Book Reviews

- Charles V. Carnegie, W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the age of sail*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997. xiv + 310 pp.
- Stanley L. Engerman, Wim Klooster, *Illicit Riches: Dutch trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998. xiv + 283 pp.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail. W. JEFFREY BOLSTER. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997. xiv + 310 pp. (Cloth US\$ 27.00)

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The social tissue of a “Black Atlantic” world – fashionably so named by Paul Gilroy and newly discovered by a generation of intellectuals disenchanted with the limitations of nationally-conceived political and scholarly agendas – is now beginning to emerge more clearly with the publication of studies like Jeffrey Bolster’s fine book. *Black Jacks* provides a nuanced account of black maritime life and labor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In doing so, the book also complements and builds on recent scholarship on the maritime working class (as exemplified, say, in Marcus Rediker’s work), and on the pioneering attempts by Peter Linebaugh to chart the connections between a variety of oppressed peoples otherwise separated by their national, “racial,” and religious backgrounds. The book makes a significant contribution to the historiography of black diaspora and maritime society.

Black Jacks navigates social life on the sea lanes and in the port cities of the U.S. eastern seaboard more confidently and more thoroughly than it does their equivalents in the Caribbean, Western Europe, or West Africa. Yet the fact that its author ventures, in various insightful sections, into all of these other sub-regions of the Atlantic system is a real tribute to the book’s border-transcending dexterity. Bolster provides, for instance, an important early chapter on West African seafaring traditions and their scarcely acknowledged incorporation into an expanding transcontinental

commercial order. Another chapter vividly recounts the transcultural interchange that occurred among the 6,000 or so U.S. seamen – about one-sixth of their number black – taken as prisoners of war by the British in the war of 1812 and incarcerated at Dartmoor prison above the windswept southwest coast of England. Moreover, the Caribbean currents running through the book acknowledge, for example, the centrality of the Haitian Revolution to the personal and political maneuverings of black sailors, trace the extensive involvement of black seamen – both slave and free – in coastal and interterritorial shipping in the Antilles, and remind us of black participation in pirate ventures up to the early eighteenth century.

Bolster writes with the authority of a seasoned seaman and the sensitivity of a well-trained social historian. Drawing on these aptitudes his account is particularly rich in its explorations of the dynamics of “race” and class, the generation and play of cultural styles and forms, and the politics of meaning that might be inferred from the descriptive traces of past actions he so ably recovers from his sources. Besides fostering a diasporic black identity, seafaring is shown to have provided crucial opportunities both economic and political, and sailors to have played important leadership roles, in emergent black communities. While most black mariners worked as cooks and officers’ servants, a few operated as pilots and captains. Incomes earned at sea provided critical economic resources; news passed noiselessly by seamen nurtured black political consciousness. But Bolster is always careful to make known the other side: that life at sea also afforded a cramped existence and was never free of the effects of racism as these became gradually delineated ashore. Occupational access was severely restricted for black sailors, and, even as black and white mariners were brought together intimately on the basis of class, and drew from each others’ traditions in creating lasting maritime cultural styles in music, dress and the like, the burdens, risks, and challenges that each group uniquely faced differed significantly on the basis of “race.”

For all of Bolster’s commendable alacrity at describing a social world not entirely fenced in by the containing categories of nationality, “race,” or class, *Black Jacks* nevertheless remains restrictively pivoted in a North American social space. The book arches between a time (the decades that span the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) relatively open and hospitable to black seamen, and one (in the mid-nineteenth century) increasingly restrictive and hostile. Its final chapter, “Toward Jim Crow at Sea,” depressingly marks the turn to white barbarity in the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

But this North-Americanist perspective does not satisfactorily anticipate compelling efforts to break down these restrictive barriers of “race” by black mariners traveling along other routes. How should one view the career of a Hugh Mulzac, for example, the mariner from Union Island in the

Grenadines who only comes to know the corrosiveness of “race” when he ships into port for the first time in North America, but who nonetheless pushes at the restrictive barriers placed in the way of black seamen and earns his master’s licence in Baltimore with top honors in December 1918 (Mulzac 1963:66-68)? Even as Jim Crow took roost, as opportunities for black sailors diminished, and as the sea appeared to hold less and less interest for black communities on land, one finds the collective political will building – *submarine* – across the black diaspora to embrace and to underwrite Marcus Garvey’s dream of a Black Star Line. How do we account (given Bolster’s recounting of the decades immediately preceding) for this paradox? Bolster includes fascinating discussion of the political maneuvers made possible and encouraged by the Haitian Revolution, black seamen being readily granted citizenship and succor by the Haitian judicial system. Is it possible to find out more about the careers and the choices made by black mariners (and not only in the wake of the Haitian Revolution) who deliberately cut themselves loose from their political ties to the United States, or came to work those ties with strategic ambiguity? How might the trajectory that emerges from Bolster’s account be different if the point of vantage were, say, Cardiff?

In *Black Jacks* we see the gradual coming into being of a black ethnicity at sea, but, regrettably, not of a white one. The “whiteness” of white sailors does not emerge as contingent, but rather is presumed always to have been so. White sailors are shown to have been influenced by their black counterparts, yet not to have questioned the superior social value placed on their “whiteness.” But was this assumption of a “white” racial identity really a “just so” story, or was it, too, nurtured into being and perpetuated at sea by a complex dialectic of forces orchestrated in relation to the plantation slave economy on land?

These questions speak to the interpretive and contextual framing of Bolster’s account, rather than its content. I realize that behind such questions what I am really pressing is the critical need for our gifted historians to give us something more than competent histories, more even than corrective, vindicationist texts. *Black Jacks* is a well-written, impressively documented, handsomely produced book that certainly does offer a convincing corrective; a book that should appeal to undergraduate and non-academic readers as well as to specialists. What I am pressing, however, is our critical responsibility as scholars to chop away more determinedly at the contingent categories of social identity that continue to entangle our societies.

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Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795. WIM KLOOSTER. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998. xiv + 283 pp. (Paper NLG 50.00)

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Based upon his 1995 Ph.D. thesis at the University of Leiden, Wim Klooster has presented a detailed study of the politics and economics of the illicit Dutch trade in the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The work is based upon thorough research in primary sources and an excellent knowledge of the relevant secondary materials. Archival sources in the Netherlands and Spain provide the basic core of the book, while the 30 pages of bibliography include titles in several different languages. There are 24 tables, 15 illustrations (including several maps), and a short glossary of Spanish-language terms.

While Klooster's professed aim is to correct what he sees as a misinterpretation of the relative importance to the Dutch of the West Indies compared to their East Indies colonies, the depth of detail and the descriptions of the interactions of the Dutch, principally with the Spanish, but also with the French and the British, make this a quite rich scholarly work. The descriptions of political interactions of Spain and the Netherlands make this a contribution to Spanish as well as Dutch history. The examinations of Dutch smuggling, Spain's fight against illicit trade, and the moves taken by the Dutch in defense of their trade, are most interesting in showing exactly how these things were done and how they influenced trading patterns. In addition, there are some interesting issues raised outside the time period given in the subtitle (1648-1795) and the central topic of illicit trade. Chapter 1, for example, provides a discussion of several centuries of changing Dutch trading patterns. The initial year of the subtitle was the year of the short-lived peace of Münster between Spain and the United Provinces, but the examination of the earlier backgrounds, including the Dutch gain and loss of Brazil, are dealt with. And the terminal year, 1795, is the year both when France invaded the Netherlands, and when England was able to stop all trade from Curaçao, prior to its conquest of that island. Curaçao had been the leading Dutch trading

center, but the decline of its trade following the ending of the importance of the other main Dutch entrepôt, St. Eustatius, meant an end to the importance of the Dutch as a trading power, more than one century-and-a-half after that end had been sought by the British and French mercantilist regulations.

The concentration on the Dutch in the illegal trade, carrying goods from the Spanish as well as the other Caribbean powers, means that little attention is given to the principal Dutch sugar producing colony, Suriname. This distinction between producing and trading does raise a question concerning Klooster's addition of trading and production to demonstrate a great importance of the Dutch West Indies colonies relative to those in the East Indies. For in the case of production all the value is attributed to Dutch-owned factors of production, and the value traded in equivalent to all factor inputs. In traded goods the value-added is only the margin on acquisition costs, and total value does not indicate what factors have been used by the Dutch in the colonies. While from the consumers' view expenditures are expenditures, and Klooster's point is appropriate, to measure the relative importance of different colonial empires, the other measure, distinguishing value-added from gross output, has merit.

While *Illicit Riches* is not a very long book, it is an important contribution not only to the history of the Netherlands but to the history of the other Caribbean powers as well as to the study of settlement of the Americas.

Este inmenso comercio: Las relaciones mercantiles entre Puerto Rico y Gran Bretaña 1844-1898. EMMA AURORA DÁVILA COX. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1996. xxi + 364 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.95)

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Social and economic history, particularly microhistorical studies, have dominated the historiography on Puerto Rico's nineteenth century over the past two decades. As important and rich as that historiographical body is, it has produced a checkered picture of the island's past – insularly focused and including few attempts to link or compare Puerto Rico to the outside world with which it was intimately tied economically, politically,

demographically, and culturally. *Este inmenso comercio* is an attempt to integrate Puerto Rico's history into its broader global context by systematically studying the island's nineteenth-century commercial links with Great Britain, its third most important trading partner behind Spain and the United States.

Dávila Cox covers a variety of topics that are directly or indirectly related to the Puerto Rico-Great Britain trade, a trade that she argues was significant but remains understudied. She provides useful serial data on Puerto Rico's exports and imports to and from British and other ports, and discusses topics such as the island's currency history and the trajectory of its tariff system and maritime infrastructure. Attention is also paid to foreign immigration and the religious rights of foreigners. For the most part, the treatment of these subjects is descriptive rather than analytical.

The text opens vistas on interesting aspects of Puerto Rico's evolving economy and trade. For example, Dávila Cox traces the changing role of St. Thomas as an entrepôt of the Puerto Rico-Britain trade and describes the short-lived cotton boom that Puerto Rico experienced during the U.S. Civil War. These and other topics could and should have been taken one step further by explaining the political and geopolitical consequences of the shifting commercial links. Also, much more could have been accomplished by seeking to bridge the macro level of the import and export trade with the micro level of retail commerce and consumption. Attention to advertising practices, for example, can shed interesting light on the forces affecting the patterns of trade and consumption.

Este inmenso comercio is the first book-length study that systematically uses the voluminous documentation produced by British consular representatives stationed in Puerto Rico. It also rests on an extensive use of the *British Parliamentary Papers*. A more complete picture could have been achieved, however, if Dávila Cox had consulted the published dispatches of the U.S. consuls in Puerto Rico. Archival material from Puerto Rico, especially from the Archivo Histórico in Ponce, would also have allowed her to produce a more nuanced and more richly textured picture of the island's trade and related matters. Furthermore, the book exhibits some serious lacunae as far as secondary works are concerned, particularly in its attempts to compare Puerto Rico with Cuba.

Toward the end of the text Dávila Cox makes an effort to establish connections between Puerto Rico's commercial links and the island's invasion by the United States in 1898. On the eve of the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico only a small percentage of the island's exports headed toward the United States. "The U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico," she writes, "can not be explained as a natural political consequence of the island's economic reality" (p. 351). Although an analysis of the war of 1898 requires attention to many factors beyond economic links (the geopolitical, for example), one

can also view the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico precisely as an attempt to reverse the trend of declining commercial ties between Puerto Rico and the United States. These circumstances help explain why the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico continued beyond 1902, when Cuba became independent. While in Cuba a long-standing neocolonial relation with the United States prevailed, in Puerto Rico it became necessary to disarm a neocolonial, European-oriented order based on coffee, so that a new one could be built on the basis of sugar for the insatiable United States market.

In sum, *Este inmenso comercio* is a useful reference book with interesting information and data on trade, currency, tariffs, and immigration. Although it offers little new as far as interpretations, its incorporation of previously unused British sources and its efforts to link Puerto Rico to the outside world should stimulate and aid further studies.

Puerto Rico y la lucha por la hegemonía en el Caribe: Colonialismo y contrabando, siglos XVI-XVIII. ARTURO MORALES CARRIÓN. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico y Centro de Investigaciones Históricas, 1995. ix + 244 pp. (Cloth US\$ 14.95)

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It is very strange to be reviewing a book that was originally published in 1952. What can a reviewer add to the comments that Puerto Rican and Caribbean scholars have provided over the past forty-some years regarding *Puerto Rico and the Non Hispanic Caribbean*? The main reason for this review is that the first Spanish edition of the book came out in 1995. Therefore, I want first to consider why one of the few books dealing with Puerto Rico's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century history took forty-three years to be translated into Spanish.

Morales Carrión's book is a version of the doctoral dissertation he defended at Columbia University in 1950. It was published quickly by the University of Puerto Rico Press, not only because of its obvious academic merits, but also because at the time Morales Carrión was an influential intellectual and part of the inner circle of Governor Luis Muñoz Marín and University Chancellor Jaime Benítez. Morales Carrión's administrative career (as Chairman of the History Department, Director of the Centro de Investigaciones Históricas, President of the University of Puerto Rico,

Under-Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs during the Kennedy Administration, and Director of the Puerto Rican Humanities Council) obviously gave him access to the resources needed to translate the book into Spanish. In the book's third edition, the author tells us that while he intended to revise the manuscript, time constraints prevented him from doing so (Morales Carrión 1974). But lack of time – and Morales Carrión was clearly a busy man – cannot be the sole explanation as to why no translation was made.

The book did not get translated into Spanish because originally it was not intended for wide Puerto Rican readership. The introduction provides a brief definition of the Caribbean region: "The Antillean area is a complex social mosaic, criss-crossed by the most diverse ethnic and cultural strains. It is, historically, the product of an intense struggle for power between the maritime states, in which each island and key was bitterly contested and stubbornly held. No community was able to develop in placid isolation" (Morales Carrión 1974:xi). The author is making a case for Puerto Rico's importance and connection to the Caribbean, a factor often neglected in the usually metropolitan- or linguistically-defined Antillean scholarship. Again, the introduction provides a clue of the book's primary audience: "But to students of the West Indian area, there are reasons of a higher import in justifying the selection of a Puerto Rican subject" (Morales Carrión 1974:xi).

