brothers would have been among the world's most successful robber barons.

Royal Geographical Society JOHN HEMMING

Teodoro Hampe Martínez, *Bibliotecas privadas en el mundo colonial: La difusión de libros e ideas en el virreinato del Perú (siglos XVI–XVII)* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 1996), pp. 307, pb.

The history of reading has been a fashionable topic of historical enquiry over the past twenty years, for all that its avatars do not often transgress traditional bibliographical boundaries. The demarcation line between the history of reading and the history of books is rarely made explicit; the former, however, departs from the proposition that reading has a history distinct from that of printing or literacy. Research on the theme usually sorts into several possible approaches: the

ideas and assumptions behind the practice of reading; how the ability was learned, with due consideration of cultural diversity; the partly biographical study of how (usually famous) readers recorded what reading meant to them; reader response with all its postmodernist theoretical trappings and implications; finally, there is the study of the physical evolution of books, of how successive printings and design changes perceptibly altered not only the appearance but also the meaning of a text. To the extent that historical analysis of these practices has any *élan* at all, it is due largely to the advocacy it received from Annaliste proponents, from Lucien Febvre onwards. The field has little in the way of a guiding model, though it seems apparent that the most interesting studies in the field are those which analyse long-term developments. One influential model argues that in the Middle Ages individuals read intensively, with access to just a few books or tracts; by 1800 they were reading extensively, with a vast new array of books, pamphlets and other ephemera to draw upon. It would thus appear that something of a reading revolution occurred in the eighteenth century, after 1750 according to the most influential formulation.

Quite how Spain and Spanish America fit into that problematic is unknown, simply because little research has been expended on the theme. Peruvian historian Teodoro Hampe is one of the few historians to address it in any systematic fashion, though there have been notable exceptions, such as Irving Leonard. Professor Hampe's study provides a great deal of new information, but in focusing on the period before *c.* 1650, he was unable to address the 'revolution in reading' debate so important in the European and North American historiography. Even so, it would be unfair to cavil, for in the present volume he has surely laid the groundwork for such a study. It consists of twenty-five previously published articles – both in academic journals and broadsheet journalism. The work is divided into four sections. The first is a general overview of the diffusion of books in the colonial world, the relationship between lexicography and culture, and the reception of Spanish literature. The following two sections inventory the libraries of prominent individuals, the majority of them residents of Lima. A fourth, brief section turns on the book market in Lima, while there is also a documentary appendix.

This is a work of considerable erudition. It might have been improved by an introduction to the historiograph on the history of reading, and possibly also by more attention to the history of ideas, but it provides a fundamental platform for further work on the theme. This book is thus an indispensable first step for exploration of the *longue durée*, which would take in the reception of the Enlightenment, the growth of literacy, and the presumably revolutionary impact of the 'extensive' availability of reading materials in the first half of the nineteenth century. One can only hope that this volume will inspire others to follow where Professor Hampe has led.

University of New South Wales DAVID CAHILL

María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano (ed.), *Iglesia, Estado y Economía, Siglos XVI al XIX* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas 1995), pp. 314.

This volume is a collection of papers and commentaries originally presented at a 1994 conference sponsored by the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the UNAM. The contributors represent a good mix of established scholars (Arnold

Bauer, William Callahan, Thomas Calvo, Brian Connaughton, Asunción Lavrin, Carlos Marichal, John F. Schwaller, Gisela Von Wobeser), and younger students of the relationship between the church and the colonial and nineteenth-century economy. Most of the essays are on Mexico (there is one lonely study of Peru by Alfonso Quiroz, another on Spain by William Callahan, and a third by Francisco Gómez Camacho on scholastic views of credit and usury). Part I, approximately two-thirds of the volume, is concerned chiefly with the role of the church in the economy, while Part II contains essays with a more prominent political economy dimension.

The essays are generally competent and well-grounded in archival research, but taken as a whole, the volume breaks very little new ground. The tone is set by Arnold Bauer's introductory essay, which is characteristically witty and graceful, but in its emphasis on the church's role in the colonial credit system, it strikes many of the notes that the author has sounded – in feistier and more compelling fashion – in his earlier work (1983, 1986). In the end, it seems just a bit tired and perfunctory. One receives the impression that at the conference itself, there was some excitement generated by the idea of debunking the common conception that the church was the 'banker' of colonial Mexico – it is easy to picture one presenter having used the phrase and others having seized on it. But except for the essays that focus on the sixteenth century, the church still comes off looking pretty much like the same old 'banker' (by which was always meant, primarily, a key provider of loan capital) to the late colonial propertied classes (and, under certain circumstances, most notably the 1804 *Consolidación de Vales Reales*, to the state) with which we are familiar from earlier decades of scholarship. In fact, if anything, these essays put to rest two notions occasionally floated in the literature: first, that the church was not really lending money but was merely accepting liens on property; and second, that people never redeemed their debts. As a result, if anything, the church looks more banker-like than ever.

The deficiencies of this volume (though perhaps 'deficiencies' is too strong a word – it is not that there is anything *wrong* with it, just that it fails to excite) are gently exposed in a nice closing essay by Asunción Lavrin. Lavrin offers a number of suggestions for new directions in church economic history. Among other things, she encourages historians to see the church's economic operations as inseparable from their spiritual and social and moral roles, and to use (or at least not to reject out of hand) the tools of intellectual, cultural, and social history, as well as the tools of economic history, to frame new hypotheses about this economically powerful and influential institution. If scholars take up at least some of her suggestions, the next conference volume on the church in the economy will be more satisfying than this one, for all its stolid virtues.

University of California, Berkeley MARGARET CHOWNING

Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow (eds.), *The Countryside in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), pp. xiii + 295, $45.00, $19.95 pb.

Not long ago Maurice Aymard announced the death of rural history. To be more precise, he described a metamorphosis towards ecological history as the only way out for a discipline that, due to the undeniable material and symbolic weight of

urbanisation, is found to be extinct. On the other hand, it could be said that the interest of historiography in Latin America's colonial economy has centred largely on the commercial activity of import and export, which dominated the mercantile world of the city and its hinterland. In addition, it focused on the role of mining as the main source of regional economy and a magnet that attracted settlement. Finally, the historiography defined the character of the colonial state.

Due to this, any attempt to propose a rural colonial history for the region should aim at a fresh and imaginative approach. In this sense Socolow and Hoberman's compilation is boldly challenging. 'The Countryside' groups various essays on the rural structure and its actors, which show the state of this discipline with regard to colonial Latin America.

In her introduction 'The Rural Past', Socolow presents the theme of rural colonial Latin America defining it not only in terms of its externality to urban centres, but also as a social, economic, and physical context which has determined the conduct of its inhabitants. Arnold Bauer ('The Colonial Economy') gives an overview of the dynamics of the rural economy. His description is apt, especially his emphasis on the regional markets and commerce of New Spain as the true generators of the economic activity in the region. I must confess that Bauer's conclusion is somewhat disconcerting. Garcia Márquez Macondo poorly explains poverty and isolation, and his hypotheses do not help to comprehend the rural economy phenomenon, if it existed in the way he suggests.

Eric Van Young ('Material Life') proposes, with the aid of microhistory, the partial reconstruction of the material life of the population. Taking into account clothing, housing and diets, he describes the habits and customs of a precarious environment where material goods were scarce. Once again, despite the clarity of the approach, the focus on the rural seems unnecessary. In 'Agrarian Technology' and 'Changing Ecosystems', Garavaglia takes up Aymard's challenge and with refined erudition (echoes of the *Voyage of the Beagle*?) compares the San Antonio de Areco ecosystem with that of Valle de Puebla in Mexico. The examples of food consumption reveal the influence of such ecosystems, not only in rural population, but in general. The second group of essays are more descriptive in character. 'The Landed Elite' by Stuart Schartz; 'The Clergy' by John Schwaller; 'Middle Groups' by Lowell Gudmundson; 'Blacks' by Herbert Klein; 'Indigenous People' by Cheryl Martin; and Ward Staving's 'Conflict, Violence, and Resistance' describe the economic activities, social roles, demographic and migratory processes, as well as the negotiation devices and resistance, of the American population. If the actors are the object of the analysis, as is the case, the rural world is one of its possible scenarios.

Among these last essays, Schwartz's synthesis on the historical evolution of the land holding elite stands out. Without doubt, the landholders were the centre of power and wealth in these societies. Ranging from the *encomenderos* to the *estancieros*, the rural higher class adopted the feudal system with a certain Hispanic aristocratic mentality, creating social relationships of patriarchal type. Even more importantly, the accumulation strategy was rapidly centred around two fundamental activities: commerce and mining. Schwartz rightly states that among the patrimonial expansion and consolidation techniques, matrimonial alliances played a fundamental role. The final essay is Louise Schell Hoberman's 'Interpretations of the Colonial Countryside'.

The book as a whole creates two impressions. First, as the editors point out,

it is a publication that necessarily complements their other work *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986). It is evident, and a paradox of the colonial Latin American world, that the delimitation of a rural field loses meaning if not articulated dynamically with mercantile activities, the city and mining.

The second impression comes from an almost complete lack of attention to the conceptual. While the material gathered offers the possibility of questioning the terms of the debate on the definition of the type of society which existed from the conquest up to at least half of the eighteenth century, the reflection seems very timid. It is only at the end that a tradition inaugurated with the discussion around the issue of transition (in which some of these authors participated) is partially addressed.

In the final chapter, Hoberman discusses some of the categories of analysis used by historiography to deal with the structure and dynamics of these societies and practices and its actors. This analysis is developed in three phases. First, the problems of the dualist theories by Gunder Frank and Fernando Novais are once again questioned; secondly, she praises the introduction of the term 'partrimonalist' to reconcile the capitalist and feudal features of colonial society, and thirdly, she reinforces the idea that the field of study opened ground to the multiple social, political, economic and cultural phenomena which form its parameters. Although many questions remain unanswered, at least this has helped to formulate more precisely the questions regarding the nature of the colonial. This is, I believe, the adequate framework which should have opened the collection.

Despite some difficulties with historical delimination of the subject and some formal problems such as the juxtaposition of the objects of analysis (chapters 1 and 4), certain arbitrary use of quotes (chapters 2, 7 and 8), and some sexist vocabulary (chapters 2 and 3), *The Countryside* offers an excellent guide to further reading, and is definitely a useful collection of essays.

Instituto Ravignani, Universidad de Buenos Aires RICARDO CICERCHIA

William Lofstrom, *La Vida Intima de Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (1798–1830)* (Bogotá: Banco de la República and El Ancora Editores, 1996), pp. 253, pb.

