

BOOK REVIEWS/RESEÑAS DE LIBROS

PUBLICATIONS OF CIEPLAN

Ever since 1976, when the institute was formed, CIEPLAN (Corporación de Investigaciones Económicas para Latinoamérica) has been one of the most active, probably even *the* most active, economic research unit in Chile. A steady flow of high quality works has been forthcoming from CIEPLAN's researchers, José Pablo Arellano, René Cortázar, Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, Nicolás Flaño, Alejandro Foxley, Patricio Meller, Oscar Muñoz, Dagmar Raczynski and, until recently, also Ernesto Tironi and Pilar Vergara.

Good works on the Chilean economy after 1973 are hard to come by if one limits the attention to the output of the Chilean universities. The two leading journals, *Cuadernos de Economía* (Universidad Católica) and *Estudios de Economía* (Universidad de Chile) are concentrated partly on technical issues and partly on monetary matters à la Chicago, and in the Chilean bookstores very little on the domestic economy is to be found.

This is where the CIEPLAN publications enter. Excepting agriculture and monetary questions, the output of CIEPLAN gives a very good coverage of what has taken place since 1973. The results of the CIEPLAN research (when not published outside) are found in three series of publications: the *Colección Estudios CIEPLAN*, started in 1979 (before that single *Estudios*) which is a full-fledged journal, *Apuntes CIEPLAN*, consisting of general working papers, and *Notas Técnicas*, containing working papers of a more technical character. (The borderline between the last two is somewhat floating.)

These three series span a very wide variety of issues, in the main, but not exclusively, dealing with the Chilean economy. Among the themes dealt with, the most ambitious one is the study of the overall impact of the policies pursued since 1973 to reshape the economy in the direction of a higher degree of market orientation, opening to the exterior and privatization. The overall picture is painted by Alejandro Foxley in the book *Experimentos neoliberales en América Latina* (*Colección*, Nº 7 special issue, English version on University of California Press 1982: *Latin American Experiments in Neo-Conservative Economics*), a well-written attempt to sum up the experience not only of Chile but also of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay in a uniform theoretical framework.

A second theme is the opening of the economy, reported in a series of papers, mainly by Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, covering increased imports, the integration of financial markets with the outside world, the evolution of the real exchange rate and the influence on the manufacturing sector of increased competition from abroad, all in a very meticulous fashion with a wealth of figures and empirical detail. In this context two more general efforts should also be noted. One is a book edited by Ffrench-Davis and Ernesto Tironi: *Hacia un nuevo orden económico internacional: Temas prioritarios para América Latina* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, D.F., 1980, English version on Macmillan 1982: *Latin America and the New International Economic Order*), which covers the north-south question from the Latin American point of view. The second is essentially a round-table on the opening of financial markets, also edited by Ffrench-Davis: *External Financial Relations and Their Impact on the Latin American Economies* (Macmillan, forthcoming), where the cases of Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Mexico are discussed. Other aspects of international economics covered by CIEPLAN's researchers concern transnationals (Patricio Meller), economic integration (Ffrench-Davis and Tironi) and a general text (Ffrench-Davis: *Economía internacional: Teorías y políticas para el desarrollo*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979).

A third theme is the development of the state itself and its changing economic role after 1973 (Pilar Vergara and Tomás Moulián), an investigation of ideologies and their impact on economic policies. Related to this is the social security question (social security has increasingly become a private issue in Chile after the military takeover), researched mainly by José Pablo Arellano, which except for a number of articles has produced a book with concentration on income distribution aspects, by Foxley, Eduardo Aninat and Arellano: *Las desigualdades económicas y la acción del estado* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1980, English version: *Redistributional Effects of Government Programmes*, Pergamon Press, 1979). The income distribution problem is also dealt with in a book edited by Oscar Muñoz: *Distribución del ingreso en América Latina* (El Cid, Buenos Aires, 1979), covering not only developments in Latin America but also a number of general questions.

