

rian; they often reveal details concerning relationships between the classes and the position of the unmarried woman in Victorian working-class society. While Ducrocq hints at the Victorian era epitomizing the ideas on which feminists build their attacks, she is clear in her opinion of the stagnation created by dwelling on the obviously limited position of women in the 19th century. (183-4)

*Love in the Time of Victoria* presents a fuller, or at least a more realistic, image of working-class morality than what was traditionally accepted as truth by the Victorian middle and upper classes. The cover of John Howe's translation of Ducrocq's text is a reproduction of Ford Maddox Brown's *Work*. The painting, created in the mid-19th century, gives us an example of what work was probably like for the working classes: strenuous, hot, crowded, noisy — in short, uncomfortably laborious. Brown's painting seems to echo the opinions of the Victorian observers with its loudness, its boldness, suggesting physical intimacy in a cramped and congested atmosphere. However, within the covers of the book, Ducrocq does not limit her perception of the working classes by exclusively considering their "work"; Ducrocq exposes the "lives" of the working classes, lives with defined moralities. In her Epilogue, Ducrocq says that upon examining the evidence, one "discovers an astonishing and contradictory history, a history made up of contrasts: of impudence and morality, cynicism and tenderness, cruelty and generosity; a history, in short, amazingly like real life." (183) It is the recognition of the possibility of existing dichotomies and the allowance for deviation from "black and white" explanations which makes Ducrocq's argument strong and convincing argument.

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Thomas F. Reed and Karen Brandow, *The Sky Never Changes: Testimonies from the Guatemalan Labor Movement* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 1996).

ON 29 DECEMBER 1996, a peace accord that is supposed to be "firm and lasting" was signed in Guatemala, formally ending one of Latin America's longest and most brutal civil wars. Armed confrontation between government security forces and guerrilla insurgents began in the 1960s, lulled somewhat in the 1970s, and reached unprecedented levels in the 1980s. Numerical indicators, by any standards, are chilling: some 150,000 killed, 35,000 to 40,000 "disappeared" (the highest number in all Latin America), 75,000 widowed, 125,000 orphaned, and a million or so people (one in eight of the population when the fighting was at its peak) internally displaced. In human terms, however, the immense costs of civil war in Guatemala, and the vicious social and economic inequalities that are the root cause of it, lie beyond the cold reach of statistics. To the credit of Thomas F. Reed and Karen Brandow, it is in human terms that *The Sky Never Changes* is poignantly cast, offering the reader a series of moving, often harrowing, accounts of how the lives of ten individuals associated with the labour movement were affected by the events and circumstances surrounding more than three decades of state terror.

In a crisp, succinct introduction, Reed and Brandow situate the labour movement in the overall scheme of things, from its beginnings in the 1920s "among craft-people and railroad, banana, and port workers" through its repression during the strong-arm presidency of General Jorge Ubico (1930-1944) to its flourishing under the democratically elected governments of Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán between 1944 and 1954. Advances made under Arévalo and Arbenz involved the establishment of "an eight-hour workday, minimum wages, regulation of child and women's labour,

paid vacations, the right to organize, collective bargaining and strike power, labour courts for settling disputes, and a national social security system." Some ten per cent of the work-force were then registered in over five hundred government approved unions, "a figure that exceeds the number of active unions today." (2)

President Arbenz championed an agrarian reform program that, among other initiatives, expropriated unused property belonging to the United Fruit Company. In return, United Fruit was offered the \$1.2 million its own tax records declared the land in question to be worth, not the \$16 million the Boston-based operation demanded. Communist paranoia and Cold War politics in the United States soon had their way. A coup backed by, and to a considerable degree funded by, the Central Intelligence Agency saw Arbenz removed from power. In the wake of the coup "all recognized union were disbanded, leaders were jailed and executed, and peasant organizing was outlawed." By 1961, seven years after the pivotal episode from which, as a modern nation, Guatemala has yet to recover, "only fifty unions were registered," less than one-tenth the number that existed during the "ten years of Guatemalan spring." It is in the context of this repressive, interventionist legacy, thirty-six long years of war later, that the testimonies superbly voiced in print by Reed and Brandow must be heard. (2-3)

