

lished. Neither does the assumption take into account the failure of Marxist insurgent movements in countries where nothing resembling AD "democratic revolutionary" programs have been carried out.

Although this is a useful addition to the sparse literature in English on Venezuelan political parties, it is by no means an exhaustive study, such as John D. Martz' *Acción Democrática* (1966). Alexander undertook little new research for this volume, relying primarily on notes from his previous publications, six interviews, two government intelligence reports, and a limited number of communist documents. The book also suffers from a certain casualness in editing. For example, in his first reference to a terrorist attack, Alexander states (p. 84) that five National Guardsmen were killed, but when he returns to the incident later (p. 179), he lowers the number of fatalities to four. Furthermore, Juan Vicente Gómez did not seize power in 1909 (p. 163); Venezuela did have railroads before World War I (p. 146); the garrison of Los Teques did not revolt on January 1, 1958 (p. 40)—a rebellious Caracas armored unit eventually surrendered in Los Teques; Interior Minister Vallenilla Lanz' given name is not Luis, but Laureano (p. 40); virtually the entire Venezuelan air force did not fly to Colombia after the abortive New Year's Day 1958 revolt (p. 40); Luis B. Prieto's MEP does not stand for Movimiento de Educación Popular (p. 191). In addition, spelling and mechanical errors abound in this low-budget publication which, unfortunately, lacks an index.

While Alexander ably argues his main theses, in this reviewer's opinion his continuing identification with Acción Democrática prevents him from analyzing recent Venezuelan politics with the detachment which a purportedly serious study warrants.

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The Development of the Colombian Labor Movement. By MIGUEL URRUTIA. New Haven, 1969. Yale University Press. Tables. Notes. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xi, 297. \$10.00.

This is another in Yale University Press' excellent series of publications dealing with Latin America. James Payne's *Labor and Politics in Peru* and *Patterns of Conflict in Colombia* as well as Robert H. Dix' *Colombia: The Political Dimensions of Change* already are classics in their field. Miguel Urrutia's present study of Colombian labor ranks well in this category, both for its level of analysis and for the perceptivity of its conclusions.

The sweep of Urrutia's study is as wide as Colombian history, beginning with the colonial economic legacy that remained for decades after independence and ranging up to modern times. Although the author claims that his approach is less an overall history of the Colombian labor movement than an effort "to describe the complex interplay of political and economic forces which has made possible the growth of a labor movement in Colombia" (p. v), in fact he has provided a very creditable study on both counts.

Prior to the 1930s, when the Liberal party moved into the executive branch of government and succored trade unionism, Colombian labor encountered great difficulties attempting to acquire associational viability. Labor's own ineptitude and the antagonism of an infinitely stronger management-government coalition stalled the rise of organized labor for a century. (An account of intransigence by foreign companies, especially United Fruit, is very revealing in this regard.) Such specific advances as labor did register in its formative years can be correlated with moments of economic prosperity.

The paucity of European immigration to the Colombian interior cut off the associational skills and ideological currents—particularly anarcho-syndicalism and socialism—which stimulated trade unionist growth in so much of southern South America. As a consequence, the first strikes in Colombia erupted at the end of World War I among the port and transportation workers along the coast who were in direct contact with overseas ideologies, rather than among laborers of the interior, who were relatively isolated ideologically and who found themselves in a weak and embryonic industrial environment.

Then in 1930, all of this began to change as the government passed from the hands of the Conservatives, who viewed trade unionism with hostility, to the Liberals, who had cultivated labor's vote and slipped into office when the dominant Conservatives split their vote between two candidates. Interestingly, although labor's stronger position was reflected in one major statute of 1931, which for the first time legitimized the right to strike, virtually all of trade unionism's gains actually derived from Liberal chief executives who sympathized with labor and interpreted the law so as to favor labor's associational development. Basically the Liberal party was committed to the growth of trade unionism (and industrialization), both for the practical political fact that it needed labor's electoral backing and for a sincere ideological commitment which had placed the Liberals on labor's side during the 1920s in its battles with Conservative regimes.

In short, Urrutia concludes that Colombian labor, which depended so greatly upon governmental protection for its associational growth and then largely resorted to nonviolent tactics under moderate leaders, differs markedly from patterns in Argentina, Chile, Peru, and certain other Latin American countries where incipient trade unionism grew up in violence and evolved into largely antidemocratic and highly politicized forms. Of course, violence between labor and management did occur in Colombia as well as elsewhere in the hemisphere; land invasions, industrial sit-ins, and factory invasions have been part and parcel of labor's tactics. More important, though, "with the possible exception of the United Fruit strike of 1928, there have probably not been any large-scale and bloody repressions of labor unions and strikes in Colombian history"; instead, a "progressive government came to power sufficiently early in the process of Colombian industrialization to avoid the bloody history that usually characterizes the early development of national labor movements" (p. 141).

Urrutia's concluding sections evaluate the role of Colombian labor in political and economic development as well as in collective bargaining and include a statistical appendix to exemplify labor's success in bargaining during the 1960s. The author has probed union archives, newspaper files, and other printed matter extensively for source materials. He is less explicit about his field interviews, though a few are mentioned.

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Parties and Political Change in Bolivia 1880-1952. By HERBERT S. KLEIN. New York, 1969. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge Latin American Studies. Map. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xv, 451. \$14.50.

In spite of the riches which have poured from its soil, Bolivia was until recently one of Latin America's least-known nations. Since the profound revolution which shook the country in 1952 it has attracted the interest of some foreign scholars, and writers such as Robert Alexander, Dwight Heath, and Richard Patch have produced detailed analytical accounts of recent events and changes. But few have examined the historical roots of the 1952 upheaval. Most books dismiss the period before the revolution in a general chapter on feudal agriculture, the plight of the Indian majority, geographic dislocation, the tin miners, and the shock of the Chaco War. The years before the revolution have remained *terra incognita*.