Brazilian military coup d'etat as a necessary step to eliminate the danger of a Communist takeover of Brazil. Frank Brandenburg of the Committee for Economic Development ends the book with an essay pointing out the possible relevance of the Mexican experience for the other large Latin American countries.

Except for the fact that all eleven of the essays deal with the same geographic area, it is difficult to see their connection with each other. Some, particularly those by Dozer and Brandenburg, are scholarly interpretations. Others are full of sweeping generalizations and difficult to prove and therefore of little value. There is no index, although some of the essays contain footnotes and statistical tables. Brandenburg supplies a bibliographical note on entrepreneurship in Latin America, and Bailey a list of the neoliberal organizations he has found in Latin America. Paulo Ayres Filho's essay contains a list of the Communist front organizations functioning in Brazil in 1964.

Probably the most pertinent comment in this book is Eudocio Ravines' suggestion that victory over communism will not be economic or financial but "ideological and political, . . . a conquest of the minds of millions of Latin Americans: it will be fundamentally a spiritual work, a heroic creation of thought" (p. 138). Let us hope that Latin American political leaders and the United States policy makers begin to understand this and act accordingly.

University of Florida HARRY KANTOR

The Politics of Conformity in Latin America. Edited by CLAUDIO VELIZ. London, 1967. Oxford University Press for Royal Institute of International Affairs. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Pp. x, 291. $7.00.

This is a companion volume to the editor's *Obstacles to Change in Latin America* (1965). Again the purpose of the essays is to explain why no fundamental reforms have taken place, despite the widespread Latin American public commitment to them. The explanation for this gap between intention and implementation is that the very groups from which leadership in the reform efforts has been expected still subscribe to prestige and value systems which resist change. The major culprit, in the eyes of most of the contributors, is the middle class.

Claudio Veliz maintains in his Introduction that the political, social, and economic reforms considered essential under the Alliance for Progress are not taking place. Instead, over the past decade the Latin American political and cultural complex has reverted to the

paternalistic centralism characteristic of the area's colonial past. By "politics of conformity," he means that, in the absence of genuine labor, middle class, intellectual, or reformist leadership, the central government remains the only agency with sufficient authority to provide reform leadership. It is implied in the essays that follow, however, that those governments currently in power offer little promise of reform.

Richard N. Adams, examining "Political Power and Social Structures," finds the so-called new middle groups to be merely "an extension of the traditional upper class, both in terms of economic position and of basic values" (p. 16). He sees expansion of the powers of paternalistic, upper-structure governments, assisted by the military, as the most important structural change taking place in Latin America today. In an essay on "The Middle Class Military Coup," José Nun argues that the armed forces represent Latin America's middle class and that military intervention compensates for middle class "inability to establish itself as a well-integrated hegemonic group" (p. 112). Hence he feels it quite futile to count on either the military or the middle class to help remedy Latin America's contemporary social and political ills.

Writing on "Peasants and Rural Migrants in Politics," Eric J. Hobsbawm sees little reform potential in the refugees from the countryside, for they carry with them to the cities their traditional hierarchy and patronage value systems. In his essay on "University Students in National Politics," Alistair Hennessy is equally pessimistic about the revolutionary role customarily expected from those enrolled in Latin America's institutions of higher learning, for he believes their primary concern to be personal economic and professional security rather than national political and social reform.

François Chevalier's "*Ejido* and Political Stability in Mexico," warns of the increasing burden of overpopulation and the threat which this poses to the social benefits of the Revolution in rural Mexico. Emanuel de Kadt's "Religion, the Church, and Social Change in Brazil," avers that despite the recent emergence of reformist elements, the Catholic Church remains overwhelmingly in the hands of "those wishing to preserve the status quo" (p. 220). Since he believes that basic reform depends upon the political climate, Brazil's present government would appear to offer little hope for more liberal church policies.

Oscar Cornblit's essay on "European Immigrants in Argentine Industry and Politics," uses the tools of historical analysis to explain the passive role of industrialists in Argentina's current political and

social struggles. His explanation is that ever since the period immediately after World War I immigrant industrial entrepreneurs have suffered from political discrimination by nativist Radical Party leaders. Finally Hugh Thomas, in his "Middle Class Politics and the Cuban Revolution," rejects the theory that Castro's revolution was essentially a middle-class protest against the Batista dictatorship. He points out the relative weakness of the Cuban bourgeoisie and finds Castro's followers to be mainly lower class in origin. Hence, he argues, Cuba's middle class can hardly complain of a "revolution betrayed."

Admittedly the pressures for conformity, so excellently depicted by the contributors to this volume, are disturbing. However, it is premature to seal Latin America's fate in the traditions of the Spanish Enlightenment. The area's politics are still in a state of flux, and the social crisis still in the process of resolution. Who can be certain that genuine reform leadership will not ultimately emerge or that more violent solutions to the area's social problems may not be in the offing? Despite this somewhat gloomy volume the final verdict is not yet in.

University of New Mexico EDWIN LIEUWEN

The Monroe Doctrine and American Expansionism, 1843-1849. By FREDERICK MERK. With the collaboration of LOIS BANNISTER MERK. New York, 1966. Alfred A. Knopf. Illustrations. Notes. Index. Pp. xii, 289. $6.95.

Fear is a powerful human emotion, easily aroused and sustained by a government to justify external policies which might otherwise appear too dangerous or too expensive for the public taste. For twenty years fear has perpetuated the basic cold war policies of the United States with remarkable consensus and at a cost of almost a trillion dollars.

What rendered fear a necessary weapon in Polk's political arsenal was the widespread conviction that American expansion defied the nation's ideals of peace and fairness toward others. Those responsible for national policies carry the obligation to defend the nation's interests as they understand them. Fear, if employed effectively, has the dual impact of elevating security to a primary concern and dulling a people's moral sensitivities. Through his appeal to the Monroe Doctrine in his annual message of December 1845, Polk could establish a connection in the American mind between the traditional American purpose of limiting European influence in the New World and the