This welcome addition to the literature examines the personal life of one of the most powerful political leaders in Colombia for three decades and five times president, Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera. Building upon the meticulous archival research conducted by J. León Helguera and Robert H. Davis, Lofstrom assembles a convincing picture. The significance of this for Colombianists will be self-evident. But there is much too to interest comparative historians of Latin America in the nineteenth century.

Students of ruling groups will find the author's reflections on regional elites – their marital strategies, business networks, consumption patterns – highly rewarding. Specialists in the history of gender will find much that is fruitful in Lofstrom's examination of the power of the patriarch within the household and the way it was exercised over young men as well as women, servants and slaves.

Historians of the family and of emotion (still a barely touched-on theme in the Latin American historiography) will note the sympathetic treatment of the author to relationships within the Mosquera family: the coldness of the relationship between Mosquera and his children, both legitimate and illegitimate, and the strains placed upon his marriage by his extra-martial affairs and long absences for military and political reasons.

For the ecclesiastical historian the analysis of the close links of regional elites with successive archbishops, reflected in the many exemptions granted from the rules of consanguinity, will prove useful. Even the historian of health will encounter valuable material on how members of a powerful family, widely considered hypochondriac by their peers, treated malaria, venereal diseases and war wounds, and corresponded with each other on medical topics. Lofstrom confirms what Helguera and other scholars have long stressed: that the Mosquera archives are uniquely rich, and that their value is not only for political and military history.

The publication of this book is a reflection of recent positive developments in Colombian publication on history. This is a book designed for a popular readership but resting on a sound archival base and an awareness of the comparative historiography. This attractively produced work contains well selected illustrations, a full bibliography and index, and a distinctive prologue.

University College, London CHRISTOPHER ABEL

Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808–1994* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. xix + 427, £45.00, £15.95 pb.

This is a most enjoyable book. The authors' intentions are clearly set out in the preface where they state their aim to 'provide a general account of modern Chilean history' and they have done so most successfully. The overriding tone of the book is one of immense affection and respect for Chile and its people, and there is an overwhelming sense that the authors enjoyed writing this book very much. Such sentiments are communicated to the wide range of readers to whom this book will appeal. The Chileanist will find it a very succinct and complete overview which manages to bring information available elsewhere into one volume. The university student will undoubtedly find it interesting and an obvious source of diverse information on Chile to which to return time and again. However, this book will appeal not only to the academic reader – it is written in a style which makes it immediately accessible to the general reader who will enjoy such a book for no other reason than it makes for a very good read. To cast such a wide net is a difficult task, but the authors have succeeded in doing so.

The book is organised chronologically beginning with the birth of the nation-state and this is followed by the rise of the republic from the 1830s until the 1870s. The expansion of the nitrate industry takes us up to the 1930s where the discussion moves to the industrialisation and the rise of mass politics. The final section analyses democracy and dictatorship from the 1960s until the 1990s. It manages to combine a discussion of political events with humourous detail – for instance, we discover that President Alessandri used to walk his Great Dane

along the Alameda, and that Andrés Bello had a cat named Micifuz (p. 234). We are also treated to the information that the unfortunate dog has been stuffed and can be seen in the National Historical Museum!

My main criticism of this book is related to a disclaimer that the authors include in the Preface. They reason that, while they may 'have dwelled a little too lengthily at times on the fortunes of political parties and on presidential elections, ... that this is very much the way in which Chileans themselves have experienced their political history' (p. xiv). While there is undoubtedly more than a grain of truth in this, the authors perhaps fail to appreciate the diversity of Chilean political experience. I would seriously question that this focus on elite politics would be endorsed by trade unionists, peasant activists, indigenous peoples, women and the many others who struggled for recognition of their right to participation and social inclusion in the broad panorama of social movements which have existed in Chile. The history of the political and economic elite is just that – it is not, and cannot be, the history of a nation as experienced by all Chileans.

However, this criticism does not undermine the central aim of this book which is to 'combine a basic narrative of political events (bearing in mind A. J. P. Taylor's remark that the historian's "first function" is "to answer the child's question 'What happened next?'") with descriptions of the broader economic and social tendencies which have molded the life of the nation and which underlie the outward "story".' (pp. iii–iv). They have indeed succeeded in writing a rich history of Chilean political, economic and cultural life which is in no way diminished by being a 'basic narrative', rather than a complex interweaving of theory and empiricism which can frequently cloud an appreciation of history.

University of Portsmouth ANN MATEAR

Linda Arnold, *Política y Justicia: La Suprema Corte Mexicana (1824–1855)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 1996), pp. 207, $12.75 pb.

The importance lawyers, judges and other members of the judiciary had in early republican Mexico cannot be stressed enough. It was precisely they who possessed that more informed and practical knowledge of the workings of the colonial legal and political system, and who, likewise, went on to seek the legal and real means by which the republican system which was first imposed in the 1824 Federal Constitution could be established with a corresponding modern and progressive republican judicial system. Whether it was in response to the 1824, the 1836 or the 1843 constitutions, it was the legal profession which had to tackle the practical and philosophical dilemmas of finding a judicial system which reflected and supported the high ideals which were embraced in the different political charters of the nation. Set against a backdrop in which the legal legacy of the colony could not be easily dismantled, especially regarding the separate jurisdiction which applied within the army and the clergy, it was institutions such as the Suprema Corte de Justicia which had to consider the constitutional means and the political-legal implications of exerting changes which could free civilians who had been, for example, tried and punished by the military authorities.

Moreover, in a period in which a high percentage of the political class were lawyers and in which most of the constitutions which emerged between 1824 and 1855 were drafted, elaborated and discussed by active members of the judiciary, it is obvious that there was a great need for a study to be written, which provided the historiography with that as yet missing general analysis, of the political development of the judiciary's legal proposals and the way in which a key institution such as the Suprema Corte de Justicia evolved in response to the different crises Mexico underwent in its first three decades of independent life.

Linda Arnold, after having written one of the best studies on Mexico's bureaucracy for this period (*Bureaucracy and Bureaucrats in Mexico City, 1742–1835* [Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1988]), provides us in this volume with that much needed insight into both the theoretical dilemmas and the logistical problems Mexican politicians and lawyers had to contend with following the achievement of independence, in their quest to find a long-lasting stable and liberal constitutional legal framework which would allow the new nation to prosper like the United States without renouncing its distinct Hispanic customs and traditions. In fact, Arnold has succeeded in producing what will no doubt become a mandatory text for any study of Independent Mexico. All of the main political and philosophical dialectics of the period can be found in this volume (federalism vs. centralism; constitutionalism vs. absolutism; tradition vs. modernity; individual liberties vs. corporate liberties, etc.), as they emerge in what is a compelling analytical narrative of the ways in which Mexico's most notable judges and lawyers, and in particular Manuel de la Peña y Peña, worked out the ways in which the ideas of this particularly intense age of political proposals could be translated into a legal and workable reality. In a volume which illustrates the extent to which the Suprema Corte de Justicia was a fundamental institution in early republican Mexico, in part because of the continuity it provided, composed as it was, of the same individuals for the greater part of the first three national decades, and in part because of the nature of its role, Linda Arnold has succeeded in writing yet another key text for the study of Independent Mexico.

University of St. Andrews WILL FOWLER

Peter F. Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800–1857* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. viii + 319, £35.00.

This important book explores the connection between peasant grievances and the rise of federalist leaders of national stature, such as Vicente Guerrero and Juan Alvarez, in the region known until the foundation of new state of Guerrero in 1848 as 'El Sur' (the southern districts of the states of Michoacán, Mexico and Puebla), from the late eighteenth until the mid-nineteenth centuries. This convergence between the local, the regional and the national, was in response, on the one hand, to the under-representation of Guerrero's provincial elites within the vast, unwieldy state of Mexico, and on the other, to the under-representation of Indian communities in their formerly separate republics, which, after the introduction of constitutional government in the Cortes of Cadiz, became vast municipal territories which non-Indians (former tenants of the Indian republics) sought to dominate. 'Popular federalism', which Guardino proposes as distinct

genre of nineteenth-century Mexican politics, promised to satisfy both elite and popular constituencies.

Guerrero's popular federalism was part of a broader pattern of federalist movements, breaking out intermittently throughout the Sierra and lowland areas of central and south-eastern Mexico, from the early 1830s until the mid-1850s. Still largely unstudied, Guardino disregards this broader connection in favour of a thorough exploration of the internal regional dynamics of Guerrero's federalism. Although incited by excessive taxation, the decline of justice, and centralising constitutional changes that undermined village autonomy, popular federalist movements were also catalysed by the hectic commercial cycles that marked Guerrero's economic relations with central Mexico and the wider world market. These affected the relationship between the region's raw and domestic spun cotton producing communities and the mechanising cotton textile industries of Puebla and Mexico with particular severity. While Veracruz's cotton growers and manufacturers were able to take advantage of centralism, Guerrero's remoteness and poor political connections more often left the region's cotton growing interests and dependent peasantries stranded. Guardino is particularly attentive to the social and economic underpinnings of Guerrero's persistent and vehement brand of popular federalism.

Guardino presents a view of a rational, enlightened, even cosmopolitan peasant leadership, able to coordinate local, regional, even national strategies, with the help of cross-class alliances. He stoutly rejects Eric Van Young's use of the Levi–Straussian dichotomy between the raw and the cooked to describe the gulf during the insurgency between the naive monarchist and millenarian 'raw' beliefs of the villagers and the more abstract, cosmopolitan and proto-nationalist ideas of the Creole directorate. For Guardino, 'Guerrero's poor and elite shared the same political culture to a striking degree'. He credits Guerrero's peasants with many achievements: insuring the survival of the Cadiz constitution in Iturbide's Plan de Iguala in 1821, defending a radical interpretation of the first federal constitution between 1824 and 1832, restoring federalism in the mid 1840s, the readiness of the 'Pintos' (the racial term used to describe Alvarez's soldiers) to save the Patria in 1847 (had Santa Anna allowed them to fight), creating the State of Guerrero in 1848 and defeating Santa Anna's dictatorship in 1854.

This, then, is a revisionist interpretation that radically departs from the view of post-independence politics as an intra-elite struggle between Liberal modernisers and Conservative traditionalists. For Guardino, the great division running through this period, cutting across ideological, cultural and social differences, was between centralism and federalism; between leaders who attempted to use the centre for reconstructing a neo-colonial, aristocratic order, and provincial leaders who fostered a popular constituency in order to protect and to enhance their regional autonomy.

