

invites further questions. Both Jones for Germany and Postel for the United States raise the issue that populism might not be applicable or have the explanatory power that others assign it. Also, Fermisano and Karush reject the progressive/regressive dichotomy, pointing out that populism had both inclusive and exclusive features in their concrete manifestations in the United States and Argentina. Behind all the cases under consideration, the question of the state looms large and beyond the noted point that populist movements could be pro- or anti-state. In other words, how do different state structures impact the viability of populism as well as its evolution over time? Is it possible to compare, using populism as an analytical tool, the experiences of a centralised state like Nazi Germany with the centrist-conservative Croatian HSS, non-state Muslim populism in Bosnia, and Anastasio Somoza's regime in Nicaragua, for example? Finally, and with the benefit of historical hindsight, Mudde's arguments on the limited impact and threat of contemporary right-wing populism in Europe and Breiner's analysis on the decline of cultural populism in the United States might be revised in light of Brexit, Trump, and the vigorous support for right-wing populism in Europe and elsewhere.

Beyond these questions, this excellent volume combines a sophisticated theoretical and transnational framework covering a broad geographic and temporal range. The result is a solid comparative piece extremely useful both for scholars in many disciplines and the general public interested in critical current developments in different parts of the world.

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Paulo Fontes, *Migration and the Making of Industrial São Paulo* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2016), pp. xiv + 280, £70.00, £18.99 pb.

In *Migration and the Making of Industrial São Paulo*, labour scholar Paulo Fontes provides an engaging history of Brazilian workers in the industrial suburb of São Miguel, São Paulo, from 1945 to 1966. Originally published in Portuguese (2009) and awarded the Thomas Skidmore Prize, the book brings together three issues critical to the understanding of Brazilian modern labour history: rural–urban migration, factory work and community formation. In his book, Fontes contributes to a labour historiography that looks beyond union struggles and addresses the complexity of workers' personal and political experiences. This approach is also reflected in a careful and exhaustive research that includes archival sources from the main factory, Nitro Química, public archives, newspapers, migrants' correspondence and 42 oral interviews with men and women who worked and lived in São Miguel.

The book is organised into five chapters, offering an accessible narrative that successfully untangles the relationship between the neighbourhood and the work place in a time of rapid transformation. The first chapter provides a detailed background on the process of migration from the northeast of Brazil to the city of São Paulo. This massive demographic shift, Fontes explains, was one of the most significant changes in post-war Brazil. More than 30 million Brazilians left the countryside, and the northeast was one of the most important sources of migrants. Placing the question of rural–urban migration at the centre of his analysis, Fontes demonstrates how dreams of work and social opportunities, as well as expectations of better rights, motivated northeasterners to travel to and settle in places like São Miguel. This chapter

provides a clear understanding of the process and influence of migration in modern Brazil, raising critical questions about the need to re-examine the role of rural migrants in the formation of the urban working class in Latin America.

In the next chapter, Fontes focuses on the largest employer in São Miguel, Nitro Química. Nitro, as it was commonly called, became essential to the neighbourhood and imposed a schedule that affected everybody's lives. Work was hard and dangerous, and migrant workers developed a strong sense of camaraderie to help them adapt to and survive the demands of Brazilian's industrial experiment. But, as the author had already warned us in the introduction, São Miguel was not only a company town but also a town of migrants, and both forces profoundly influenced the development of the neighbourhood. By looking at the intersection of the working and living spaces, Fontes offers valuable insights into the study of industrial communities.

In Chapter 3, Fontes turns to the neighbourhood, the *bairro*, and reveals the importance of different forms of social networks. This is the best-accomplished chapter, one that also shows the depth of his research. In common with many new labour historians, Fontes looks at housing, non-working time and leisure as critical spaces of socialisation outside the factory. Building on his previous research, he provides insight into the role of amateur football clubs, movies, dances and local music venues. While soccer games were usually male spaces, other leisure activities incorporated women and provided opportunities to reproduce the cultural traditions of the northeast. However, the many problems that characterised the life of the urban underclass in Latin America such as poor urbanisation and lack of educational opportunities also plagued this neighbourhood. These urban challenges, Fontes argues, became integral part of a common identity and influenced the growth of neighbourhood organisations.

