RECENT STUDIES OF PERU

Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski
University of Pittsburgh

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN MODERN PERU. Edited by RORY MILLER, CLIFFORD T. SMITH, and JOHN FISHER. (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, Center for Latin American Studies, Monograph Series 6. Pp. 198.)

PODER Y CONFLICTO SOCIAL EN EL VALLE DEL MANTARO. By GIORGIO ALBERTI. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1974. Pp. 220.)

MIGRACIÓN Y CAMBIO ESTRUCTURAL: LA COMUNIDAD DE LAMPIAN. By OLINDA CELESTINO. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1972. Pp. 107.)

DEPENDENCIA Y DESINTEGRACIÓN ESTRUCTURAL EN LA COMUNIDAD DE PACARAOS. By CARLOS I. DEGREGORI and JURGEN GOLTE. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1973. Pp. 176.)

LATIFUNDISMO Y SINDICALISMO AGRARIO EN EL PERU: EL CASO DE LOS VALLES DE LA CONVENCIÓN Y LARES (1958–1964). By EDUARDO FIORVANTI. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1974. Pp. 250.)

SINDICALISMO Y REFORMA AGRARIA EN EL VALLE DE CHANCAY. By JOSÉ M. MEJIA and ROSA DÍAZ S. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975. Pp. 151.

If there is a unifying bond among these various pieces, aside from the obvious fact that they are about Peru, it is that the subjects they analyze are at the micro and regional level. There is no broad sweep and overview here, but rather meticulous analysis of well-defined subjects, some of which of course have broader implications. Also, to the extent that the subjects impinge upon contemporary Peru, the writing reflects the point of view of the first half of the seventies—when the "first phase" of the Peruvian revolution was in full swing and held in its sway the admiration of many outside observers.

The University of Liverpool volume, sixth in the series of monographs put out by its active Center for Latin-American Studies, is the result of a conference of English Peruvianists held in February 1974. Although the attempt of the editors to find a unifying theme for the six pieces (three on economic history, one on social history, and two on land reform under the Velasco government) is somewhat forced, the articles themselves are successful products of careful research. John Fisher's

history of silver mining in the closing years of the Peruvian viceroyalty makes for interesting economic history, with some illuminating vignettes. The story shows that the attempt to diversify away from silver was doomed by the same factors that hamper the development of mineral and oil countries today, such as high labor costs (which could obviously not be cured by adjustments in the exchange rate, as would be the case today) and the effects of political instability upon investment.

Rory Miller's piece on railways (basically one railway) and the economy of central Peru from 1890 to 1930 begins with an attempt to relate the impact of the railroad to the social saving which it generated, the idea pioneered in the case of U.S. railroads by Fogel and Fishlow. In Peru, unlike the United States, the railway did not open up new economic territory, since the mines and the minifundia were already there. The article uses the very limited statistics available to try to relate economic developments in the region to the tariffs of the railway, but the case is not entirely convincing. While the cost of freight was indeed one important element in the economic evolution of the area, it was not, on the basis of the evidence presented here, the determining one. For example, copper production expanded in the late 1890s not because of the railway, which was already there, but because of the upswing in international metals prices; the railway by itself could not be expected to have a decisive impact on wheat cultivation in minifundia at 11,000 ft. of altitude.

The most interesting article of the economic history series is that of Rosemary Thorp and Geoff Bertram on industrialization in an open economy from 1890 to 1940. The piece, which forms part of a larger work, makes its points clearly. It shows the relationship between price policies (including the exchange rate) and production decisions and trends. The Peruvian experience with industrialization up to the early 1930s shows that rapid export growth combined with low tariff protection against imports, the type of policies that today have become the staple wisdom dispensed by the major international financial agencies, are not necessarily in the best interests of sustained and balanced economic development.

The two pieces on land reform under Velasco comment upon what were then ongoing events. That by Colin Harding, later published in expanded form in Lowenthal's collection of essays on *The Peruvian Experiment*, needs no review here. It is an excellent introduction to the subject. Clifford Smith's piece on agrarian reform and regional development would, with hindsight, require revision today, when it has become much clearer that stated objectives about regional conditions and priorities have not been translated into an effective agricultural policy, regional or otherwise. One wonders whether the complicated structure of

the legal size of farms by regions and the various forms of cooperative enterprises created on paper by the Velasco government, and examined in this article, really had much to do with regional development. In fact, the period was characterized by almost complete neglect of the potential of the Ceja de Montaña region, opened up under Fernando Belaúnde, and by falling real agricultural prices and incomes as a result of deliberate policies to keep the urban mass of Lima cheaply fed—with increasing imports of food.