The context of the period when Morales Carrión wrote the book is very important. This book on British, Spanish, French, and to some extent, U.S. influence and colonialism in the Caribbean region was researched and written at about the same time that British hegemony in the region was being undermined, militarization due to World War II and to U.S. interests was rampant, France was about to incorporate Martinique and Guadeloupe as overseas departments, and Puerto Rico was fine-tuning its colonial relationship with the United States. Morales Carrión's writing was also influenced by the Pan-Caribbean efforts – the Anglo-American Commission (1943-46) and the Caribbean Commission (1948-55) – led by Washington to provide political, economic, and social solutions to the problems affecting the area. As someone particularly concerned about Puerto Rico's future relationship with the United States, Morales Carrión understood that showcasing the historical and contemporary ties in the Antillean region would be beneficial to Puerto Rico's political development.

Morales Carrión belonged to Puerto Rico's first generation of professional historians. It helps us to understand why he was so concerned with producing scholarship that was relevant to, and in dialogue with, the developing "field" of Latin American and Caribbean Studies. Having done graduate work at the University of Texas-Austin and at Columbia under Frank Tannenbaum, he wrote for the field of Caribbean/Latin

American specialists in a way no Puerto Rican scholar ever had. Most of the other important professionally trained historians of his generation, such as Luis Díaz Soler (University of Louisiana), Aida Caro Costas (University of Texas-Austin and Universidad Central de Madrid), or Isabel Gutiérrez del Arroyo (Colegio de México), wrote for a Puerto Rican audience even if they made and maintained professional relations in Spain, Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and the United States during their careers.

Almost fifty years after its publication, *Puerto Rico and the Non Hispanic Caribbean* still offers a fresh insight into the interdependence of the Caribbean region and the role of metropolitan politics in local events. In the Puerto Rican case, neither the book's focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, nor its attempt to place the island in a wider pan-Caribbean context have generated other monographs that build upon or reject Morales Carrión's thesis. Hopefully, the publication of this Spanish edition will help bring more attention to a book that is a very important text for Caribbean and Puerto Rican historians.

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Slave Trades, 1500-1800: Globalization of Forced Labour. PATRICK MANNING (ed.). Hampshire, U.K.: Variorum, 1996. xxxiv + 361 pp. (Cloth US\$ 115.95)

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The Atlantic slave trade has now become a major field of research in its own right. Over a dozen conference volumes, numerous books, well over a hundred articles, and even a CD-Rom have appeared in the thirty years since Philip Curtin published his seminal work on the trade. Selecting

which articles to put together in a reader is therefore a difficult task and will depend on the orientation and interests of the editor. Patrick Manning is a leading historian of the impact of the trade on Africa itself and thus his volume reflects African centered issues more than American ones, and general patterns more than specific aspects of the trade. The articles are grouped into four sections: "Overviews," "Fifteenth to 17th Centuries," "Eighteenth Century Atlantic Trade in Humans," and "Effects of the Slave Trade." The strange exclusion of the nineteenth-century trade is never explained or justified by either the volume editor or the series editor, which is a very surprising omission given the title's reference to the "globalization of forced labour."

Manning suggests that the essays he selected "present major recent contributions to the literature by addressing the key issues in analyses of the slave trade, and the main flows of slaves" (p. xxvii). Unfortunately, this is not what his rather strange selection of articles does in most cases. The various essays are not without interest and scholars in the field will be grateful to have many of these older works reprinted and made available in one single volume. But there exist several essays of more interest or relevance on a given subject that might have been included and their omission makes for a somewhat outdated volume. Moreover, no essays have been translated from foreign languages into English, though strangely one is included in the original French, which means that this collection excludes an enormous amount of recent research.

The strangest omission is that not a single article by David Eltis or Stanley Engerman is included. These scholars, together or alone, have written numerous seminal studies, covering the trade and forced migration in terms of everything from the details of age/sex and volume of the migration, to overviews of the impact of the trade on the world economy. Few of these well-known essays are even cited in the editor's rather deficient bibliography. But this is not the only exclusion of what might be expected in this type of volume. We are given an essay by Richard Rathbone on internal African resistance, but nothing from the vast African historical literature on the internal workings of the slave trade within African society (by Philip Curtin, David Northrup, or Robin Law, to name just a few). Nor do we have any essays by economists or anthropologists who have done research on the trade's impact on Africa. Some aspect of the work of Barry Higman and Jack Eblen on the impact of the trade on American slave populations would have been useful if demography was to be fully explored – a theme highlighted in the bibliography. To include only Steven Deyle on the slave traders, without anything by Johannes Postma, David Galenson, Roger Anstey, Robert L. Stein, or Colin Palmer, is a strange decision, giving readers the trading details of only one trade, and one of the least important ones at that. On Brazil, Joseph Miller, John M.

Monteiro, and Luiz Felipe de Alencastro are represented, but none of the seminal essays by Stuart Schwartz are in. Ann Pescatello is the only selection from the non-Brazilian Portuguese world; there is nothing by William Gervase Clarence-Smith or A.C. Saunders. If the editor wanted to include some serious scholarship in languages other than English, the one poorly written and very abbreviated article in French on the Pacific French trade does not serve as much of an introduction. Why was there nothing in the original language by such scholars as Charles Becker, Gabriel Debien, Serge Daget, Pierre Verger, or Arlette Gautier, to mention only a few.

Even in the selections we do have, there are some problems. While it is useful to have the old classic essays on the numbers by Paul Lovejoy, and Ralph Austen, these have been updated in recent years. Austen has added to his non-Atlantic slave trade studies with newer materials, and Lovejoy's calculations have been revised by David Eltis and his co-authors in the Cambridge University Press voyage project in a number of essays. On the other hand the essay by Ronald C. Jennings on blacks in Ottoman Cyprus, a discovery for me, was outstanding. And the essays by David Richardson, on British economic growth, and Seymour Drescher, on abolition, remain important works well worth reproducing.

Thus the reader will find this collection interesting and useful in parts, but dated in its selection of authors, and rather biased in its strange exclusion of well-known works. Reflecting its dated nature are the editor's own introductory essay and bibliography, which take some rather controversial positions in terms of strangely defined minimalist and maximalist interpretations of the slave trade, and exclude much recent bibliography, especially on the demography of the trade – a theme which he himself highlights.

The Critical Tradition of Caribbean Political Economy: The Legacy of George Beckford. KARI LEVITT & MICHAEL WITTER (eds.) Kingston: Ian Randle, 1996. xxvi + 288. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

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In her preface to this collection honoring the late George Beckford, Kari Polanyi Levitt writes that today few students in the region know that "twenty five years ago, the University of the West Indies was a vibrant

center of intellectual ferment.” She goes on, “the radical synergy within the University, which gave rise to the New World movement and the plantation economy paradigm in the late 1960s and early 1970s was a Caribbean wide regional intellectual initiative” (p. xii). At the center of this ferment was George Beckford. And so this collection in his honor is as it should be: fifteen essays (and a poem by Kamau Brathwaite) written from the political left concerned with Beckford’s preoccupation, the ability of the people of the region “to control the environment in which they live and to manipulate that environment in any way they desire” (p. 29). Though mostly focused on the economics of development, this book contains, in addition, four historical contributions concerning the struggles of the region’s workers and peasants and one dealing with the relationship between language and empowerment.

Norman Girvan’s paper argues that “Beckfordian political economy ... can be seen to trace an evolution through agricultural economics, institutional economics, dependency/historical structuralism, and Third World Marxism” (p. 29). This trajectory roughly corresponds to what happened to the intellectual left in the region, with the fresh thinking of the New World Group gradually giving way to Marxism-Leninism. The latter, in turn, became influential during the 1970s and early 1980s, most dramatically in Grenada and Guyana and to a lesser extent in Jamaica. The most prominent left intellectual hold-out to the trend was Lloyd Best. He has long been critical of both Leninist governing principles and the recommendations of the New World Group to delink from the international economy and sharply increase government enterprise. In his contribution to this collection, Best writes that “the more faithfully the strategies deriving from these two visions have been followed, the more disastrous have been the consequences for the common people” (p. 4). But the problem is that Best himself continues to be unable to articulate a clear alternative to these staples of left thinking. He concedes as much. Concerning what he calls epistemology (how people learn that they are victims) and political mobilization, he acknowledges that “we do not know the answer to either of these questions. The only lesson you can learn from history is that there is no lesson you can learn from history” (p. 9).

Six of the contributions to this volume were originally presented as Beckford Memorial Lectures at the University of the West Indies. Two of them, those of Gerald Meier and Havelock Brewster, are grouped together – perhaps because Brewster’s presentation, which followed Meier’s by one year, sounds very much like a rebuttal to the latter’s neo-liberalism. Meier, while formally affirming the significance of Beckford’s work, nevertheless endorses policies which Beckford certainly would have found anathema. Meier writes in opposition to minimum wage laws, to making the dismissal of workers costly to employers, to high payroll taxes, and to

long and costly bargaining processes. He counsels that "government must not be influenced by special interests," which in this context is a reference to unionized labor (p. 166). Brewster offers, in implicit rebuttal, a more realistic assessment of the class basis of policy-making. He writes that in developing countries today the interests of the poor are a low priority because what governing elites really care about is "how to optimize the benefits of the overprivileged few while securing a mandate to govern from the underprivileged many" (p. 180). In this way Meier's innocent disregard of class power is dismissed.

Since the demise of the Manley government, the implosion of the Grenada Revolution and the economic collapse associated with Burnhamite socialism in Guyana, the region-wide left has gone into a deep slump. That decline has provided the opportunity for some badly needed rethinking. Some of that is in evidence here. For example, Clive Thomas discusses what he calls "state failure," a kind of analogue to market failure (p. 233). The politicization of the operation of state industries and loose financial controls over state firms, writes Thomas, caused the debts which required even unwilling regimes to turn to the IMF. Unfortunately, he offers no real theory of why state failure occurs and no prescription for avoiding this malady. Left rethinking seems also to be present when Witter writes that in developing organizational forms of production, it is important to "take account of the individualism, the resistance to authority in the work place and consciousness of the exploitation of the wage labour relation" (p. 197). Again, however, Witter does not satisfactorily resolve the problems he identifies.

This is a time of stock-taking for the region's left. Many of the authors present in this collection followed Beckford's lead and attempted to link their scholarship with political engagement. This book affirms their continued commitment to egalitarian values, but at the same time provides evidence that the process of rethinking and reconceptualization still has a long way to go.

The Political Economy of Food and Agriculture in the Caribbean.
BELAL AHMED & SULTANA AFROZ. Kingston: Ian Randle; London: James
Currey, 1996. xxi + 276 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

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Through discussions of the influence and involvement of multinational corporations in Caribbean economies, this book argues that reliance on export crops creates a regional dependency on imported food. It concludes that the long-term economic stability of the region requires pursuing sustainable agriculture of food crops.

The book's strength is its discussion of specific corporations and agencies and their activities in the region. Often through case studies focusing on specific nations, the book explores the attempts to manage and boost production of sugar, cocoa, coffee, bananas, citrus, rice, and livestock. In doing so, it outlines the differing roles of corporations, government initiatives, regional agencies such as WINBAN, and external agencies such as USAID and the IMF.

The book focuses mostly on cash crops, but for a study concerned with food production, it contains oversights and over-generalizations in its treatment of regionally consumed food crops. Its emphasis on cash crops and plantations overlooks the reality that much of the food production for consumption within the region takes place on the margins of the plantation system. In addition, it claims that the indigenous population of the Caribbean was destroyed and, consequently, made no contribution to the production of food in the region. Since the book includes in its scope Guyana, a nation with a large indigenous population, this contention is false. More importantly, however, is that this claim leads to the neglect of food production crops and techniques which are indigenous in origin. Small-scale farming of food relies heavily on crops originally cultivated by the indigenous population such as cassava (manioc), peppers, and corn. Since indigenous horticulture was a sustainable form of food production for several thousand years before the arrival of the Europeans, and since it still influences food production throughout the region, it is disappointing that the book neglects a close examination of it.

The book's recommendations for the introduction of new food crops seems to be an outcome of this neglect. It suggests that cereal crops and potatoes are the remedies for the region's food woes. With a few exceptions such as rice, cereal crops are temperate climate crops, and potatoes

are temperate climate or highland tubers. Unless the authors have in mind hybrids, which can be expensive to develop and maintain, these recommendations seem strange in light of already existing sources of starch in the region. Indeed, the emphasis on non-tropical sources of starch above tropical crops such as breadfruit, yams, sweet potatoes, taros, and cassava seems to indicate an ongoing hegemony of European and North American crops and tastes rather than an exploration of viable Caribbean alternatives.

The book also contains some glaring contradictions. For instance, it states that much of the uncultivated land in the region is in the hands of the government, and that the government should examine their stewardship of such land to encourage using it for agricultural production. Yet much of this land is forested, and the authors also suggest that the ecological degradation of forest areas is a major regional problem. In another contradiction, the authors blame some of the region's problems on the "psychology of slavery" (pp. 26-32) that they claim afflicts contemporary West Indians. Yet their evidence strongly suggests that the ongoing exploitation of the region by external interests, and not some psychological legacy of slavery, has created the present economic problems.

A book on food and agriculture in the Caribbean is needed to complement the large literature on the export cash crops of the region. An understanding of the political economy of small farming of food would be helpful. In many ways, though, this book does not move beyond, and often does not even make reference to, many of the previous publications that identify regional self-sufficiency in food production as an important goal and recommend small-scale farming as a means to obtain that goal. This literature is large, and the neglect of major contributions such as the 1945 Moyne Commission report (West India Royal Commission) and the work of George Beckford is glaring.

While the book has its merits, it left me hoping that someday a close examination of the political economy of food crops currently produced for local consumption will be undertaken, rather than the recurring examination of how export crops do not result in sustainable production of food.

The Urban Caribbean: Transition to the New Global Economy.
ALEJANDRO PORTES, CARLOS DORE-CABRAL & PATRICIA LANDOLT (eds.).
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. xvii + 260 pp. (Cloth
US\$ 48.50, Paper US\$ 17.95)

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This book is the write-up of a collaborative study of the urban Caribbean Basin. In the early 1990s, the international research team conducted investigations in five different countries – Costa Rica, Haiti, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica – with the double goal of examining low to modest income urbanites' perceptions about changes in city life and political participation and documenting informal economic activities and their future prospects. The researchers selected countries that varied along many vectors such as the activism of the state, but which had all restructured their national economies away from substitution models to models based on neoliberal ideas emphasizing lowered tariffs and state control as well as increased export orientation. The team employed an innovative methodology identified as a "small-numbers (small N)" comparative design, in which the same topics are examined in detail in a limited number of settings, and then contrasted systematically (p. 9). Two interrelated phases of research were implemented in each country's fieldsite(s). First, investigators spent a year examining existing macrosocial data on city systems, spatial distribution of social classes, and employment patterns. Second, they examined a number of demographic characteristics and sociopolitical attitudes among household heads in probability surveys of certain neighborhoods. The attitudes investigated included people's views on changes in their cities, knowledge of urban authorities, participation in political parties and community organizations, assignment of blame for poverty, and several others. During this phase, investigators also identified one or two types of informal entrepreneurial firms, a small number of which were researched in depth. This study of "popular entrepreneurship" serves to question earlier findings on the informal economy, most specifically aspects of the debate over whether informal economic activities represent survival strategies among marginalized urbanites or an innovative solution for urban unemployment in Latin America.

