

STUDYING POLITICS AND THE STATE IN ECUADOR

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- UNIVERSIDAD, ESTADO Y SOCIEDAD.* By Teodoro Coello Vázquez et al. (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1994. Pp. 197.)
- THEORIES OF DEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY AND THE CASE OF ECUADOR IN THE 1980s.* By Jeanne A. K. Hey. (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1995. Pp. 292. \$22.00 paper.)
- MILITARY RULE AND TRANSITION IN ECUADOR, 1972–1992.* By Anita Isaacs. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993. Pp. 178. \$39.95 cloth.)
- LAS ELECCIONES EN EL ECUADOR: CONCEJALES CANTONALES, 1978–1990.* By Juan Bernardo León Velasco. (Quito: CESA, 1992. Pp. 166.)
- LOS DIPUTADOS, UNA ELITE POLITICA.* By Simón Pachano. (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1991. Pp. 212.)
- PAQUETAZO.* By Pablo Paredes et al. (Quito: El Conejo, 1992. Pp. 148.)
- SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM IN ECUADOR: LIFE AND WORK IN GUAYAQUIL.* By Ronn F. Pineo. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. Pp. 227. \$49.95 cloth.)
- ECUADOR, UNA NACION EN CIERNES.* Second edition. By Rafael Quintero López y Erika Silva Charvet. 3 volumes. (Quito: Editorial Universitaria, 1995. Pp. 1,314.)
- VENTURAS Y DESVENTURAS DEL PODER.* By Rodrigo Rangles Lara. (Quito: Carvajal, 1995. Pp. 421.)
- LO PUBLICO Y LA CIUDADANIA EN LA CONSTRUCCION DE LA DEMOCRACIA.* By José Sánchez-Parga. (Quito: Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales, 1995. Pp. 112.)
- ELECCIONES Y POLITICA ECONOMICA EN EL ECUADOR, 1993–94.* By Jürgen Schuldt. (Quito: Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales, 1995.)
- TEORIA DEL ESTADO EN EL ECUADOR: ESTUDIO DE DERECHO CONSTITUCIONAL.* By Julio César Trujillo Vásquez. (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1994. Pp. 217.)

Critical questions regarding disciplinary orientation, conceptualization, theory building, and intellectual analytic capacity are presumably

at the forefront of our research endeavors. Adding to these issues are more instrumental concerns about the collecting, processing, organizing, and evaluating of empirical data. Yet much of this effort proves to be fruitless without the successful conduct of field research, a task that even today can be difficult and sometimes even intimidating in the extreme.¹ In Ecuador, still numbered among Latin America's understudied nations, matters once verged on the primitive. Some thirty years ago, my own experience included the necessity of transcribing notes while sitting cross-legged on a dirt floor in one wing of the Biblioteca Nacional, then housed in a building converted from a roller-skating rink.² Similarly, even when using the splendid and well-organized collection of the Biblioteca Ecuatoriana "Aurelio Espinosa Polit, S.I." at Cotacollao on the outskirts of Quito, researchers worked in the chilly Andean environment without heat and with only limited sources of professional bibliographic support. Happily, substantial strides have been made since that time, reflecting improved research conditions as well as greater intellectual and institutional hospitality toward social scientists. By the close of the 1970s, several centers had been established in Ecuador for training and investigation in the social sciences.³ This development presaged the progressive emergence of professional scholarship by both Ecuadorians and foreigners, especially the former. Although major lacunae still exist, the study of politics, society, and the state in Ecuador has been advancing perceptibly. As this review essay will suggest, Ecuadorians are leading the way in exploring and explaining national political and socioeconomic reality. This trend is documented most powerfully by the extraordinary study by Rafael Quintero and Erika Silva, a massive undertaking resulting in three volumes, twenty-one chapters, more than a hundred tables, and nine maps.

The Quest for National Identity

Ecuador, una nación en ciernes was first published in 1991. An intellectually sweeping interpretation of the political and socioeconomic history of modern Ecuador, it was immediately recognized as an indispens-

1. For a statement that may serve to dramatize the broad potential range of obstacles and circumstances confronting the researcher, see John D. Martz, "The Conduct of Social Research in Latin America," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1989):47–65.

2. Equally discouraging was a conversation with Ecuador's famed novelist Jorge Icaza, the author of *Huasiungo* (1934). Serving at that time as director of the library, he lamented from a dilapidated corner office the lack of significant support from public and private sources.