Although Guardino succeeds brilliantly in tracing the political and economic connections which linked Guerrero's villages and the wider world, his bottom-up interpretation of the origins of Mexican federalism nevertheless presents problems common to much of the new regional history. He constructs his account of the emergence of Guerrero's 'popular federalist' political culture by focussing on conflicts at the intersection between peasant communities and the wider system; from the records of litigation, petitions, plans, revolts, military campaigns, etc. Much attention is given to the short periods when villages were

successful in attracting regional leaders to address their grievances, less to the long interludes when regional elites neglected villages or betrayed their popular followings. The rhetoric of popular federalism survived these interludes but the organic underpinnings of popular federalism appear to have been extremely fragile.

Apart from these difficulties with the 'superstructure' of popular federalism, we learn very little from Guardino about the internal political culture of these territorially extensive southern municipalities. Guerrero's rural population is analysed within broad sub-regional clusters, distinguished by broad ethnic classifications and occupational categories (was everyone on the Costa Grande a mulato sharecropper, was everyone in Tlapa an Indian?). Apart from the briefest socio-ethnic and economic sub-regional profiles, we are told very little about local level political leaders or how the peasant/Indian (Guardino the words used interchangeably) communities conducted their political lives. Did the more assertive communities contain schools, and hence a literate element able to handle communications between the village and the outside world? What role did priests play in the new municipalities? The Church is hardly mentioned in the book, nor is folk religion or native cosmology, surely important political factors in largely Indian areas. Did Guerrero's Indian communities contain significant hierarchical divisions, a distinction between *caciques* and commoners, and what political role did *caciques* play? Guardino tells us a fair amount about the mulato sharecroppers of the Costa Grande and the *comuneros* of Chilapa, but who were their most favoured local leaders? What local names recur over these four decades? The study lacks an exploration of the internal dynamics of peasant assertiveness, beyond *sujeto–cabecera* conflicts, and fails to identify the cadre of local level leaders, the mediators between villages and regional leaders.

Guardino leaves the reader in mid-century, at the birth of the new state of Guerrero, whose first congress rewarded its peasant constituency with lower taxes, local control of justice, more municipalities and direct elections. He concludes on the positive note that 'Guerrero's peasants were actively involved in the formation of Mexico's state'. Although an epilogue would surely have tarnished this optimistic conclusion, I feel that the absence of one (and of a map!) prevents Guardino from highlighting the longer term significance of many of the conflicts this fine, pioneering study exposes: how state boundary changes have been used to defuse tensions between regional power groups and the centre, the clash between state and municipal sovereignty, the friction between ingrained attitudes of territoriality and communal land ownership and nineteenth-century liberal land and municipal legislation, etc.

University of Warwick GUY P. C. THOMSON

William A. DePalo, Jr., *The Mexican National Army, 1822–1852* (Texas: A & M University Press, 1997), pp. xi + 280, hb.

This would have been a far less disappointing contribution to the historiography of Independent Mexico had DePalo chosen a less ambitious title. The main problem this reader found with DePalo's study was that it did not deliver what he had been led to expect from the title. In other words, this reader was hoping

to find in *The Mexican National Army, 1822–1852* a comprehensive study of the regular army's development during the first three national decades, with a detailed analysis of its institutional reforms (both scientific [*Cuerpo de ingenieros*, *Cuerpo médico*, etc.] and educational [*Colegio Militar*, 1835 introduction of Lancasterian schools, etc.); its early attempts at professionalisation (with a study of the different proposed forms of recruitment and the reality of the *leva*); its political behaviour (with a corresponding exploration of the nature of the *pronunciamientos* which proliferated during this period, and an interpretation of their origins which did not simplistically account for them in terms of predatory praetorianism); the daily life of the rank and file (their uniforms, diets, etc. and how these changed under the different administrations, in different regions, in different regiments etc.); the nature of civil conflict in the early national period (it was surprising to find that scant attention was awarded to the 1832 Civil War with its battles of Tolomé, El Gallinero, El Palmar and the Rancho de Posadas); the regular army – civic militia dialectic; the importance and workings of the *fuero militar*; the discourse of the high ranking officers; etc. In brief, the inside cover promise that this study offers a 'comprehensive chronological evaluation of the army's first three decades' is not actually true.

However, what DePalo has succeeded in doing, benefitting from his own personal military background, is to provide a fascinating military analysis of the Texan Campaign (1835–36) and the Northern and Eastern Campaigns of the US – Mexican War (1846–48). For the first time it is possible to assess whether Santa Anna, for instance, was a good general or not. It is DePalo's extensive knowledge of nineteenth-century warfare which makes this study a particularly interesting one. His analysis of the strategic and logistical implications entailed in the different decisions the leading generals made in battle, paired with his knowledge of the arms and ammunition the different regiments had in their possession, as well as his military understanding of the nature of the terrain in which the different clashes of arms took place, result in a fresh and enlightening interpretation of the military wisdom or lack thereof of the Mexican high command. It is fascinating, in this sense, to find, for example, that Santa Anna was attempting to use Napoleonic strategies in the Texan Campaign, or that had he listened to the advice he was given by his more practically-minded engineers in the 1847 Eastern Campaign, the outcome of the war might have been altogether different.

The novelty and historiographical importance of DePalo's military analysis is unfortunately (almost tragically) further hindered by a somewhat outdated narrative of the political upheavals of the period (the bibliography does not include a number of highly relevant studies which have been published since 1993, and which have by now significantly revised the traditionalist *caudillista* interpretation of this period which DePalo appears to embrace unquestioningly when he links one campaign with another). This reader also found the careless and incorrect accentuation distracting. Therefore DePalo's volume does not offer either a comprehensive study of the Mexican regular army during the first three national decades or a particularly original or up-dated account of Mexico's political evolution during this period. Nonetheless, this remains a particularly interesting contribution, given that it is the first time that a military historian has provided a stimulating analysis and discussion of the strategic virtues and deficiencies of the Mexican high command in either the Texan Campaign or the

Mexican–US War of 1846–48. Had DePalo's volume carried a different title (which was less general and which reflected more specifically the main strategic issues the study is concerned with), this review would have been far more positive.

University of St Andrews WILL FOWLER

Samuel Brunk, *Emiliano Zapata! Revolution and Betrayal in Mexico* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), pp. xvi+360, $45.00, $24.95 pb.

John Womack's masterly *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*, published in 1970, has for many years cornered the market in Zapatista studies and, one suspects, frightened off the competition. Arturo Warman's *Y venimos a contradecir* (1976), based on oral evidence and adopting a longer-term, analytical approach, complemented – and built upon – Womack, without challenging his interpretation of Zapata as the heroic and selfless leader of a genuine, cohesive, popular, peasant revolution. Samuel Brunk is to be applauded, in the first place, for reopening the debate, at a time when the 'neo-Zapatismo' of Chiapas has added a new gilding to this traditional icon of the Mexican Revolution. Not that Brunk strives for polemical effect, or succumbs to the siren call of revisionism-for-its-own-sake. His tone is measured, judicious, scholarly, and sensible. 'It seems less clear-cut than this to me' – the phrase with which he concludes a discussion of Zapata's relationship with his intellectual mentor, Manuel Palafox (p. 290) – sums up his approach, which is based on a mass of primary and secondary literature, carefully reviewed.

His differences with Womack are clear, though far from striking, still less strident. Brunk's Zapata is more violent and vengeful, ordering arbitrary executions and tolerating the excesses of some of his hoodlum henchmen (such as Antonio Barona); he drinks a good deal, feigns illness when it suits him, and sometimes negotiates in bad faith (pp. 33, 43, 84, 100, 108, 156, 163, 179). None of this differentiates him markedly from his fellow-revolutionaries, but it brings him down to their level, toppling the pedestal which some historians – not to mention the myth-makers of the 'revolutionary' regime – erected over the years since 1919. Zapatismo, too, emerges as a somewhat less pure and wholesome popular movement. It was, Brunk makes clear, a genuine peasant movement (rightly, he rejects the cute argument that the Zapatistas were not really 'peasants': p. 241); its origins are to be found in the agrarian tensions of the Porfiriato (pp. 13, 29). However, it was a more chaotic, fissiparous movement than Womack suggested; it suffered from recurrent internal divisions, personal vendettas and inter-community conflicts ('interpueblo spats', in Brunk's phrase, p. 169); and these became chronic in the years of demoralisation (Brunk speaks of a 'moral crisis') after 1916 (p. 201). Womack's rosier picture is therefore darkened (though by no means obliterated); Warman – in what is probably the author's strongest rebuttal – is accused of 'wishful thinking' when he asserts that the Zapatistas rarely raided the villagers' food supplies (p. 311).

The result is an interpretation which qualifies rather than subverts received opinions; Brunk sees himself (rightly, I think), occupying a 'middle position'

between the extremes of populist orthodoxy and skeptical revisionism (p. 237: a good resumé). What is more, the interpretation is generally convincing. Brunk's Zapatismo may be neither 'glorious nor immaculate' (p. 237) but it is pretty convincing. In particular, the book sheds light on some important sub-themes: Zapata's relations with his intellectual advisers (p. 91ff.); his dogged efforts to bring organisation and discipline to his dissident army (pp. 108–9, 160); his increasingly desperate search for allies, of whatever political stripe (pp. 139, 202, 208, 22, 216–17). Conceived – like Womack's – as a political narrative, the book is very good on the key events, decisions and relationships. It has less to say about socio-economic processes (though the conjunctural death and disease of the later Revolution get full treatment). Theory, too, is at a discount: apart from some brief nods in the direction of Max Weber, Brunk does not get much involved in grand theory, peasant studies, comparative revolution, or the new social history. Arguably, this is a good thing. Zapatismo is neither deconstructed, nor decentred. Psycho-history is politely shown the door (p. xv). The narrative does not, therefore, founder in morasses of abstraction and reflexivity. The style, jargon-free if occasionally colloquial, is brisk and lucid. Though the author produces some evocative descriptions (e.g., Tlaltizapán and Anenecuilco, pp. 6–7), he is not of the new North American historical-poetical persuasion, hence the evocations are rooted in reality and devoid of pretension. Like 'the teetotaller Villa' choking on Zapata's proffered cognac (p. 136), I had trouble with one metaphorical cocktail ('the seeds of a conflict – that would colour the pivotal summer': p. 36); and I detected just one palpable error, probably a typo (p. 103: the US occupation of Veracruz was in 1914, not 1913). In most respects, however, style and scholarship are unimpeachable, confirming the impression of a solid, well-researched, narrative history, sensible in its judgements, sound in its conclusions. It does not supplant Womack – in many areas it attests to the durability of Womack's work – but it adds an important text to Zapatista bibliography, which students of modern Latin America will read with profit and enjoyment.