"Violence against the labor movement is a permanent issue," Angel states plainly, "and one lives with repression." (40) Violence and repression inevitably create a climate of fear, fear not just that involvement in the labour movement might bring harm to oneself but that it could also spell danger for others—friends, relatives, and especially close family members, mothers and fathers, wives and husbands, daughters and sons. A striking feature of all ten testimonies is the extent to which fear and apprehension make "normal" family life impossible, for

"terrorism is the main tool used by the oppressors," as Angel puts it. (45) Reginaldo Paredes, formerly a worker in a car battery factory, tells of constant quarrels at home with his wife, who was always dead set against his union activities. He laments: "She said to me, 'You are getting involved in problems, and people who get involved in those problems get kidnapped and killed! They do bad things to them!' I told her I was doing it for our children. Although I wouldn't reap the benefit of my actions, the children would reap the benefit of our struggle. But my wife said that if I were really doing it for the children, it would be better *not* to be active in the movement." (21)

Paredes felt alienated because he could no longer "talk to anyone in my family, not with my father, or my mother, or with my wife." His feelings are echoed by Rodolfo Robles, who believes that "99 percent of the people who have worked at the leadership level never communicate to their family what they are doing because, logically, the family is going to say, 'No, don't get involved in that because they're going to kill you. They have killed so many.'" Robles goes so far as to claim that union involvement "requires that you act in a clandestine way with regard to your family." (99)

Other people interviewed by Reed and Brandow, including Ernesto and Norma, had the quite opposite experience, for they make it clear that, without the support of their families, the predicaments they faced would have been impossible to deal with. Norma's is a particularly compelling testimony. Her husband was assassinated because he sought to expose corruption in the union ranks he belonged to, which had been penetrated and subsequently manipulated by "people who really were agents of management." (157) Norma responded to her husband's murder, and the need to provide for her children, not only taking a job in the same company for which her husband worked but also by getting involved in union activities herself.

One of the most piercing testimonies comes from Clara. Her husband was among the twenty-seven union leaders abducted on 21 June 1980 from the *Central Nacional de Trabajadores*, the National Workers Headquarters in the capital city, which Reed and Brandow inform us was "the largest mass disappearance in Guatemalan history." The case has never been investigated and none of the twenty-seven has ever "reappeared," alive or dead. Clara recalls: "It was a Saturday, and all our relatives were waiting for him at my mother's house. He had told me, 'Go to your mother's. I'm coming home early. I'll be there around five o'clock. The meeting will be about two hours long.'

But he didn't come to my mother's house. Five o'clock passed, and he didn't come. 'Perhaps there was some delay,' I thought. At that moment I didn't foresee what was happening.

However, on the six o'clock news they said that the CNT had been broken into by government security forces. It felt alright even then, because if the security forces had detained them, then the next day, or on Monday, when the relatives arrived at the detention center, the unionists would be let go.

That was not the case. We went on Monday to the CNT office, all the relatives, and we saw a scene of terror there. Everything was chaotic. Chairs had been thrown around, as if used in self-defense. Who knew what had happened? There were pools of blood ..." (50, 54)

Clara's search for her missing husband took her to detention centres, army barracks, hospital morgues, and sites of massacres all over Guatemala. She walked around "with cotton and alcohol," for "it was nearly impossible to be there because of the small making us sick, the stench of dead bodies." (60) Once, accompanied by her mother, Clara thought she recognized the body of her husband, but her mother said, "No, it's not him. His hair wasn't so curly. Look, this body has curlier hair; control yourself!" Eventually

Clara's mother counselled: "'I think you should stop looking for your husband, because you are doing harm to yourself. Resign yourself to it. I am sure that they killed him, but what can you do? The only thing we can do is to pray for him, because that is what's best. If they are alive, our prayers will reach them: and if they are dead, the same.' My mother said, 'Let's not find out anymore,' because she saw what was happening to me."