3. For details, see two reports published in *LARR*: Rafael Quintero López, "Escuela de Sociología y Ciencias Políticas: La política académica de la Dirección, 1974–1976," *LARR* 13, no. 2 (1978):236–42; and John D. Martz, "Social Sciences Centers in Quito," *LARR* 14, no. 2 (1979):208–12.

able work. That same year, it received the Isabel Tobar Guarderas Prize from the Municipality of Quito for “its scientific interpretation and comprehension of Ecuadorian reality.” In 1992 the work was further honored with a prize awarded by the Universidad Central del Ecuador, which described it as employing scientific analyses and criteria that have contributed “in a notable fashion to a greater understanding of the socio-economic development of our country.”⁴ Now appearing in its second edition, *Ecuador, una nación en ciernes* impresses the reader more than ever with its exhaustive research, impeccable scholarship, and intellectual erudition. The effort required to prepare and document such a voluminous work is staggering. Its eighty-page bibliography embraces a host of primary and secondary sources, drawing on archival collections, books and articles, newspapers and magazines, interviews, and manuscripts, theses, and dissertations. This prodigious research labor, however, is surpassed by the high level of scholarly analysis and conceptual creativity evident in all three volumes.

Quintero and Silva explain at the outset their objective of seeking a theoretical understanding of the contemporary configuration of Ecuadorian society, the state, and the nation. To this end, they set out to interpret its formation as a historical totality, beginning with the founding of Ecuador as an independent country in 1830. Volume I presents the first two portions of the overall study, from independence to the crisis of 1895, and the ensuing period that continued to 1934. This periodization carries the analysis initially from the postcolonial transition of economic regionalism in Quito, Guayaquil, and Cuenca through the emergence of capitalism and the successful quest for power by the rising banking bourgeoisie. Quintero and Silva elaborate the concept of capitalist development as shaped by what they refer to as “the junker path,” meaning the opening of capitalist development from above. Key elements include the accumulation of capital, differentiation of the peasantry, and particular qualities of early industrial development. Many of the inherent contradictions of the earlier years of independence merged into the national crisis and the Liberal Revolution of 1895. The second part of Volume I analyzes economic and regional aspects of capitalist development until 1934, with a keen focus on politics for the evolving state. Quintero and Silva devote careful attention to the nascent workers’ movement in the coastal and highlands areas, as well as the rise of political parties, the July 1925 military *golpe*, and solidification of the pact among the oligarchs. The first

4. Each of these prizes is recognized as highly prestigious, being awarded by judges who are major intellectual and pedagogical figures. The November 1991 awarding of the Isabel Tobar prize represented the opinion of a jury composed of Ernesto Albán Gómez, Julio Echeverría, and José Sánchez-Parga. The prize awarded by the Universidad Central, granted in March 1992, reflected the judgment of Enrique Coello, Edison Egas Egas, and Guillermo Bossano.

volume closes with a superb probing of Ecuadorian society, the intellectual climate, culture, and the discordant regional impulses evident into the 1940s.

In Volume II, the third part of *Ecuador, una nación en ciernes* discusses the years from 1940 to 1972. The 1940s and 1950s are described as a transitional period for capitalist development and social reconstruction, accompanied by formation of a new bourgeois political system. The authors concentrate on the relationship between the state and political parties during the atypical dozen years marked by competitive elections, constitutional legitimacy, and regularized shifting of government power among several parties and their leaders. This pattern was disrupted by the political crises of 1960–1963, the following three years of “military reformism” (viewed here as cloaking a fascist attempt to alter the system); and the subsequent turmoil that led to the ascension of José María Velasco Ibarra in his fifth unsuccessful presidential term and his eventual ouster in the military golpe in 1972. Throughout this portion of the study, Quintero and Silva sustain their uninterrupted concentration on the forming of the Ecuadorian state, stressing the enduring regional fragmentation of society and the economy. This theme leads to the fourth part of the study, with the first two chapters included in Volume II and the final three in Volume III. Taken as a whole, these last five chapters that make up the fourth part of *Ecuador, una nación en ciernes* constitute the most challenging and theoretically dense treatment of Ecuador’s complex and incomplete quest for true nationality and nationhood.