St Antony's College Oxford ALAN KNIGHT

Asunción Lavrín, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, 1890–1940* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. x + 480, £57.00.

This book is an excellent piece of empirical historical research. It charts the sweeping social changes which took place in the Southern Cone countries during the latter years of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, and analyses the impact that such transformations had on women's lives. We are informed that the impulse for such changes came from several sources, including the rise of the feminist movement, the emergence of the labour movement as an important player in the promotion of social change, and from diverse reforms in state policies.

The rise of feminism in the Southern Cone countries is examined in the first chapter of the book. It provides useful background information to the different

currents of feminism which were acquiring prominence, such as socialist feminism, liberal feminism and compensatory feminism. It identifies the leading feminist figures and the organisations which were actively agitating for women's emancipation. In this chapter, Lavrín also draws our attention to the important role played by the feminist press in promoting and legitimising feminism as a political activity.

The second chapter focuses on labour and feminism. The industrialisation of the Southern Cone countries and the resulting demand for labour saw women increasingly drawn into the waged labour force and acquire a degree of economic independence which had been previously unknown. However, access to employment had quite different implications for the first generations of university-educated middle class women, and for working class women for whom employment frequently meant little more than exploitation, horrific working conditions and a heavier workload. This chapter makes abundantly clear the tensions which existed between middle class and working class feminists and the theme of social class remains integral to the analysis of much of the book.

Chapters Three, Four and Five deal with the issues of motherhood, reproductive rights, feminism and sexuality. In understated terms, Lavrín refers to these as existing in 'an uneasy relationship'. Such tensions appear to result not only because of clashes between feminists and male authorities, but also as a result of class differences between women themselves. These chapters provide a fascinating insight into the rise of the 'hygienists' and the eugenicist policies which greatly influenced opinion-leaders and practitioners on matters of public health and family planning. These policies led to the introduction of truly extraordinary measures. We are informed of the notions of 'biological patriotism' espoused by the Nobel-laureate poet Gabriela Mistral in Chile; the introduction of legislation in Argentina which established that all mothers were duty-bound to breast-feed their children until the age of five months; and the issuing of pre-nuptial certificates to those men who were demonstrably free of venereal disease.

The remaining five chapters focus on feminists' pursuit of equality in the law, through the reform of the civil codes, legislation on marriage and divorce, and finally the politics of suffrage. These chapters follow on well from the previous ones, as they examine how state institutions promoted and responded to those changes which were occuring in the lives of individuals and in society in general. As the title suggests, during the first half of this century, feminism was a potentially transformative force in Southern Cone societies. However, as the focus of the book makes clear, those changes by necessity involved engagement with the state, its institutions, its policy-makers and the political class. It is at this point that the main weakness of this volume becomes apparent. What is absent from an otherwise excellent piece of research, is a theoretical analysis of the gendered nature of state formation. The latter could provide the reader with insight not only into how, when and why women's lot changed, but also how such changes fitted into the broader process of the consolidation of the nation state.

Overall, this is an interesting and informative read. I found it particularly useful that Lavrín examines Argentina, Chile and Uruguay as individual case studies within the chapters, as this appeals to the scholar who has a particular interest in one country but less in another. Yet, throughout the book, she constantly refers back to the similarities and contrasts between the process of

social change, and the life-experiences of women in the different countries. Such adept cross-referencing allows for a stimulating comparative approach which should interest historians and gender scholars alike.

University of Portsmouth ANN MATEAR

Alexandra Barahona de Brito, *Human Rights and Democratization in Latin America Uruguay and Chile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. xxii + 333, £35.00.

How much is *as much justice as possible*? How relevant is to have *an official truth*? Is it possible to achieve reconciliation among perpetrators of human rights? These are some of the questions that people concerned with human rights have been asking during the years of transition to democracy in Latin America. Why did different transitions produce different balances of truth and justice? Is lack of adequate punishment for past human rights crimes a threat to the consolidation of democracy? These are typical questions that political scientists ask. The merit of this book is that it brings the two sets of questions together. Human rights is and will always be a deeply political issue. During many years, however, the question of human rights was mostly ignored in studies on the politics of democracy. As this book shows, this is not the case any more.

The book is a comparative study of the attempts by Chile and Uruguay to resolve the human rights violations conflicts inherited from military dictatorships. Methodologically, this is a study of similar, rather than of contrasting cases. Uruguay and Chile are the countries with the longest and strongest traditions of democracy in Latin America. Both were typical cases of *negotiated transitions*, significantly triggered by the military regimes' defeat in plebiscites aimed at perpetuating authoritarianism. In both countries the first democratically elected rulers were centrist government facing an unreconstructed military with considerable residual powers. And yet, the outcome of the struggle for human rights was significantly different. Unofficial truth and absent justice in Uruguay and (partial) official truth and symbolic justice in Chile. The core of the book is devoted to analyse the causes of these different outcomes.

They were, of course, important differences as well as similarities in both governments' approach to the question of human rights. In Chile – Barahona argues – human rights had a higher 'moral' profile than in Uruguay. Also in Chile, a clear distinction was made between truth and justice which allowed to salvage at least some truth from the wreckage of justice. Another significant difference was the much stronger influence of the Catholic Church and the human rights movement in Chile, which supported the government's truth and justice policy. Perhaps, one of the most important differences between the two countries lay in the respective party systems and in the nature of the elite settlements that characterised their transitions to democracy. Unlike the partisan divisions present in Uruguay, the political parties in Chile remained for the most part united throughout the period due to the nature of the Concertación. In one of the book's many paradoxes, Barahona claims that the most pluralist and contested nature of the political debate in Uruguay hampered the possibility of achieving a policy consensus on human rights as was achieved in Chile by the Concertación, as in the former truth and justice became the victims of partisan politics.

But perhaps the key difference in the way each country dealt with its past was, in Barahona's view, the quality of presidential leadership. While the book presents Chile's President Aylwin as committed to human rights, it is quite scathing regarding President Sanguinetti, who is charged with being 'more loyal toward General Medina [his Defence Minister] than toward the human rights opposition' (p. 200). And yet, this is another of the book's paradoxes, as Aylwin and Sanguinetti have many attributes in common: both are highly experienced, middle of the road, pragmatic, consensus politicians with a basic commitment to democracy.

The above differences contributed, according to Barahona, to make the Chilean human rights' policy shine in a very positive light when compared with Uruguay. But perhaps Barahona's understandable emphasis in the differences between the two countries made her overemphasise the achievements of Chile's human rights policy and overlook the fact that, despite their contrasting approach to human rights, both Aylwin and Sanguinetti ultimately placed political stability at the top of their political priorities. That the book so vividly shows the tensions between the conditions necessary to ensure accountability and those which govern periods of transition is what makes it so relevant. And also so honest.

The London School of Economics FRANCISCO PANIZZA

Paul W. Drake, *Labor Movements and Dictatorships: The Southern Cone in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. xi + 253, £39.50, £13.00 pb.

Paul Drake's latest book is a welcome addition to the literature on the authoritarian regimes that seized power in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay in the 1970s. Unlike much of the macro-comparative social science literature on these regimes, beginning with Guillermo O'Donnell's provocative *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism* (1973), Drake's study focuses its attention squarely on labour. It shows how labour helped precipitate these regimes, how labour was the primary target of their savagely repressive policies, and how labour played a pivotal role in the transition back to democratic politics in the late 1980s. How leading social scientists, especially those with macro-theoretical concerns, neglected the central role of labour in this whole process is not a primary concern of this study. Rather, Drake wants to understand 1) how labour, given its structural weaknesses, could have been perceived as such a threat to the *status quo* in these late developing capitalist societies, 2) how labour survived authoritarianism, and 3) how labour was changed in the process.

Drake approaches these issues through a comparative framework that distinguishes the authoritarian regimen of his three primary 'southern cone' case studies – Uruguay (1973–84), Chile (1973–90), and Argentina (1976–83) – from what he calls their 'corporatist precursors' in Southern Europe and South America–Portugal (1926–74), Spain (1939–75), Greece (1967–74), and, especially, Brazil (1964–85). Besides timing, the main difference between these two sets of authoritarian regimes seems to be their strategies for dealing with labour. The southern cone regimes sought to 'atomize' and exclude the labour movement through massive repression, while the 'precursors' generally attempted to moderate labour's influence and demands through state-controlled unions.

This distinction is not very helpful in explaining why these authoritarian regimes chose one strategy over the other, although part of the reason for electing the repressive, exclusionary approach, Drake indicates, is the growing power of neo-liberal economic orthodoxy in recent decades. Another part of the explanation must lie in the failure of inclusionary and corporatist solutions (begun in Uruguay in the 1910s, in Chile in the 1920s, and in Argentina in the 1940s) to arrest labour's challenge. In three of the four South American cases considered by Drake these corporatist or inclusionary strategies were perceived by the 1970s as failures by the propertied classes and the military, and jettisoned in favour of labour exclusion. Only in Brazil, where labour was relatively weaker than in the other cases and repression was relatively milder, were corporatist labour institutions, pioneered in the 1930s and 1940s, retained. Because of the way Drake frames his comparative analysis, his study thus suggests but does not fully resolve a central paradox in South American history: how the weakest labour movement of these four countries became, during their common authoritarian interlude, the strongest, the most able to contest the post-authoritarian neo-liberal order.

Drake has done an admirable job of bringing together in one place, and in English, a thorough survey of the published information on the labour movements of the southern cone during the 1970s and 1980s. His book offers systematic comparative description and analysis of subjects such as strike activity, union density, trends in real wages, worker opinion polls, authoritarian labour legislation, and the emergence or reemergence of labour parties in the post-authoritarian era. Like the three labour movements he studies most carefully, Drake seems chastened by the experience of authoritarian repression. He is content to demonstrate the remarkable staying power of these labour movements.

University of Washington CHARLES BERGQUIST

Kathleen Bruhn, *Taking on Goliath: The Emergence of a new Left Party Struggle for Democracy in Mexico* (Pennsylvania, Penn State Press, 1996), p. xiv + 365, £49.50, £20.50 pb.

In her study of the emergence of the centre-left Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), Kathleen Bruhn reflects on the appropriateness of the David and Goliath metaphor for an understanding of the unequal battle between the dominant PRI and the new 'weakling', the PRD led by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. 'When David challenges Goliath', the author argues, 'he had better aim well with the first stone or Goliath may end up dictating the terms of the surrender'. The stunning victory achieved by Cárdenas in the Mexico City government elections and the substantial recovery in the PRD's global share of the vote in the July 1997 mid-term elections might suggest that Bruhn's analysis of the PRD's early development is seriously flawed. This, however, would be an unjust and inaccurate assessment of this important book. In addition to being the first study in English on a significant aspect of the politics of the Salinas *sexenio*, Bruhn also makes an important contribution to the study of party emergence and consolidation.

