

thought rather than French. Ernesto de la Torre Villar enumerates sections of direct influence in the 1814 Constitution of Apatzingán, but also notes the many Spanish influences at work, conceding that the French Revolution was more a reinforcement than an initiating factor. Jaime E. Rodríguez O. takes the most direct comparative approach in the book, in a highly original essay that compares and contrasts the two events. Though some of the similarities he sees are not fully convincing, the article is an impressive reassertion of the significance of independence. Other papers are by Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, Elías Trabulse, and Anne Staples.

While these authors seem unable to substantiate direct linkages, those in the third section of the book, focusing on nineteenth-century Mexican liberalism, have no difficulty. Antonia Pi-Suñer Llorens (on the Mexican periodical *Le Trait d'Union* of René Masson), Andrés Lira (on Justo Sierra), and Nicole Giron (on Ignacio Altamirano) deal with individuals who spoke and wrote extensively about such influences. The final two essays are by Jean-Pierre Bastian (on secret societies in the 1880s and after) and Gloria Villegas Moreno (on the French Revolution as a paradigm for the early 1900s in Mexico).

To my taste, by far the most arresting article in the collection is that by Moisés González Navarro on the typology of Mexican conservatism, from Lucas Alamán to Justo Sierra to the PRI of the 1970s. It has almost nothing to do with the French Revolution, but a great deal to do with the development of a unique Mexican tradition of conservatism among those who had the most to lose. The tendency is both subtle and proactive; and it argues that gradualism is the same thing as revolution. It is a brilliant solution, quickly sketched in a brilliant article that all students of contemporary Mexico should read.

This book delivers both less and more than its title promises. On the issue of what direct influences exist between the French Revolution and Mexican history, outside of those that are universal to Western culture, it is disappointing—probably because, as María del Refugio González cogently puts it, historians cannot agree on what the French Revolution means. As a tentative foray into how Mexican culture has resisted, or at least tempered, the radical impulse, it is well worth noticing.

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Marxism and Communism in Twentieth-Century Mexico. By BARRY CARR. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 437 pp. Cloth. \$49.50.

Barry Carr can be a perceptive historian, as his essay on Sonora testifies. Unlike many of his cohorts of the Cold War era, he never equated Marxism with the devil or labeled all Communist parties lackeys of Moscow. They could act inde-

pendently of the Comintern; and that, he says, often characterized the behavior of the Partido Comunista Mexicano. With that statement, Carr alerts his readers to the bent of this study of the Mexican Communist party since its inception in 1919. Nor was Browderism, the gospel according to Communist kingpins in the United States, always the watchword in Mexico. As expected, Mexican Communists saw through Washington's Clayton plans. And Carr is not blind to the realities of Mexican political rhetoric. Social injustice, despite the verbiage of PRIista disciples, is as Mexican as the tortilla. Time and again, Carr reminds us of how reactionary Mexican rulers are; their neglect of the poor, regardless of postulates to the contrary by the Howard Cline school, is a cancer. The fruits of a "revolution" aside, the underdogs, the antiheroes of Mariano Azuela's perceptive *cuento*, are still a pervasive feature of Mexican society.

Yet Carr's work has limitations. It is political history, essentially institutional in outline. The story examines the ups and downs of the PCM, with a running commentary by Carr on its errors and failings, a nod to its virtues and successes. Much of the book deals with labor's struggles for its rights, with Carr rightly castigating the evils of the *charro*. Nevertheless, Carr errs occasionally, as when he applauds uncritically the removal of La Quina, the boss of the petroleum workers, by the Salinas crowd. La Quina may have been corrupt, but he was no patsy of the oligarchy, and the petroleum workers enjoyed benefits shared by no other labor sector in Mexico. That Rolando Cordero and other "dissidents" applauded Salinas is meaningless, for they, like similar "leftist" intellectuals, were rapidly embracing the establishment.

It is strange that Carr does not end his book with the demise of the party but instead continues telling the story of attempts at political reform, including efforts to build a PSUM, a Socialist party, and the Partido de la Revolución Democrática of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and his believers. Carr justifies this by saying that Communists of the old PCM have been active in these efforts. This implies, however, that Communists are in the forefront. But these attempts at reform are hardly the brainchild of the Communist old guard or of Marxism. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas is no more Marxist than was his father, who seldom read books and knew little about matters of leftist ideology.

To emphasize once more, Carr's study contains excellent chapters, such as the one about the Communists and agrarian reform in the Laguna during the years of Lázaro Cárdenas. We can sense why some Mexicans, in this case rural workers, were beholden to Communist compatriots. Another worthy section deals with the reactionary years of Miguel Alemán, the darling of the Howard Cline school of Mexican history in the United States and England, and with what Carr aptly labels the "taming of the Left."

What is missing in this study is the Mexicans who accepted Marxism and built the Communist party. There are scores of names, but we never get to know any of the personalities. They remain simply names, sometimes accompanied by a cap-

sule biography. Who these Mexicans were and what led them to join the party is never explained. Moreover, a discussion of the Mexican brand of Marxism is strangely absent from these pages, in spite of Alan Knight's glib assertion to the contrary in the blurb on the dust jacket.

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Un desarrollo distorsionado: la integración de México a la economía mundial. By DAVID BARKIN. Xochimilco: Siglo Veintiuno, 1991. Graphs. Tables. 207 pp. Cloth.

This is the Spanish edition, revised and updated by the author, of *Distorted Development: Mexico in the World Economy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990). David Barkin's book is a discussion of Mexican economic development in the postwar period in general and the 1980s in particular. The context is neoliberal economic and structural adjustment policies in Latin America, leading to far greater openness to and integration with the world economy; therein, the author points out the income, equity, and developmental failings of recent Mexican economic policy.

Barkin's positive policy proposal, which he calls an "economy of war" because of its likeness to policies implemented in the United Kingdom and the United States during World War II, advocates a return to the popular agricultural sector as the basis for Mexican economic progress. To maximize the utilization of resources, Barkin argues for minimum agricultural prices high enough to stimulate much greater production; for higher minimum wages, especially in urban areas, to guarantee demand for the additional agricultural (and industrial) output; and for a call for popular mobilization equivalent to wartime appeals for home-front action. Aside from its positive employment and income consequences, such a program would help resolve balance of payments problems by reducing food imports and providing more supply for export. It would ease budget deficit problems by providing more taxable income.

Following the author's preface and introduction, the book is organized into six chapters. They address the end of food self-sufficiency; environmental degradation; balance of payments issues, including capital flight, contraband, and the problems of financing development; the limits and contradictions of the Mexican model of capitalist development; the destabilizing consequences of recent macroeconomic stabilization policies; and the author's "economy of war" proposal. The book provides much useful information on the difficulties of the postwar Mexican model of development. These date from the early 1970s; they were masked by the oil boom of the late 1970s, but they reached a crescendo with the debt crisis and subsequent opening of the Mexican economy in the 1980s. Barkin's proposal is a call not for a return to the past, but for state-led popular mobilization of resources, with price incentives, to correct the distortions resulting from recent policies of integration into the world economy. As such, his book raises the very serious ques-