Among the analytic themes discussed are dependency, regionalism, public policy making and implementation, the economy, ethnicity, and institutionalized violence. Quintero and Silva reexamine in detail the modern differentiation of the peasantry and its place within the Ecuadorian capitalist system. More than two hundred pages are devoted to the peasantry on the coast and in the highlands, distinguishing in both regions between more-developed and less-developed activities. Peasant differentiation is also studied in several individual states as well. In their extended summary and updating into modern times, Quintero and Silva also review the evolution of industry in terms of both domestic and international forces. The symbiosis existing among different sectors of the Ecuadorian industry is dissected, along with the linkages between local industry and the “industrialized imperialist centers” of the world. All this discussion is drawn together in a consideration of the state and political regime of the 1970s: the two-faced reformism of the military regime, the emerging role of the state in the capitalist development of agriculture and industry, and finally an assessment of democracy, corporatism, imperialist subordination, and new “popular movements.” Quintero and Silva end by succinctly reviewing their conceptual preoccupations and overarching organizational approach. They reiterate their historical periodiza-

tion along with their neo-Marxist emphasis on dependency in studying socioeconomic, political, and cultural patterns that have largely blocked or diverted the path toward Ecuadorian nationhood. Quintero and Silva conclude, "In synthesis, analysis of the constitutive elements of a nation reveal that said sociohistorical entity is still being formed in the Ecuadorian case. This is also translated into the nonexistence of national character . . . [rather than] a constellation of particularisms, localisms, and regional identities . . ." (vol. 3, p. 302).

The intensity of regionalism has been endemic throughout Ecuador's history and is convincingly documented in Ronn Pineo's *Social and Economic Reform in Ecuador: Life and Work in Guayaquil*. Covering the period from 1870 to 1930, Pineo exposes the difficulties of urban social reform in Ecuador's most populous city. He correctly notes at the outset the paucity of studies in Latin American social and urban history, especially the state of Ecuadorian social history, which "remains in absolute infancy" (p. xvii). The case of Guayaquil during the years in question is one of a nonindustrial, nonprimate city in which the process of urban transformation has become evident. Pineo focuses on the economic impact of cacao as a primary export and the political dimension as reflected by elite rule of fiscal affairs, documenting both subjects effectively. He provides even more striking insights into the daily lives of rich and poor Guayaquileños alike, including their problems of health care and disease in the equatorial setting that once led foreigners to label the city "the pesthole of the Pacific." Pineo presents an impressive array of data that embraces basic demographic materials as well as information on wages and salaries, births and deaths, crimes and lawbreakers, student populations and public funding for education. He also discusses health care facilities, diseases, causes of death, morbidity rates, and aspects of infant mortality.

All this information is demonstrably relevant to the study of politics and the state. The most direct linkages derive from the discussion in Chapter 8 of collective popular action, as illustrated by the collapse of the export economy, union activism, and the famous general strike of 1922. Pineo takes the reader through the gripping saga of the growing cacao crisis, its impact on government finances, and the economic depression that festered after the turn of the century and was exacerbated by World War I and its aftermath. He vividly depicts the inevitable protests and rising activism by employees of the railroad, trolley, electricity, gas, and water companies; the extended but ultimately fruitless negotiations; the failure to reach a settlement; the strike itself; and the violence unleashed by police and army troops. Pineo admits that after all this effort, the city workers, despite their union organizing and collective action, failed to improve their lives meaningfully. Throughout the book, Pineo gathers, synthesizes, and evaluates a wealth of documents and primary source materials. In examining the Guayaquil context as a major contribution to

urban social history, he has provided irrefutable evidence of his own research ingenuity and creativity. In many ways, Pineo illuminates the experience of working men and women of Guayaquil, offering a sense of life and the prevailing conditions under which ordinary people sought to improve their lives. This portrait bestirs a powerful human sympathy, despite the ultimate failure to develop an effective popular force for reform. As Pineo observes, "If in Guayaquil the pattern of economic growth could trigger rapid urbanization, it could not generate the nexus of political forces needed to force solutions to the resulting social dilemmas" (p. 163).