Bruhn is not the only analyst to have underlined the stunning reversal in the fortunes of the *cardenista* centre-left. In the fraudulent presidential elections of

1988 the coalition of parties supporting the renegade PRI *caudillo* was awarded 31 per cent of the vote. Yet less than three years later, the ex-PRI members, socialists and communists who had created the PRD in 1989 could only muster a little over eight per cent. The 1994 presidential elections, held amid the neo-zapatista rebellion and the murder of the PRI's initial presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, saw only a mild recovery in the PRD's vote.

The *cardenistas*' inability to hold on to and consolidate its early gains is at the centre of Bruhn's study. The key to any explanation of the PRD's early difficulties, the author argues, is the tension between the conditions underpinning the successful emergence of new parties and the requirements for the successful consolidation of the new formations. Emergence involves the detachment of supporters from older parties; consolidation requires new parties to effectively reattach the disaffected to a different option.

The most successful portion of the book is a detailed examination of the dynamics of reattachment and consolidation. The constraints on the PRD's resources, the exhaustion of activists and the ideological dispersion produced by the conflicting ideological tributaries of party members are all discussed with care. Bruhn, like most analysts, argues that the PRD was weakened by its early intransigence and the party's refusal to negotiate with the state. More importantly, the PRD is faulted for its inability to preserve and develop the alliances with urban popular and social movements that enabled the party to advance so spectacularly in the electoral earthquake of 1988.

By the end of 1994 most critics were prepared to write off the PRD. Certainly this was the conclusion reached by Cardenas allies such as Adolfo Aguilar Zinser. But what Bruhn was unable to detect (since there were few signs of this development during her field work) and what Aguilar Zinser only belatedly acknowledged, was the PRD's ability to reinvent itself. Moving beyond pure oppositional stands, the party was able to displace the PAN as the most credible focus of anti-system discontent.

This is a solidly researched book, drawing on interviews (mostly conducted in 1991 and 1992), careful observation of the PRD's internal life and a close reading of the Mexican press although, surprisingly, the author does not seem to have examined the PRD's own newspaper and magazines. Although the events of 1993 and 1994 receive some comment, the core of this book is clearly driven by the experience of the PRD in its first three years. The history of the PRD's recovery in 1996 and 1997 is still to be written but scholars will long be indebted to Bruhn for the pioneering research published in this impressive book.

La Trobe University BARRY CARR

Alberto Aziz Nassif, *Teritorios de Alternancia* (*El primer gobierno de oposición en Chihuahua*) (Tlalpan, Mexico: CIESAS and Triana Editores, 1996), pp. 216, pb.

Despite the important changes of governance underway in Mexico including decentralisation, declining presidentialism, more effective separation of powers, and much heralded 'New Federalism', our understanding of the nature of state government remains limited. In contrast with the upsurge of analyses of municipal government, to date there is no parallel at the state level with the

exception of two monographs on the Ruffo administration of Baja California. Thus, Aziz's survey of the first three years (1992–95) of Francisco Barrio's Acción Nacional six-year-mandate in Chihuahua is especially welcome: doubly so, given the rich and detailed analysis that he offers.

Territorios de Alternancia builds upon Aziz's earlier work on Chihuahua (his native state), and comprises a comprehensive review of the Barrio government's efforts to open-up the democratic space by undertaking extensive reforms, and by recasting governance and public administration. That the first three years were a period in which the PAN had a large majority in the state congress, as well as inheriting from the previous legislature a reform that no longer required a two-thirds majority for the passage of constitutional changes, meant that the PAN had an unprecedented opportunity to implement its agenda relatively unhindered. However, three years on the PAN in Chihuahua had been trounced in the 1994 federal elections, and much more significantly, in 1995 it was trounced in the mid term (state) congressional and municipal elections. After July 1995, the PAN had only seven seats in the 24 seat congress (three by direct election compared to the PRI's 15), and had lost all of the cities that it won in 1992 with the exception of Cd. Juárez and Ojinaga (of the 67 municipalities the PRI won 55). The primary question Aziz seeks to resolve, therefore, is why the disastrous electoral performance, particularly during 1995 when elsewhere in the country so many were rushing to embrace the PAN?

Aziz reviews several broad areas of government and party activity, focusing heavily upon government initiatives, and inter-governmental relations. Indeed, given the extensive and sometimes dramatic reforms undertaken by the Barrio administration in the first three years, the mauling that the PAN subsequently received at the polls becomes even more surprising. *Inter alia* among the advances were: major administrative reforms to enhance the efficiency of public administration; reduced corruption; enhanced public security and safety; major electoral reforms; judicial reform and autonomy for that branch; an improved budgetary situation and greater decentralization of control over capital spending projects to the municipalities; major innovations in urban planning and in housing and land reserve policies. An impressive list of achievements, yet it appears to have counted for little when it came to the July 1995 elections.

There appears to be one overwhelming reason for the PAN's defeat: political naiveté. Specifically, that the Barrio government focused overly upon good administration, and neglected the politics of good government. While Barrio had to deal with a series of political hot potatoes immediately upon taking office, he always appeared to be reacting to PRI-initiated criticisms, and rarely got on the offensive taking the fight to the PRI. As a result the PRI ran Barrio ragged wherever it could – over the confidential nature of officials' salaries, over the pensions dispute, over the teachers' unions, transport policy, Tarahumara rights, and so on. Nor did Barrio showcase his programmes and policies as assiduously as he might. Not having the press on his side did not help, but he failed to underscore the positive advances achieved under his administration, or to exploit the greater freedom that radio provides. Nor did he build effective links to local business and power elites, but rather kept aloof. Most seriously of all, he made no headway to secure the party bases and to reach out to civil society with new forms of participation to replace the old corporatist ones which he was doing his best to unravel. As Aziz notes (p. 207) this was not so much a separation of party

and government as a divorce! (One of my few criticisms of the book is that Aziz fails to explore the nature of intra-party relations in greater detail, and totally ignores Barrio's relations with the party hierarchy in Mexico City.) Part of the problem locally, it appears, was that the party leadership was not of his making nor part of his group. But taken overall, it was Barrio's steadfast view that good government would win the day that most easily explains why the PAN became unglued.

Not surprisingly these failings have prompted a major change in strategy. For the remainder of his term (1995–98) Barrio pledged to take the political offensive and to reach out determinedly towards the grassroots, helping his party build a more effective territorial penetration, particularly once a close ally took over the state party leadership. About the time that this review is published we will probably know definitely whether or not he has been successful. Aziz does not offer us any predictions, although his admiration for the Barrio administration and its implications for building democracy is plain to see. Specifically he concludes, first, that democratic transition remains fragile, for there can be no certainty that the new rules will survive were the PRI to win the next gubernatorial election. Second, that simple accession of another party to power opens a series of possibilities and recasting of the prevailing local power structure. It also breaks the monopolisation of professionals within government and allows an inflow of new ideas, personnel, and ways of conducting business. Third, that there will be raised expectations after an 'alternation', and that it is necessary to 'showcase' one's achievements fairly aggressively, and to eschew false modesty and not 'pull' one's punches. For the *vox populi* Barrio's government was not perceived to be doing anything dramatic, but was tarred with the same criticisms as for previous (PRI) administrations. Now that elections are more open and fair, with a *padron* that more effectively embraces the *vox populi*, all party and government leaders are going to have to do a better job, and to convince people of the fact. Aziz's fascinating study suggests that, thus far at least, Governor Barrio is learning his lesson the hard way.

University of Texas at Austin PETER M. WARD

Miguel Angel Centeno and Mauricio Font (eds.), *Toward a New Cuba? Legacies of a Revolution* (Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner, 1997), pp. ix + 245, $49.95.

The Cuban leadership has outlived all but three of its communist counterparts and has done so without significant popular opposition, a fact which has generated much scholarly debate on the reasons for this exceptionalism as well as on the inevitable advent, but far from certain form of its demise. The contributors to this collection have made a double contribution to the study of Cuba in the 1990s. Beyond examining the options for the future, they have produced a most informative analysis of the changes that have occurred on the island since the onset of the Special Period (1990–). They are also clear on the reasons for the political impasse: a regime with little room for manoeuvre, and one whose fate is tied to that of its ruler of 39 years. As long as Castro remains in power, there will be little progress towards political reform.

The economic reforms which were set in train after 1990, the most significant

of which were introduced in 1993–4 during the worst period of recession, have been minimal and in the view of Ritter and Cuban fellow-economists Carranza and Monreal perilously insufficient. While there are differences over what strategy to adopt, the economic recovery registered after 1996 is small and, in the long-run, unsustainable. As Eckstein argues, the roots of the Cuban crisis are to be found in the accumulated inefficiencies of the command economy, compounded by an intransigent leadership, and will take a great deal more than time to overcome.

If the Cuban model of political economy is doomed, what kind of transition to democracy and the market can be expected? Here the scenarios laid out by Centeno are intriguing. He considers the possibility of a democratic transition against the examples of the Chinese, Russian and Mexican roads, and the likelihood of a Spanish or Far Eastern authoritarian capitalism. The worse case scenario, one which haunts Cubans and the US administration alike, is that of chaos, the breakdown of civil order in violent confrontation which would increase the pressure for US intervention and send millions to seek refuge in Florida. Such an outcome is a risk in any delayed process of reform, and is in the interests of nobody. Yet as Clissold Gunn makes clear, there is a perverse counter-logic in the policies of the USA, a major player in the future of Cuba, whether for good or ill. Post-1990 US policies towards Cuba, especially the passage of the Helms-Burton legislation in 1996, have been nothing short of counterproductive. They have not only allowed the regime to play the nationalist card, but in the absence of any rewards for the reforms carried out so far, have offered few incentives or assurances to continue.

For its part, the Cuban leadership has also failed to pursue objectives consistent with its stated interest in a peaceful and prosperous Cuba. Human rights abuses continue, no opposition is tolerated, and to date there have been no moves towards political pluralisation. The reform process seems to have ground to a halt.

Despite the continuation of state and party control, important changes have been under way within Cuban society since the onset of the Special Period in 1990. Perez-Stable considers the processes of social differentiation which are proceeding apace, and argues that civil society is finally emerging from beneath the state. The slow penetration of market forces has not only created new economic actors but it has destabilised the socialist reward system, creating inequalities and undermining the regime's pillars of legitimacy. While civil society has often been important in transition processes elsewhere, the chapters by León and Pérez Lopez detail the negative as well as the positive aspects of this emergent and varied force, among them, the widespread and socially accepted theft of state assets.