The book is essentially divided into two parts. Several early chapters and the conclusion focus on comparative issues and results while the middle five chapters discuss individual country results. Chapter 1

research questions, devotes several important pages to the team's methodologies, and offers an extensive discussion of the advantages and pitfalls of operationalizing such collaborative and multi-sited research. The second chapter begins with background and theory on Latin American urbanization before shifting to the region's economic restructuring toward export production. It then provides a useful five-country comparison of similarities and differences in economies, "urban primacy" (condition of the largest city comprising the bulk of the country's population), urban growth and spatial distribution of classes, and labor market and informal economy variables. The chapter concludes with the admonition that Latin American cities cannot be understood well by applying orthodox neoclassical or world systems theories; rather, what is needed is sensitivity to both global and specific national processes (p. 48).

The chapters dedicated to each country follow a similar outline, though they are by no means boilerplate. Each begins with the specific history and urbanization of the country and primary city and then moves to a discussion of each neighborhood surveyed, its sociodemographic characteristics, and respondents' attitudes toward the urban issues identified above. A weakness of this section is that no two chapters present exactly the same list of issues surveyed; moreover, they frequently display the results inconsistently, making it difficult for the reader to make useful comparisons. For example, when presenting respondents' explanations of poverty, some contributors to the volume provide a list of specific responses such as "bad luck" or "social injustice," while others group the responses into "personal" versus "structural" (or even subdivided into "semistructural") factors. Furthermore, respondents themselves are rarely divided into consistent categories such as age, education, and place of origin. This shackles the reader significantly, a problem only partly remedied in the last chapter which offers true comparisons but only for a subset of the survey questions.

Each country chapter also includes a section on informal microenterprises, the type of which varies from place to place – from shoemakers to garment subcontractors to jewelry makers. Here, each investigation seeks to determine whether the informal activity is simply a subsistence strategy or has the capacity for linkage to firms in the formal sector or the means to develop technological absorption and capital accumulation that would signify a true vehicle for development. The various authors find a high degree of heterogeneity within the informal sector but paint a dreary portrait of its development potential. They found that informal enterprises are subordinate to the formal sector; and offer only one example of a dynamic enterprise – namely, the production of a certain product for export to Jamaican migrant communities in other countries. This finding informs the book's criticism of Caribbean governments' and international agen-

cies' new development mantra: funding microenterprises with small loans. Small-scale businesses thrive, these authors argue, primarily because of the "comparative advantage offered by [their] cheap labor" (p. 246). Promoting them will do little to pull the majority out of poverty.

The book's conclusion also seriously questions the "new social actors" approach to political participation among poorer urbanites in the Caribbean Basin. This theory holds that as people disdain formal political parties, they find empowerment in the grassroots. Contrarily, by comparing respondents' attitudes from the five countries, researchers concluded that there is a significant gap between support for grassroots organizations (high) and the belief that these organizations can initiate change (low). Moreover, the theory's generalizability falters as researchers found that differences in national political systems outweigh individual-level influences on political participation. "This result suggests that what ultimately matters is the durability and character of the political space opened by the dominant system for popular participation" (p. 246).

This book's strengths are derived principally from the research proposal (questions, theory, and methods), while its weaknesses lie in the presentation of the results. Avoidable inconsistencies plague the latter and are only partially remedied in the conclusion. For a book subtitled "Transition to the New Global Economy," I would also have enjoyed seeing more space devoted to macro-structural issues such as relationships to international lenders and even the significance of transnational migration (especially since four of the five countries studied supply hundreds of thousands of migrants to the United States). Despite these minor quibbles, the book is a highly accessible and innovative treatment of a region and a set of relevant theories.

The Politics of Labour and Development in Trinidad. RAY KIELY. Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago: The Press University of the West Indies, 1996. iii + 218 pp. (Paper J\$ 450.00)

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This book examines how "historically constructed social divisions have militated against the successful development of a united working class and /or socialist party" (p. 1) in Trinidad and Tobago between 1937 and the

early 1990s. The politics of labor in Trinidad and Tobago is unusual because the major trade unions played a political role but failed to create a political party, while the chief political party, the People's National Movement (PNM), is not based on a trade union.

Kiely begins by critically evaluating several sociological approaches to the study of labor and development in the Caribbean, including modernization theory, the theory of the plantation economy, dependency theory, world systems theory, and M.G. Smith's plural society theory, which argues that conflict between culturally defined segments is central to Caribbean societies. He concludes that "class is a central category for any analysis of labour and development, but it should not necessarily be given a primacy that would lead to a neglect of ethnicity and gender" (p. 27). "Social classes" and "ethnic groups," like genders, are interrelated codes of social difference that create, reflect, and contest changing social inequalities and, in so doing, are closely linked to developments in the organization of labor. In the culturally pluralistic society of Trinidad and Tobago the changing relations of capital and labor in the last two centuries are intimately linked to the social construction of "race" and gender. Kiely advocates a theory of uneven development, taking account of the relationship between the advanced centers of capitalism and the peripheries, and argues that labor, analyzed in terms of class, "race," and gender, is "the key factor" (p. 41) in explaining development. The changing politics of labor, therefore, constitute the core of the different stages of social development, from resistance to slavery and indenture, to trade unionism and party politics.

Kiely summarizes the history of labor in Trinidad, from the comparatively late establishment of plantations based upon slavery, through the system of indentured labor and the development of a peasantry following emancipation in 1838, to the establishment of the oil industry and the emergence of trade unionism in the early twentieth century. The formation of social classes, associated initially with the production of sugar and cocoa but later in urban occupations and the oil industry, was inseparable from a process of racialization in which "Africans," "East Indians," and "whites" were differentiated as social groups. Kiely correctly insists that "the impact of racism on dividing the labour force should not be underestimated ... but at the same time the historical roots of racism must be explained, rather than described (as is the case in the plural society model), in terms of a timeless cultural group conflict" (p. 53). Working-class culture and resistance was developing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a period when "race relations" in colonial Trinidad were extremely complex.

In 1937 working people of all kinds – African and East Indian, native-born and immigrant, women and men, rural and urban, sugar workers and

oilfield workers – exploded in rebellion. Their new organizations, led by such people as Tubal Uriah Butler, Elma François, and Adrian Cola Rienzi, established the modern political agenda. However, the labor movement was so fragmented in 1946, when the first elections based on universal suffrage were held, that the way was left open for the rise of middle-class politicians, first Albert Gomes and then Eric Williams. The international context of the Cold War and the dominant development strategy of “industrialization by invitation” were more important than Kiely allows because they left no room for the emergence of a socialist labor movement. Trade unions had to be “responsible,” which meant limited to moderate and apolitical demands within the existing capitalist system so as not to frighten away potential investors. Kiely could have made this clearer had he paid more attention to what was happening elsewhere in the early 1950s: the purge of the left-wing of Jamaica’s People’s National Party, the destruction of the Caribbean Labour Congress, and the counter-revolution against the People’s Progressive Party government in British Guiana (Bolland 1997).

By the 1956 elections, labor issues were suppressed and “race” became increasingly politicized between Williams’s PNM and Bhadase Maraj’s People’s Democratic Party (PDP). The triumphant Williams became particularly concerned in the 1960s that a “climate of labour unrest was discouraging foreign investment” (p. 98), so he pushed through the Industrial Stabilization Act (ISA) in 1965 in order to depoliticize labor and protect his development strategy. However, as Kiely points out, the reliance upon capitalist industrialization increased unemployment and the “informal sector,” resulting in the wave of opposition that included the “Black Power Revolt” of 1970 and formation of the United Labour Front (ULF), an alliance of progressive trade unions that won ten seats in the 1976 general election. The attempt to create a socialist labor party failed, however, when the ULF split in 1977, leaving the working class “ill-prepared for the recession in the 1980s” (p. 151); the country suffered negative growth rates every year from 1982 to 1989 and unemployment doubled. A coalition National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) government from 1986 to 1988 was committed to the private sector, and public sector unions, in particular, lost thousands of members.

Finally, Kiely analyzes the origins of a new movement toward labor unity in 1989, leading to a new national Trade Union Council in 1991. However, racial politics and labor politics remain intertwined and at odds: on the one hand, Basdeo Panday’s United National Congress (UNC) is still a largely East Indian party and the PNM remains a largely African party, while, on the other hand, the Movement for Social Transformation (MOTION) tends to dismiss racism as an epiphenomenon of capitalism. While government economic policies, following global trends, widen

economic and social inequalities, the attempt of trade unions to join other organizations, including feminist groups and religious and cultural organizations, in a new “social movement unionism” has not, to date, overcome the racialized politics that still characterizes the major parties. Kiely concludes, soberly, that “uneven development and racialization have meant that the working class has rarely acted as a homogenous force” (p. 172). This has transpired not only because political leaders have racialized party politics but also because labor leaders have not taken “full account of the diversity of experiences of working class people” (p. 173). Kiely’s thoughtful study helps us understand the complex dynamics of the politics of labor – and the racialization of politics – in relation to changing patterns of economic development.

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West Indian Workers and the United Fruit Company in Costa Rica, 1870-1940. AVIVA CHOMSKY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996. xiii + 302 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.50)

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Aviva Chomsky provides a synthetic and objective study of West Indian banana workers on United Fruit Company plantations in Costa Rica from 1870 to 1940. This is a well-written social history of labor relations on Costa Rica’s Atlantic coast; its theoretical perspective underscores the workers’ role as “active agents in making their own history” (p. 209). The book begins with the birth of the Costa Rican banana industry in the 1870s. Subsequent chapters take the reader through the important 1934 strike to the brink of the 1948 war, with pauses to examine the genesis of the 1910 strike, company health policies, and West Indian social organizations in Limón. While there have been many studies of the United Fruit Company, many of them have been overtly partisan, and some of the

earlier accounts were authored by Company apologists. Chomsky is generally sympathetic to the plantation workers, trusting that they acted responsibly to promote their health, economic well-being, and religious-cultural values.

It was a good idea to study the United Fruit Company from the point of view of its workers. Ethnographer Philippe Bourgois had success with this strategy, because he could talk to the workers and elicit their stories and opinions. But historians haven't tried it, perhaps because the historical record contains precious little documentation of workers' points of view (as Chomsky points out in the conclusion of her book). The lack of available documentation means that the evidence for certain of Chomsky's arguments is skimpy and much must be inferred. Some of her inferences are drawn from literature on emancipation societies elsewhere in the Caribbean. In a section on the role of African medical traditions, for example, she does not provide sufficient evidence to persuade readers that "black healers played the same type of dual role [on United Fruit plantations] they played on the slave plantation" (p. 139). There are numerous similar examples throughout the book.

Health data can be an important reflection of social well-being, and Chomsky is one of very few scholars to make use of the rich data reported by the United Fruit Medical Department. She provides a real service by compiling and graphing morbidity and mortality data, tabulated (when possible) by diagnosis and race, to argue that United Fruit gave higher priority to malaria control (which disproportionately affected North American managerial employees) than to the respiratory illnesses that killed more workers. Chomsky argues that the Company emphasized individual, hospital-based curative care over public health. This interpretation is plausible but overly narrow, in part because she relies on hospital and clinic records (themselves of dubious reliability) rather than putting United Fruit's medical policies into a larger historical context. A more holistic ecological and biocultural approach might begin not by looking at hospital-based services, but by examining the medical controversies and public health ideologies prevalent at the time. United Fruit's medical men were indeed eager to establish the Company's reputation as a leader in the age of "scientific medicine." This required them to assert biomedical control over the lives and health of individuals, including the public (which had to be coerced to comply with sanitation regimens), patients (who had to be isolated in hospitals under the care of physicians), and healers (who had to be properly educated and licensed). United Fruit doctors were primarily concerned with labor productivity, as Chomsky points out, but they were also concerned with being "modern," which meant they needed to build hospitals, devise public health surveillance techniques, and provide curative care. Chomsky largely

ignores United Fruit's efforts to create a more salubrious environment by draining swamps (hence controlling mosquitoes) and constructing housing.

In evaluating the health risks and disease profiles of the population, Chomsky mentions that tropical medicine specialists were aware of an apparent difference in race-based susceptibility to disease. "Racial pathology" – in conjunction with the popularity of eugenics – was one of the major medical questions of the era, and tropical medicine experts such as those employed by United Fruit were in a unique position to contribute to the controversy. Rather than explicate or untangle these claims, however, Chomsky takes a tentative stance on the biological evidence of black resistance to tropical disease (see p. 112). For example, she does not even mention the effect that the sickle cell trait (carried by persons of central African descent) had on susceptibility to malaria (see p. 112). This important historical and biocultural controversy remains uninterrogated, and a definitive history of United Fruit's medical policies remains to be written.

The temptation to stretch the available evidence surfaces again in the chapters on health. During these years, United Fruit had operations in areas as ecologically and medically diverse as Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Yet the published medical department reports often do not specify which country or region they were referring to. Chomsky faced the same problem, yet she sometimes fudges this issue by illustrating arguments about Costa Rica with data from Guatemala (e.g., p. 123 on the link between pneumonia and malnutrition or p. 125, where speculation about the diet of Costa Rican laborers is illustrated with data from Honduras).

Chomsky argues that West Indian laborers would have had their own ideas about the causes and treatment of disease. As a medical anthropologist I would be inclined to agree (and to note that the same was true of banana workers from rural Costa Rica), but in the absence of much convincing evidence her argument tends to romanticize and mystify the influence of "culture" without providing insight into why West Indian traditions would prevail in one instance and not in another. With respect to the use of infant formula, for example, Chomsky suggests that Company policy would have encouraged many West Indian women to give up breastfeeding in favor of feeding formula to their infants (p. 127). But she argues that when workers were encouraged to ingest quinine to ward off malaria, they would have resisted. She suggests (pp. 128-29) that anemic patients appreciated the nutritive value of tonic pills supplemented with iron; why, then, didn't mothers notice the deleterious effects of infant formula? Why assume – based on only circumstantial evidence – that workers would capitulate to Company policy in one instance and resist in another?