The Military and Foreign Policy

Most of the other works on Ecuador under review here evidence a smaller research scope and consequently a somewhat narrow or reductionist consideration of politics and the state in Ecuador. A traditional element in the quest for political understanding in virtually every third world country is the military. For Ecuador, the pioneering efforts of earlier scholarship⁵ have been extended and even superseded by Anita Isaacs in her well-informed monograph, *Military Rule and Transition in Ecuador, 1972–1992*. In this elaboration of her doctoral dissertation, Isaacs concentrates on the period of military rule from 1972 to 1979. Given the protracted struggle between reformist and traditionalist elements, this period has proved to be highly illuminating for students of the Latin American military.⁶ Drawing on extensive interviews with both military and civilian leaders, Isaacs analyzes the background and rationale for the 1972 golpe as well as the course of military government and the ultimate decision to reestablish civilian rule. Her careful treatment of the military intervention may seem a bit bloodless to some observers. While her emphasis on the hemispheric context is well taken, it may be overemphasized. Although such issues are a matter of analytic degree and inevitably subjective weighing of the evidence, some might argue that Isaacs under-

5. The primary work is unquestionably John Samuel Fitch's *The Military Coup d'Etat as a Political Process: Ecuador, 1948–1966* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977). Also of major significance is Augusto Varas and Fernando Bustamante, *Fuerzas armadas y política en Ecuador* (Quito: Universidad Central del Ecuador, 1978). A more recent monograph detailing the role of the armed forces in Ecuador from 1972 to 1988, including the institutional conflicts during the presidency of León Febres Cordero, is John D. Martz, *The Military in Ecuador: Policies and Politics of Authoritarian Rule*, LAI Occasional Paper (Albuquerque: Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, 1988).

6. A detailed political study that stresses internal doctrinal, policy, and personalistic divisions is John D. Martz, *Politics and Petroleum in Ecuador* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1987). While it contains extended discussion of petroleum policy, what is termed "reformism versus anti-nationalism" is also traced for other areas, notably agrarian policy and politics. The broader emphasis of this study is focused on patterns of policy making articulated and implemented by military-authoritarian as well as democratic-pluralist regimes, and it thus presents a broader perspective on Ecuadorean politics.

plays the domestic factors. Be that as it may, her research constitutes a solid foundation for her theoretically sensitive and suggestive discussion of reformist development and of what proved to be an unsympathetic response from Ecuadorian entrepreneurial interests.

All of this analysis is effective on two levels: that of empirical studies of the military in times of transition, and that of the position of the armed forces within national politics. In the first instance, Isaacs reveals that experience in Ecuador does not support some of the assumptions about democratic transitions. Although she is cautious and modest about these assumptions (perhaps unduly so), it must also be remembered that she wrote her work before the identification of the manifest conceptual and intellectual flaws that mar all too much of the literature on transitions and democratization. A major strength of Isaacs's work is her willingness to examine carefully the Ecuadorian case as a basis for confirming or questioning broader, unsystematic, and even indefensible presuppositions cavalierly asserted in nonempirical theoretical statements throughout the literature. For the purposes of this review, however, the main scholarly contribution is her focus on the avowedly political rule of the military. *Military Rule and Transition in Ecuador* dissects reformism under the military and also draws contrasts between the initial period of military rule under General Guillermo Rodríguez Lara and the subsequent collective rule of more traditionalist officers under the eye of General Guillermo Durán Arcentales, the hard-liner who dominated the military triumvirate that came after Rodríguez (1975 to 1978). In the final chapter, Isaacs stretches her dissertation research forward to include the period under León Febres Cordero (1984–1988). In large part, however, this section overreaches her field research: a few references to events elsewhere in the hemisphere in 1992 are not accompanied by further discussion of Ecuador. For the most part, Isaacs's insightful contribution to the social scientific study of Ecuador ends chronologically in the 1980s. For students of policy making, her research has laid the way for an array of more broadly defined inquiries.

One of the few works situated in the international orbit is that of Jeanne Hey. Like Isaacs's book, Hey's is based on her doctoral dissertation in political science and demonstrates the same regard for relevant social science literature while pursuing the Ecuadorian experience. Thus *Theories of Dependent Foreign Policy and the Case of Ecuador in the 1980s* is aptly titled. The opening sentence asks about the relationship between economic dependence and foreign policy while asserting that existing theoretical and empirical studies have generated "an ambiguous and often contradictory picture of how economically dependent states operate in the international arena" (p. 1). A major purpose of Hey's study is therefore to evaluate dependent foreign-policy theories, and six dominant formulations are presented for possible relevance in Ecuador. Three ap-

ply directly to the foreign policy of dependent states: compliance, consensus, and counterdependence. The remaining three constitute more general theories on foreign policy: realism, leader preferences, and domestic politics. In summarizing each one, Hey adopts a methodology suggested earlier by Alexander George as “structured focused comparisons.”⁷ This approach is designed to assure standardized comparability in treating her individual cases in order to advance theory building. In practice, Hey examines the literature for each instance to determine its theoretical grounding before seeking defining conditions. The objective—an understanding of which theories best explain dependent foreign policy—is to be derived by systematic evaluation of each of the six theories through the study of crucial Ecuadorian foreign-policy issues.