Moreno Fraginals, Cuba's great historian, provides the sad postscript to the volume in which he argues that Cuba is not in transition, it is disintegrating. He points to the exodus of the young to Miami, to the prostitution and to the high rates of suicide in Cuba, as evidence of a profound moral crisis. He, like Max Castro, sees the urgent need for dialogue and reconciliation among the exiles and the islanders, as an essential step in speeding the process by which Cuba can begin to construct a future and a way out of the impasse.

Cuba *is* exceptional in some respects but not so much so that it can escape the lessons of eastern Europe: it shares a political and economic system that has so

far shown itself incapable of democratic reform. The question is when, and at what price, the transition to a new Cuba begins. It is that question which this volume so ably addresses.

Institute of Latin American Studies, *London*

MAXINE MOLYNEUX

Emelio Betances and Hobart A. Spalding, Jnr. (eds.), *The Dominican Republic Today: Realities and Perspectives. Essays in English and Spanish* (New York: The Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, 1996), pp. iv + 205, $43.95.

This book contains a collection of papers, some written in English and others in Spanish, presented at an International Research Workshop on the Dominican Republic, held at the Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies of the Graduate School of the City University of New York.

The introduction, written by the editors, Emelio Betances and Hobart Spalding, Jr., provides a brief summary of the main arguments of the six chapters that follow. The first two chapters were written by two Dominican economists known for their opposing views. The chapter by Andrés Dauhajre, Jr. provides a favourable account of the stabilisation program implemented in the Dominican Republic between 1990–1992 under the terms of the stand-by agreement signed by the Dominican government with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in August 1992. The chapter by Miguel Ceara Hatton provides a critical assessment of the stabilisation program, in the context of the shifting economic plans and priorities of the Balaguer administration between 1986 and 1992.

The third chapter, written by José del Castillo, provides a very complete and informative overview of the reasons for reforming the Dominican political system, and a summary of specific proposals for reform that were approved or remained in discussion in the early 1990s. The chapter is particularly rich in its discussion of electoral reforms and provides a brief account of the main changes introduced to the Electoral Law in 1992.

The fourth chapter, written by Jonathan Hartlyn and Pamela Graham, analyzes the uneven relationship between the United States and the Dominican Republic, which they argue has been characterised by Dominican marginality and US unilateralism. They also provide a summary of the main issues defining the bilateral agenda in the 1990s: debt, trade and investment, democracy and civil and human rights, migration, drug trafficking, and the environment.

The chapter on Dominican migration, written by Patricia Pessar, reports on early studies conducted on Dominican migration to the United States. She discusses the relationship between migration and national agriculture, the impact of migration on urban sectors, and the growing significance of return migration. The central argument is that the impact of outmigration has been uneven for Dominicans, preserving class inequalities.

The last chapter on riots and strikes among the urban poor by Roberto Cassá, provides a comparative-historical analysis of Dominican social movements. The argument here is that before the 1980s social movements were class-based, had a close connection with political parties, and had some form of revolutionary ideal. Since the 1980s, social movements tend to be local and residentially-based, their connection with political parties loose, and their demands more specific.

In brief, this book provides a valuable collection of essays about the economic, political, and social realities of the Dominican Republic in the 1980s and early 1990s. It is a most read for those interested in this period.

Temple University ROSARIO ESPINAL

Ricard G. Lipsey and Patricio Meller (eds.), *Western Hemisphere Trade Integration: A Canadian–Latin American Dialogue* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997), pp. xviii + 308, £15.99 pb.

'Western Hemisphere Trade Integration' evolved from the proceedings of a conference of the same name held in Chile in January 1995. The conference aimed to improve the dialogue between Canada and Latin America and provide an overview of their perceptions of the process of trade integration in the Americas. The book includes contributions by a diverse set of commentators, both Latin American and Canadian, and ranges over a variety of trading and integration agreements, examining the implications and future of regionalism on the continent.

NAFTA in particular is focused on, with four chapters at various points in the book examining the nature of NAFTA and how its future evolution will affect other trading arrangements in the region. Bruce Wilkinson's chapter on 'NAFTA and the World Economy' provides an interesting overview of these issues, which is then commented on later in the book by Richard G. Lipsey. Maureen Appel Molot poses the question, is NAFTA, policy or investment led? and seeks to answer this question by examining the evolution of the North American trade and investment regime.

NAFTA's forerunner, the Canada-US Free-Trade Agreement (CUFTA), is also reviewed in a chapter by Ann Weston, who looks at social issues and labour adjustment policies, focusing on the consequences of the Canadian experience of integration and trade liberalisation. This is then followed by Richard G. Dearden who assesses the trade and disputes settlement mechanism within this agreement, its mechanisms and effectiveness. Raúl E. Sáez, focuses on Canada, and examines trade and investment links between Canada and Latin America, emphasising the point that Canada is not a significant trade partner for this region, although it has been an important investor in some countries. A comprehensive analysis of the point which Mercosur has reached is provided by Roberto Bouzas, who examines the objectives and future of the trade bloc.This is then supplemented by a case-study of Paraguay 'the smallest Mercosur member' by Luis E. Breuer.

Unfortunately for books of this nature, they are unable to take account of the rapidly changing networks of regional integration agreements in Latin America. Thus, the chapters on 'Alternative Trade Strategies for Chile' by Raúl Labán and Patricio Mellor and the case-study of Bolivia by Jorge Aseff, Justo Espejo and Juan Antonio Morales, although interesting, have to a certain extent been overtaken by events and their subsequent associate memberships of Mercosur. Another integration agreement, the Group of Three Agreement between Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, is covered in an informative chapter by Juan José Echavarría, providing a viewpoint of the objectives and prospects of this agreement.

Overall, this book explores some interesting themes, in particular how regional trading arrangements will evolve, will it be through NAFTA being the focus of

integration initiatives or will Mercosur provide a rival bloc for instance? Will these blocs become opposing and which countries would benefit from joining NAFTA? However, it is unfortunate that these issues are not brought out more fully and linked together to provide a more coherent exploration of the ideas brought forward. Nonetheless, this volume does provide an interesting overview of the evolution and lessons arising from NAFTA and the attempts by other Latin American countries and Canada to move towards free trade and strengthen their trade links geographically within the Western hemisphere.

South Bank University ANN BARTHOLOMEW

Jere R. Behrman, *Human Resources in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Washington, D. C.: Inter-American Development Bank, 1996), pp. x + 215, £14.00 pb.

It has become commonplace to claim that investment in human resources is an essential prerequisite for achieving growth as well as equity (equitable growth). Behrman's book supports this premise and one of its main strengths is the clarity with which the author from the first pages elucidates his position. He formulates four basic ideas which provide a structure for the development of his analysis. The first concerns the impact of human resources on productivity and distribution. This impact is felt also on a macroeconomic level and reveals the existence of interesting gender distinctions, mainly that investing in a female work force, specifically in training/education, positively affects health and nutrition. The second point refers to the level of the development of human resources on a regional scale. It shows a number of strengths when compared with international standards, although there are also weaknesses. Thirdly, the author supports certain public policies with regards to productivity and distribution. His underlying argument here is that it is crucial to know whether the rates of return are higher in the public or the private sector. Finally, he argues that small changes in the provision of these services to the public can result in higher returns, but that results can be even better if certain policies are reoriented.

One of the merits of the book is the quality of aggregated data and its analysis. Among others, there are a few points worth emphasising. Firstly, taking into account income *per capita*, the region shows standards in education, health and nutrition that are slightly higher than the international. This evidence refutes the notion that the level of investment in human resources in the region is low. Secondly, differences existing among Latin American and Caribbean countries are not unrelated to income distribution, i.e., the standards in primary education are highest and life expectancy is longest in the countries where the differences in equity are smallest. Thirdly, the author points out to a number of facts which suggest deterioration of social conditions. Thus, the fact that an acceptable level of the development of human resources remained stable in recent years is related to the decline in income *per capita* in the 1980s. As the indicator rises again, the level of development might be less successful (further from what is optimal, from the target). A characteristic of the region is the low number of students in secondary education and this could become an important obstacle in facing new challenges of growth. In addition, significant problems arise in health

(demographic transitions, nutrition and spread of AIDS) for which it appears there are no satisfactory solutions.

The final chapter tackles a crucial and topical question: should social services be provided by private companies or by the state? In the conclusion the author points out one basic problem: the lack of adequate data and data analysis for decision-making. He therefore calls for more emphasis on information gathering. In the same vein, through various examples the author demonstrates his support for the implementation of a hybrid social model where both the state and the private sector would play a role. I would also add such sectors as non-governmental organisations, which in recent years have intensified their activity and grown in importance in the region, as well as the household which ultimately is the *locus* for the conditions of life of the population.

It appears to me that the text is relevant for two issues currently debated in the region. The first refers to the necessarily inconclusive debate regarding growth and equity. Latin America and the Caribbean are entering a new phase of development in a different framework from that which dominated previous years. These new parameters make it necessary to reformulate the debate and the book contains important data and analytical findings. The other discussion refers to social policy and its reconsideration in terms of social citizenship. The author's reflections on political options are also useful for the discussion on types of citizenship and models of practices which they imply.

FLACSO, Costa Rica JUAN PABLO PÉREZ SÁINZ

Alain de Janvry, Gustavo Gordillo and Elisabeth Sadoulet, *Mexico's Second Agrarian Reform: Household and Community Responses* (La Jolla, CA: Center for US–Mexican Studies, UCSD, 1997), pp. xv + 222, pb.

Reporting on a pair of surveys of the ejidal sector in Mexico in 1990 and 1994, this book offers 'to identify early successes and failures in the implementation of the "bold program of agrarian reform" initiated in 1991 by Carlos Salinas de Gortari' (pp. xiii–xiv). As is characteristic of this team, the statistical analysis offers an enthusiastic and optimistic view of the opportunities that neo-liberal policy reform is creating for the ejidal sector.

Surprisingly, however, the flaws in the sample on which the quantitative analysis is based are serious. The small size of the 1994 sample (275 ejidos and 1548 ejidatarios) does not allow for an accurate description of the specific socio-economic and regional groups characteristic of a highly variegated social and productive ejidal sector.