Chomsky offers new and interesting documentation of the 1910 strike and the social rifts it exemplified. This, along with her review of the intersections between communism, racism, and Liberacionismo (the emerging anti-communist, anti-imperialist, reformist party that emerged during the 1940s), is an important contribution to Costa Rican historiography. Her account of the 1910 strike is welcome for its attempts to meld cultural and religious history with the history of labor unions and dissent. She shows how two Jamaican strike organizers (Charles G. Ferguson and J. Washington Sterling) were later expelled from the country, partly because of accusations that they were connected with *obeah* (an African-based religious tradition). Chomsky admits that the written record contains no evidence of religious revivalism prior to these accusations (p. 190), yet she takes the accusations at face value, concluding that faith in *obeah* was widespread among West Indian workers and could have had an important effect on their willingness to resist the Company (p. 194). I would have been more skeptical of basing such a sweeping conclusion on the strength of accusers' testimony, considering that a common prosecutorial strategy is to accuse one's enemies of consorting with the devil.

Chomsky's book has already won an award from the North East Council of Latin American Studies. It is a welcome addition to Costa Rican historiography in spite of its flaws, because it considers the importance of local agency and activism in making history, and because it synthesizes so much of the available literature on labor relations on the Atlantic coast of Central America as well as in the Caribbean. One hopes that a Spanish edition of the book will be published, so that Spanish-speaking scholars may also read Chomsky's provocative and refreshing interpretations of this history.

Genero y trabajo: La industria de la aguja en Puerto Rico y el Caribe hispánico. MARIA DEL CARMEN BAERGA (ed.). San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1993. xxvi + 321 pp. (Paper US\$ 11.95)

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This is a very valuable edited anthology, both for Spanish-speaking Caribbean historiography, and for those interested in gender, colonialism, and labor. Its focus, the place of women and gender in clothing pro-

duction, is also an important issue for our times, when corporations like Nike and Levi's continue to exploit women and child labor around the globe in the name of profits and progress, and sweatshops proliferate in the heart of the most "developed" nations of the world. The collected articles provide a long-overdue comparative historical perspective on the Dominican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican experiences (although the bulk of the essays are on Puerto Rico). They also show that the much-touted globalization of capital and labor patterns has deep historical roots. The authors also move beyond the initial wave of the region's feminist history, which emphasized descriptive documentation of women's lives, to examining how the global economy has been structured by gender, and how it in turn has affected gender relations in local communities, often reproducing the subordination or marginalization of women. The articles are firmly rooted in the material relations of social history and political economy, and are carefully tuned to questions of power differences and exploitation – a welcome respite from the disembodied discourses which often occupy center stage in recent post-colonial analyses.

The best of the essays break important theoretical ground for the Spanish Caribbean. They question the androcentric bias in the assumed meanings of such central historical categories as "capitalism," "skill," "industrial production," and "labor." They perceptively examine the interconnection of domestic and productive labor, and the ways in which their interplay facilitated the beginnings of the Spanish Caribbean's clothing industries and continues to shape them. They also begin to analyze the contradictions often produced by women's proletarianization. Clearly, this is an important volume.

Helen Icken Safa's articles, for example, stake out ambitious ground by explicitly comparing women textile workers' experiences in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. She traces how access (or lack thereof) to the welfare state, unions, and waged work allows women in Puerto Rico more bargaining room vis-à-vis individual men than in the Dominican Republic. She also analyzes contradictory historical processes in all three nations – how state intervention, proletarianization, and mass organizations can simultaneously provide women with new options and perpetuate their subordination in society and the family. In post-revolutionary Cuba, for example, women's massive entrance into the waged labor force has produced great changes in their lives – access to their own income, an identification with workplace as well as family, etc. – but the sexual division of labor in both factory and home remains quite resilient, and ultimately impedes women's full empowerment.

Maria del Carmen Baerga's two essays are the most wide-ranging of the volume, providing valuable assessments of feminist theory and penetrating critiques of the existent Puerto Rican labor history. Baerga explores the

centrality of women's labor, both domestic and income-earning, to the subsistence of the Puerto Rican working classes of the early twentieth century. Women, she shows, have always worked, and their families could not have survived without this labor. Baerga points out that early proletarianization was gendered, since many women in the 1930s earned wages while remaining at home, combining piecework with child care and other reproductive labor. Such income-earning activities did not substantially challenge familial or societal gender power relations, despite their establishment of women as crucial wage-winners – often the only ones in the household. However, women needleworkers were not isolated individuals; they created strong links with neighboring laboring women and developed ties to the burgeoning labor movement. Baerga's analysis exposes the historical dynamism of women workers' actions, and the conflicting meanings and interests created by their relationships with each other, their families, and the men who dominated the early labor movement in Puerto Rico.

Despite these strengths, and many others, the volume does have its shortcomings. The historical formation of masculinity and racial meanings is left largely untouched. Most of the essays focus solely on women's labor, rather narrowly construed. Broader power relations in arenas such as the family, sexuality, trade unions, and workers' residential communities – as well as the ways in which these relationships shape women's experiences of labor – are often thinly explored, if at all. Also, with the exception of María del Carmen Baerga's pieces, the authors' emphasis on economic exploitation and colonial domination implicitly strips women workers of agency. The state, local and foreign capital, managers, and foreign missionaries all are historical actors. Not so working-class women, who are used, acted upon, mobilized by others and sometimes even allegedly fail to have the correct kind of class consciousness. Working women's voices are surprisingly absent, particularly considering that many of the authors based their research on extensive oral interviews. Absent, too, are the multiple meanings that women may have attributed to their labor (there are hints of this in the few quotes from workers, who speak of the "beautiful things" they produced) and the complex fabric of women's daily negotiations of power relations and alliances in family, community, and workplace. Consequently, in most of the essays we are left with the impression that even in Cuba, where Safa argues that working-class women have more options economically, socially, and politically than in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, women have not *made* history, although they, their labor, and the meanings attached to them by others have helped structure it. Despite its shortcomings, however, this volume is a great step forward in both the history and the theory of gender and colonialism in the Spanish Caribbean, a must for all analysts of the region.

Security Problems and Policies in the Post-Cold War Caribbean. JORGE RODRÍGUEZ BERUFF & HUMBERTO GARCÍA MUÑIZ (eds.). London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's, 1996. 249 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95; £ 45.00)

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Security in a complex and heterogeneous region like the Caribbean has never ceased to be a focus of attention both for policy makers and for analysts and researchers. In this regard, many authors have discussed and analyzed the region from different perspectives, particularly in the context of the East-West conflict and at the height of the Cold War after the consolidation of the revolutionary regime in Cuba, the decolonization of the non-Hispanic Caribbean, and the development of the Central American crisis in the 1980s. The end of the Cold War, however, has frequently left scholars without a framework to understand the current dynamics of regional security. Consequently, many of us have tackled the concept of the "post-Cold War" in an attempt to understand the new regional security agenda for external and internal actors, the new emerging threats in the context of the decline of the region's strategic importance, and the need to develop concepts of security broader than the traditional ones, but at the same time more complex and less operationally manageable.

This is in essence the approach suggested by Rodríguez Beruff and García Muñiz both in the introduction to the volume and in its structure. They close their introduction by stating: "Caribbean security problems and politics have appeared more complex and fluid since the waning of the global East-West confrontation. The concept of security itself is elusive and disputed. The editors of this volume conceive security to be related to the creation of conditions for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, the consolidation of democratic practices and institutions, national self-determination, increased international collaboration and regional integration, economic viability and the well-being of regional societies, and political and social stability. From this perspective, military security, however important, is only a subordinate component of security" (p. 11).

This point of view, which I share fully, clashes with a particular epistemological difficulty – which is that most of us social scientists tend to stick easily to pre-established mental schemes and to suffer from inertia in analyzing new situations with already-familiar paradigms and approaches. This may be the reason why the chapter by the editors and those by Michel Louis Martin and Paul Sutton (in the book's first part, entitled

"The Role of the External Powers," which focuses mainly on the United States, France, and Great Britain) all tend to emphasize military security over other considerations from a broader perspective. This approach is especially evident in the chapter by Martin on French strategic interests in the Caribbean. These same chapters also adopt a narrow view of the Caribbean, limited to the insular part of the region, which may simply reflect old metropolitan visions. A notable exception in this respect is Hal Klepak's chapter on Canada, whose view with respect to the concept of security is broader, and whose vision of the dynamics of regional security goes significantly beyond the insular area to include Central America and the Latin American countries in general. Overall, the book's early chapters invite readers to ask if the analysis made from the traditional perspective is not significantly permeated by the colonial legacies or hegemonic aspirations of the external actors whose security policies are being scrutinized.

The dominant orientation of the first part gradually shifts in the second part, which covers regional actors and the security environment. This is particularly evident in the chapter by Michel Laguette on Haiti and the one by Rodríguez Beruff on the strategic military interests and the self-determination of Puerto Rico, where the issues of the domestic political dynamic and the economic variables begin to give a new twist to the analysis of regional security. On the other hand, the two chapters on Cuba included in this second part – "Cuba's Security in the 1990s" by Isabel Jaramillo Edwards and "The US-Cuba Strategic Game" by Anthony Maingot, along with an impressive amount of information, are situated again in a strategic analysis that favors in principle an approach that is overwhelmingly strategic-military. This is certainly not by chance, given the current state of relations between the United States and Cuba and its possible regional impact despite the end of the Cold War.

The third part of the book, "Drugs and Migration as Security Problems," tackles, in three extremely informative and empirically well-anchored chapters, the new priorities in the regional security agenda – drug trafficking in the chapter by Ivelaw Griffith, the geopolitics of Caribbean immigration in the chapter by Ramon Grosfoguel, and the problems of illegal migration in Michael Morris's "Coast Guards and Boat People." The validity of most of the analyses included in this volume lies, however, in a point of view that continues to favor the security priorities of an agenda that is particularly relevant to the new strategic interests at work in the region in the aftermath of the Cold War. Frequently with a strong influence of the approaches that emerge from the prioritization of the interests of important external actors, such as the United States, France, and Great Britain, or internal ones, like Cuba, within an approach that persists in using the predominantly "realist" school concepts which question some of the claims and aspirations mentioned by the editors in the

introduction, especially with regard to a wider view of security which includes political, economic, and social factors, and the characteristics of the ongoing integration process.

Its predominant approach notwithstanding, the book is characterized by a great wealth of analysis and information in its attempt to treat the slippery subject of Caribbean regional security in the post-Cold War era, and especially by a “realist” discursive coherence. Perhaps this should have been assumed more consistently by the editors when they relegated to a second plane a focus on the extra-military components of security in the region in the context of the new integrationist dynamic in which it is immersed.

Silencing the Guns in Haiti: The Promise of Deliberative Democracy.
IRWIN P. STOTZKY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997. xvi + 294 pp. (Cloth US\$ 24.95)

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This is one of the best books written about Haiti since 1991. It is theoretically sophisticated, thoroughly researched, meticulously documented, and tightly argued. And it is written with the insights of an insider.

The book's central argument is that the return to constitutional rule in October 1994 was a necessary but not sufficient condition for the establishment of a viable democracy and equitable process of economic development. Stotzky proposes an “epistemic” or deliberative democracy for Haiti. The epistemic model of democracy is based on the principle that through collective deliberation and dialogue, the people can transform their selfish interests and preferences and achieve a collective consensus prescribed by valid moral principles. This conception of democracy contrasts sharply with the prevailing “pluralistic” model of democracy where the aim is to ensure that individuals and their groups promote their particular interests in the name of the common good so long as no single group is allowed to monopolize power. This latter conception of democracy is essentially negative because its value lies in advancing individual or group self-interest by protecting against tyranny or anarchy (pp. 66-70). The antidote to a system that allows special interests to prevail, Stotzky argues, is a polity governed by universal and impersonal principles where citizens,

who are free to change their mind and are not bound to special interests, justify their choices through public dialogue (p. 73).

A deliberate or epistemic democracy can work, however, only if citizens are free to deliberate and decide about the ends of social life, well educated about the important issues confronting their society, and able to acquire the tools and resources necessary for them to participate in public discourse. To meet these requirements, inequalities in the control and allocation of resources must be changed so that a small group of elites cannot control and decide on the allocation of resources unless validated through collective deliberation (p. 74).

Stotzky knows that the task of establishing even a formal representative democracy in Haiti is daunting and uncertain, and more so the epistemic variation he advocates. He devotes considerable time to the obstacles Haiti faces in the transition to democracy. These include the extreme underdevelopment and poverty of the majority of Haitians, the legacy of dictatorship and of the prebendary state, drug trafficking, corruption, and violence, and the aversion of the tiny but wealthy and powerful Haitian elite toward the Haitian people. Stotzky also criticizes the negative role of the United States, or U.S. government agencies, in undermining the process of democratization. These actions include supporting the old military before and during the coup; collaborating with and protecting members of the paramilitary death squads and the military implicated in assassinations, drug trafficking, and other criminal activities; withholding Haitian government documents taken from Haiti during the intervention that could be vital in bringing such criminals to justice and in establishing the rule of law; and current congressional attempts to incapacitate the Preval administration for domestic partisan purposes.

Still, Stotzky sees signs of hope in the restoration of constitutional rule since 1994 and in the "Aristide plan for social and economic reconstruction," which was also adopted by President Preval, and which aims at a more just and equitable process of development. This plan was in fact (though Stotzky fails to mention it) devised in collaboration with (and closely mirrors the policies of) the international financial aid and lending institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Inter-American Development Bank. Despite the progressive aspects of the plan, Stotzky criticizes those he sees as counterproductive, such as the free trade component that he argues will benefit primarily the traditional elites who dominate the import sector but will be disastrous for millions of peasants, small entrepreneurs, and artisans who cannot compete with cheaper imports (pp. 105-13). He seems more equivocal, however, on the controversial plan to privatize the public enterprises. On the one hand, Stotzky argues that though privatization will ostensibly reduce inflation, it will lead to the creation of new private monopolies, remove popular

pressure to keep down the prices of state-provided services, and generally cause serious harm to the Haitian economy (p. 111). On the other hand, he defends the Preval government's privatization scheme, which calls for creating joint-ventures with private investors who would manage the enterprises and infuse the needed capital and technology to make them more efficient and productive. This variant promises to allow the Haitian government to have more control over public assets. But Stotzky warns about the role of the Haitian business elite who, along with foreign investors, are the ones with enough capital to enter into joint-ventures with the government and hence strengthen their economic power and influence (pp. 182-87).