Hey concentrates on the two regimes that ruled Ecuador during most of the 1980s, those of Osvaldo Hurtado (1981–1984) and León Febres Cordero (1984–1988).⁸ For each administration, she identifies three examples of foreign policy, which are discussed in separate chapters. For the Hurtado administration, she analyzes his stance toward revolutionary Nicaragua, his foreign-investment reform in petroleum policy, and the January 1984 convening in Quito of the Conferencia Económica Latinoamericana (CEL) to deal with common problems of the foreign debt while pressing industrialized countries for structural changes in creditor-debtor linkages. For Febres Cordero, Hey analyzes relations with revolutionary Nicaragua, the arrival of U.S. troops in May 1987 for road construction in the jungles of the *oriente* (in a chapter entitled “Blazing Trails”), and the signing of an investment understanding with the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). Each subject is treated in parallel fashion, ending with the consequences, theoretical applications, and conclusions from the case. This treatment sets the stage for Hey’s overall conclusions in the final chapter, a lengthy synthesis of empirical findings and theoretical implications.

A series of tables in *Theories of Dependent Foreign Policy* provides a graphic summary of the six theories’ applicability to the Ecuadorian case studies. An overall summary first comments that “the majority of the theories fail to command impressive explanatory power” (p. 222). Hey then forges ahead by classifying contextual conditions and types of issue areas. This exercise gives way to sections focusing on cross-theory analyses and whole policies. Hey’s findings are too detailed and in some

7. Hey cites Alexander L. George, “Case Studies and Theory Development,” paper presented to the Second Annual Symposium on Information Processing in Organizations, Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pa., Oct. 1982, p. 27.

8. For a nontheoretical but factual consideration of foreign policy under the subsequent administrations of Rodrigo Borja (1988–1992) and Sixto Durán Ballén (1992–1996), see the narrative by John D. Martz, “The Fate of a Small State: Ecuador in Foreign Affairs,” in *Latin American Nations in World Politics*, 2d ed., edited by Heraldo Muñoz and Joseph S. Tulchin (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1996).

ways too complex to do justice to in a review essay. Suffice it to say that she probes and sharply delineates the heuristic conceptualization of the six foreign policy theories. Hey closes with a brief but stimulating consideration of the implications for dependency theory. She makes a case for the contention that while present-day comparativists tend to give short shrift to dependency analysis, it still has demonstrable value for the study of foreign policy. A sophisticated treatment of dependency theory comprises a perspective from which to study foreign-policy behavior in a systematic and intellectually refined fashion. One can scarcely dispute her argument that while the dependency relationship has been critical to the foreign-policy process in Ecuador, it has failed to produce a single set of foreign-policy outcomes. Hey states the issue well in considering dependence as a critical variable, "but not the exclusive one needed to understand Ecuador's foreign-policy outcomes" (p. 270). In all of this, she also provides a richly textured treatment of the warp and woof of Ecuadorian foreign policy that offers insight into the events and crises of the 1990s, even the recrudescence of border conflict with Peru.

Politics and the State

While this review is far from a chronological accounting of Ecuadorian current events in recent and contemporary times, there may be some virtue in presenting a sequential discussion where possible. Given that these works are by no means divorced from the prevailing political context from which they emerged, it is logical to follow the works by Isaacs and Hey on the 1970s and 1980s with material that carries over into the 1990s. Hence the next book to discuss is Rodrigo Rangles Lara's *Venturas y desventuras del poder*, an insider's look at the presidency of Rodrigo Borja (1988–1992). It makes no pretense of being a scholarly work, although Rangles was trained at the graduate level in political science and economics and social communications. His expertise in the third field—which included experience in political campaigns, electoral propaganda, and image-building—first brought him to Borja's attention. Over time Rangles became a close associate, heading Borja's press and communications team in the electoral campaign of 1984 and again in 1988. When Borja was elected president, Rangles was named his press secretary, a position he filled throughout Borja's four years in office.

