

in the War Department, State Department, or Interior Department. Indeed, his bibliography contains no mention of either Interior Department archives or any collections held at the Franklin Roosevelt Presidential Library.

Second, jargon or off-point analysis sometimes interrupts the book's flow. For instance, Neptune occasionally refers to "subalterns," which he describes as "the poor, women, and youth." (p. 10) Yet while an emphasis on subalterns is customary in contemporary cultural studies, its use in this book contradicts the nuanced portrayal of Trinidadian society that Neptune offers throughout the text. Elsewhere, citing "the calamities in Iraq and Afghanistan and the shenanigans in nearby Venezuela," Neptune ends the book with the jarring assertion that West Indian immigrants in the United States need to work for "genuine democracy." (p. 198) Not only did he fail to define this term at any point in the book, but also Neptune never even hinted at a relationship between the themes and events of the book and the U.S. campaign against the Taliban or the testy relationship between the United States and Hugo Chávez's Venezuelan government.

Despite these problems, *Caliban and the Yankees* is an important book in the international history of the Caribbean. It brings attention to significant cultural, racial, and economic developments in an occupation that most people—even in the field of inter-American relations—have overlooked.

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DAVID GRIFFITH: *American Guestworkers: Jamaicans and Mexicans in the U.S. Labor Market*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.

Building on insights and data from his diverse research projects conducted during more than a quarter-century, David Griffith presents an excellent exposé of the working conditions of Jamaican and Mexican migrant workers on an H-2 visa in the United States.

This book is timely. The current trend in immigration policies of most major countries that receive migrant workers is to reduce permanent settlement of newcomers in favor of temporary migration. For policymakers, temporary migration is more attractive than long-term settlement. The main reason is that temporary migration visas, authorized for particular types of jobs or even particular employers (as is the case of H-2 visas), are viewed as the best way to address shortages of labor in specific economic sectors for which no domestic labor is available. But this is the official story. In reality, as Griffith convincingly argues, imported workers often displace domestic workers who are no longer considered suitable

by their employers. Documenting the replacement of African-American workers by H-2 migrants in mid-Atlantic blue-crab processing, in mid-Atlantic tobacco fields, and on apple farms in upstate New York, Griffith claims that employers allege labor shortages in order to maintain low wages and an easily controlled labor force. He argues that “instead of relying on market mechanisms – such as higher wages or better working conditions and political factors – to maintain a steady supply of labor, employers manipulate social, cultural, and political factors – the source of power relations – in ways that keep wages low even as costs of living and profits increase” (p. 46). At the same time, citing the case of Jamaican H-2 workers employed by sugar companies in Florida in the 1990s to illustrate his point, Griffith shows that when H-2 workers or their supporters challenge unfair and abusive labor relations, employers simply discontinue the program.

These conclusions echo arguments made by many labor and human rights organizations that voice their opposition to the expansion of temporary migration programs throughout the globe. For these and other social justice activists, the most unacceptable aspect of guestworker programs is the limitation placed on the mobility of imported workers within the labor market, which goes against the very grain of liberal democratic principles. This limitation creates extremely unbalanced power relations, as Griffith vividly illustrates in his case studies of Jamaican migrant women employed as chambermaids in South Carolina and Mexican migrant men and women working in the crab-processing industry and tobacco fields in North Carolina. While employers underpay guestworkers and at the same time overcharge them for poor and overcrowded housing, guestworkers who dare to challenge their employers are blacklisted. Case studies presented by Griffith also suggest that employers’ control extends beyond the immediate workplace. Employers disapprove of female Mexican workers who arrive in the United States pregnant (who, unlike the Jamaican female workers, are not screened for pregnancy before gaining entry to the program) and may deny further employment opportunities to them. Employers’ consent may be required for female chambermaids who, during slack months, wish to earn additional income by cleaning neighbors’ houses. Griffith concludes that the exploitative nature of the H-2 program, linked to the unbalanced power relations between employers and temporary workers, makes this program akin to slavery and debt peonage associated with the smuggling of workers by unscrupulous contractors. Disagreeing with those who view an expanded guestworker program as a viable and more humane alternative to human smuggling, Griffith points out that the H-2 program has a tendency “to devolve into a system that approximates the exploitive, underground labor market it was (in part) designed to replace” (p. 211).

In addition to examining the working conditions of H-2 workers, Griffith examines remittance patterns of these workers in their home communities. His findings are very similar to the findings of many other researchers who have argued over decades that migrants spend their remittances mainly on consumption and invest little money in market-oriented activities. While his conclusions do not depart from the conventional wisdom, Griffith provides a more detailed ethnographic analysis of the social networks of the migrants and demonstrates how social obligations to multiple households make it virtually impossible for the migrants to consider investing in “productive” activities.

Overall, Griffith meticulously documents and explains his arguments and analyses, but let me point out one limitation. In his discussion of the H-2 workers in the United States, Griffith frequently brings up findings from studies on the Canadian Commonwealth Caribbean and Mexican Seasonal Agricultural Workers’ program. Yet, Griffith does not explain in what ways the Canadian guestworker program is similar to or different from its American counterpart. A brief discussion on the nature of the Canadian program would have allowed the reader to better understand the parallels drawn between the two programs.

By interlacing historic accounts, discussion of policies, and statistical analyses with numerous stories of migrants—men and women—and African-Americans whose jobs are transformed or lost, David Griffith provides a comprehensive portrayal of the lives of guestworkers employed in the United States. He sees hope in the organizing drive by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) among H-2 workers. This organizing drive, according to Griffith “is a step toward acknowledging that the balance of power in these programs will have to shift before we fully acknowledge that H-2 workers are not merely workers but people with parents, children, friends, fears, and above all, basic human rights” (p. 318). I highly recommend this book to scholars, policymakers, and social activists who ponder the issues of temporary migration.

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MARCO PALACIOS: *Between Legitimacy and Violence: A History of Colombia, 1875-2002*. Translated by Richard Stoller. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

Marco Palacios’ account of Colombian history is a must-read for historians, economists, political scientists, and geographers. It is an intricately woven story that highlights the complexities of Colombian history. Palacios discusses each topic in the context of economy, culture, art, literature, physical and human