Besides these large themes a lot of publications are to be found in the areas of rural-urban migration and health (by Dagmar Raczynski, the only sociologist among the economists), industrial problems (Meller, Muñoz) and groundwork on e.g. price indices and foreign trade prices (Cortázar and Ffrench-Davis, respectively), to mention only a few of the fields.

This is not the place to make any detailed criticism of the labor realized by the CIEPLAN team, space not permitting. It should, however, be mentioned that most of the publications can be read by people who do not have more than a general knowledge of economics. This is a very definite advantage. In addition, the CIEPLAN researchers have been very active in diffusing the results of their efforts to a wider public by writing in a number of non-specialist magazines and journals.

The bulk of these articles have been collected in a book with the title *El modelo económico chileno: Trayectoria de una crítica* (Aconcagua, Santiago, 1982). In this excellent volume, all the themes dealt with above come back. The book opens with a summing up of the experience of the economy during the post-1973 period, as the CIEPLAN researchers see it. This is followed by a section on methodology and economic ideas and by a discussion of the role of the state. Thereafter comes what is very much the central section: «Who benefits from the economic growth?» where income distribution aspects are put in the foreground. The increased internationalization and the labor market follow next, and the two concluding sections on the

contradictions of the actual policy and the search for alternatives, neatly round up this sample of the economist working in the wider context.¹

The purpose of the present review has not been to present a critical view of the works mentioned in the text. The scope is too wide for that. Rather it should be interpreted as a presentation by a reviewer sympathetic to the work being done in CIEPLAN of a series of publications that are perhaps not so commonly read outside the circle of specialists on Chile. The CIEPLAN publications are worth a much better fate than that. They do not represent economics (and sociology) at its narrowest but, on the contrary, make a good example of what competent development economists are able to produce when they make an effort to communicate, not only with the colleagues within their own profession, but also with a wider audience with a legitimate interest in the problems tackled. I can only recommend these publications (which can be obtained from CIEPLAN, Casilla 16496, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile) to those who share with me an interest in the general development of Chile.

Mats Lundahl
Department of Economics
University of Lund

¹ As this review is about to go to press, the news reaches me that the publication of *Trayectoria de una crítica* has been stopped by the Ministry of the Interior. This seems an unnecessary harassment. All seventy articles contained in the book have previously been published, without having been censored, in *Hoy*, *Mensaje*, *Ercilla* and *Análisis*.

WRITTEN IN BLOOD. THE STORY OF THE HAITIAN PEOPLE 1492-1971 *

Written in Blood is the joint effort of Colonel Robert Debs Heintz, Jr. and his wife. Colonel Heintz is the «spit-and-polish Marine»¹ (also a Yale graduate and the author of a number of books on military history) who was in command of the US Marine Corps training mission to Haiti from 1959 to 1963 (when he was expelled by Papa Doc after considerable tension caused by Heintz's stern refusal to sanction training of Duvalier's paramilitary corps, the dreaded *tonton macoutes*).

The Heintzes have undertaken a very ambitious task, that of writing a comprehensive history of Haiti from the European discovery by Columbus in 1492 to the death of Papa Doc in 1971. Unfortunately, they do not quite succeed in their endeavor. The claim on the dust cover that «unless new materials are discovered, the substance and interpretation are as definitive and authoritative as any publication is likely to be», is exaggerated. The reason is that the Heintz book represents history written in a somewhat old-fashioned manner. Events, actions and people are brought to the foreground while the more profound analysis of causes and trends is understated and is sometimes lacking altogether.

Not surprisingly, the book is strong on the military history, but wars, uprisings, coups, etc. tell only a limited part of the Haitian story. It is not possible to understand contemporary Haiti and its problems without analyzing how present-day conditions evolved in a historical perspective, involving dictatorship, corruption and underdevelopment in general and stagnation of the most important sector of the economy — peasant agriculture — in particular.

The book is generally weak in economic matters. A glance at the bibliography shows that the authors are not familiar with the important books by e.g. Paul Moral and Gérard Pierre-Charles,² not to mention works dealing with particular aspects of economic life. This neglect shows up in several instances. The authors fail to mention the importance of sugar for the colonial economy of Saint-Domingue. Less than a page is devoted to discussing the most important event of the entire nine-

* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978, 785 pp.