Venturas y desventuras del poder, published three years after Borja left office, is far more than a panegyric to his social democratic government. The book is not impartial, but that is to be expected. Moreover, the fact that the Borja presidency was preceded and followed by conservative governments encourages a soupçon of partisanship. But as noted Guayaquileño writer Pedro Jorge Vera observes pointedly in a brief introductory commentary, Ecuador has shared with much of Latin America an eco-

conomic and social crisis that severely constricted the range of policy options for governmental initiative and action. Rangles's account reflects some of the frustrations of Borja and his political supporters at their relative inability to rise above the immediate needs in the short run. At the same time, it is highly revealing, given Borja's reluctance to comment at length on his presidency since he left office. *Venturas y desventuras del poder* goes beyond a mere narrative of personal reminiscences. While Rangles's involvement in the events he narrates was critical, in preparing the book he monitored more than four hundred audio and video cassettes and reviewed some seven hundred speeches, two thousand press interviews, and a host of related public and private sources. Regrettably, these sources are not detailed in the volume, and it is to be hoped that they will become accessible to scholars in due course.

The former press secretary follows a largely chronological account, although stressing some enduring political themes and problem areas more than others. Rangles provides the reader with a table of contents of little utility (there is no index). Twelve untitled chapters are subdivided into brief sections that are sometimes only one- or two-page snippets, under labels that give nary a hint of the subject: "The poorest of the poor," "Señor Government," "Among colleagues," "Bodyguards," "A tasteless joke," "Voices against history," "A nervous Peruvian in Quito," "May God fix this affair." Such headings are less than helpful. The reader is consequently forced to go through the book from cover to cover. But doing so is rewarding, for it presents a broadly comprehensive if sometimes selective account of a particular administration and nourishes a basic understanding of Ecuadorian politics and the problems that leaders face. While *Venturas y desventuras del poder* is a serious political treatise, it is also a quasi-journalistic narrative. Yet it and the other works under review here all emanate collectively from an examination of the role of the state and political life within a sociological and sociopolitical framework.

This focus, while unquestionably valid, should not be viewed as denigrating or denying the older juridical tradition, which has quite properly continued to hold its own. A prime example is Julio César Trujillo Vásquez's *Teoría del estado en el Ecuador*. Fittingly subtitled *Estudio de derecho constitucional*, it constitutes the most recent publication in the series *Estudios Jurídicos* from the Quito branch of the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar. Although making no claim to be an exhaustive text, it ranges widely in examining many of Ecuador's most relevant constitutional problems: the concept of the state and its elements, the rule of law, fundamental rights and liberties, suffrage and political parties, and the economic system. The timing is also fortuitous in that although constitutional reform is by no means a new topic in Ecuador, it has been the focus of mounting interest in the 1990s. Attention from political elites increased

markedly during the administration of Sixto Durán Ballen (1992–1996), and these elites will become even more potent as the nation moves into the twenty-first century.

It should be noted that Trujillo, a ranking authority on Ecuadorian jurisprudence and a prominent academician, has also been an important player in national politics. Initially a leader of the more progressive wing of the Partido Conservador Ecuatoriano (PCE), he subsequently led his faction into the emerging Christian Democratic movement and in 1978 provided organizational guidance for the campaign of the new Democracia Popular party (DP). Although he withdrew in later years after extended internal party conflict with Osvaldo Hurtado,⁹ Trujillo's qualifications include the ability to envision the political ramifications of constitutionalism and theories of the state. Thus *Teoría del estado en el Ecuador* is more than a dry recitation of legalistic provisions. Although Trujillo's explicit focus is Ecuador, he draws extensively on non-Ecuadorian literature as well as the national bibliography. The experience of other nations, most particularly the German parliamentary system and U.S. federalism, lends comparative richness to his work. In a real sense, Trujillo has written a systematically organized manual that provides intellectual and bibliographic guidance at a highly professional level. If the imperative of breadth has produced a study that is sometimes more general than specific, that is inevitable when such an undertaking is compressed into two hundred pages. Even so, Trujillo's work further underlines the perceptibly mounting preoccupation with the state, society, and democracy.