The book's most significant weaknesses pertain to its treatment of Aristide, which I believe to be too uncritical. For example, Stotzky mentions that Aristide distanced himself from "his" 1994 plan after it became popular, and is now taking on the role of critic of the Preval administration. But he fails to mention that this was not the first time that Aristide abandoned policies he had previously endorsed while sacrificing his ministers. In 1991 Aristide allowed his Minister of Commerce, Smarck Michel, to take the blame for the mass protests over Michel's decision to raise prices on basic goods and to resign as a result. And in 1994 Aristide sacked his prime minister, the same Smarck Michel, for implementing unpopular economic measures that followed from "the plan" that he (Aristide) had endorsed.

In the same vein, Stotzky ignores the 1991 socioeconomic plan of the first Aristide government that was more social democratic, more egalitarian, and more interventionist than the 1994 plan, but which Aristide jettisoned in order to win the support of the United States to return him to power. Stotzky, in fact, does not reconcile an apparant contradiction in his argument. How, one may ask, will the free market strategy adopted by the second Aristide and the Preval administrations, even while taking into account Stotzky's warnings and all that he thinks is positive in the plan, cause less rather than more inequality, poverty, unemployment, and underdevelopment, and hence make the likelihood of moving toward an epis-temic model of democracy even more remote?

Lastly, Stotzky could have scrutinized more fully Aristide's erratic behavior as president in 1991, especially toward the business elite. He courted this group for their support but ended up giving them the excuse they needed to join with the army to topple him.

These weaknesses notwithstanding, *Silencing the Guns in Haiti* is must reading for anyone who wants to have a critical understanding of Haiti's turbulent recent history and prospects for a more hopeful future.

Framing Silence: Revolutionary Novels by Haitian Women. MYRIAM J.A. CHANCY. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997. ix + 200 pp. (Cloth US\$ 48.00, Paper US\$ 17.95)

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This is a fascinating study of Haitian women novelists from a feminist perspective. Myriam Chancy states that she has worked within the “tenets of radical feminism for women of color” (p. 7). She gives an incisive explanation (in Chapter 1) of the refusal of women of color to align themselves with Western feminisms. Western feminists are unable “to recognize their capacity to oppress other women who do not occupy the same positions of relative power that extinguishes the transformative potential of feminist politics” (p. 36). Chancy posits a distinctive thrust in Haitian feminism for “its refusal to acknowledge *lack of consciousness*” (p. 38, her italics). Haitian women, even those who were illiterate and had little or no schooling, have always engaged in dialogue, whether at home, in drama, at the market place, or in political activism. Chancy argues that Haitian women are perfectly capable of bridging class differences and developing revolutionary agendas (pp. 42-43).

In Chapter 2 she argues that the primary value of Mme. Virgile Valcin’s *La blanche négresse* and Annie Desroy’s *Le joug* was in portraying the “effects of the United States [occupation of Haiti] on the Haitian (female) psyche” (p. 48). Chancy opposes the critical view that these novels are outdated, sentimental, and minimally interesting for modern readers. In Chapter 3, she examines two novelists who “disrupt” rather than confirm “standard modes of historicizing” (p. 75). Ghislaine Charlier’s *Mémoires d’une affranchie* is particularly deserving of critical treatment. (Chancy mistakenly gives “Mémoire” in the singular and notes the wrong publisher: it is Editions du Méridien, not Leméac.) Charlier’s “affranchie,” the daughter of a Frenchman and his beloved African concubine, has been raised as a thinking, independent young woman who dares to look white men defiantly in the eyes. The story, a narrative addressed to her son by Julie Maurer in her old age, recalls the last days of colonial Saint-Domingue and ends during the Haitian Revolution. Jan J. Dominique’s *Mémoire d’une amnésique* (1984) is an autobiographical exploration of identity by a young writer who resembles Dominique herself. Although coherence is difficult for the respective narrators to achieve, Chancy finds that both novels “accurately reflect the condition of exile many Haitian

women authors undergo as they attempt to tell an untold story.” In addition, these narratives “ultimately alienate the authors from the mainstream, Haitian literary scene” (p. 78).

Chapter 4 is devoted to “the politics of textual sexuality” in Nadine Magloire’s *Le mal de vivre* and Edwidge Danticat’s *Breath, Eyes, and Memory*. Magloire’s offence was to have written openly and explicitly about female sexuality. Chancy emphasizes “the necessity of creating a language and a frame of reference through which the Haitian woman can come to represent herself and her sexuality directly” (p. 107). Magloire’s heroine, Claudine, looks on marriage as “prostitution” and “exempts herself from the obligation to abide by the conventional rules of the marriage contract” (p. 116). Danticat’s protagonist, Sophie, is the offspring of rape and her mother has been guilty of sexually abusing her, with the misguided idea of “protecting” her. Danticat’s trick (achievement and deception) is to have inscribed her creole thinking in English. Both novels conclude in silence: “in that resounding silence, in the absence of textual representations of identity that reflect a vision of hope, we should hear the ‘cri de coeur’ of all Haitian women” (p. 133).

In Marie (Vieux) Chauvet’s *Les rapaces* (published posthumously) and Anne-Christine d’Adesky’s *Under the Bone* (1994), Chancy addresses “the ways in which Haitian women writers have conveyed and/or defied the apocalyptic in their works” (p. 143). Following the death of Papa Doc, Chauvet shows “revolutionary characters [attempting] the impossible by steadfastly adhering to a belief in freedom of expression” (p. 153). D’Adesky focuses on the period immediately following the ouster of Baby Doc (1986), in which Duvalierism continued to dominate the Haitian political scene. Chancy concludes that the female characters of these two writers “are revolutionaries who in the act of renouncing personal or economic privilege usher into being a reinvigorated sense of the *plausibility* of Haitian women’s collectivity” (p. 163, Chancy’s italics). The “literature that has emerged since 1934 emphatically engages in the political struggle over ideology and self-representation begun by Haitian women during the Occupation” (p. 169).

In spite of a few factual and typographical errors – François Duvalier did not take office in “September” (p. 146), but rather on his mystical date, October 22, 1957 – Chancy has produced an extremely lively study that will interest all readers and specialists of Haitian literature.

Island Paradox: Puerto Rico in the 1990s. FRANCISCO L. RIVERA-BATIZ & CARLOS E. SANTIAGO. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1996. xi + 198 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

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Island Paradox is a handy reference book that offers abundant data on the demographic and socioeconomic changes among Puerto Ricans in both Puerto Rico and the United States during the 1970s and 1980s. The book provides an excellent introduction to Puerto Rico and the problems that Puerto Ricans are confronting on the island and on the U.S. mainland. Its primary data sources are the 1970, 1980, and 1990 U.S. Bureau of the Population and Housing censuses.

The eight chapters, as well as most of the appendices, contain detailed data on a variety of issues relevant to Puerto Rican society, including population growth, migration, poverty, income inequality, labor force participation, and education. The book effectively highlights how Puerto Rico was transformed from a rural-agricultural society to an urban-industrial one and delineates some of the demographic, social, and economic consequences of this dramatic transformation. However, many readers may want to look elsewhere for additional, more detailed information on these subjects.

Island Paradox is well organized and easy to read, and will be extremely valuable to the reader who has limited knowledge of the current demographic and socioeconomic reality of the Puerto Rican population. The summaries included at the end of each chapter provide a "quick reference guide" to some of the most important findings for that particular chapter. Tables, graphs, and figures (primarily based on frequency distributions and cross-tabulations) abound in this text and will be very useful for the novice on Puerto Rican affairs, as well as for a more "sophisticated" audience.

As with all types of descriptive and comparative research, this text generates many more questions than it answers. Readers seeking an in-depth analysis based on sound theoretical demographic, sociological, or econometric models will generally be disappointed. Those interested in a detailed historical background on the island, or an extensive discussion on the political status of Puerto Rico, or future models of economic development for Puerto Rico will also need to look elsewhere.

On several occasions the authors present census data that show some demographic or socioeconomic pattern in, for example, welfare reciprocity, or unemployment, that contradicts or does not support previous research findings based on "other" data sets. The authors assert that "the census-based analysis presented in this monograph provides results that often diverge drastically from Puerto Rican government figures" (p. 168). However, they generally do not attempt to discuss these discrepancies or provide explanations on why these findings are significantly different from previous research.

The primary argument presented for such discrepancies is that Rivera and Santiago's research is based on census data while other findings are based on less reliable data sources such as those generated by the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. In order to validate their argument, they indicate that the methodology and data generated by the government of Puerto Rico "have been repeatedly criticized by the island's economists" (p. 168). We generally may agree with this argument, and recognize that the U.S. census provides perhaps the most current and reliable data available on the issues presented by the authors, but they neglect to recognize and discuss the limitations of their data. For example, the census undercount has primarily affected people of color in the United States, including Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico and on the mainland. Furthermore, standard items in the U.S. Census "may omit, distort, or overly condense the details needed to study the Puerto Rican population" (Hernández 1983:11).

The title of the book, *Island Paradox*, appears to emerge from the fact that despite important and innovative economic development initiatives generated by the government of Puerto Rico, such as "Operation Bootstrap" in the 1950s, the Puerto Rican economy has become stagnant: unemployment has remained extremely high (currently, close to 15 percent); poverty levels are approximately 60 percent; income inequality has continued to increase; and the income gap between Puerto Rico and the United States has widened. Furthermore, despite significant overall economic improvements among Puerto Ricans in the United States, they continue to confront serious social and economic difficulties.

Despite the success of the authors in delineating the problems that Puerto Ricans confront, they revert to the traditional "human capital approach," concluding their book with an assertion that "if the Puerto Rican economy is to deal seriously with high unemployment rates [which they argue is the most important problem currently facing Puerto Rico], the education of its workforce must be sharply increased" (p. 164). However, while education is a key variable in Puerto Rico's economic development, there are significant structural, social, economic, and political issues that must also be addressed, evaluated, and analyzed if significant changes are

to take place. As Puerto Rico looks toward the twenty-first century, education will play an important role in the island's economic development, but it is only one of many other important variables that must come into play in Puerto Rico's uncertain future. This shortcoming in an otherwise very well thought out book can be attributed to the lack of a unifying theoretical framework.

Faculty in institutions of higher education who teach courses on minority issues, race and ethnicity, and/or the Puerto Rican population in the United States and Puerto Rico will benefit from this book as primary or supplementary reading for their students. Furthermore, readers eager to learn about the Puerto Rican reality will also be pleased with this book. In general, *Island Paradox* will fulfill its mission in generating a "deeper understanding of present-day Puerto Rico, its people, and its society" (p. 165).

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Quisqueya la Bella: The Dominican Republic in Historical and Cultural Perspective. ALAN CAMBEIRA. Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996. xi + 272 pp. (Cloth US\$ 62.95, Paper US\$ 24.95)

The Dominican Republic Today: Realities and Perspectives. EMELIO BETANCES & HOBART A. SPALDING, JR. (eds.). New York: Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, CUNY, 1996. 205 pp. (Cloth n.p.)

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Quisqueya la Bella and *The Dominican Republic Today*, though dissimilar in their contents, are solid contributions to the understanding of the Dominican Republic today. Both books help to close the existing gap concerning in-depth analysis in English of both the Dominican people and the socioeconomic problems that currently afflict Dominican society. Both deserve a wide audience.

The increasing number of Dominicans in the United States in the last three decades or so has generated much scholarly interest in things Dominican. Alan Cambeira examines Dominican society with the declared intention to offer "a kind of basic working tool for those readers with a genuine desire and interest in being formally introduced to Dominican culture" (p. 10). He seeks to fulfill his task by means of a methodology that combines participant observation and interviews, along with bibliographical research to construct a narrative that is fresh, clearly organized, and highly informative. Although he claims that his writing is not guided by "any broad scheme or personal thesis to prove or sociopolitical agenda to present," his text is generally passionate and committed, and he does well to admit that his book "is laced with [his] own personal observations, perspectives, and opinions" (p. 10).

Cambeira argues his views with conviction. In his description, for instance, of the first encounter between the Tainos and the Spaniards in 1492, he clearly portrays the former as innocent victims who were minding their own business at the time of the "discovery" and the latter as selfish barbarians, and fortune-seekers, whose ambition led to the physical extermination of an entire race. There is no attempt on his part either to justify Columbus's voyage or to visualize it as a necessary enterprise which sought the advancement of humanity.

Cambeira's interests transcend the limits of history and cultural definitions as narrowly perceived. He defines Dominican culture broadly, including historical monuments, food, musical patterns, and an observation of how people walk, talk, do their work, behave, cook, or look at their society. It is not enough to explain the preponderance of *sancocho* in the Dominican diet; one also needs to know the kinds of ingredients used, how it is prepared, and the myths behind its preparation (pp. 219, 251). We learn, for instance, that Doña Gudelia, who has a well-guarded recipe for *sancocho*, would only use chickens raised in her own town, Tamboril, refusing to use chickens imported from Santo Domingo or the United States (p. 232).

Similarly, Cambeira sets out to shed light on the understanding of the Dominican mind. He narrates, for instance, a national meeting of young Dominican intellectuals who meet to seek solutions to "the serious internal crisis facing La República Dominicana" (p. 218). Rather than speaking about a victimized people, harassed by constant poverty and inept political leaders, he describes the activism and involvement of the Dominican people in the life of their country and their attitude to fix what is wrong and to straighten out that which is twisted. To answer the questions "who can most accurately and most suitably define Dominican culture? and whose voice speaks most authentically for what constitutes Dominican culture?" (p. 214), Cambeira collects the impressions of

speakers from the most renowned to the most humble. The eighty-three-year-old Dominican National Poet, Don Pedro Mir, reaffirms what many readers perhaps already know about Dominican culture. For Paulina Lantigua, who is an ordinary woman, Dominican culture is defined as everything from "the delicately crafted ceramic faceless dolls to the mystical underground caves and springs at Tres Ojos" (p. 217).

Cambeira composes a long list of items which in his view describe Dominican culture, thus displaying his rare familiarity with the most basic elements of everyday life in the Dominican Republic. For Cambeira learning about Dominican culture means "sitting for about an hour in the central plaza of any small town, chatting idly with the local elders who are there regularly every day" (p. 236-37) as well as knowing the singularity of Dominican linguistic resources.

Cambeira draws from early Dominican history to account for the specificity which may have led to distinct cultural and identity patterns in Dominican society. The Spaniards implemented a structured society in La Española in which wealth was intertwined with race: the white masters owned the means of production (including the slaves themselves) and the black slaves owned nothing. But during the entire seventeenth century both masters and slaves were left on their own by the Spanish Crown, whose army had trouble navigating through the pirate infested Caribbean waters. The white settlers were left without commerce and Spanish products and had to share the food available in the island with the slaves. Cambeira believes that this specific situation may have had an equalizing effect among people, particularly masters and slaves, who found themselves without the concrete means to sustain a social structure based on racial differences.

