

than revolutionary moments. Perhaps the country that came closest to experiencing a revolutionary conjuncture was Bolivia. Surprisingly, Petras and Velmeyer offer an extremely negative and one-sided analysis of Bolivia's progress under Morales' presidency. In doing so they ignore the deep political changes undergone by the country over the past four years, which, if not revolutionary, have certainly changed the balance of class power in favour of the popular sectors. The conflict between the government and the regional elites of the 'half-moon provinces' is taken by the authors as a prime example of their 'resurgence of the Right' thesis, but this claim can hardly be sustained in light of Morales' decisive victory in the December 2009 election. More broadly, Latin America is set to experience 14 presidential elections between 2009 and 2011. Some of these elections, as has happened in Chile, are likely to be won by candidates of the centre-right for a combination of reasons more complex than those suggested by the authors' arguments, but the likely outcome of the new electoral cycle is increasing political heterogeneity in the region rather than a decisive shift to the right.

In short, it is possible to disagree with the book's main arguments and to suggest that many of the criticisms directed at the LOC governments are unfair and unbalanced, yet still acknowledge that the authors make a number of valid points that must be taken seriously. Whether the solutions they propose for Latin America's many social and economic problems are the right ones is an entirely different matter.

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Steven T. Wuhs, *Savage Democracy: Institutional Change and Party Development in Mexico* (University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 2008), pp. xiv + 178, \$45.00, hb.

This book examines political party development and its implications for democracy in Mexico. Wuhs shows how the centre-right *Partido Acción Nacional* (National Action Party, PAN) and the centre-left *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* (Party of the Democratic Revolution, PRD) responded institutionally to the 'democratic imperative'. He analyses their commitment to internal democracy as parties founded in opposition to the authoritarian rule of the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI), and their decades-long struggle to defeat the PRI at the polls – in part by demonstrating to voters their own commitment to democratic norms and practices – and thereby secure electoral democracy. He argues that internal democratising initiatives undertaken by PAN and PRD reformers sometimes produced unexpected, perverse outcomes that compromised these parties' capacity to advance their goal of regime democratisation.

The analysis is based primarily on the author's extensive interviews with PAN and PRD activists, his close examination of various party documents, and relevant survey data. The interview materials are especially useful in establishing party elites' changing goals over time, although they do sometimes give the discussion a 'top-down' tone. Wuhs demonstrates an extensive knowledge of the literature on political parties and institutions, and he very successfully situates his case study within broader academic debates on these topics. The book is logically organised and well written.

Wuhs systematically compares the PAN's and the PRD's institutional evolution from the 1980s through 2006 in three areas: their candidate selection processes, their bureaucratic development as party organisations, and their links with civil society. He notes that, as a reaction to PRI rule, both parties generally favoured 'weak central offices, activist-driven organisations, and decentralised power' (p. 32). Over time, however, the PRD in particular responded to an increasingly open electoral environment by adopting broadly inclusive rules for selecting its executive and single-member-district legislative candidates. The PAN also sought to identify more electable candidates by liberalising somewhat its selection procedures (especially for presidential and gubernatorial candidates), but it placed more emphasis than did the PRD on maintaining party identity and therefore preserved a stronger role for carefully vetted party members in picking its nominees (particularly for legislative positions). Nonetheless, both PAN and PRD leaders retained tight controls over the choice of proportional-representation legislative candidacies as a means of rewarding key constituencies and building internal party cohesion.

Where these parties' bureaucratic development was concerned, both the PAN and the PRD responded to the demands of competitive, media-centred campaigns by employing the expanded public funding available after 1996 to develop more complex, professionalised administrative institutions. The PAN was much more consistent in this regard than the PRD, which has retained a comparatively fluid party-movement structure.

