

Masses in Latin America. Edited by IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ. New York, 1970. Oxford University Press. Tables. Notes. Indices. Pp. 608. \$13.50.

Any connection between this heavy tome and the fluffy crassness of Norman Podhoretz's *Making It* (New York, 1967) might seem far-fetched indeed. But Podhoretz has a piece of advice applicable for the reviewing of this and similar collections. "*Never*," he tells us (and the italics are his) "take the introduction at face value; if you do you will write a boring and unintelligent review." Instead, the reviewer should demonstrate "how radically—for good or for ill—the essays themselves contradict the statement of principle" set forth at the beginning of the book (p. 348).

Podhoretz' critical dictum is easy to apply since the presumed integrity of any collection of papers by a dozen different authors is always largely in the mind of the assembling editor. In the present instance Horowitz makes things even easier for himself by the generous coverage which he gives to the key term of his title. His pitch is to oppose "masses" against "elites," which he thinks, have received more than their fair share of scholarly attention in Latin American studies. "It is necessary to study masses as well as elites, nameless peasants and urban dwellers no less than military manipulators and political celebrities" (p. 3). Doubtless this is true enough. But it comes very close to saying that in order to study a society one has to study the people who compose it—and with such far-flung limits within which to pick and choose, how can an editor go wrong? Quite aside from this observation, Horowitz' mode of posing his problem implants a slightly irreverent (and perhaps entirely irrelevant) question in the mind of the prospective reviewer. Would we have been provided with a *Masses in Latin America* if a widely adopted *Elites in Latin America* (New York, 1967, Seymour Lipset and Aldo Solari, editors) had not preceded it? (Horowitz himself, just incidentally, contributed an excellent paper on the military to this earlier collection.)

Somewhat more seriously, let us concede that the present volume does manage to achieve more unity than most of its genre. The underlying theme, indifferently supported by a wide variety of empirical data, is the modern twist given classical "mass society" theory through the concept "mobilization." More intuitively than cognitively, many writers have described (or thought they were describing) a historical tendency in Western civilization—namely, the for-

mation of a uniform *mass* society out of hitherto distinctive elements. Conservatives (Ortega y Gasset, for example) have viewed this presumed process with profound distaste, for to them it signifies the end of Western civilization. But radical thinkers from the time of Marx have viewed the same process as a necessary stage in the ultimate emancipation of the common man, and it is from this interpretation that mobilization theory has mainly come.

The difficulty with mobilization theory is that of all sociological theory sufficiently large in scope to be interesting. It is *too* large, and hence too all-inclusive to be controlled with precision. In the hands of a true master it is, like any other good theory, capable of considerable interpretive power. The final paper in this volume by Gino Germani is a fine example. This comparative study of fascism in Italy and Argentina is the best thing in this book by a wide margin, even though marred somewhat by too elliptical brevity. It is also one of the very best things which I can remember reading on social change. But Germani's level of achievement requires a great skill and sophistication, as well as a surefooted stance in requisite history and empirical sociology. In the hands of the young, the inexperienced, and the less imaginative, the seemingly endless opportunities to seize upon "relevant" data and argument tend to create clumsy structures of verbiage, camouflaged by dogmatic assertion tricked up as derived inference. Large portions of the more ambitious theorizing in this volume illustrate this danger.

Unfortunately, the space limitations of a short review preclude much discussion of what most people (particularly students) will find profitable in this book, the very considerable body of good empirical material and empirically-oriented discussion. Solon L. Barraclough's long paper on agricultural policy stands out in this connection, as well as Germani's first contribution (he has two), an analysis of foreign immigration into Argentina. Another favorite of mine, basically empirical but with a properly revolutionary moral, is Edmundo Flores' straightforward account of the long and devious history of Mexico's half-hearted attempts at compensating former land owners. Flores' conclusion: land reform means, if it means anything, a radical redistribution of wealth, which stands in direct contradiction to the principle of "just" indemnification. Honest reformers might as well admit it at the start.

All of these papers, except Bryan Roberts' study of lower-income families in Guatemala City, previously appeared in Horowitz's mono-

graphic series, *Studies of Comparative International Development*, published at Washington University.

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El desarrollo cultural en la liberación de América Latina. By SERGIO BAGÚ and HUMBERTO GUSSONI. Montevideo, 1967. Biblioteca de Cultura Universitaria. Tables. Appendix. Pp. 142. Paper. \$170.00 (Urug.).

This is the first volume of the Biblioteca de Cultura Universitaria series, published by the Fundación de Cultura Universitaria. It is a compilation of lectures delivered by the authors at the Universidad de la República in Montevideo during the 1967 summer session. The authors' objective is to examine how under certain circumstances culture can act either as an instrument of international domination or one of national liberation.

Sergio Bagú, who was responsible for chapters one through eight, analyzes culture and technology in society to determine what conditions or circumstances will help Latin America to improve its position. He views culture and technology as instruments for international order and recognizes the close interrelationship between a technological culture and scientific research. He says: "Sustained industrial expansion requires an advanced educational infrastructure: a high percentage of children in elementary school, young people in high school and in universities. These societies are those that have a greater percentage of the population dedicated to teaching and—to finance this activity—a high percentage also of national product set aside for this purpose" (p. 20).

Bagú classifies the nations of the world into two general categories—industrialized and nonindustrialized. Latin America is subdivided further into three groups: the industrializing societies (Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile), those with light industry (Uruguay, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Cuba), and the unindustrialized societies (Central America, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Paraguay).

Chapters nine through fourteen were prepared by Humberto Gussoni. Here the emphasis is placed on socio-economic considerations: the demographic explosion, urbanization, illiteracy, and types of economic endeavor. Gussoni documents his six chapters by frequent reference to the thirty-six tables in the appendix. He is concerned with *types* of economic activity of various groups in each Latin American country and compares them with the United States