

thrust of the book. They offer descriptions of national politics, but do not address the issues upon which the book turns. Finally, the book has no index.

The debate concerning the vices and virtues of Christian-Marxist cooperation is not new, of course, but the Chilean context really did differ in that it dealt with a real situation in spades. In that sense, the book has a certain historical importance beyond the formulation of the arguments pro and con. Latin American scholars should know the work.

University of Arizona

EDWARD J. WILLIAMS

Latin America in the Year 2000. Edited by JOSEPH S. TULCHIN. Translated by PAULA HAZEN. Reading, Massachusetts, 1975. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. Tables. Pp. xii, 391. Cloth. \$10.95.

Seven years ago, in October 1968, the Interamerican Planning Society (SIAP) held its seventh congress in Lima, Peru. Thirty-three papers were presented and discussed by participants with international reputations in planning and related disciplines. They had a double objective: to anticipate what was likely to happen in the hemisphere during the following thirty years on the basis of existing factors as seen by the speakers; and to propose modifications of economic, social and political structures and practices in order to ensure a better life for more people in the year 2000.

The five broad areas covered were: the social situation in 2000; national and international politics in that year; integration and development; the new culture; and demography and planning. This volume is a condensed translation of five studies in Spanish, each of which dealt with one of the above themes. It consists of seventeen edited papers judged by the editors to represent the total range of judgments and opinions.

A basic dichotomy of "scientific" approach—not necessarily undesirable but made more glaring by the passage of seven years—distinguishes the contributors. Many specialists in Latin American studies, in academia as well as in business and government, still supported in the late 1960s the developmentalist theory which provided the rationale for the Alliance for Progress. They held that rich and poor countries formed part of a single continuum of development, simply located at different points in the process, and that the technological and economic aid being generously provided by the rich would rap-

idly narrow the gap and bring the poor countries (and the residual poor in the rich countries) into full membership of the cornucopian consumerist club.

Most of the North American contributors and a few of the Latin Americans are in this channel. Kalman H. Silvert of New York University, for example, sees the United States as having eliminated its internal depressed minorities by 2000 (p. 35), and judges that the people of Latin America were in 1968 “more the master of their destinies than they have ever been before” (p. 41). Harvey S. Perloff and Lowdon Wingo, Jr., boast of the great strides made by the Alliance for Progress (p. 45) and see salvation in such technological breakthroughs as the “miracle grains” (p. 55), the main effect of which so far has been to marginalize further the world’s rural poor.

A radically different interpretation of Latin American reality is found in Oswaldo Sunkel, Marcos Kaplan, Helio Jaguaribe, Cándido Mendes, and others. Sunkel identifies clearly the structures of dependency by which the rich countries achieved their progress at the expense of the poor and insists that they can maintain their relative advantage only as long as they are able to defend those structures (p. 71). Kaplan is still more explicit. A continuation of the existing United States hegemony, exercised by the great international corporations, will universalize “totalitarian repression” (p. 123), leading to two sets of options: “reform or revolution, capitalism or socialism” (p. 126). The growth of U.S.-supported institutionalized violence to benefit the rich at the expense of the poor in all of Latin America, most notably in Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile and lately Honduras, since 1968, confirms Kaplan’s prophetic prescience.

In a similar vein, Helio Jaguaribe is characteristically profound and logical in his analysis of the time factor. Latin America, he insists, “has a strict time limit for initiating autonomous and endogenous development. Though exact estimates are impossible, this goal will not be attainable after 2000” (p. 216).

A major value of this book is its confrontation of the philosophical, emotional and observational gulfs that divide planners and others involved in building the Latin America of tomorrow. What is difficult to understand in an era of instant communications and accelerated change is the delay of seven years in getting the messages of these specialists to U.S. academics. If that is a measure of our sense of urgency, Jaguaribe’s pessimistic projection dooming the hemisphere

to satellization and dependency for the indefinite future would seem unchallengeable.

Tucson, Arizona

GARY MACEOIN

The Politics of Oil in Venezuela. By FRANKLIN TUGWELL. Stanford, 1975. Stanford University Press. Tables. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xi, 210. Cloth. \$8.95.

This is a political science monograph. It is dependency theory applied to the evolution of the Venezuelan petroleum industry. The author's 1969 Columbia University doctoral dissertation, "Petroleum and Public Policy in Venezuela, 1959-1966: A Study of Conflict and Interdependence," has been expanded in this book to cover the years 1967-1974 as well.

The model is simple. Because of the high risks involved, multinational corporations will invest in extractive industry in an underdeveloped country only on terms that guarantee high rewards for success. However, as success occurs the bargaining terms shift inevitably in favor of the host government, the result being a steady redistribution of profits from the companies to the state.

In this sixteen-year analysis of the bargaining process, Professor Tugwell adopts the perspective of Venezuelan government authorities confronted by Standard Oil of New Jersey and Royal Dutch-Shell, the world's two largest petroleum corporations and producers of four-fifths of Venezuela's oil. He skillfully explores the subtleties and complexities of government-corporate battles over company secrecy, contract revision, retroactive taxation, pricing policy, production controls, and conservation measures. A yardstick of the state's triumph is its steady increase in the share of industry profits from fifty percent in 1958 to eighty-five percent in 1974.

The author places government-company controversies inside the broad matrix of the democratically evolving Venezuelan political system and focuses upon the reform ideology of the Acción Democrática (AD) Party. The hero in capturing ever more company profits and in extending state controls over the industry is Mining Minister Juan Pablo Pérez Alfonzo, a kind of one-man national petroleum philosopher whose pervasive reform ideals arrived at complete fruition in the January 1, 1976 nationalization of the oil industry. Pérez Alfonzo was also the father of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Coun-