Wuhs makes an especially valuable contribution in his discussion of the various linkage strategies that the PAN and the PRD have employed vis-à-vis their civil-society allies. Both parties responded to state-corporatist elements of Mexico's post-revolutionary authoritarian regime by insisting on the autonomy of societal organisations. The PAN in particular has long promoted the role of individual cadres in party affairs, while the PRD has formally rejected party control over affiliated groups. At times, however, Wuhs might have examined more critically the claims made by party leaders in this area. For instance, he accepts that PAN programmes such as its 2004 citizen promotion initiative among rural and indigenous populations have been 'consistent with the party's commitment to the autonomy of parties and civil society: they were openly and steadfastly anti-corporatist' (p. 100), despite the existence of evidence indicating that the PAN's record in national office since 2000 has included attempts to replicate the same clientelistic ties with social programme beneficiaries for which it long criticised the PRI.

Wuhs' overarching argument is that efforts by the PAN and the PRD to address simultaneously the two dimensions of the democratic imperative have repeatedly produced instances of 'savage democracy', in which 'institutions favouring internal party democracy inhibited the parties' democratising agendas, or vice versa' (p. 89). For example, the PRD's commitment to radically inclusive candidate selection procedures at times made the party vulnerable to PRI efforts to colonise some local party offices. Similarly, the institutionalisation of internal factions (*corrientes*) in the PRD's governance structures faithfully represented the diverse leftist tendencies around which the party was founded, but it also condemned the PRD to unending internecine struggles that sometimes undermined its public standing and compromised its electoral effectiveness.

The final chapter offers important reflections on the implications that the PAN's and the PRD's institutional evolution hold for citizen participation in Mexico. Wuhs argues that, by strengthening the position of party leaders and reducing their

accountability to rank-and-file members, cumulative transformations in these parties have undermined their representative capacity. Thus, while the consolidation of electoral democracy has empowered political parties, their failure to build stronger ties with their own members has contributed to distrust and alienation from parties as institutions. This development raises sobering questions about the overall quality of political representation and Mexico's future as a democracy.

There are some minor errors in this book – the dates given for Porfirio Díaz's long rule, 1876–80, 1884–1911; the names of the *Partido de la Revolución Mexicana* and the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*; Lázaro Cárdenas' role vis-à-vis the *ejido* in Mexico's post-revolutionary agrarian reform – and the author's effort (p. 11, n. 3) to situate the Mexican case in the literatures on authoritarianism and totalitarianism is rather jumbled. Yet on balance, Wuhs makes valuable, original contributions to the comparative politics literature on institutional change and party development and to debates concerning the challenges to democracy in contemporary Mexico.

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Christine Hunefeldt and Misha Kokotovic (eds.), *Power, Culture and Violence in the Andes* (Brighton and Portland OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2009), pp. ix + 202, £55.00, hb.

This book emerged from a conference organised at the Centre for Iberian and Latin American Studies at the University of California, San Diego. As such, the volume presents all the advantages and disadvantages of publishing the results of such a conference. Some individual chapters are valuable contributions despite the lack of a clear common thread. Each author examines the dynamics between power, culture and violence in the Andes from different theoretical and disciplinary perspectives and based on different case studies; all deal either with Peru or Bolivia.

The book is divided into two sections, one on 'Histories of Violence' and the other on 'Ethnicity, Power and Violence'. In the first section, Rodrigo Montoya, in a meandering essay, tackles the issue of violence in the Peruvian Andes. He resorts to insights from Sigmund Freud, going from the present-day ritualised violence between Canas and Canchis provinces in Cuzco to the violence inflicted upon criminals, to the legacy of the Catholicism of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda of the sixteenth century, and ending with the Shining Path and the Truth Commission of 2001–3. Rachel O'Toole's essay on the violence between slaves in colonial Peru is more interesting, showing how slaves defended themselves from accusations in courts by claiming that they were 'savages' but also men of honour. Ana Peluffo analyses the way in which Manuel González Prada, the anarchist intellectual firebrand of the late nineteenth century, used gender to explain the defeat of Peru by Chile in the War of the Pacific (1879–84). Peluffo posits that González Prada blamed the effeminate Peruvian Indians for the defeat and pushed for a revitalisation of Peru by making its men more masculine. This contribution fits well with Christine Hunefeldt's chapter, preceding Peluffo's, which shows in a case study of Puno that the Peruvian army's press-ganging of Indians, the state's deficient financial support for the military and the divisions between the National Guards and the regular army inevitably led to the Chilean defeat of Peru.