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#### Florencia E. Mallon. <u>The Defense of Community in</u> <u>Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and</u> <u>Capitalist Transition, 1860-1940</u>. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Mallon's work deals with an important theme in Latin American history: the relation of the class struggle to the form which capitalist transition will take in peripheral societies. Mallon is aware of the constraints which are imposed on circumstances by the past. In the case of Latin America, these constraints are imposed by the colonial past and shape the form of the class struggle. By using concept of class struggle in her analysis she has added a crucial dimension to previous studies of the area. Her theoretical focus adds clarity to an understanding of class formation and the role of the peasantry in the development of Latin America. The outcome of the class struggle will, in turn, decide the type of capitalist transition which will occur in a particular region or nation.

In this particular class struggle, Mallon studies the Yanamarca Valley, a region of Peru's highlands. The book is divided into three sections. The first section, "The Peasants Confront Commerce, 1860-1900," deals with the initial impact which trade had on the peasant communities of the region. The author introduces the geographical, historical, and social circumstances in which the various social classes and individuals interact. The strong peasant communities of the region resisted efforts to extract labor from it. Therefore, extra-economic coercion was applied for labor extraction.

The commercial and mining boom of the late eighteenth century created a new regional elite which would challenge the dominance of the traditional landowning class. The wars of independence provided new opportunities for land acquisition by this new elite. There were attempts to revitalize production by this group. These attempts were doomed to failure because they were based on the pre-capitalist relations of production. Pre-capitalist relations would dominate in the region until the War of the Pacific.

The War of the Pacific brought the peasantry into the national life of the country. The prominent role of the peasantry changed its relationship towards the national state and national elites. The war exacerbated the heightening class contradictions between the elites and the peasantry. It also produced a heightened nationalism in the peasants who participated in it. A reformist nationalist coalition was possible during this historical moment but the elite was not interested because of their identification with traditional agriculture and the socio-economic relations surrounding it.

The second section, entitled "The Peasants Confront Industry, 1895-1930," introduces the impact foreign capital had on the transition to capitalist relations of production. The author analyzes the initial attempts and subsequent failures of the national elites to accumulate This failure was due to peasant capital. resistance against entering the labor market as wage workers. One form of resistance was based on the traditional patron-client relationship inherited from the colonial past. The patronclient relationship allowed the peasants the opportunity to play one elite faction against The peasant, in this manner, another. disentangled himself from the labor market. This would also contribute to the difficulty of capital accumulation given the costs necessary to retain labor. It was not until the national elites formed an alliance with foreign capital that innovation came into the production process.

Foreign capital penetration into the region underwent two phases: the manufacturing phase and the industrial phase. The breakdown of the traditional pre-capitalist relations of production began to accelerate with the introduction of investments into the region through the Cerro de Pasco Investment Company, associated with mining and railroad interest. The heightened economic activity in the region brought a gradual breakdown of the peasant communities. Social and economic differentiation began to emerge as peasants engaged in labor migration to the mines, livestock haciendas, and plantations as well as participation in petty commercial activities. There was resistance to this increased participation in the labor market by resorting to the patron-client relationship which produced difficulties during the manufacturing phase. The peasantry, in this

manner, would participate in commercial economic activity but continued to have a foot in the household economy.

The industrial phase further integrated the peasantry into the market economy by creating increased wage dependence. The peasantry in the region surrounding the Oroya smelter were dispossessed of their land because of the destruction of the land's fertility which ensued. As the land became useless the company bought it which contributed to the proletarianization of the peasantry. The Oroya smelter also contributed to a new phase in labor relations. The new relations of production required a permanent skilled labor force for production. Besides changes in the regional economy and

its integration into the national market, the state played a much more dominant role in altering community relations. The peasantry became dependent on the federal government to settle community disputes. The constitution of 1920 made the state responsible for Indian communities thereby weakening community solidarity. As the peasants returned to their communities after the 1929 world-wide depression they returned to a vastly transformed world in their communities. Social and economic differentiation had greatly increased. A new village elite had emerged as well as a pauperization within the community of many of its members. A reversal to pre-capitalist relations of production based on the peasant household was still possible through the acquisition of land by the miner-peasant's wages. The process of proletarianization could still be reversed.

The final section, "The Peasants Confront Poverty: The 1930's and Beyond," analyzes the peasants' proletarianization. Class differentiation through migration and subsequent wage dependence made it difficult for the peasantry to return to subsistence levels of production. Returning to a community in which some members had become wealthy and others were in poverty altered the class relationships within the community. This agrarian bourgeoisie was created through "the privatization of communal land, the commodification of private and communal labor, continuing social and economic differentiation, and the ever more complete integration of the peasant community into the national economy and political system" (p. 306). The transition which took place is very rare in Latin America. An agrarian bourgeoisie in Latin America usually develops through the "Junker model." In this case, an agrarian bourgeoisie developed out of the peasantry following the peasant model.

Dr. Mallon's work is based on exhaustive research and documentation. She has worked in numerous local and national archives in Peru. Anyone interested in pursuing similar research can read her indispensable bibliographical essay which contains a section on theoretical and comparative materials. This book has truly contributed to a clarification of the study of capitalist transition in Latin America. Her theoretical focus and model is applicable to other areas of Latin America. This work will be an indispensable volume for any researcher's shelf for a long time to come.

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Claire Robertson and Iris Berger, eds. <u>Women and</u> <u>Class in Africa</u>. New York: Africana Publishing Company (a division of Holmes and Meier), 1986. 310 pp. Introduction, tables, map, bibliography, and index.

That the study of African women is still in its early stages is indicated by the lack of full-length books and the proliferation of edited volumes. But collected essays, typically replete with recent important research, also demonstrate the strength of the field. Women and Class in <u>Africa</u> is an excellent example of the new research being done, and of how to organize a set of essays so that they not only are thematically related but support each others' conclusions, making a coherent whole of the book itself.

making a coherent whole of the book itself. The introduction to the volume, by Robertson and Berger, is a fine overview of the field and relevant theoretical considerations. While it focuses on the articles that follow, it also pulls together many of the disparate threads of research on African women in the twentieth century. The main themes of the volume are