

one finds selections from relevant documents, such as the Spanish slave code of 1789, or the Anglo-Argentine treaty of 1839 for the suppression of the slave trade.

In this objective, scholarly account the facts speak for themselves. However, in the final chapter a Third World interpretation is placed on Latin America's heritage of servile labor, racial sensitivities, and neo-colonial institutions. According to the author, slavery, like the colonial system itself, was based on a hierarchy of social classes and property control in which the color line—or "racism"—served like the keystone in the arch; that this system in various forms survived abolition; and that if Latin American revolutionary movements are to succeed in establishing an egalitarian social order they must undertake structural reforms. The socialist revolution in Cuba is seen as the only integral effort thus far to abolish distinctions of race and class; and in this same perspective *Peronismo* is regarded as essentially an egalitarian movement. There is agreement with Sarmiento's observation that the violent political history of Latin America since independence can generally be summed up as "un alzamiento de razas conquistadas" (p. 203). Professor Clementi expresses the hope that her comparative study of abolition movements will contribute to an understanding of Latin America's revolutionary background. That it does.

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*The New Corporatism: Social-Political Structures in the Iberian World.* Edited by FREDRICK B. PIKE and THOMAS STRITCH. Notre Dame, Indiana, 1974. University of Notre Dame Press. Index. Pp. xxii, 218. Cloth.

This book is a refreshing reminder—at a moment when the patching of few unrelated articles seems to be the fashion—of how useful serious scholastic collaboration can be. The introduction and the six essays which form it, constitute a coordinated exploration of a contemporary Latin American political phenomenon of exceptional significance. Always searching for a "different" political formula, a "third way" distinct from socialism and capitalism, the Latin nations have rediscovered a "model" buried in their own historical tradition: the corporatist state. "Wherever one looks in the Iberic-Latin world," affirms one of the authors (Howard J. Wiarda, p. 3), "corporatist or neo-corporatist forms of authority and sociopolitical organizations appear to have staged a resurgence."

Rather small in size, the book nevertheless offers a relatively wide analytical spectrum. The authors study corporatism in the Iberian world (Howard J. Wiarda); the idea of “natural” corporatism and the failure of populism in Spanish America (Ronald C. Newton); Peru as a case study (James M. Malloy); the negative aspects of the corporatist concept (Philippe C. Schmitter); and the influence of Latin American corporatism in relation with the United States and Spain (Fredrick B. Pike). The main virtue of the book is its lack of dogmatism. The purpose of the writers is not to prove a thesis, but to explore a subject which they themselves proclaim extremely hazardous. Precisely because corporatism, or what appears to be corporatism, is so prevalent in Latin America, because its characteristics blend the old and the new, its concept becomes blurred, and its definition vague. Conscious of the danger, the essayists acknowledge their own doubts and open their theories to discussion. Their conclusions sometimes run parallel, and sometimes oppose each other.

After the first three essays on corporatism in Latin America, Philippe C. Schmitter, for example, opens an unexpected and impressive barrage against the basic foundations of the corporatist theory. He not only denies that corporatism is a distinctive product of the Mediterranean world—a notion accepted in essence by his colleagues—but even suspects the use of the concept to explain any socio-political situation. “I find there is simply too much normative variety and behavioral hypocrisy in the use of the corporatist ideological label to make it a useful operational analysis,” he affirms (p. 89). A valid criticism, but not quite applicable to this book, where all the participants, with the possible exception of Fredrick B. Pike, display a very commendable caution in their expositions.

Concluding his study on the historical development of corporatism in Portugal—where he points out some positive aspects of the Salazar’s regime—and the basic corporative-patrimonialist structure of the Brazilian state, Howard J. Wiarda acknowledges the limitations of the corporatist concept (p. 32). A similar warning is offered by Ronald C. Newton, who links the re-emergence of corporatism in Latin America with the failure of the “functional and political elites of the populist phase” (p. 50) to meet the challenge of the semi-industrialization of the continent after 1930. Dealing with Peru, James M. Malloy stresses the contradiction between the “populist” policies of the regime and its basic authoritarian character. “The Peruvian revolution is made in the name of the masses . . . but its makers harbor considerable ap-

prehension of those masses acting on their own or at the behest of other leaders” (p. 66). A contradiction, one may add, that seems inherent in every revolutionary regime. Consequently, Malloy pays due attention to SINAMOS as the official agency for the mobilization of the masses, but he remains skeptical about the future of the Peruvian regime, which he sees moving toward a more rigid totalitarian system. The recent official “reorganization” of SINAMOS (April 1975) for “failing to carry the revolution to the masses,” bear witness to the soundness of his position.

As a sort of contrast, Fredrick B. Pike is the only one who indulges in sweeping generalizations and in suggestive, but very argumentative interpretations. One can detect in his essays a note of somber exasperation. The traditional abyss between the elites and the masses in Latin America appears to him almost insurmountable. The elites change their names or their tactics, but their paternalistic control over the masses never changes. To maintain their supremacy, they became capitalistic in the nineteenth century and attempted, with American economic assistance, a bourgeois revolution. But by the mid-twentieth century they discovered that American penetration meant also a weakening of their cultural values and “heralded a social revolution” (p. 139). So they became nationalistic and anti-Yankee. Like the Counter-Reformation in the seventeenth century, argues Pike, twentieth-century anti-yankeeism serves to mobilize the masses without increasing their participation (p. 162). From Fidel Castro to the Brazilian generals: “elites and would be elites are rediscovering the usefulness of corporatism and eschewing the social, political and economic beliefs . . . that have stamped the political culture of the United States” (p. 165). This “revolution from above” serves to keep the masses under a tight control.

Corporatism is then, according to this book, alive but not well in Latin America. By following the avatars of corporatism, the authors provide a very valuable insight on the present situation in Latin America. They suggest more questions than answers, but they are only covering one aspect of the famous question posed by Octavio Paz: Why is Latin America in 1973 still a continent in search of a system? Their task was well accomplished. Stimulating, serious, and quite readable, this volume should be highly recommended to everyone interested in learning something about the very complex Latin American political process.

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