¹ Bernard Diederich and Al Burt: *Papa Doc. Haiti and Its Dictator* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 133.

² Paul Moral: *L'économie haïtienne* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1959) and *Le paysan haïtien* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1961), Gérard Pierre-Charles: *La economía haitiana y su vía de desarrollo* (México: Cuadernos Americanos, 1965).

teenth century, the 1809 land reform and the ensuing subdivision of the large colonial estates into what finally became small peasant holdings of the type that still dominate rural Haiti. It is this subdivision of landholdings which constitutes Alexandre Pétion's ultimate monument in Haiti's history, not «his place among the liberators of the Americas.»³ The Heins likewise fail to stress and analyze the development of a soft state in nineteenth century Haiti. When President Boyer was ousted in 1843, Haiti's «social structure was solidified, and its economic life formed.»⁴ This is correct, but the interesting point is *why* rather than *how* this development took place. One would expect such a statement to be backed by a thorough analysis of the reasons behind this fundamental change, but it is not. Visible events are accounted for, but only in a way which leaves the reader with considerable doubts as to the mechanisms leading up to the formation of the peasant nation.

Superficiality does damage in two more ways. The book is a very difficult one to read, even for those who are well acquainted with the main features of Haiti's history. This, in turn is mainly a result of the overwhelming amount of detail. The book abounds with names, both of people and places. This is to be regretted, since in the end it leaves the impression that a particular variety of Gresham's law operates, whereby the cute, but irrelevant, details drive the analytical sections out of the book. Sometimes it actually degenerates into a mere gossip chronicle.

Secondly, the authors take the title of their book too literally. The atrocities committed along the course of Haiti's history are accounted for in juicy detail.⁵ An unsystematic count shows that the book contains at least thirty such passages.

The two most interesting parts of the Heins work are those dealing with the American occupation and with the Duvalier regime. Although it is difficult to escape the impression that the Heins have a tendency to defend the occupation, a couple of interesting points are made. Particularly interesting is the authors' conclusion that the old claim that a majority of the Marines in Haiti were Southerners who «knew how to handle the niggers», is unfounded. The claim was never raised during the occupation itself but is a product of posterity which does not correspond to actual events. After searching the existing archives the authors conclude that «in short, a Southerners-only policy for Marines would not only have foundered on the rocks of administrative practicality, but would have left recorded tracks, which do not exist.»⁶

The economic analysis of the occupation and its consequences could, however, have been more thorough. The authors fail to note the priority given to American interests in the repayment of the Haitian foreign debt (which had been consolidated into American hands in 1922). In fact, the interests of the bondholders were always allowed to take precedence over the attempt to foster economic development, also some time after the occupation had ended. Haiti was forced to maintain a unique record in Latin America by not defaulting on debt payment even during the depression years of the thirties, but this conservative wisdom did not pay. Even though the Haitians met their foreign obligations, assistance from abroad to lay the foundations for development failed to materialize for a long time.

³ Heins and Heins, p. 159.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁵ Here, the dust cover is more to the point: «as gory as an abattoir».

⁶ Heins and Heins, p. 490.

The section on the Duvalier regime, finally, is a good one, perhaps the best in the book. The Heins have made excellent use of their first-hand knowledge of the darkest years and the turbulent events of that period. It is, however, a bit surprising to find that relatively little is added to previous knowledge.

To sum up, the Heins book is a difficult one to read. It is marred by the inclusion of too many irrelevant details and lacks a systematic analysis of the driving forces in Haitian history. The strength is in the description of events rather than in the interpretation. The lack of economic analysis is especially unfortunate, since economics and history are intimately connected in the Haitian case. It is not possible to understand the economy unless a historical perspective is taken and any analysis of the history that is not founded in a solid knowledge of economic factors has a tendency to become somewhat superficial. In a way, the Heins book could be read more as a novel — to get a feeling for the *ambiance* — than as a non-fiction historical work. In that perspective, its qualities are more easily appreciated.

Mats Lundahl
Department of Economics
University of Lund