In discussing Dominican identity Cambeira challenges the oft-repeated notion that Dominicans deny their blackness and reject their African roots. He affirms that Dominican identity is made up of three main heritages – the Taino, Spaniard, and African, adding that "The practice of referring to an individual as half-caste or half-breed, with its accompanying stigma of mongrelization, is totally absent in Dominican society ... So unlike the United States, with its pervasive, emotionally charged preoccupation with matters of race, La República Dominicana approaches the question quite differently" (p. 220). In the Dominican Republic, the mixing of the races led to a complex racial rainbow which is clearly perceivable in the phenotype of the people in a variety of colors and which Dominicans arrange from plain *indio* to *indio claro*, to *indio oscuro*, etc. to refer to a person who is essentially mulatto and whose skin color is dark. The same mulatto, however, once in the United States, Cambeira explains, becomes simply black. What is innovating about his analysis is that rather than carving a narrow definition of racial identity, he attempts to understand race within a

Dominican context, putting aside racial notions imported from other social orders. The fact that people who are black in the United States are not necessarily perceived as such in the Dominican Republic does not lead him to suggest that the Dominican definition of race hides a complete negation of their blackness and African heritage. *Quisqueya la Bella* opts for explaining racial understanding from the point of view of the racial complexity in the Dominican Republic, rather than from what Cambeira may have thought it should have been. Black in the Dominican Republic is not simply black, as may be understood elsewhere. It has a variety of shades and tones, which though fully acknowledged by Dominicans, adds to a configuration that may be puzzling to a non-Dominican.

To decipher Dominican identity one faces the real challenge of accounting for the harmonious coexistence of apparently contradictory expressions within one single cultural milieu: that of *el negro bembón* (a pejorative description of the thick lips of a black or mulatto person) and that which asserts, that "*Despues que se apaga la luz, somos todos del mismo color*" ("when the lights are out, we are all the same color"). An effort to tackle that complexity is what the reader will find in *Quisqueya la Bella*.

Perhaps the hardest part of reviewing a book made up of a collection of essays is finding a central theme, a coherent line of argument, and a consistency in the quality of the writing and issues treated in the volume. Emelio Betances and Hobard A. Spalding, Jr., two seasoned scholars on Dominican studies, have largely succeeded. They have selected a set of well-written essays on contemporary Dominican society which clearly exhibit a central theme followed by analytical coherence. In their respective articles, the authors concur that at the present time, the Dominican Republic is in need of systemic and structural reforms. In the economic area, both Miguel Ceara Hatton and Andrés Dauhajíé propose economic policies to address falling GNP, inflationary prices, deficits in the balance of payments, and the devaluation of the Dominican peso. Yet they address these issues from diametrically opposed angles. Dauhajíé, *hijo*, believes that Balaguer's challenge was to maintain the level of economic stability reached by 1992 (p. 24) and proposes a neoliberal approach of loosening the Dominican economy or further opening its internal markets to sustain such equilibrium; Ceara Hatton totally repudiates this approach, criticizing Balaguer's economic program which, he argues, did not constitute a really dynamic axis of growth, and bent to too many special interests, particularly international, and suggests, instead, a more inward looking plan.

Several of the articles will immediately capture readers' attention, but perhaps none is more engaging than the one by Patricia Pessar who takes part in the current debate in migration studies concerning the impact of

out-migration in the sending society and the possible effect return migrants may have in their native land. The relationship between migrants and sending societies is perhaps today's hottest issue in migration studies. Out-migration leaves a negative impact on the sending communities. In the rural area, the increasing acquisition of land by migrants and their patterns of investments lead to monopoly and unemployment. Migrants "prefer cattle-raising because it is neither labor- nor capital-intensive, and it requires minimal supervision" (p. 157). Furthermore, cattle raising impacts on the ability of the nation to produce food for internal consumption. Not surprisingly, the relationship between migrants and non-migrants is tense and aggressive, and by and large, migrants are unwanted visitors. Consequently, native Dominicans, when possible, would avoid rubbing elbows with returned migrants. Specific state policies targeting, for instance, migrants' investments, Pessar proposes, could very well be a solution to the problem.

José del Castillo presents a detailed analysis of the Dominican political system, with emphasis on the new political and institutional reforms and the past elections since 1978. Since 1978, Del Castillo argues, the military menace has disappeared and electoral processes as well as the succession of governments have taken place democratically, with many reforms either approved or currently under discussion to modernize the Dominican Congress and update the constitution. However, the Dominican Republic is still far from enjoying a fully democratic system. There is the issue, for instance, of the inability of the state to satisfy the basic needs of the majority of the people, thus undermining the legitimacy of the ruling structure. Likewise, systematic accusations of electoral frauds have led to apathy and distrust among Dominican voters. In 1990, for instance, electoral abstention was around 40 percent as compared to an average of 27 percent in the prior three elections. The rate of registered voters also fell precipitously, suggesting a disturbing disdain for politics among the young (p. 84).

Roberto Cassá provides a thoughtful study of popular protests and strikes in the Dominican Republic and describes the innovative elements which have characterized such movements after 1978. Not understood by traditional organizations, these movements have developed around specific needs and concerns of given groups or communities rather than around issues that may call for a restructuring of the entire society. Pamela Graham and Jonathan Hartlyn present an analysis of the relationship between the Dominican Republic and the United States in light of a fast changing world that remains populated by countries of unequal socio-economic position. The twist, however, is that while trade between the two countries, for instance, would largely depend upon the specific interest of the United States, Dominican migration to this country, though

strictly regulated and controlled by the United States, also depends on the willingness of migrant actors. Migrant settlements could promote unwanted immigration as well as political challenges to undermine attacks emanating from forces opposing immigration.

The collection edited by Betances and Spalding, like the overview of Dominican society by Cambeira, is a valuable addition to the growing bibliography of Dominican studies spurred by the emergence of significant numbers of Dominicans as students in urban public schools and public institutions of higher education in the United States.

The Dominican Republic: A Country between Rain Forest and Desert.
EBERHARD BOLAY. Weikersheim, FRG: Margraf Verlag, 1997. 456 pp.
(Paper DM 90.00)

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Comprehensive environmental descriptions of individual Caribbean islands or nations are difficult to find. Bolay's recent volume is an exception. He is a German ecologist who resided in the Dominican Republic from 1981 to 1984 as a member of a German/Dominican team of scientists assessing management approaches for Dominican wildlife and forestry. Based upon his extended field experience and several subsequent visits, Bolay has written and compiled the bulk of the book, and he has translated from German and Spanish into English contributions from several other colleagues to augment the volume. The publisher's notice that accompanies *The Dominican Republic* identifies its intended audience: "ecologists, anthropologists, biologists, and ... visitors with more than a casual interest in this fascinating [sic] country."

Noting this typing or spelling error underlines the principal weakness of Bolay's study. The author's own (awkwardly-phrased) explanation tells why his book appears in English: "I would have preferred to write either in German or Spanish, but the economic arguments of the editors convinced me to write in English, this, however, being a foreign language for me as well as for my Dominican friends. However, in this language we intend to reach a broader range of interested persons" (p. 15). This unfortunate editorial decision results in a volume that suffers throughout from awkward and often ungrammatical sentence and paragraph con-

struction. As one example, in his brief discussion of the U.S.-inspired eradication of Hispaniola's swine population in 1979, the author points out that American officials – fearing that the pigs sometimes brought to Florida by Haitian immigrants would spread swine fever to the U.S. mainland – insisted that Haitian pigs be eliminated because of “so-called ‘Secretary Reasons’” (p. 282). This arresting assertion makes sense when one realizes, after momentary reflection, that he apparently means “security reasons.” And the subtitle of this section – again, typical of much of the wording throughout the book – is called “A swine of a problem,” (p. 281) which seems more clumsy than clever.

The book's graphic material helps to compensate for losses in translation. The artist Wolfgang Lang has produced scores of excellent line drawings of leaf structures, animals, soil complexes, and forest types, and a brief section of well-chosen color plates as well as many small black-and-white photos all through the study illustrate the volume handsomely. Nineteen appendices at the end identify Dominican animals and plants in several of the country's parks and regions. A sixteen-page bibliography enumerates ecological and biological reports and articles in German, English, and Spanish that deal specifically with the Dominican Republic; but it omits a number of important general works such as the MacArthur and Wilson (1967) study that is by now a biological classic and which uses Caribbean examples in discussing relationships between species diversity and island size.

Bolay's book has seven chapters. Two more-or-less introductory chapters are followed by those dealing with Dominican flora and fauna and then agriculture and forestry. Chapter 5 (“Selected Areas”) and Chapter 6 (“Selected Aspects”) consider the salient environmental characteristics of some of the country's regions as well as important overall ecological issues prior to the concluding remarks in Chapter 7. Throughout, Bolay laments the detrimental effects that modernization – manifested by maquiladora factories, pesticides, and tourism – has had and is having on the Dominican environment. Yet, as in any good ecological study, the book portrays these issues in a broader social context. The section dealing with “Slash-and-burn agriculture in the western Cibao” (pp. 232-42), for example, asserts that destructive cultivation practices in marginal areas are symptomatic of the more general nationwide problems of limited employment possibilities and inequities in land distribution.

The determined reader will gain much from *The Dominican Republic*; beyond the inelegant prose and lists of tree and shrub species, the author has compiled a variety of fascinating facts from his and others' field excursions and conversations with Dominicans in the countryside. A small number of “very shy horses” in an isolated area of the Sierra de Baoruco may be feral descendants of Spanish stock from earliest colonial days (p. 115).

As recently as 1951, “escaped” Haitian canecutters, similar to Maroons of an earlier era, hid out in the rugged karst hills south of the Samaná peninsula to avoid mistreatment by Dominican authorities (p. 224). In February 1985, thousands of Dominicans lined Santo Domingo’s beach-front to observe a school of spawning humpback whales (p. 312). Oil pollution and herbicide poisoning recently have reduced mangrove species which in turn has killed fish and oyster populations, eliminated the plants’ ability to filter coastal sewage sludge, and led to soil erosion (pp. 213-14). The final ascent up Pico Duarte – which, at 3,175 meters above sea level, is the Caribbean’s highest mountain – features patches of alpine meadow, stunted pines, and morning frost, different from any other place in the Caribbean (p. 273).

Reading *The Dominican Republic* is not unlike a day in the field, a metaphor of which the author might approve. The reader slogs through arduous and difficult prose, skirts thickets of italicized genus and species, and finds much of the journey exhausting, but the inevitable encounters with genuinely exciting environmental features and events, accessible only by being on the ground, make the experience ultimately rewarding.

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A Visa for a Dream: Dominicans in the United States. PATRICIA R. PESSAR. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995. xvi + 98 pp. (Paper US\$ 14.10)

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An accessible, compassionate, and informative book, *A Visa for a Dream* shows that it is possible to write with substance and analytic care even when writing for a more general audience. Pessar’s contribution is part of a valuable new book series on “the new immigrants” which, according to the Foreword, seeks to provide “a depth often lacking in research on immigrants in the United States” (p. viii).

Indeed Patricia Pessar communicates warmth and understanding even as she presents revealing, and not always complimentary, data about the situation of Dominicans in the United States. Combining statistical, interpretive, legal, sociological, historical, and ethnographic materials almost seamlessly, she provides a picture of Dominicans in the States that is complex and even personal. Acknowledging the harsh economic conditions affecting large numbers of them, Pessar skillfully avoids the blanket portrayals of poverty and crime that often appear in the media and through which Dominicans, like certain of their predecessors in the United States, get negative publicity. In *A Visa for a Dream*, Pessar makes sure readers also see business successes and class differences, social dynamism, educational commitment, and creativity. In this sense, the book is very successful.

Sociologists, social anthropologists, and social historians with a background in migration studies will find the genre familiar in ways Pessar may or may not have intended (and that the book series of which it is a part may or may not actively intend). The book particularizes (e.g., "Dominicans in the United States"), rather than thematizing or theorizing. As Nancy Foner, Series Editor, writes, "the *New Immigrant Series* provides a set of case studies that explores these themes among a variety of groups" (p. vii). The "groups" are typically defined by country of origin, much the way the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service does, although acknowledgment of internal differences in "nationality" or "ethnicity" in the largest of those countries may result in a narrowing of the "group" under discussion. The series, for example, includes a book by Steven J. Gold on "Jews from the Former Soviet Union in California." While Pessar, like all good scholars who have preceded her, explores the diversity of the "group" here called "Dominicans in the United States," the discursive effect of the common U.S. discourse on "immigrants" is to group people by nationality of origin and assume that many social, cultural, psychological, economic, religious, ideological, political, educational, and phenotypic similarities follow. The irony of otherwise wonderfully skilled and elegantly informative books like this one is that they simultaneously poke holes in, and reinforce, the notion of "groupness" that U.S. public culture has created.

Equally interesting is the rhetorical organization of chapters, which is, indeed, typical of books on individual immigrants and immigrant groups. One is introduced to the issues, problems, and concerns the author has by being taken first through the story of departure from a home outside the United States to settlement in it. Of course, the concept that makes all these people (half a million in Pessar's case) a "group" is the story of their emigration from another country and immigration into the United States.

But it is still interesting to see the power of this notion and its impact on

new scholarship, such as *A Visa for a Dream*, that seeks (successfully) in other ways to be better and different. A short introduction and discussion of research methods precedes the now familiar "chronological" or story-line order. Pessar's Chapter 1 (on "the emigration process") is immediately followed by a chapter entitled "Settling in New York." Chapter 3 ("Buscando Mejor Vida: In Search of a Better Life") profiles Dominicans now in the New York economy. Chapter 4 ("Dominican Immigrant Families") is subtitled "Continuity and Change" and includes a discussion of Dominican youth and their growing distance or difference from their Dominican-born parents and non-immigrant relatives in the Dominican Republic. And Chapter 5 documents the present and gropes for an understanding of the "challenges that lie ahead." Here Pessar argues for the transformation of many Dominican "immigrants" into U.S. "ethnics," while simultaneously developing and maintaining "transnational lives ... maintaining a presence in both New York and the Dominican Republic." The balance she strikes in that discussion is appealing.