For fear of reprisal, five of the people interviewed by Reed and Brandow requested anonymity, Clara among them, hence the decision to attribute these testimonies to a single, one supposes fictional name. Another five testimonies are presented by individuals who prefer "to be publicly identified" and whose names, as chapter titles, appear in full. (xii) Of the latter, perhaps the most inspiring testimony belongs to Rodolfo Robles, who led a successful, now celebrated occupation of the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Guatemala City between February 1984 and March 1985 in protest of an illegal closure. Robles reflects: "Hope never dies. And as long as there is hope, there are going to be objectives to struggle for. In the worker's movement, they say as long as people are subjected to this level of injustice there will be only one option: to challenge the oppression, to change the structure completely so that people develop themselves and live in a real democracy. Such a democracy doesn't exist for us. What we have now isn't a popular democracy.

So we have to maintain hope to live, not only to live but to live *well*. To live just for the sake of living doesn't make sense." (182)

*The Sky Never Changes* has much to commend it and can be profitably read by several different constituencies. Reed and Brandow are to be congratulated for piecing together, with flair and sensitivity, an engaging narrative that not only affords nuanced insight into the lives of people caught up in the Guatemalan labour movement but also serves, methodologi-

cally and textually, as a model endeavour in the often elusive art of creative oral history.

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Philip McMichael, *Development and Social Change, A Global Perspective* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press 1996).

THE LITERATURE on globalization has grown enormously in the last several years, but not a lot of it is easily accessible in style or content to the university student. This book by Philip McMichael was written to be used as a text for university teaching; it is uncommonly rich in illustration, comprehensive in its reach, and eminently readable.

The book is framed by the idea of the "development project" and its transformation into the "globalization project." Beginning in the post-World War II era, McMichael traces economic development within the nation-state and its emergence into the present supra-national economy. The multi-dimensional picture that he draws happily takes the text out of the traditional restrictions of the disciplines and makes an interdisciplinary approach an important strength of the book.

In the first chapter, McMichael outlines in general terms the "rise of the development project" in the period from the 1940s to the 1970s, which he described as the spread of capitalism in the form of national economic growth. Not only does national capitalism consolidate itself in the industrial nations, but also it encourages postwar decolonization, and thereby lays the foundation for global restructuring in this period.

This same subject is addressed more specifically in the second chapter, where the author examines the role of Marshall Aid, the Bretton Woods System, and GATT in the emergence of the "development project." His description of the "re-

making of the international division of labor" is not dissimilar from what has been said elsewhere many times, but the strength of this chapter lies in the author's insightful and significant work on the growth of the "international food regime." The construction of global food interdependency, centred on US agriculture production and technology, reveals a side to postwar economic development that is often overlooked.

The next two chapters describe how the global system of production grew out of "national programs of economic development." If Chapter 3 outlines the broad shape of the disintegrating national and the emerging global system, Chapter 4 details the economic structure and mechanisms of a transnational political economy. The author's focus, however, is more or less restricted to the financial side of global subordination to transnational corporations. The rise of global banking, the so-called "debt regime," and the consequent "structural adjustment programs" are all effectively described as the underpinnings of the global system.

Chapters 5 and 6 define the rise and structure and effects of the "globalization project" respectively. This "project" is defined principally by the shift from public policy to corporate management, by the implementation of "global market rules" by the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO, by the concentration of market and financial power in the transnational corporations and banks. The effects include the destruction of traditional ways of life, urbanization, structural unemployment and increased poverty, the "informalization" of the economy, and a growing crisis in political legitimacy everywhere.

The next chapter takes up the question of the "social responses to globalization" and it covers a range of topics from religious fundamentalism, to environmentalism, to the "new social movements," to feminism, to "cosmopolitan localism" as typified by the Chiapas movement.