This concern is reflected in the attention devoted by various groups and organizations, five of which are sponsoring and supporting the series of collective studies entitled *Grupos de Trabajo sobre Democracia*. Exemplifying such useful if often modest efforts are two short works by José Sánchez-Parga and by Jürgen Schuldt. *Lo público y la ciudadanía en la construcción de la democracia* is primarily the effort of Sánchez-Parga, director of the Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos (CELA) of the Universidad Católica del Ecuador. It was published under the auspices of the Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales (ILDIS). As suggested by the title, the ninety pages of text are divided into sections considering the public sphere and the citizenry. The work's focus is global and the approach idealistic. Of greatest relevance here is the concluding short essay by Simón Pachano, director of the Fundación Ecuatoriana para la Democracia, in which he attempts to place the more general discussion within the context of Ecuadorian studies.

9. Elected as vice-president in 1978, Hurtado became president following the death of President Jaime Roldós Aguilera in a plane crash. Hurtado predictably has remained a major figure nationally as well as inside the Democracia Popular. The party itself, however, has suffered a series of internal struggles that have affected its national standing, including the virtual marginalization of Trujillo.

Somewhat more interesting to academics is an earlier publication in this ongoing series. In *Elecciones y política económica en el Ecuador, 1993–94*, Jürgen Schuldt provides an overview of elections during the Durán period.

More extensive electoral analysis appears in Juan Bernardo León Velasco's treatment of the period from 1978 to 1990. *Las elecciones en el Ecuador: Concejales cantonales* begins with the restoration of electoral democracy after the years of military dictatorship in 1978 and stops twelve years later, prior to the race that brought Durán to the presidency. The coverage is more extensive than is suggested by the subtitle. In addition to extended consideration of elections in the *cantones*, León Velasco deals more broadly with Ecuador's electoral *problemática* and with the political parties themselves. The entire process helps broadly to illuminate such complexities as the combination of unipersonal and pluripersonal elections; the two-round system of choosing the president; the relationship of national and provincial deputies; linkages to provincial and cantonal officials; and the plebiscitary *consultas populares*. León Velasco incorporates a well-organized set of useful annexes that include comparative cantonal electoral data arranged by party and province, along with the mapping of presidential totals by province beginning in 1952. He draws judiciously on earlier electoral studies,¹⁰ producing a convenient source that goes beyond the limits of a reference work.

Even more directly political material—some of it in the form of quasi-journalistic narrative—is found in *Paquetazo* and *Los diputados, una elite política*. *Paquetazo* is a multi-authored volume produced in response to Sixto Durán's first presidential address before congress on 10 August 1992, in which he outlined the purported economic shock program pledged during his electoral campaign. Nine specialists with solid credentials as economic, social, and political observers dissect its doctrinal thrust and policy prescriptions of structural adjustment and neoliberalism. Much of the program was in fact the handiwork of Alberto Dahik, who was destined to become the economic czar of the government. The points that much of Durán's program was largely unrealized and that Dahik fled the nation in 1995 to avoid charges of fraud and embezzlement are beside the point in the present context. *Paquetazo* is one of the many useful and politically relevant publications, presented in an accessible and economical format, to emanate from Quito's Editorial El Conejo.¹¹ A more aca-

10. An important resource is *Elecciones y democracia en el Ecuador*, 4 vols. (Quito: Tribunal Supremo Electoral–Corporación Editora Nacional, 1989–1990). Also see *El Ecuador en las urnas: Lucha social, lucha política*, compiled by Luis Verdesoto (Quito: El Conejo, 1984); and *Ecuador 88: Elecciones, economía y estrategias*, compiled by Gaitán Villavicencio et al. (Quito: CERG–El Conejo, 1988).

11. To cite only a few illustrations, consider Alfredo Pinoargote, *El monumento del poder* (Quito: Editorial El Conejo, 1987), which examines the politics, funding, and construction of

demic study is Simón Pachano's *Los diputados, una elite política*. A sociologist, Pachano made a major effort to gather a wealth of political and biographical data on all the deputies elected during the ten years from 1979 to 1988, during the return to elected government after a period of military rule. His research was supported by the Instituto de Estudios Ecuatorianos and the Fundación Friedrich Naumann.

