be their integration into civilization by the Church. People of African descent were melted down within those polar extremes as mestizos, thus becoming invisible through color blindness. Hence the renewed struggles against hiding as a pernicious form of racism.

The epilogue offers an accelerated but relevant journey through strikes and social movements that made claims for multiculturalism under the 1991 constitutional reform. In those final pages, McGraw succeeds in emphasizing the contradiction of citizenship based on respect for diversity and the implementation of neoliberalism. The result of this tension is the violent milieu in which black people now live. Again, the right to equal citizenship has been postponed through violence and territorial dispossession. However, the past history of insubordination will likely be the key for these people's search for a more just future.

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Rethinking Community from Peru: The Political Philosophy of José María Arguedas. By Irina Alexandra Feldman. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014. Pp. ix, 182. Acknowledgments. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $24.95 paper.
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What kind of political philosophy should one expect of a novelist? Irina Feldman's fascinating book prompts this question, as it proposes to present us with the political philosophy of José María Arguedas, the Peruvian author of *Los ríos profundos*, *Todas las sangres*, and *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (among much else). Her starting point is the (in)famous 1965 Mesa Redonda sobre *Todas las Sangres*, in which Arguedas's vision of Peruvian society was "severely questioned by a group of progressive scholars" (p. 3). His interlocutors felt that Arguedas had spurned class analysis in favor of an atavistic (if not reactionary) attachment to indigenous cultural forms such as the *ayllu*. For Feldman, what they missed was that Arguedas saw in such forms "an alternative project of community" that might carry over to a socialist society. But the more fundamental problem with this discussion was that the social scientists reading the novel had overlooked the fact that ultimately it was *literary* artifact, not sociological analysis. And to some extent Feldman replicates that mistake in seeking to squeeze a full-flown "political philosophy" from Arguedas's fiction.

The bulk of this book is a reading of *Todas las sangres* highlighting the failures of the Peruvian state to achieve anything like hegemony in the highlands. What we see instead, the author points out, is something more akin to what Ranajit Guha terms "dominance without hegemony" (p. 85). But in fact, in the Andes even the state is not dominant. As Feldman shows, Arguedas's novel documents at least three other

competing powers: the traditional *hacendado* system of large landowners with quasi-divine authority over "their" Indians; the indigenous *ayllu*, with its rotating leadership of varayoks; and the forces of multinational capital, represented here by the Wisther-Bozart mining consortium. And though the haciendas are in decline—also, if more arguably so, the *ayllu*—the pressures of capital investment and resource extraction are such that the state can hardly carve out space to institute a liberal civil society, even if it wanted to do so.

Arguedas has a surprisingly positive view of the landowning class, perhaps because—like the varayoks—they manifest the "solid bodily presence of the figure of authority" in contrast to the absent "ghostly state" (p. 33). Hence the novel presents us with don Bruno, a landowner who mobilizes his authority on the Indians' behalf. But he can do so only by means of a self-sacrifice that destroys any chance of an effective alliance with the indigenous and further undercuts the state's claims to sovereignty, rendering ordinary people all the more defenseless in the face of the mining corporations.

The saving grace of Andean culture, Feldman tells us, is its refusal to grant a "negative connotation" to physical labor, enabling "the indigenous serfs [to] escape the process of alienation" thanks to "the ritual appropriation of work in the mine... which signals a possibility of symbolic appropriation of the means of production" (p. 116). It is not clear, however, how much the real owners of the means of production are concerned about such symbolic reappropriation, so long as the workers continue to do their jobs without grumbling. In other words: is this not the most minimal, even self-defeating, revolution imaginable? Yet this is a phenomenon that Arguedas repeatedly depicts in his novels, from the communal road-building in *Yawar Fiesta* to the procession demanding a Catholic mass in *Los ríos profundos*: even in hegemony's absence, the indigenous continue to struggle *for* their own servitude as stubbornly as though it were their salvation.

This may indeed be (as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have suggested) the fundamental problem of political philosophy, but it is not clear that Arguedas ever grasps it as such. Should he? I am unconvinced that Arguedas ever satisfactorily rethinks the concept of community. His work is more symptom than solution, and if anything its weakness is that too often he *does* think like a social scientist, not least in his anguished concern for a Peruvian national project. The fact that Feldman's examples of an Arguedan "political philosophy" in action all come from Bolivia, not Peru, shows the error of taking the nation-state as political horizon. More fundamentally, rather than trying to extract a political project from Arguedas's fiction, it is more rewarding to see it as among the best mappings of Andean *infra*politics; that is, as an exploration of the conditions of possibility (and impossibility) of politics *tout court*.

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