Scholars and teachers of late twentieth-century "migration" flows, "transnationalism" as a way of life, Latin American Studies, Caribbean Studies, public policy, and sociocultural anthropology ought to take a look at this potentially multi-purpose book. It is part of a small but growing number of books and reports (e.g., Grasmuck & Pessar 1991, Hernández et al. 1995 and 1997, Torres-Saillant & Hernández 1998) extending and updating the pioneering work done by Glenn Hendricks in *The Dominican Diaspora* (1974). It is no doubt the most accessible and "peopled," hence, the one with the widest potential readership.

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Believing Identity: Pentecostalism and the Mediation of Jamaican Ethnicity and Gender in England. NICOLE RODRIGUEZ TOULIS. Oxford NY: Berg, 1997. xv + 304 p. (Cloth US\$ 55.00, Paper US\$ 19.50)

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Believing Identity is an excellent account of a Jamaican Pentecostal congregation in Birmingham, U.K. The detailed analysis of membership, organization, and belief provides ample points of comparison and contrast with Malcom Calley's earlier *God's People*. It appears that the Jamaican Pentecostals in Toulis's study were rather more reflective on their circumstances than were members of the congregations studied by Calley. In significant part this apparent contrast is the product of very different analytical frameworks. Calley saw Jamaican Pentecostalism in Britain as a response to migrant "neurosis," as a clinging to the past and disinclination to engage with a new society. In Toulis's analysis, Pentecostalism emerges as a positive dimension of building and valuing a minority identity in a racialized Britain that Jamaicans must negotiate. One considerable value of the book is to offer those interested in ethnicity and identity a perspective on these issues from the vantage point of institutionalized religion in place of the more usual vantage points of family or political/community organization.

Consistent with this general orientation, the book begins with a detailed examination of writings on migration, identity, ethnicity, women and, finally, religion. Toulis maps out her general position when she observes, "By questioning whether African-Caribbean Pentecostal churches should be understood as a means of self-expression and of articulation with society or as a compensatory stance based on withdrawal from society, all the approaches outlined above see either/or answers while ignoring fundamental religious questions: For example: How does one become a member of such a church? What is the nature of the religious community to which one belongs? What is the significance of belief for members? How does belief express the nature of society and one's place in it? Lastly, does belief resolve a problem of meaning regarding identity for adherents, and if so, how?" (pp. 33-34).

In pursuing answers to these questions, especially to the final one, Toulis offers a detailed portrait of a congregation integrated with extensive references to relevant literature. She considers in turn the socio-

economic circumstances of the church, the relation between Jamaican Pentecostalism in Jamaica and in Britain, the individual in relation to the congregation, religion and identity, and gender relations. One interesting aspect of Toulis's account is her emphasis on the fact that "the tenor and place of religion in British society" is different from its Caribbean counterpart (p. 115). In observing that Jamaica is less secular than Britain, one is also observing that in Jamaica many more people live in a world that is ordered according to theology rather than political theory. Integral to this contrast are different understandings of social-causal efficacy in everyday life. Toulis's general point that Jamaicans in Britain simply cannot find, and are not encouraged to find in Britain, the "religion" that defines their world is an important observation that ties in with her discussion of identity. Toulis's account of various symbols of identity, including language, food, education, and work, is innovative and opens up the possibility of comparison with other communities in Britain and, possibly, the United States. Juxtaposed with her analysis of church members' own models of identity, and of the relation between religion and minority status identity, the reader is given a rich account of the nuances of Jamaican Pentecostal being in a larger British society.

Toulis's discussion of the manner in which gender is articulated in church practice through different forms of agency provides a most interesting account which addresses that much remarked paradox that while Pentecostal churches seem very patriarchal they are also extremely attractive to women. Given my own analysis in *Jamaica Genesis* of the gendered politics of Jamaican Pentecostal rite, I was particularly taken with Toulis's account of the notion of "mother" within the church and of its association with a specifically Jamaican view of the world. This rendering of "woman" in Jamaican Pentecostalism in Britain seems highly consistent with its counterpart in Jamaica and suggests forms of cultural continuity that are intrinsically interesting. Whether or not, as Toulis suggests, the masculinity of the pastor is modified and, to a degree, feminized through his association with Jesus is an observation that I find less convincing. Similarly, it is not entirely clear that even in a racialized Britain the gender order of Pentecostalism as perceived by Jamaican women is clearly preferable to most other options in their social milieu.

And this brings me to the one reservation I have concerning Toulis's argument. The thrust of her position seems to be that Jamaicans in Britain (as in Jamaica itself) are "voting with their feet" where Pentecostalism is concerned. Congregations seem to grow and grow rather than diminish even as people become more prosperous and socially secure. Arguments concerning "compensation" or "false consciousness" thereby seem inadequate for interpreting Jamaican Pentecostalism. Does one therefore propose that Pentecostalism and other like fundamentalisms are simply a

culturally influenced choice for the very large numbers of people in various relevant nation states who become involved in these congregations? An alternative political vehicle perhaps, or an alternative vehicle to politics? Or again, possibly an experience of the world that in a sense dissolves politics and takes up a quietist stance as a way of creating identity? In placing Jamaican Pentecostalism alongside other fundamentalisms, I cannot but remember de Certeau's observation that religion in the modern state becomes a "sacred theater of the system which will take its place." De Certeau here observes that a feature of modernity has been to subordinate religion to the state. And in the light of contemporary challenges to the order of nation states, it is this observation that makes interesting the growth of fundamentalist religion as a medium for national and international networks that seem to circumvent the state. Simultaneously, in different parts of the world, forms of institutional religion, and especially fundamentalist religion, can be indicative of both the modern state's strength and its weaknesses. Influential fundamentalism has been interpreted as indicative both of strong state structures (e.g., Israel) and of relatively weak ones (e.g., Iran). Fundamentalist religion is prominent as a state organization in weak nation states. Yet it is also a prominent vehicle of the weak in nation states that are more powerful. Significant links are being made between these two circumstances, and these in turn link with a third in the United States, where fundamentalist religion, though not adopted by the state, acts as an adjunct to powerful forces within it. Fundamentalism is still indicative of political position, and particularly of the political position of the women who enter Pentecostalism and make themselves subject to its gender orders. While these positions were once interpreted in fairly unidimensional ways, it is increasingly clear that they are highly nuanced and complicated. And while it is important to recount practitioners' experience as they describe it, it is also important to place these accounts in a larger framework of patterned relations that help explain why other women and other communities are not Pentecostal at all. Especially where issues of identity are concerned, the variation in media employed is crucial. Undoubtedly, these are complex issues and *Believing Identity* constitutes a thought-provoking contribution to both the study of Pentecostalism in itself and the study of migrant and minority identities, including gendered identities.

Barbados: Thirty Years of Independence. TREVOR A. CARMICHAEL (ed.). Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1996. xxxv + 294 pp. (Cloth US\$ 17.00)

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A former colleague of mine (and a cricketing enthusiast), on hearing of my departure to Barbados in 1987, asked me if I was aware that this tiny island had produced more world-class cricketers than the rest of the Caribbean. I was reminded of the comment on reading Carmichael's collection of essays commemorating thirty years of Barbados' independence. This tiny island has produced not only world-class cricketers, but an admirable nation state with an enviable civic culture, political framework, and economic structure.

The essays in this collection focus on the evolution of post-independence Barbados, on the structures and superstructures of both national and international life, on economics and politics, on policy and provision, on creativity and conservation. In many ways this was a commemorative manifesto, a celebration of what had been achieved: a standard of living which stands as one of the highest in the Caribbean, with efficient public provision of health, education, and social services, a thriving democracy and labor movement, relative social equity, a strong judiciary, and a vibrant literary and artistic culture. It is also an *aide-mémoire* of what remains to be undertaken, in each of these sectors, in an environment where the global and local variables are neither constant nor always compatible and where there are (as always) competing demands on scarce resources.

The contributors are drawn primarily from practitioners in the fields, bankers and economists, educationalists and lawyers, trade unionists and journalists, clergymen and sportspersons, academics and conservationists, with a brief to assess the issues and achievements of the last thirty years in their respective areas of expertise. Each of the essays explores the issues facing Barbados at the time of independence, and most were able to list a formidable catalog of achievement, and point to areas where further improvement is necessary, either because demands and awareness have shifted in thirty years, because growth in one sector has placed strains on provision in another, or because of the tensions generated by differentials in growth and maturity. Thus, for instance, there has been a major shift in thinking around the politics and economics of size and scale, away from central players and global management, toward the new political economy of sustainable development. This shift has, in turn, generated new

pressures in terms of conservation. Moreover, while tourism has developed as a major earner of foreign exchange, it has a knock-on effect in terms of provision and maintenance of an adequate infrastructure. Indeed, in most sectors of public provision – such as health or education – or personal achievement – such as sports or the arts – a delicate juggling is required to balance, if not reconcile, possible tensions between social obligation and social (and economic) need, or between the conflicting perceptions of professionals and politicians.

Anthologies such as these are difficult to handle, for a careful tightrope needs to be walked between congratulation and self-flagellation. The essays in this collection have avoided both smugness and sectarianism and have balanced measurable achievements with an honest exposition of problems, potential or actual. At the same time, the notion of nationhood and identity is extended beyond the purely fiscal or political, to explore the impact of nation and identity on less “measurable” achievements such as sports or the arts.

But national survival, national identity – and the art of government – is not merely about checking and balancing the multifarious pressures and constraints of society, but also of juggling histories, past, present, and future. To assess in a few thousand words the past, present, and future of, for instance, education, or public health, or the economy, or sport, or literature, or religion (to take a few examples) must necessarily make for generalizations and some of the essays read more like a checklist than an authoritative discussion. And while on balance these essays provide a fine overview of Barbados within the Caribbean and the wider world, there are some striking omissions. I wanted to read about some of the less obvious, but perhaps more contentious, dynamics of Barbadian society. While Barbados may not be characterized by extremes of wealth and poverty, there are nevertheless significant class differences and inequalities of wealth ownership which have been historically, and to a certain extent remain, characterized along the lines of race as well as social class. With the exception of Kathleen Drayton (who had to range over all the aspects of Barbadian cultural and artistic development), none of the contributors addressed the issues of race and class, and even in her essay, given the constraints of space and the market, they could only be listed rather than critically analyzed. Similarly, while migration was mentioned, its role – not least as foreign exchange earner – was not discussed. Nor was there any discussion on the family. Similarly, the chapter on religion appeared somewhat partisan for a society characterized by a long and varied tradition of non-conformism.

These are small and perhaps inappropriate criticisms for a book that attempted to embrace the widest range of contributions possible made by Barbadians in the forging, survival, and meaning of their nation and their national identity.

Het paradijs overzee: De "Nederlandse" Caraïben en Nederland. GERT OOSTINDIE. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1997. 385 pp. (Paper NLG 39.90)

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According to its preface, Oostindie's *Het paradijs overzee* offers "a detour along the main topics of a history that still connects the former [Dutch] colonies to their mother country. It is a book about the often appalling selfishness, carelessness, and naïvety of Dutchmen, but also about almost desperate efforts to make the most of it" (p. 7). The book consists of four parts, ordered chronologically. The first, which deals with slavery, discusses the often voiced claim that Caribbean slaves were more badly treated in the Dutch colonies than in those of the other European powers dominating the region. Oostindie argues that this claim is not valid for the Antilles, where natural conditions were too poor for plantations to flourish. As for Suriname, while he acknowledges that it had a vigorous and violent plantation history, he criticizes non-Dutch authors' practices of using anecdotal data and their indolent reliance on Stedman's *Narrative* (written in English) to the neglect of the majority of works on the subject, written in Dutch. For political reasons, Stedman's original British publisher, who brought the book out in 1796, appears to have altered crucial pages of Stedman's original manuscript in order to emphasize the cruel treatment of African slaves on Dutch plantations (Stedman 1988:lxiv).

The book's second part deals with differences in Dutch, British, and French approaches to decolonization. In the case of Suriname, the Dutch cabinet of the late prime minister, Joop den Uyl, aimed at a model political decolonization that ended prematurely in a military coup d'état. Since then, Desi Bouterse has dominated the political arena in Suriname, placing relations with the one-time mother country under severe pressure.

The third part focuses on the emigration of Surinamers to the

Netherlands, which peaked between the late 1960s and the early 1980s. Oostindie explains this exodus not as a continuation of already existing migration patterns but as a phenomenon triggered by the special political and economic circumstances at the time. While the rest of the book is mainly analytical, this part is richly garnished with anecdotes, a tendency that Oostindie earlier criticized in other authors.

The book's fourth part deals with the imported and fragmented identity of Caribbean societies, including the "Dutch" Caribbean, and argues that relations between the Antilles and the Netherlands are characterized by ambivalence. Officially, the Antilles and Aruba are equivalent partners but in practice they can also be viewed as neo-colonies of the Netherlands. (On the issue of ambivalence, see also Allen et al. 1990.)

The book's title is confusing. At the time the Dutch started to penetrate the Caribbean region, the deep interior of the Guianas inspired the legend of "Eldorado." During the post-independence exodus of Surinamers, however, the Netherlands was mythologized as what Suriname author Bea Vianen called "the paradise overseas." This perspective inverts Christian tradition, in which paradise is situated in the past, not in the future. Had they followed the Christian model, the people of this "plural" population would have found "paradises" in their various countries of origin in Africa and Asia, not in their former colonizer.

Further, I am puzzled by what is so Dutch about the "Dutch" Caribbean. Oostindie's book repeatedly raises this issue, but never addresses it systematically. On several occasions, Oostindie seems to be suggesting that proficiency in the Dutch language is a main operative faculty for the unity of Suriname's relatively separate communities with their distinctive histories. But he ultimately concludes that this criterion does not hold up. The individuality of the different communities comprises much more than a common language, a plural ethnic composition, and national feelings – the features that Oostindie discusses. For example, as G.F. Bacilio points out (in Allen et al. 1990), we also need to take into account strong family ties, religiosity, eating habits, artistic expression, and a culture of respect. Furthermore, Oostindie's book fails to provide a sound model for comparing the heterogeneous "Dutch" Caribbean societies with each other and with their "European" counterparts, in particular Britain and France. Without that, all attempts to compare will remain more or less arbitrary.

While several of the book's chapters were previously published, the whole is eminently readable, and will be appropriate both for students in the field of Caribbean studies and for a general interested public.

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The next wave of scholarship and cultural criticism concerning Caribbean cultures will address the global spread of styles and performance forms emerging from the Greater African World. Cultural observers point to a number of areas in the Greater Caribbean, already being called either the African or the Caribbean Diaspora, as hot-spots of cultural invention, but note that these are exportable forms which have impact half a world away. Moreover, focused studies of now one form, now another, illustrate the fact that geniuses of invention seem to emerge out of especially volatile political, economic, and social conditions. Spawned in conditions of unrest by peoples often educated to emigrate, these forms frequently carry their political bite with them.