The first half of *Los diputados* discusses elite political theory and general questions of systemic legitimacy. Pachano regards a distinction between "the political class" and "the dominant class" as relevant to the recruitment and rise of national leadership. This differentiation is linked to his analysis of political culture in Ecuador and leads into an outline of the nation's electoral geography. A full chapter is devoted to methodological questions and to the analytic universe. While the details are beyond the scope of this essay, it should be noted that Pachano drew on a sample of 115 deputies (43 percent of those serving in congress during the decade). The results of this pioneering work reveal a profile of deputies who earned university degrees (mainly in law and predominantly from institutions in Quito or Guayaquil); taught subsequently at universities and high schools; wrote articles and essays on public affairs (a few published books); pursued careers in party politics; and in many cases were activists at different times in more than one party. Notwithstanding the general pattern of political participation, few deputies emerged out of labor organizations or the workers' movement in general. *Los diputados* offers a wealth of biographical and electoral data that may subsequently be expanded to cover the years since 1988.

The predominance of Ecuadorian deputies' university experience, while unsurprising, justifies yet another multi-authored collection entitled *Universidad, estado y sociedad*. In June 1993, an extended seminar on the topic was convened in the city of Cuenca, stimulating essays by a dozen prominent educators and intellectuals. The contributions are somewhat disparate in their emphases but discuss two broad thematic areas: the university first as a pedagogical institution; and second as an entity that powerfully influences national affairs through relationships with the government, parties, social movements, the productive sector, and society at large. A critical tone permeates most of the essays, echoing a general consensus that Ecuadorian universities are not responding adequately to the needs and demands of a modernizing state and society. As

the Guayaquil highway as an example of influence-peddling. See also *Febres Cordero y los derechos humanos*, compiled by Francisco Enriquez Bermeo (Quito: Editorial El Conejo, 1988), which dissects human rights problems during the Febres Cordero administration as reflected by the interpellation of Minister of Government Luis Robles Plaza. Finally, see Gaitán Villavicencio et al., *Ecuador 88: elecciones, economía y estrategias*, which considers the politico-economic scene when power was transferred from Febres Cordero to Rodrigo Borja.

noted in the introductory remarks by Teodoro Coello Vázquez (then the rector of the Universidad de Cuenca), a major institutional and attitudinal transformation is in order. University reforms will bear directly on economic and political systems as well as on the institutional legitimacy of the modernizing state. He comments, "We believe in a transformation that will reinvigorate the developmental project of liberty, social equity, justice, and pluralism . . . [in order] to regain the modern impetus as a means of incorporating knowledge into an effort oriented to improve the quality of life. . . . From this perspective, we must think of changes that should be produced in the Ecuadorian university" (pp. 9–10).

Each of the relatively brief chapters contains an assortment of criticisms and proposals, but those of greatest immediate interest to social scientists studying the Ecuadorian state and society are the contributions by Osvaldo Hurtado, Enrique Ayala Mora, and Alejandro Moreano. While their essays are more humanistic and discursive than empirically argued, they nonetheless provide nuggets that merit the attention of policy makers and scholars alike. For former President Hurtado, ideological changes within the international context require a rethinking of policy priorities. Furthermore, the "new national realities" produced in Ecuador in the past two decades have produced a mixture of political and socioeconomic crises that are bringing the universities to center stage more than ever before. Ayala Mora, a historian whose work includes major studies of political parties and their evolution, succinctly traces the party-university dimension over time. He also incorporates a set of propositions fundamental to the role of the parties vis-à-vis the universities, ending with a closing set of questions that set forth a host of challenges to leaders of the Ecuadorian political class in approaching matters of basic university reform in the closing years of the nineteenth century. A logical pairing with the Ayala chapter is sociologist Alejandro Moreano's examination of the university and new social movements. His contribution (twice as long as any other) treats the past but also recent and contemporary social movements. They include the Indian organizations (which cry out for authoritative study as their role in national affairs increases exponentially); the urban popular sectors; and the presence and growth of nongovernmental organizations (another topic demanding systematic attention). While Moreano offers few specifics on linkages with the university, he persuasively underlines the relevance of the Ecuadorian universities for these emerging movements.

All these works provide additional pieces in the complex unfinished jigsaw puzzle that constitutes the socioeconomic reality of the Ecuadorian state. Much remains to be done—as is true of broader study and understanding of Latin America—but the works reviewed here all contribute in positive fashion to the ongoing research enterprise.