

not readily found in anthropological textbooks or journal articles.” This gap has been bridged by Jacques Lizot’s lively description of daily life, love, religion, and war among the Yanomami. The fruit of his six years of intimate sharing of the Yanomami’s life explores their emotions in detail, drawing one into close contact with those “fierce people” whose passions in their sex life are equally as intense as in their warlike skirmishes.

In his preface, the author writes: “These Indians are human beings.” He then proceeds to examine and illustrate through tales of love, hunting, and violence, mostly in the tribe’s own words, how intensely human they are. The love stories pulsate with an earthy passion which makes pale those of the modern novelist. This is due as much to the author’s craft as to racy dialogue of the Yanomami themselves. Through Lizot’s descriptive powers, one breathes the forest environment; experiences the tropical rainfall; inhales the dampness of the vegetation; and hears the chattering and squawking of the monkeys and birds. Adultery, incest, homosexuality, heterosexuality, and polygamy seem to fill the work, implying that the Yanomami lead a very sex-conscious life. The author lays bare the role of women and their relationship to males, striking at the heart of the matter thus: “when it comes to women, no one has faith” (p. 58). Women’s lives are hard, but never boring, and Lizot indicates that women have ways and means of coping with male brutality. Here he is very much in agreement with Chagnon, who posited that such brutality was viewed as a sign of affection!

The role of the shaman is highlighted: the ritual of initiation; the far-reaching influence of this personage; and a passing reference to a female shaman—not at all unusual among the coastal tribes of the Guiana region.

Lizot brings to the fore the Yanomami’s oneness with their environment; in the words of Wordsworth, the world of nature is “all in all” to them. The influence of the warrior (p. 183) is stressed—and rightly so. The brave, fierce, cruel male is respected; the chest-pounding duel gives him status, and feasts end with this duel, not only to express friendliness but also to demonstrate the warlike potential of the tribe. After all, they are “the fierce people,” and neighbors and friends must never forget that.

For the modern world, the Yanomami, whose only recognizable vice is avarice (p. 184), have a message: their brutality is tempered with delicacy, sensitivity, and love.

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Historia doble de la costa. Volume II: El Presidente Nieto. By ORLANDO FALS BORDA. Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores, 1981. Maps. Illustrations. Notes. Pp. 200. Paper.

Volume III: *Resistencia en el San Jorge.* By ORLANDO FALS BORDA. Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores, 1984. Maps. Illustrations. Notes. Index. Pp. 212. Paper.

This is a continuation of the project started by noted Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda to reconstruct the history of a very interesting region of Colombia—La Costa del Caribe, rather neglected by professional historians but already immortalized in the novels and short stories of Gabriel García Márquez, as the general area of “Macondo.” Fals Borda is a native of this area, as am I. It is impossible to do justice in a few paragraphs to all the important points that this work deals with explicitly or suggests indirectly.

Although we, as historians, analyze these books for their historical value, it is not certain that Fals Borda would consider them as works of history. As he makes abundantly clear in both volumes, his historical reconstructions have a definite political objective for present-day Colombia: to raise the political consciousness of contemporary popular protest groups. Thus, the subject matter and historical evidence he chooses will be those which will serve that political objective. Fals Borda uses in part the historian’s approach of examining written records, but he also uses some methods more in vogue among anthropologists and sociologists, particularly his extensive use of oral interviews with descendants of some of the protagonists of the historical events he focuses on.

On the positive side, Fals Borda has put together a great amount of empirical detail in a way that no one has yet done for the history of this region. We may wonder, however, as to the choice of topic. Why *El Presidente Nieto*, a regional caudillo in an era of regional caudillos? However, Fals Borda is trying to come to grips with a particular problem that the coast has for social scientists, native and foreign; that is, a lack of concern with the political, military, and religious fanaticisms that have been rife in the Andean regions of the country. The author is trying to explain the ethos of the *costeño*, politically nonviolent, nonmilitaristic, non-authoritarian, and somehow unable to get deeply involved in the struggles for political power in the capital. Thus, for Fals Borda, Nieto represents these regional traits. At a different level, Nieto is representative of a social group that becomes important in the political process unleashed by the aftermath of independence. He is not a member of the creole elite of large hacendados or big merchants. He comes from a social segment of people of mixed-racial background (in this case, Spanish father and mestizo mother), who are free, small property owners in this area of Nueva Granada. Nieto, the author tells us, exemplifies one of the two responses of the popular sectors to the world the landowners made: that of taking part in the political struggles of the day and somehow trying to tilt the process in a “democratic” direction, but basically accepting the rules of the game imposed by the elite. The other response is exemplified by Adolfo Mier, a popular troubador and his extended family and friends who react by escaping, actually running away from the political and religious civil wars (these are white or mestizo families, not black maroons), and settling away from the reach of the landowners and the political authorities of any party. A very important point explored in this volume is the role of Freemasonry and the Masonic lodges in spreading liberal ideas. This is something that has been neglected by Colombian historiography,

perhaps because the evidence is hard to obtain. The evidence presented by Fals Borda leads us to conclude that the lodges were bridges of social mobility between the elite and nonelite members of the Liberal party. There was a sprinkling of Masonic Conservatives, if one can call General Mosquera a Conservative, but most members were of varying degrees of Liberalism.