The sociological study by Bryan Roberts on Huancayo, the main commercial and agricultural center of the Central Sierra, is an excellent and detailed analysis of the relationship between the town as a commercial center and the surrounding farms. The study traces how this relationship evolved over time, and highlights the role of the leading families of the area, most of whom were relatively recent immigrants from Lima or abroad.

The Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP), led by José Matos Mar, is a relatively unstructured and changing group of scholars, whose research and publications have emphasized local and regional anthropological studies and also broader social investigation (the best recent example of the latter is Julio Cotler's *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú* [Lima, IEP, 1978]). The studies reviewed here are part of the regional anthropological work, where researchers associated with the IEP have made substantial strides in Peru in the last decade or so. However, these studies are not necessarily the pioneering of a new discipline. If I may be forgiven a personal note, Carlos Enrique Paz Soldán and my father, Maxime Kuczynski, were studying socio-anthropological conditions in various areas of the Sierra in the 1930s and 1940s. Much of this work was from a medical viewpoint, but the conclusions about social and economic disorganization remained valid up to the early 1970s, and perhaps are even valid now. For example, the injustice and inevitable decline of the hacienda system was graphically analyzed in 1945 in a survey of the now well-known Lauramarca hacienda near Cuzco (M. H. Kuczynski, "Un Latifundio del Sur . . . ," *América Indigena*, July 1946). The intolerable sanitary and economic conditions in the valleys of La Convención, Lares, and Ocobamba were studied in 1944 (Lima, Ministerio de Salud Pública, *Encuestas Medico-Sociales*, 1946), a reference with which Fioravanti (*Latifundismo y sindicalismo agrario*) is apparently unfamiliar, even though his bibliography lists as references Marx's *Das Kapital*, Ernest Mandel's *Traité d'Economie Marxiste*, and Friedrich Engels. In fact, most of the IEP books reviewed here present bibliographies that suggest that social investigations of the Peruvian Sierra began in the 1960s, a misinterpretation.

A comparison between the work of the early 1940s and that of the early 1970s presents some interesting contrasts. Even though, in both cases, the statistical data on population, labor force, earnings, etc. are derived from individual surveys, some of the IEP studies place heavy reliance on the 1961 census, whose quality at the micro level in some cases may not be enough to substantiate the conclusions drawn. By contrast, the 1940s surveys, which place more emphasis on factors such as nutrition, health, hours worked, and income than on land distribution and use—not surprising, given the differing perspectives of the studies—give the reader a more graphic picture of conditions in the field. As befits the times, the earlier studies have no ideological content, whereas some of the IEP studies, especially that of Fioravanti, are heavy with ideological discussion. Most readers will be able to disentangle the useful socio-anthropological analysis from the less factual material, but the texts become unnecessarily long and disjointed. Incidentally, the writing in most of the IEP books listed is distinctly unexciting.

Despite its ideological biases and interludes, the Fioravanti study presents a detailed account of the rise of the peasant movement in the impoverished area north of Cuzco, up to and including the revolt in the early 1960s led by Hugo Blanco. One of the most interesting aspects of the book is the account of how the peasant leadership evolved and eventually was galvanized and molded into a force by Hugo Blanco. The Alberti study of the Mantaro Valley is a readable historical account, with many useful insights on how the practical realities of conflict on the land (particularly in the 1950s) led to social gains for the peasants, which predated and perhaps even surpassed the later legal gains as a result of land reform legislation. The three other studies focus on the Chancay Valley, immediately north of Lima, which stretches from coastal cotton plantations, through agricultural villages (Lampian), to the misery of destitute communities in the high Central Sierra (Pacaraos). Some of the phenomena underlined in these competent studies, particularly declining incomes, would become more easily understandable if they were explicitly related to Peru's long-standing economic policy, shared with a number of other developing economies, of deliberately keeping agricultural prices and incomes low. Without perhaps saying it explicitly, all five IEP studies, while focusing on other important variables, offer convincing evidence of the disastrous consequences of such a policy.