Little note has been taken by social and political historians of the Trans-Caribbean world that begins to explain why these forms of song, dance, festive celebration, and religious experiences arising out of the admixture of European, African, and indigenous Americans should have such broad acceptance elsewhere. In his very fine work, *Afro-Creole*, Richard Burton puts the problem succinctly: "West Indian popular culture appears to combine a perpetual rebelliousness with an inability to effect lasting changes

in the structures of power” to which it is responding in such a confrontational manner (p. 263). Vernacular cultural forms grow directly out of local social and political concerns, so strong a relation that they “depend ... on the existence of those structures ... to exist at all” (p. 263). The lack of congruence between the vernacular power constantly manifested in West Indian locales and the engineering of social and political change remains an enigma, especially to those writers who stake out a political position and attempt to find, at the lively center of vernacular life, any programmatic bid for power on the “grassroots” level.

If I use the term “grassroots” here, it is not from the North American employment of it, but rather because it is the favored expression used by the geniuses of invention that populate the *panyards* in Trinidad in which local creativity is brought to bear year-round on Carnival music and costume theme, as Stephen Stuempfle reports in his fine book *Steelband Movement* (1995). Similar vernacular forms and terms emerge repeatedly throughout the region, often at such a rapid rate that it is difficult for the non-afficionado to keep abreast of the changes. More than this, as Richard Price (1998) has demonstrated (once again), historical memory is encoded in many local objects and forms – far from an unusual situation throughout the globalizing emporium world – encouraging each locale to develop tourist sites through which historical experience is cast and recast. So globalization affects the Greater Caribbean both through the Diaspora and through the counter-move of creating sites of memory of great attraction to those who are “coming home” in search of their heritage.

With just this problem in mind, Burton carries out a fine and comprehensive history of the development of Anglophonic Creole cultural forms in Jamaica and Trinidad. It is perhaps the most useful survey yet on the formation of distinctively Afro-Creole forms of public expression in the Anglophonic West Indies.

The author has found a convenient schema by which the sociopolitical dimension of Jamaican and Trinidadian expressive inventions may be effectively revealed. These are, he claims (and I think, rightly), sufficiently illustrative of the expressive genius found on other islands to argue that they are representative of the entire region. The terms of his argument derive from the distinction made by Michel de Certeau between political forms of *resistance* and those of *opposition*.

He also draws on the notions of Peter Wilson and others concerning norms of *respectability*- and *reputation*-seeking, while giving a potent account of the limitations of this literature. His overarching account of previous studies of the contending forms and practices in vernacular life is nicely organized and carried out. He has read widely and deeply, yet writes with a voice distinctly his own. If his perspective reflects a frustration with the failure of West Indians to draw on these creative resources

to achieve power, this is a position with a worthy ancestry: due respect is given to C.L.R. James, Eric Williams, Kamau Brathwaite, and Derek Walcott, among the many West Indian writers who have previously voiced such a perspective. Like these figures, he takes both an historical and a belletristic approach. Burton suggests that this area has been deeply tied in every way with those areas in the Old World from which many of the populations who populated the Black Americas originated.

In a more speculative work, Joseph Roach argues that a transatlantic movement of forms and ideas of the Other has knitted these worlds together for two and a half centuries and more. A theater historian and cultural theorist, Roach develops imaginative scenarios in which social and cultural interactions between the Old World and the New have created flashpoints of creativity through confrontative engagements in Great Britain, New Orleans, Early America, and West African life as early as the seventeenth century. Perhaps not so grounded in the details of local histories as Burton, Roach employs his ideas in an attempt to cast light on the very process of creativity in those culturally plural situations in which Africans, Europeans, and New World born peoples interact. He has encumbered his argument with a good deal of jargon from cultural studies and performance studies, but not to the point that his exercise should be overlooked.

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From Oral to Literate Culture: Colonial Experience in the English West Indies. PETER A. ROBERTS. Kingston, Jamaica: The Press University of the West Indies, 1997. xii + 301 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.00)

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The focus on topics of Caribbean orality, literacy, and colonialism should on its own draw readers to this book. I would argue that the significant

presence of language in the building of social experience should have stimulated many more such scholastic works in Caribbean studies. Hence, this book is, to me, a welcome contribution.

The author begins by introducing the principal location and role of language in the social and political life of West Indians. He sequesters a historical period for critical evaluation and identifies, within this period, a series of determining factors in the making of West Indian English.

Roberts discusses some important nonlinguistic communicative methods used in the plantation slave society, principally to show how reliance on such methods reveals the existence of isolated social entities, ones which later generate the use of English language variants. Proceeding, it is argued, from the cultural context of West African and British oralities (as well as from an emergent feudal English literacy), specified material objects offer elements at work in early unsophisticated signaling systems. These function, in other words, as proof of a particular stage in the developmental process leading to the "advanced" culture of literacy.

Despite the unfortunate suggestion that African culture in the Caribbean slave society appeared only after daily plantation work, the chapters on oral culture lead readers through a wonderful set of observations. Battling against African diversity as well as the isolating domains of estate, town, and ship, specific cultural tactics allowed the voice of the slave to create and recapture a sense of collective community. From what Roberts refers to as a "pre-oral" devolutionary stage, these tactics permitted the different social positions of master and slave to assist the movement of different language statuses toward each other to produce what we know as West Indian English. Indeed, with a persistent admixture of retentionist, diffusionist, and evolutionary theories, he offers us a panoramic picture of how English vernacular developed from British ethnicity and African "tribal" identities.

The bulk of the book, however, is preoccupied with literacy, language, and empire. Roberts is particularly concerned to show how and why literate communication develops into a more efficient means of controlling and managing the modern centralized colonial state. Moving from where it had very limited function in early plantation societies and debilitating multitudinous expression in individual penmanship, literacy in print technology became more accepted when it produced more uniform, quick, and clear writing. Printing served to index literacy levels, as its ability to standardize language became the most important mode of diffusing standard English into Caribbean societies. Colonialism found a most diligent ally. By its exclusion from print technology, the West Indian vernacular remained low in status. Even while traditionally oral influences on drama and poetry made these genres popular in print, the extended prose style dominated and a greater appreciation of Standard English ideas proliferated.

erated. Helped by the established structures of class and gender, formal schooling created allegiances with print technologies to fix the common language in literacy. In an "ecology" of literacy, teachers, pupils, and educational materials operated together in the collective project of making the Caribbean citizen docile and forever a subject of the European master.

This is a fine book, marred, to my mind, only by the collapse of the author's laudable agenda into the very ideology he wishes to criticize. In seeking to give respect and value to creole languages he follows an evolutionary paradigm which actually serves to reduce the vernacular to some imaginary lowly stage of development. It is difficult to provide equal value to creole orality when following the implications of a rationalist thesis of progress and greater efficiency. Nevertheless, this book has a prominent place on my bookshelf.

The White Minority in the Caribbean. HOWARD JOHNSON & KARL WATSON (eds.). Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 1998. xvi + 179 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95, Paper US\$ 18.95)

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Neglected in scholarship since the 1960s, when growing nationalism, decolonization, and black consciousness shifted research interests toward the experience of non-whites, the white minority in the Caribbean has not disappeared, and many remain in an elite position today. This collection of essays aims to bring a discussion of white minorities into mainstream scholarly thinking about the region in order to paint a more complete picture of social, economic, and political life. On a relatively untreated topic, this book provides foundational information which will prove useful to students and scholars of the Caribbean.

The scope of these essays is relatively large in both time span, covering the period from the beginning of European settlement to the post-colonial era, and in geographical area, with essays on countries from Belize to Guyana. Although covering mostly Anglophone Caribbean countries, the book considers one Dutch island (Curaçao) and one French (Martinique). The authors are historians, anthropologists, and one political scientist, most of whom are from Caribbean universities. The overall tone is more des-

criptive than analytic, and in many cases serves the function of laying the groundwork for previously untreated topics.

One striking feature of the book is the variety of scenarios in which white elites maintain their power. In Belize, writes Karen Judd, an alliance with foreign interests has allowed local white families to maintain their position of dominance, and they place little importance on being "natives," a task left to the non-white Creole elite, who dominate politics and thus vie for the role of defining the national history. In post-emancipation Guyana, Brian L. Moore writes that the cultural life of whites focused on following as closely as possible Britain's middle-class Victorian model, which fostered a sense of cultural unity based on middle-class prejudiced Victorian views and served as a means of social control.

In most other contexts, the white elites are a part of the local culture. Michael Craton traces white power through the Bahamas' history as he examines different white interests, concluding that since the 1960s class and local identity are more decisive than race for the people of the Bahamas, and predicts a decline in numbers of native whites. René A. Römer traces the history of Curaçao's diverse white population from a period he calls the Old Society to the period after the Royal Dutch Shell Company established a refinery on the island in 1915. Following the economic development in the Shell era, a white and colored middle class developed which became the bearer of the national culture, and an emphasis on local culture emerged as churches became closer and the large population of Jews assimilated into the common way of life. He concludes that lines of race and religion are being replaced by class lines.

Two essays treat the role of the white elites in politics. Karl Watson describes the class differences among the native whites in Barbados in the early nineteenth century as manifested by a split in political parties, one representing the landed elites and the other the white middle class, although the two sides were unified in their commitment to slavery. At the same time, he also describes the "shared physical and mental landscape" of all Barbadians, suggesting that nationalistic sentiment is stronger than any internal divisions among the population or even among whites themselves. Fred Constant looks at the way members of the white elite in Martinique maintained power after universal adult male suffrage in 1871 by manipulating the emerging colored political class and through lobbying efforts in which they used their economic power as a tool. He also argues that they have managed to maintain power because local leaders were able to convert public funds into private ones, and have always been adaptive, following whichever political party protects their private profits.

In an interesting essay with a focus on gender, Hilary McD. Beckles examines the entrepreneurial journey of a female-centered household to Barbados, on the one hand bringing women into the historiographical

picture as autonomous and independent historical agents, and on the other hand as a tool for examining the differentiated nature of the white community. Following the lives of these white urban businesswomen – the nature of their enterprises, their own slave-holding activities, and their set of values – helps us better understand the differences between urban and rural economies, class differences, and patriarchal society.

Many of the essays treat the subject of the white elite both in terms of the role played in the society as a whole and as a heterogeneous group in and of itself. Bridget Brereton thoroughly discusses the society and culture of white elites in Trinidad between 1838 and 1950, calling them a “true elite” in their domination of economic, political, and social life, but also the most diverse white elite in the British Caribbean. This diversity reflects origins and cultural traditions, but over the years the group began to homogenize somewhat as it became less hostile to British expatriots and more impenetrable to non-white middle and working classes. Patrick Bryan’s essay on the late-nineteenth-century Jamaican white elite argues that their economic power gave them their political power and their cultural influence. All whites had social authority, although they believed in their own racial and cultural superiority in different ways. Other divisions among group members (origin, class, occupation, ideology) show that the group was not monolithic.

A common theme throughout the book is that although small, most white elite groups have been quite diverse in class, profession, and origin, and these groups have become unified only in relation to the rest of the population. Most essays grapple with the problem of post-emancipation societies and the ways power was or was not maintained by the white elites. But most are limited to historical situations, rarely venturing into the present. By focusing on a topic that has been largely neglected over the past few decades, however, this book takes first steps toward filling that gap by contributing to the establishment of a historical foundation on which future research on Caribbean whites can build.

The State, Bureaucracy, and the Cuban Schools: Power and Participation. SHERYL L. LUTJENS. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1996. xiii + 239 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.00)

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This book argues that in Cuba popular participation has been encouraged in each stage of socialism, that it has been promoted by the central state and party, and that the high level of popular participation through the period has tended to check bureaucratization. The sector of popular participation described in this book is small group concern with education. The author sets out to demonstrate its contribution to the functioning of the national and centralized education system.

Lutjens situates the Cuban case in theories of national development in post-socialist and post-authoritarian states by means of brief reports on some aspects of development in Eastern Europe, Russia, and several Latin American nations. Cuba is taken to represent an exception to a common trend in these societies toward decentralization, market economies, and an increase in liberal democratic participation. Lutjens finds that Cuba's centralized state and Communist Party, and its centralized social, economic, and educational programs stand pretty much alone in a post-socialist era after the overthrow of Communist Party control in Russia and Eastern Europe. Cuba thus represents an exception to a world trend, and represents successful achievement of socialist democracy along with a centralized socialist state. The climate of academic opinion about trends in these areas after the demise of socialism is well presented.

The proposition is interesting (diversity is more appealing and more probable than homogeneity), but it is not well supported in this book by the methodology used for the empirical sections, which deal with citizen participation in Cuban schools. Numerous references to parents, community groups, and student groups voicing opinions and contributing services and resources suggest much activity. However, demonstration of the claim for the effects of popular participation does not get any further than various officials' statements that they have to heed local level associations and citizen activism in communities. The problem is that there is no methodology for obtaining depth of empirical knowledge. There is no discussion of methods and no discussion of the quality of sources of data. The reader is left to surmise methods and sources from the references in the notes. There are no clues about many of the publications cited, and the

bulk of the data from periodicals reads as though it could be from uncritical or official sources. In reporting interviews, the informant's position is noted, but not the locale, the size of the institution, or other identifiers. Interview quotations are so brief and so lacking in context that they convey no depth. Equally baffling is much of the text where numbers are listed – numbers of schools, students, teacher resignations, new constructions, etc. – but not located by size and type of place, not compared, and not presented in tabular form. Even a little use of comparison, selectivity, and tabular form would have helped a lot.

The reader finds no example of citizens complaining about institutional problems, nor is there an example of response to a complaint or a problem from any part of the school system. The examples of participation are primarily volunteerism. Public opinion concerning curriculum is not reported, and the tendency for local people to concern themselves only with extra-curricular issues is not explained. Part of the ineffectiveness of the case for public participation is that the locus of types of authority in the national school system is not explained. If the evidence of public participation is taken at face value, we still lack any demonstration of interaction of the public and the system. On the theoretical claim that public participation checks bureaucracy, the reader looks in vain for any instance in which local activism attempts to influence policy matters.

Unconvincing as the argument is, there is much interesting and valuable information about the Cuban formula for popular participation in a centralized state. The book is informative about the management of the severe effects on the Cuban economy of loss of Soviet subsidies and loss of preferential trade status with Eastern Europe and Russia, and the added impact of U.S. economic sanctions against Cuba. In these situations centralization is claimed to have been effective in a program of austerity, and the long standing practice of enlisting popular participation is credited with bringing about a resourceful response to austerity.