

or sustaining neoliberal economic experiments in an authentic democracy. Neoliberal programs demanded huge sacrifices from already hard-pressed families; therefore, such programs almost never could be popular. Candidates who favored neoliberalism got elected only if they were vague and disingenuous about their economic agendas. Once in office, executives had to marshal the available political support and neutralize the opposition to force these unpopular programs through legislative approval. Economic policymaking had to be removed from the democratic process altogether and handed over to a small coterie of U.S.-educated technocratic “experts.” True believers, these “experts” arrogantly refused to listen to any advice or modify their plans, no matter what the social cost, insisting that they alone were capable of understanding the arcane world of economics. To these “experts” (the “Chicago boys,” or just “the boys”), all enemies of neoliberalism were selfishly motivated, too weak, or simply not bright enough to fathom the obvious advantages of the new theory.

Reading this insightful and important book reawakened in this reviewer an ugly fear. Elite commitment to democracy in Latin America has always been provisional—permitted only so long as wealth and economic policy preferences are not threatened. In the 1980s and 1990s, the elite in Latin America could happily embrace democracy because their policy preferences were being fully and universally adopted. But now, popular patience with neoliberalism is fast running out. As protests increase, I fear the return of the classic historical pattern. I look for the elite to withdraw their commitment to democracy and invite the military to discipline those making “irresponsible” demands for social justice. For democracy in Latin America, the worst may be yet to come.

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El abate Viscardo. Historia y mito de la intervención de los jesuitas en la independencia de Hispanoamérica. Revised edition. By MIGUEL BATLLORI. Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE América, 1995 (1953). Plates. Appendixes. Bibliography. Indexes. 393 pp. Paper.

This is a revised edition of a work that first appeared in 1953. The author takes into account new works on Viscardo y Guzmán, especially Merle E. Simmon's *Los escritos de Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán, precursor de la independencia hispanoamericana* (1983). Although the principal subject is Viscardo, the work also covers the activities of many of the other exiled Jesuits, such as the Chilean Juan José Godoy and the Mexican Francisco Clavijero. Miguel Batllori reconstructs Viscardo's life and traces his transformation from an insecure exile into a determined advocate of independence. The author studies in detail the exiled Peruvian's attempts to influence the British to support Túpac Amaru, and Viscardo's subsequent *Letter to the Spanish Americans*.

At the same time, Batllori lays to rest several popular myths about the exiled Jesuits as conspirators in favor of the independence of their homelands. Most interest-

ing is his account of how those myths probably originated. The British, in particular, saw exiled Jesuits not only as first-class informants on the reality of Latin America but as potential conspirators capable of undermining Spanish control over the New World. In reality, very few of the exiled Jesuits actually advocated independence, at least publicly, much less entered into conspiracies to promote it.

More important was their role in correcting the prejudices Europeans entertained about the New World. Meanwhile, they enriched European intellectual life with their fresh and detailed chronicles of life in the missions and their histories of their respective homelands. Batllori also brings to light the close ties that bound the exiled Jesuits together. Clavijero knew of Viscardo's writings, and Viscardo corresponded with Clavijero. Indeed, the exiled Jesuits created the first Latin American community with a sense of a continental identity.

The second half of the book consists of documents relating to Viscardo and the other exiles: the letters exchanged between Viscardo and the British consul in Italy, notes from the Foreign Office on Viscardo's activities in London, and so on. The last and most important document is Francisco de Miranda's Spanish translation of the *Carta a los españoles americanos* (1801). All in all, this is a critical, balanced, and well-documented study.

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Between Reform and Revolution: Political Struggles in the Peruvian Andes, 1969–1991. By LINDA J. SELIGMANN. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. Photographs. Maps. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 268 pp. Cloth, \$39.50. Paper, \$15.95.

Linda Seligmann, assistant professor of anthropology and director of the Center for the Study of the Americas at George Mason University, has written an uncommonly rich and important ethnographic study of the Peruvian Andes. She sets out to show how political life in the countryside changed after the sweeping agrarian reform carried out by the Velasco regime in 1969. By carefully tracing the impact of the reform in the Quechua- and Spanish-speaking district of Huanquite, whose capital is 65 kilometers southwest of Cuzco, Seligmann offers the best analysis to date of the social and political changes brought about by reform at the local level.

In examining the reform's impact on Huanquite, the author also challenges some of the principal explanations scholars have offered for the explosive advance of Sendero Luminoso and its so-called People's War during the 1980s and early 1990s. For Seligmann, Sendero's early success in penetrating Andean communities resulted from the failure of the state's agrarian modernization policies, which led to the growing fragility and fragmentation of state influence at the local level. The deteriorating relationship between peasants and the state and the ensuing political vacuum opened up political space for Sendero and led some peasants in the district initially to support the movement. The author also shows, however, that in the end