The reported findings will not surprise scholars. Rather than reviewing the conclusions that poverty is determined by 'region, farm size, ethnicity, human capital assets, and migration assets' (p. 183), a broader description of the team's agenda is warranted. A succinct statement is offered: 'The emergence of a peasant economy is the product of the liberalization of ejidatarios from state control' (p. 137). Although there are 'many means of differentiation', four were particularly important in assuring economic success: (1) planting monocropped corn in the fall-winter cycle required 'differential technological behaviour'; (2) producing fruits and vegetables; (3) cattle-raising; and (4) migration.

To confront the backwardness of the peasant economy de Janvry and his team offer 'a set of guidelines for improvement' (p. xiv). '[T]argeting education programs and migration assistance for households in indigenous communities' (p. 187) tops their list. But more important. '[a]s ejidatarios' become more exposed to the rigours of competitive markets and less sheltered by government [their organisations will] 'assume an increasingly important role if ejidatarios are to successfully modernise and diversify' (p. 121). The second agrarian reform 'offers major opportunities to improve efficiency and welfare' (p. 213); the 'old model of political control', with its control over local political practices and markets, can be overcome by the 'higher incentives for direct political intervention' and by 'using the comparative advantages that the ejido. offers' (pp. 211–2).

We are warned that 'successful modernization and diversification hinge upon the existence of a favourable macroeconomic context' (p. 212). While a top official of the Agriculture Ministry declared an intent to remove one-half of Mexico's population from the *campo*, the authors do not examine how or why maize was transferred from traditional dry land peasants to the farmers in irrigation districts of northern Mexico. The huge grain imports occasioned by the dramatic growth in the demand for water, as international maize prices rose and cattlemen held back their exports of live animals, do not seem worthy of mention to these authors; but the substantial economic, social and environmental costs of this policy might have been avoided had peasants been encouraged to increase production.

This detailed examination of a flawed information base is part of a broader set of well-financed research products designed to confirm that most peasants cannot hope to survive in the new global economy. There is no evidence in the surveys that it would be possible for the peasants to switch to other crops or improve the productivity of their traditional products without the assistance historically offered to more favoured segments of rural producers. Different approaches are needed, but we will not find any consideration of them here.

Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana – Xochimilco DAVID BARKIN

Jorge I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal (eds.), *Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s – Themes and Issues* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. xvii + 128 + 41, £11.50 pb.

Jorge I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal (eds.), *Constructing Democratic Governance: South America in the 1990s* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. xvii + 224 + 41, £13.00 pb.

Jorge I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal (eds.), *Constructing Democratic Governance: Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean in the 1990s* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. xvii + 232 + 41, £13.00 pb.

Within the past two decades the tides of political and economic change sweeping across Latin America have understandably drawn pronounced, sometimes exaggerated academic attention to the study of democracy. Scholars have

attempted to probe and dissect manifest aspects of systemic democratisation – from breakdown and requilibration through a series of transitions, putative consolidation, reconstruction, and the perils of deconstruction and a renewal of democratic failure. Much of the literature consists of coedited, multi-authored compendia that reflect the somewhat uncoordinated thinking of the contributors. Among the most recent – and one of the few which in the final analysis is best described as a textbook – is this effort over which Jorge Domínguez and Abraham Lowenthal have presided. Its major scholarly value is not as a new theoretical statement about democratisation and its variants but rather, as an attempt to assess contemporary democracy on a country-by-country basis. Granted an avowed normative commitment to working democracy throughout the region, and powerfully impelled by the support of the Inter-American Dialogue for the entire project, it is scarcely surprising that all of the contributors have been asked to analyse the experience of democratic governance. In order to achieve parallel emphases throughout the study, Domínguez and Lowenthal have encouraged analysis of both institutional and personal efforts at governance.

In a brief five-page introduction the editors note their instructions to contributors that attention be directed to such topics as political parties; executive–legislative, civil–military, and church–state relations; the roles of civic, professional, business, and labour organisations and of the media; and a host of other items. Authors were also asked where appropriate to incorporate analysis of such special issues as narcotics, ethnic movements, corruption, and the like. In addition, individual essays were commissioned for the first of the three paperback volumes that constitute the total work. There, under the rubric of 'Themes and Issues', five authors provide separate discussions of such topics as the Left and Democratic Politics (Alan Angell); Conservative Party Politics and Electoral Mobilization (Edward Gibson); Democracy and Inequality (Jorge Castañeda); Traditional Power Structures and Democratic Governance (Frances Hagopian); and Indigenous Protest and Democracy (Deborah Yashar). Each makes its own contribution to the volume although, taken together, they scarcely form a coherent whole. Hagopian's analysis is of particular note in its thoughtful analysis of traditional elites and their determined resistance to true democratic governance. Reforms, she argues, require a reduction in the elites' economic power, accompanied by measures designed to curb existing power structures through institutional change and by a strengthening of political participation and representation.

The two companion volumes present single-nation cases which focus respectively on South America, and then on Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean in the 1990s. The first provides coverage of the ten countries customarily grouped into this continental region. Each reader can choose favourite chapters, but all reflect an admirable level of scholarship. Subtitles suggest something of the authors' emphases for the present decade as, for example, 'The Political Underpinnings of Economic Liberalization' for Chile, 'Transition from Caudillo Rule' for Paraguay, and 'From Restoration to the Crisis of Governability' with Uruguay. With the volume on Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, eleven chapters provide the geographic coverage, including Trevor Munroe's short but succinct chapter assessing the decay or renewal of democracy in the small Caribbean islands. Once again the overall quality is excellent. For this reviewer, there is particularly rich theoretical

significance in Anthony Maingot's chapter on Haiti; that of Lowell Gudmundson on Costa Rica; and the decline of Mexican dominant-party rule by Denise Dresser.

All three volumes contain the editors' introduction plus a concluding chapter by Domínguez and Jeanne Kinney Giraldo on parties, institutions, and market reforms. The latter is less a true conclusion than it is a fine essay on political parties. Much of the existing work on democratisation passes over the subject of parties with cavalier brevity, and so this chapter is especially welcome. Domínguez and Giraldo consider the electoral defeat along with the reinvention of old parties. The birth of new parties is studied as a passage 'from warrior to peacemaker' (8–10), as a protest against partyarchy and ideological betrayal, and as a means of constructing a new political society. The challenges of participation and representation are considered, along with proposed reforms of state institutions. This leads ultimately to consideration of economic reforms, the market, and democratic consolidation, in which the authors draw substantially on the experiences of individual nations during the present decade. All of this provides rich insights that may well complement other efforts at studying and understanding democratic consolidation and deconsolidation in Latin America.

Notwithstanding the skills of the editors and their many collaborators, this work must be viewed primarily as a text for appropriate survey courses at the undergraduate level. It provides an updated and fully contemporary alternative to other texts, most especially to the widely used *Latin American Politics and Development* edited by Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, the fourth edition of which has just appeared. Both are excellent collections, although there are distinctions in coverage as well as parallels. While the latter is fully revised and updated, it also includes the general background and extensive historical background which is deliberately omitted from *Constructing Democratic Governance* in the interests of more detailed study of these last few years. It is from the more concentrated emphasis on the 1990s that Domínguez and Lowenthal reason that the systemic transition toward democracy in the Americas represents a paradigmatic shift of historic dimensions, while the contemporary experience at the same time demonstrates that 'it is premature and indeed misleading to talk about "consolidating" democratic governance in Latin America and the Caribbean' (p. 6). The accuracy of this concluding warning about premature assumptions has proven to be underlined by recent political events in several nations.

The Pennsylvania State University JOHN D. MARTZ

William I. Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. xv + 466, £50.00, £17.95 pb.

The idea of an 'emergent transnational elite' is not a new one and Jorge Castañeda and others have pointed to the dangers such a phenomenon may one day pose if current Latin American tendencies in choices for overseas education, the role of Miami in hemispheric elite life, and other trends continue, but it is

important to develop the idea further and this book does this. The thought that an excessive encouragement of local democracy on the part of the international community can on occasion smack of improper intervention in the affairs of a state is likewise worth saying.

This book says a great deal about all of the above and much of it is well said and worth reading. However, these positive aspects of the thrust of the volume are easily lost sight of by the exaggeration, frequently simplistic approach, and great historical inaccuracies which take away much of the seriousness of the work leaving the reader with an uncomfortable sense of having just experienced the worst of the difficulties so often encountered with the *thèse de complot*.

To suggest, as the author does, that the CIA has 'overthrown countless governments' (p. 86) is so stretched that one loses sympathy for the important point that it has doubtless encouraged the overthrow of many. The argument that Chile 'had been under US domination since late last century' (p. 319) is so inaccurate that one has difficulty accepting the much less preposterous assertion that there have been attempts more recently by Washington to gain just such a position. The idea that the Nicaraguan Contras had enjoyed better 'training than the National Guard had received under Somoza' (p. 219) is so wide of the mark that it is easy to lose the important point that the former were largely a US creation with limited legitimacy especially in the early years of their existence. It is uncertain, to say the least, that the no doubt frightful Haitian experience was the 'most brutal slavery in recorded human history' (p. 258), and it is surely counterintuitive to suggest that brothels were, prior to the arrival of US Marines in 1915, 'hitherto unknown in Haiti' (p. 266).

Just as troubling are the sweeping accusations levelled at politicians, aid programmes, intellectuals, and any number of others involved in the drive to anchor democracy more firmly in Latin America and elsewhere. British and Canadian democratic development projects are accused of being too closely aligned with their US counterparts. To all intents and purposes, all of the Nicaraguan opposition to the Sandinistas was linked to, indeed subservient to, the US drive to overthrow the FSLN government.

This book sets out to demonstrate that the United States policy of promoting democracy in the Third World, and especially in Latin America, is merely a means to relieve pressure for more fundamental political, social and economic change. It suggests that 'polyarchy', this 'low-intensity democracy' which is in the author's view so much in vogue, is merely one further, more recent arrow in the quiver of US imperialism allowing it to continue to 'construct global empire and to exercise worldwide domination'.

All of this is such heady stuff that one has the right to ask for evidence. And while there is some, it tends to be rather sketchy and posed in such polemical language that academic rigour appears to have given way on many occasions to what the author admits is his acceptance of his role as providing 'intellectual production as a form of social action'. It is admirable that he avows this bias but there is with this assertion the inevitable loss of some of his ability to convince. This is a pity because there is much here which needs to be said. Even if there is not as yet a plot by some sort of globalised elite, linked with United States power, to remake the world in an image of their choosing, there is certainly a danger that the growth of elite linkages of any number of kinds may indeed have a deep impact on the independence of certain Third World states and affect their

foreign and domestic policies in ways which hurt domestic constituencies of great value and legitimacy. Because of this it is important to write of these matters with conviction combined with rigour. More *nuance* would have helped the case stated here. It is visible here and there but rarely. This is a pity because the subject is important and timely.