In the last two chapters, the author examines working people's political participation in São Miguel. As he states in the introduction, Fontes seeks to contribute to the ever-controversial discussion of populism by looking at workers' everyday political experience and culture. In this industrial suburb, then, political participation and involvement mirrored national political changes. After the end of Estado Novo in 1945, a new political openness allowed for the growth of the Partido Comunista Brasileiro (Brazilian Communist Party, PCB). But, as in other Latin American countries entering the Cold War, the PCB was heavily repressed from 1947. The repression, influenced by Nitro's harsh policies and efforts to regain control over the labour force, was far-reaching and, police reports suggest, affected more than just political militants. The repression of the Communists also opened space for other, less radical political and social organisations including Catholic organisations and socialist and populist groups. In the last chapter, Fontes examines the role of popular organisations in the 1950s and early 1960s, showing their efforts to resolve social and urban demands such as the increase in the cost of living.

In sum, this is an outstanding book that enriches our understanding of the Latin American working class during the Cold War era. By bringing together analyses of urbanisation, industrialisation and migration, the author confirms the shift in Brazilian labour historiography. Added to this, the masterly incorporation of the voices of the many men and women who worked and lived in São Miguel provides a genuinely bottom-up approach and a rich social history. More importantly, the author critically examines these memories, contending how personal memories are always selective, marked by lived experiences and fears. The book also raises some questions for future labour studies: the influence of the Cold War, the need to place

Brazilian history into larger transnational frameworks, and the urgency of more dialogue between scholars of Brazilian labour and of other Latin American issues.

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Aragorn Storm Miller, *Precarious Paths to Freedom: The United States, Venezuela, and the Latin American Cold War* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2016), pp. xxi + 278, \$65.00, hb.

In the past several years, historians have been busy reconsidering certain aspects of the experience of the Cold War in Latin America. Instead of focusing only on US–Latin American relations, they have given attention to the importance of other inter-American relationships, and have worked to restore agency to Latin American governments operating in an environment of overall US hegemony. At the same time, there has been a larger debate around interpretations of the Cold War in the region. Did the Left suffer anti-leftist violence because of a reactionary alliance between conservatives and the United States? Did the Left forfeit its claim to moral authority by adopting the Cuban model, complete with its repression of civil liberties? Or did ‘extremists’ of both Left and Right – the so-called ‘two devils’ – ruin the work of sensible moderates?

Aragorn Storm Miller’s *Precarious Paths to Freedom* uses the exceptional case of Venezuela from 1958 to 1968 to argue in favour of the latter interpretation. There, he asserts, moderates defeated the extremists, and the country was better off for it. Venezuelans ended the dictatorship of Marcos Pérez Jiménez in 1958, and then hosted a series of successful elections: choosing Rómulo Betancourt (1959–64) and Raúl Leoni (1964–9) of the social-democratic Acción Democrática (Democratic Action, AD) party, followed by Rafael Caldera (1969–74) of the Christian Democratic COPEI. By overseeing a successful transfer of power between two competing parties, Venezuela passed a basic test of a consolidated democracy. It did this with US support, rather than US hostility. Miller frames the book as an exploration of whether ‘there could have been a US–Latin American partnership that both promoted the democratic ideals that Washington espoused and provided the security and stability that Washington coveted’ (p. x), and answers that Venezuela provides just such an example. Because of this, he makes the case that Washington saw Venezuela as the key to a stable hemisphere, and thus the ‘hinge’ country in Latin America’s Cold War.

The narrative of the book takes the reader from the end of the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship in 1958 to Caldera’s election a decade later. Throughout that time, Venezuela faced various challenges from those whom Miller describes as ‘extremists’. Betancourt, who had a long history as an anti-dictatorial activist, faced a potentially lethal challenge from Rafael Trujillo, the right-wing dictator of the Dominican Republic. Trujillo supported an invasion of Venezuela, used Dominican agents working as provocateurs, and supported an attempted assassination in the form of a car bomb that killed Betancourt’s driver and injured Betancourt. As a result, Betancourt suspended some forms of constitutional guarantees.

Though the attack on Betancourt helped make him more popular domestically, much of the book chronicles the struggles of Venezuela’s political parties to maintain popular authority. The youth wing of Acción Democrática disliked Betancourt’s cautious reformism, and after AD expelled some of its members in 1960, these young