I have some criticisms of this volume on *El Presidente Nieto*. The first concerns the so-called method of “imputación” by which Fals Borda feels free to supply missing facts in his story. At this point, a more orthodox historian would have trouble telling historical fact from literary fiction. This is particularly the case since Fals Borda does not present the supporting documentary (archival) evidence in the way we historians are accustomed to. He gives us a general indication of his archival sources, but we would have trouble replicating or finding some of the information that he cites. Of course, some of it comes from private sources (*archivos de baúl*) which are not open to any researcher. Another problem is the author’s use of the concept of “ideological antielite” that he takes from Pareto and other sociologists. The theoretical concept may be well developed, but Fals Borda applies it to a crucial historical instance (the social and political struggles and reforms of 1848–54) in a manner that I find unconvincing. Who are the “ideological antielite” the author is referring to? The *draconianos*, artisans, and military personnel are the true social antagonists of the oligarchs whose hegemony they endanger for a short period when they become the prime movers of José María Melo’s coup. However, it is clear that Fals Borda is talking about another group, the Liberal members of the elite, who believe in an ideological jumble of economic liberalism and utopian socialism. But this supposed antielite group readily joins hands with their Conservative brothers to smash the daring challenge of the artisans and *draconianos*.

I find a remarkable contrast between volume III and the previous one, in subject matter and methodology, if not in its general objective. If volume II is a fascinating mixture of old-fashioned narrative plus sociological analysis, volume III attempts a more rigorous reconstruction of the agrarian history of another sub-region of la Costa, the San Jorge River area. More rigorous does not mean here systematic quantitative evidence regarding land tenure and production, but abundant descriptive evidence regarding the colonizing efforts of Spaniards, criollos, mestizos, free blacks, and even cimarrones; the formation of large landholdings for cattle ranching; small peasant agriculture; and the foundation of certain villages and towns. There is no detailed description of the economic activities, but there is a description plus explanation of the power relationships, antagonistic and cordial, between the different social and ethnic groups. Inside this general framework, the guiding thread is the story of Jegua, a small village, initially Indian, bypassed by the original conquistadores. Jegua successfully defended its communal lands, the *resguardo*, for a long time. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jegua, now a mestizo town, was overwhelmed by advancing capitalism and the

onslaught of the latifundistas. Its long, successful resistance is what qualifies it as the collective hero of this story.

Once again, the question is: is Jégua typical of a generalized type of agrarian resistance? If we attempted a systematic analysis of land occupation and settlement in the rest of la Costa, would we find this to be an exceptional case in the past? Today, this is a region of extremely difficult agrarian struggles. Finally, the author's use of the concept of *contrapoder popular* and the supporting empirical evidence is much more convincing than his use of ideological antielite in the previous volume. Fals Borda also brings another dimension that historians in our country would do well to explore further—the history of popular culture and popular traditions.

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La inmigración japonesa en Bolivia: Estudios históricos y socio-económicos.

Edited by YASUO WAKATSUKI and IYO KUNIMOTO. Tokyo: University of Chuo, 1985. Maps. Tables. Notes. Graphs. Pp. 243. Paper.

This collection of five essays by a team of three Japanese and two Bolivian scholars traces the growth of Japanese immigration to Bolivia, analyzes attitudes of the Issei and Nisei, and summarizes agricultural achievements of their immigrant colonies. In contrast to the large numbers of Japanese who immigrated to Argentina, Brazil, and the United States, only a handful of Japanese chose Bolivia, making them an ideal group to study.

The first Japanese to reach Bolivia originally went in 1899 to work on Peruvian sugar and cotton plantations. Disillusioned with dismal working conditions in Peru, many left for Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, while 91 chose jobs on rubber plantations in northwestern Bolivia. In the next 15 years, 2,000 Japanese came, but by 1915 only 340 remained. Predominantly males, they planned to earn money and return home. Within the next few decades, until 1942, 500 more emigrated as picture brides or to join relatives. A larger and more structured migration followed World War II. The coincidence of wartime destruction and Bolivia's need for laborers led to an immigration agreement between Japan and Bolivia. From 1957 to 1977, 1,652 Japanese (327 families) formed the agricultural colony of San Juan in the Department of Santa Cruz; the majority came from Nagasaki. Between 1954 and 1977, 3,344 Okinawans (710 families) started three agricultural colonies in the same department. Both groups had high attrition rates; 477 left San Juan and 1,477 left the Okinawan colonies by 1979.

Three of these essays are the result of questionnaires given to the Issei and Nisei in these colonies. The results, summarized in over 100 graphs and tables, address such topics as reasons for coming to Bolivia, impressions on arriving