Kingston, Royal Military College of Canada HAL KLEPAK

Joaquín Roy and Albert Galinsoga (eds.), *The Ibero–American Space: Dimensions and Perceptions of the Special Relationship between Spain and Latin America* (Miami: University of Miami, Iberian Studies Institute, 1997), pp. vi + 286, pb.

This book covers several key components of the relationships between Spain and Latin America. Its chapters address topics that are crucial to a correct understanding of both the historical connections and the future prospects of the relationships between these two social, cultural and political spaces. Most of the chapters included in this book address topics related to international relations and foreign policy. However, they focus on different issues and display very different approaches and methodological interests.

The first three chapters included in this book describe the context in which the relationships between Spain and Latin America take place. Thus, the article by Juan Antonio March explores the general characteristics of the Iberoamerican space and the challenges faced by Spain and Latin American countries in the deepening of their relationships. Joaquín Roy provides us with a suggestive reflection on the general factors affecting the relationships between Spain and Latin America. In addition, Albert Galinsoga and Nuria Camps develop an exhaustive analysis of the legal status of the Iberoamerican community of nations and of crucial issues and episodes in this field of interest.

Some of the articles included in this book deal with the ideological components that underlie the international relations between Spain and Latin America. Andrés Serbín analyses the role of ethnic perceptions and cultural identifications in the definition of the relationships between these two political spaces. In particular, Serbín tries to show that the cultural characteristics that Spain and Spanish American countries share facilitate constant references to certain common origins and contribute to create a common ground for international cooperation. Antonia Martínez, Ismael Crespo and Ariel Jeréz analyze the continuities and breaks in the terms of the political discourse used by Spanish politicians under Francoism and by the democratic governments of Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD) and the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE). Jean Grugel analyses also the ideological bases of the Spanish policy towards Latin America, paying particular attention to the role played by the Spanish government in the democratisation of several Latin American countries, as well as in the conflicts and pacification experienced by the Central American region.

A third set of articles deals with issues related to the economic relationships between Latin America and Spain. Thus, Alfredo Arahuetes and Julio Argüelles focus on the Spanish investments in Latin American from 1981 to 1992, whereas JoAnn Fagot analyses the main characteristics and conditionants of the Spanish cooperation policies oriented towards Latin America. Finally, this book concludes

with a final chapter by Joaquín Roy on the special and complex relationships between Cuba and Spain.

Overall, this book provides us with an ambitious attempt to deal with the dynamics, components and prospects of the relationships between Spain and Latin America. In so doing, it underscores the ties that exist between these two cultural and political spaces, and contributes to a better understanding of the situation of Latin America in the international world.

Universidad de Salamanca MANUEL ALCANTARA

Jürgen Buchenau. *In the Shadow of the Giant. The Making of Mexico's Central America Policy, 1876–1930* (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1996), pp. xviii + 287, pb.

Jürgen Buchenau sets out in this book to demonstrate that Mexico's Central American policy has consistently reflected Mexico's situation as a 'middle power' between the much larger United States and the much smaller countries of Central America. This situation, he suggests, provokes a combination of 'great power-driven' policies which 'make the weaker area a theater of opposition to the great power'; bilateral objectives, including boundary issues and the assertion of the middle power's own influence; and domestically driven initiatives rooted in internal politics. (xii) On this basis, he argues that 'No one should have been surprised at López Portillo's audacious policies' with regard to Nicaragua since 'the initiatives of the 1979–82 period followed a historical pattern dating back to the nineteenth century' (p. ix).

Preceded by a sketch of the main lines of Mexican development in the first half-century of independence. Buchenau's offers a valuable reconstruction of Mexican actions regarding Central America between 1876 and the 1920s.

A first phase is characterised by bilateral tensions with Guatemala arising largely from boundary problems (with concern about US support for Guatemala), culminating in 'saber-rattling moral suasion' against Barrios' 1885 attempt to impose Central American Union by force.

The next phase is presented against Porfirio Díaz's response to the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, and rivalry between the anti-Mexican dictator Estrada Cabrera in Guatemala and the anti-US Zelaya in Nicaragua. The result is joint mediation by the US and Mexico in 1906 and 1907 to prevent war, the main Mexican aim being 'to forestall through multilateral and negotiation direct U.S. intervention in Central America' (p. 65) as well as to weaken Estrada Cabrera.

Things go wrong in 1908–10 as the increasingly troubled Porfirian regime now finds itself unable to 'walk the tightrope between the United States and Mexican public opinion'. As the US adopted more aggressive policies against Zelaya, Díaz could neither co-mediate nor halt US intervention. All that was left was the 'largely symbolic' policy of providing Zelaya asylum in 'a feeble attempt to use diplomacy for propagandistic benefit' (p. 108).

The last episode in the period covered by this book is the return to confrontation in 1926 and 1927 as Calles, against renewed tensions to the north over oil, provided direct support for the Liberal forces of Sacasa in opposition to US-backed Conservative forces.

The way in which Buchenau places Mexican actions against the background of Mexican internal developments and the evolution of relations with the US is generally very good, although his explanation of Calle's policy in 1926 is both less clear and less convincing than his treatment of the earlier episodes.

This reconstruction is also an interesting background to subsequent Mexican policy. We can see many of the elements behind López Portillo's policy in Central America between 1979 and 1982: the prevention of direct US intervention, the utilisation of an 'independent' foreign policy to boost internal support, the pursuit of regional influence.

It is not clear how much else he has actually given us, despite the theoretical claims of the preface and the blurb. The three-page analysis of López Portillo's policy is cursory, even though this is precisely the point of comparison which is held out as the basis of long-term pattern; all consideration of economic relations is left out; and Buchenau does not follow through on the initial promise – not in fact original to him – to provide an analysis of Mexican behaviour in the broader comparative terms of 'a "middle power"'. Nevertheless, it is certainly a valuable contribution to Latin American diplomatic history.

Institut Européen d'Administration Publique EDWARD BEST

David Lehmann, *Struggle for the Spirit: Religious Transformation and Popular-Culture in Brazil and Latin America* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1996), pp. xii + 224, £39.50.0

Pentecostalism, which after a first wave of writing in the 1970s was seemingly ostracised by academic circles, has since 1990 seen a flourishing re-emergence of books and articles. While widespread throughout the Third World, particularly in Africa and Latin America, it is in Latin America that pentecostalism has benefitted from this new wealth of writing. Given the multiplicity of studies, including comparisons between pentecostalism and communities closely based in liberation theology (Mariz, Ireland, Burdick etc.), repetitions were likely to appear. David Lehmann's book, which compares the 'basismo' close to liberation theology with pentecostalism, fortunately escapes this criticism and shows that the field is still open to discoveries. It is true that the area is extremely vast, dealing with the universe of the lives of millions of Latin Americans from popular backgrounds – in this case, more than ten million Brazilians. It is agreed that pentecostalism is a phenomena of popular backgrounds. Is it then an expression of popular culture? According to the author, the interest in comparing pentecostalism with 'basimo', which allows a distinction to be made between the 'basimo' of populism and of popular (mass) movement, lies in breaking down certain notions of popular culture: the idealisation of popular culture in insisting on the aspect of resistance (Brandão) and, on the other hand, the conception of popular culture as a graduation from erudite culture (Bourdieu). With respect to these two conceptions, Lehmann then defines his own. Popular culture only exists within its dialectical link with erudite culture; according to Lehmann this dialectic is at the heart of religious culture in the Latin Catholic world. At the extreme, popular culture is a projection of the image of the people by the intelligentsia. This brings Lehmann to a particularly compelling view of the two

phenomena that he is studying. 'Basismo' is a popular culture which fits perfectly into this dialectic and which succeeds in creating a popular intelligentsia. However, it does not really speak the language of the people. On the other hand, pentecostalism speaks this language but totally misses the dialectic. It attacks popular culture as much as it rejects the intelligentsia. From this point of view, in the history of popular culture, pentecostalism represents a true 'cultural revolution' which is, without a doubt, disconcerting but powerful.

This eminently interesting thesis is then developed on a more general level. The last part of the book attempts to show pentecostalism as a form of fundamentalism, in the same way as Islamic or Jewish fundamentalism. According to Lehmann, it is wrong to see phenomena attached to the past, or the anti-modern, in fundamentalism. On the contrary, modern globalisation provides the possibility of 'communicating through cultures' without passing judgement on the differences; and fundamentalism achieves precisely that. That pentecostalism is fundamentalist is certainly defendable. That it is modern has been highlighted. However, in viewing pentecostalism through fundamentalism, a different objective is envisioned; the relationship with popular culture. Does the fact that pentecostalism escapes the dialectic characteristic of the Latin Catholic religious culture automatically render it indifferent to popular culture, as Lehmann claims? If other researchers have been able to talk of popular war between pentecostalism and Afro–Brazilian cults, it is because pentecostalism does not call for arbitrary intervention through erudite culture or state repression mechanisms. Thus, all things considered, does pentecostalism, in treating the *umbanda* as an enemy rather than with condescendence of 'respect for cultural differences', not recognise the status of mass religion in these cults? Is this not so, in particular in neo-pentecostalism, which most incorporates this in its image? It would also appear from this (in this 'anti-magic' sharing common ground with 'magic') that the use of biblical citations is not always literal, as Lehmann recognises elsewhere. And as he draws his argument on the rationalisation of studies from Peel in l'Aladura (Nigeria), one could perhaps add that what ensured the common success of pentecostalism on both sides of the Atlantic, was that pentecostalism truly 'conversed' with African cultures. As Lehmann notes, it is true that the Black Brazilian pentecostal ministers are ignorant of the history of the Black American churches from which pentecostalism descended (but perhaps not in the case of Brazilian pentecostalism), it is also true that Black ministers are almost non-existent in the Universal Church, and it is true that the 'mauvais goût' of pentecostalism seems to pertain to its assimilation of American models of mass consumption; but why is it necessary to consider culture as essentially tolerant, anti-conformist and politically correct?

Be that as it may, Lehmann takes us everywhere on his journey, describes to us what he sees, expresses his surprise and bases his remarks on real life. His main area of research is in Salvador de Bahia. The style is flowing and reads like a travel story; a well-informed account, always on the look-out and guided by interrogations framed in theoretically pertinent questions. The author perfectly brings to the fore the 'mauvais goût' displayed and assumed by pentecostalism, and tries to dissect its components. He opens up a large field of research, as yet unexplored and fascinating.

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