

training, was geared toward inculcating them with a sense of social responsibility. In return for their education, workers were expected to “assume a commitment with the social transformations [taking place] in the country under the people’s government” (p. 367). These new professionals would in turn go back to their industries to aid the government to increase production levels. Indeed, Kirberg understands higher education in terms of the economic priorities of the Allende administration, and suggests that “the situation required concrete and rapid measures to implement educational policies consistent with the historical process, particularly in relation to production goals” (p. 378). In this context, the achievements of UTE were impressive: enrollments expanded considerably for workers, several technological institutes were created, and available resources were used imaginatively to accommodate students.

Kirberg makes no attempt to question, however, some of his assumptions. At no point, for instance, does he discuss the relationship between university and government, and one is led to believe that it is intrinsic to the university’s functions to acquiesce with the policies of the government. Since for Kirberg the Allende administration was engaged in “bringing a just society” to the country, one can assume that he expects the reader to grant him that the university should follow the administration’s policies. He gives no account of the critiques to this understanding of the university-government relationship, and fails to report on the opposition to such policies. Kirberg’s book creates the impression that both the government and UTE were implementing their educational policies in a political vacuum. This absence of focus on conflict, and the emphasis on policy rather than politics, reduce the impact of this volume considerably. Still, any student of Chilean history will find Kirberg’s contribution significant, particularly in the areas of higher education for workers, university reform, and the educational policies of the Allende administration.

SUNY, Buffalo

IVAN JAKSIC

Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934.

By THOMAS H. HOLLOWAY. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. Illustrations. Tables. Maps. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xviii, 218. Cloth. \$21.00.

São Paulo is the most studied subnational region in Latin America, and United States scholars have contributed to this concentration. This latest book surveys São Paulo’s coffee industry and the modifications it

induced in Paulista society. The major themes addressed are the movement of the coffee frontier westward through the state; the arrival and dispersion of more than two million workers from abroad; and plantation labor relations. The findings, while not uncritical of Paulista leaders, cast immigrant labor arrangements in a better light than usual and compare them favorably with plantation societies in other areas of the world.

Several theoretical interests guided Holloway's research. First, he sought a comprehensive view of how nineteenth- and early twentieth-century capitalist expansion affected a peripheral economy like São Paulo's. He found that although the relationship was one of dependency, the Paulistas were able to appropriate large amounts of capital, technology, and, above all, human resources from the world economy, which they later used to further development. Moreover, the national elite never lost its hold on essential political and social controls during the rapid growth of the export economy.

Second, he wished to explore the applicability of Turner's frontier thesis to São Paulo's west. Results were mixed. The "escape valve" for ameliorating social tensions probably existed, for the immigrants often moved with the coffee frontier. Yet it most benefited those countries of Southern Europe that sent emigrants. Democratic propensities on the frontier were clearest in individual opportunity, and Holloway believes that the immigrants were relatively free and well off. Nevertheless, they had no voice in the political system, firmly managed by the national elite.

Third, Holloway hoped to explain peculiar phenomena in the plantation system itself. How did first generation peasant immigrants become owners of small- and medium-sized farms? Why did their tendency to migrate westward induce overexpansion in acreage? Finally, why did the immigrants form a new middle class instead of blend into the local proletariat of peasants and former slaves? In brief, his answer to these questions is that São Paulo simply did not fit the model of "exploitative labor systems in plantation societies and monopolistic control of land resources in the hands of the native elite" (p. xvi). The labor market was open at too many points, allowing the immigrants to follow the best jobs on the frontier, to move into landownership and urban employment, or to return to Europe. Labor shortage (exacerbated by abolition in 1888) and abundance of land enhanced the immigrants' bargaining power.

One of the most exciting contributions of this book is its analysis of immigrant landownership, based on notarial evidence from several regions. In addition, extensive use of agricultural periodicals allows Holloway to depict the planters in a realistic light, neither as despotic nor as progressive employers. They were first of all capitalists whose attempts

at rationality and profit maximization were limited by imperfect knowledge about and control over factors of production.

Students of Brazilian and Latin American history need to read this book for its timely corrective to the “oppressive planter” myth and for its portrayal of the coffee economy in an international context. Nonspecialists will benefit from its clear exposition, many tables and graphs, and well-chosen photographs.

University of New Mexico

MICHAEL L. CONNIFF

Meio Século de Combate: Diálogo com Cordeiro de Farias. By ASPÁSIA CAMARGO and WALTER DE GÓES. Preface by CARLOS CASTELLO BRANCO. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1981. Notes. Illustrations. Appendixes. Index. Pp. 757. Paper.

This massive deposition is neither memoir nor autobiography, but combines the best features of both. It is a vast improvement over the memoirs of Góes Monteiro, dictated to that vacuous Boswell, Lourival Coutinho, because Cordeiro’s interviewer, historian Aspásia Camargo, asked pointed, well-informed questions and kept her opinions to herself. It is similarly an improvement over Juarez Távora’s autobiography because Cordeiro’s reflections were prodded by a skillful questioner.

What has emerged from more than ninety hours of interviews is an impressively critical, valuable description of Brazil’s metamorphosis over the past sixty years by a man who saw it all. He was a *tenente*, a conspirator in the 1930 revolution; fought against São Paulo in 1932, as well as the rebels of 1935 and 1938; commanded the artillery of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force in Italy; helped remove Vargas from office in 1945; was active as a soldier and politician during the subsequent twenty years; conspired to remove Goulart in 1964; was Brazil’s first minister of the interior under Castello Branco; and continued to be involved in government affairs until his death early in 1981.

Not surprisingly, Cordeiro dwelt on the events that affected him most directly. The first was the Prestes Column, in which he participated from beginning to end, and the second was the Italian campaign. In both cases he was fighting, and, being a soldier, he loved it. Those events also, he freely admitted, profoundly affected him politically, drawing him into the interventions of 1930, 1945, and 1964 as a vigorous conspirator and participant.

The person who emerges from this deposition is curiously equivocal.