

The central idea of this work is "revolution." The author contends that this term, along with "democracy," is meaningless in Latin America. The first is usually applied to a conservative restoration and the second to predatory imperialism. Only in radical change, as seen in the *Fidelista* movement and in Socialism, is substantive meaning possible. True independence for Latin America did not begin until the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Other authentic revolutions occurred in Guatemala (1944), Bolivia (1952), and Cuba (1959). The United States opposed each in order to perpetuate the stagnation of the traditional order for her own selfish economic purposes.

Ciría reluctantly admits that Chilean Christian Democracy constitutes a valid alternative to the Cuban experiment, but his enthusiasm for the latter is unbounded. Lauding such heroes as Juan Perón, João Goulart, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and Régis Debray, he sees in their example and in guerrilla warfare the promise of the future. The chief peril lies in the Alliance for Progress and the proposed inter-American security force, reactionary devices of the United States.

Based on selective periodical sources and written with the fervor characteristic of the "New Left," *Cambio y estancamiento en América Latina* is a profession of faith badly in need of semantic and historical integrity. Endless repetition of such terms as "imperialism" and "bourgeois" is reminiscent of Manuel Ugarte and Hugo Wast, the author's spiritual precursors. In one paragraph he ranges from the Catholic Monarchs to the Weimar Constitution and in one sentence from James Monroe to Lyndon B. Johnson. His analysis of Mexico is similarly revealing. The periodization scheme is meaningless, while his pronouncement concerning the failure of Mexican education and his glorification of Cuban efforts (based on indoctrination) are highly suspect. Worst of all, Mexico is guilty of becoming "aburguesado," the cardinal sin.

The value of works such as this is that they force the reappraisal of fundamental values and problems. Latin America deserves much better than the totalitarian option which the author advocates. The cure for the ills of democracy is still more democracy.

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Politics and Economic Change in Latin America. The Governing of Restless Nations. By CHARLES W. ANDERSON. Princeton, 1967.

D. Van Nostrand and Company. Tables. Notes. Index. Pp. xii, 388. Paper. \$3.95.

Despite his qualified conclusions, Charles W. Anderson has made a most valuable contribution to understanding the multifaceted nature of both political and economic institutions in ten of the Latin American countries—and by implication the related paradoxes in the remainder of them. He hopes that the societies south of the Rio Grande will opt for pluralistic, democratic socioeconomic reforms which will enable the preindustrial sectors of the various nations to take more part in the political and economic processes of nation-building. At the same time, he emphasizes quite correctly that even if change is wrought by *revolution* this very concept implies for most Latin Americans “constructive development within a democratic framework.” What follows is even more significant: “In the majority of such cases, it is less likely that the Latin Americans involved will have ‘gone to extremes’ than that fear born of ignorance will cause well-meaning North Americans to ‘go to extremes’ in their interpretation of the situation” (p. 380).

Anderson finds no consistent correlation between his three classifications of political regimes (Conventional, Reformist, and Revolutionary) in the Central American and Andean countries and the degree of economic development which has been achieved in the last two decades, except perhaps that there has been more direct private investment from the U.S. in those countries following the Conventional or Military-Conventional approach. In any case, he maintains that for the ten nations covered in his study the postwar epoch was hardly one of profound policy revolution. As he says, “despite significant advances in economic development in many countries in the postwar period, one can point to few substantive gains in the state’s capacity to fulfill its social responsibilities” (p. 367). The varied reasons for this impotence on the part of the Latin American nation state form what seem to me the most interesting, as well as significant, portion of this excellent treatise—the first seven chapters.

A general theme of the work seems to be the novel and paradoxical idea that Latin America dare not wait for the creation of a revolutionary situation, both because it urgently needs change and because it cannot afford the huge sacrifices in human energy and resources which such a large-scale reordering of social and economic institutions would entail. Yet, while arguing that it would be grossly inefficient to destroy the old order as a prelude to further progress, the author admits (as noted above) that the policies of the last two

decades have also been inefficient in obtaining the desired degree of economic development, for their achievements have fallen far short of the optimistic projections made in the early 1950s. It would seem that neither evolution nor revolution provides a clean escape from the vicious circle of economic underdevelopment which Gunnar Myrdal and others have described.

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Politics and the Labor Movement in Latin America. By VÍCTOR ALBA. Stanford, 1968. Stanford University Press. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Pp. 404. \$12.50.

Víctor Alba possesses impressive credentials for undertaking a survey of the Latin American labor movement, and his latest writing justifies his high reputation among Latin Americanists. It is built upon two earlier labor histories which appeared in France (1953) and in Mexico (1963).

Politics and the Labor Movement in Latin America is divided into three sections. The first provides a brief but excellent introduction to societal relationships in Latin America from the colonial era to the present and establishes the environment in which workers' associations evolved. Part II delineates the main ideological movements which have sought labor's favor. In general, Alba's pattern of presentation is to discuss anarcho-syndicalism, socialism, Communism, and populism in terms of the nature of each movement, its role in a number of specific countries, and its international affiliations and activities. Part III reviews unionism in each of the Latin American nations and then concludes with an analysis of the contradictions facing labor and of the prospects for resolving basic problems.

In the aggregate, this is a well-researched and interestingly written work, and the author shows a talent for making interpretative points concisely and clearly. In his ideological section, for example, he explains anarchism's appeal to workers as resulting primarily from the fictional nature of political life. That is to say, a purportedly democratic political process was so riddled with defects as to convince the workers that the political system offered no hope for solving their economic claims. "Thus the appeal of anarchism—with its promise of direct action, its extreme ethical severity" (p. 38). For its part, socialism failed to achieve importance as an organized movement except in those few countries experiencing a heavy immigration from Europe. Nonetheless, its ideological precepts spread throughout the continent, and today socialism influences all political and