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Reviews

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Karen Racine, *Francisco de Miranda, a Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), pp. xix + 336, $65.00, $19.95 pb.

Karen Racine gets off to an impressive start in her new biography of Venezuela's inimitable 'Precursor', with a fast-moving and absorbing account of Miranda's youth in Caracas, his stint in Spanish military service, and then grand tours of the independent United States and Europe (with even a bit of Asia thrown in). An exciting adventure story and very well told, all this takes up about two-fifths of the text. The remainder of the book is devoted to Miranda's participation in the French Revolution; his agitation and intriguing in London on behalf of Spanish American independence; his abortive 1806 descent on Venezuela; his role in the Venezuelan First Republic; and finally his capture and death in a Spanish prison. As Racine points out, Miranda himself came to feel more at home in London than anywhere else, and similarly it would appear that her own scholarly interest is focused above all on her subject's London years and what they tell us both about Miranda as a person and about the intellectual and political scene of the 'Atlantic world'.

The range of sources on which Racine bases her work is at any rate impressive. She naturally makes good use of the *Archivo del General Miranda*, whose 25 published volumes include not just the Precursor's diary entries but correspondence and draft proposals and a little of almost everything. This same source, and/or the unpublished original now preserved in Caracas, had naturally been mined by previous biographers of Miranda. Racine, however, has visited countless repositories of pertinent documentation in Great Britain, the United States, Venezuela, Spain and other countries, as well as making full use of contemporary periodicals and a list of contemporary and later secondary printed sources that fills 20 pages in the bibliography. She uses this remarkable body of materials to depict not just the life of Miranda but, in considerable detail, what others were saying about him and his grandiose plans for liberation of his home continent. Thanks to Miranda's novelty appeal as an educated traveller from Spanish America, his standing as a conversationalist, and his skilful self-promotion, those others with whom he came in contact or who became aware of him seem to have included almost everyone of importance in the countries he visited. And though not all voices were favourable, Racine convincingly shows that Miranda – perhaps to a greater extent than any other Latin American of the independence era – had fully absorbed the liberal ideas and attitudes that were current among educated men and women of the period in Great Britain, continental Europe, North America and, increasingly, Latin America. To be sure, she emphasises that despite close familiarity with the writings of the French *philosophes* and a sincere if less than unconditional admiration for the institutions of the newly independent United States, he reserved his warmest approval for the traditional liberties and aristocratic constitutionalism that he found in Great Britain. She notes, too, that Miranda was better at thinking great thoughts and charming potential collaborators than at devising workable plans of action.

The last-mentioned failing was obvious in the disastrous outcome of his premature and ill-conceived 1806 invasion of Venezuela and in his failure as a leader of the First Republic. Racine makes abundantly clear that Miranda was poorly suited for the practical task of leading an independence movement: he had been away from America too long and had trouble adapting his course of action to specific local conditions. But the Latin Americanist whose primary interest is in the actual struggle for independence will find her coverage, particularly of the second of these two failures, a bit disappointing; at times the quotations from foreign interested parties take up space that might have been better devoted to what was occurring on the ground in Venezuela. There are even some curious factual errors in this part of the story, as when Captain-General Emparán is promoted to viceroy (p. 218) and some language is attributed to the Constitution of 1811 that does not appear there (pp. 223–4). Racine also barely touches upon the ambivalent relationship between Miranda and the man she calls his 'disciple' (p. 215), Simón Bolívar – even though Bolívar's participation in Miranda's final arrest gave rise to one of the standard controversies in independence historiography. True, she is writing the life of Miranda and should perhaps be complimented on avoiding the Bolívar-centrism so ingrained in the literature on Venezuelan independence. But she misses some high drama in the process.

University of Florida DAVID BUSHNELL

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Thomas M. Whitmore and B. L. Turner II, *Cultivated Landscapes of Middle America on the Eve of Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. xviii + 311, £75.00; $110.00, hb.

Ten years ago the journal *Nature* (vol. 362, no. 4, pp. 48–51 [1993]) published a study of sediments found at the bottom of Lake Pátzcuaro in Michoacán, Mexico. The analysis of lake sediments revealed that soil erosion in the Pátzcuaro basin was significantly higher before, rather than after, the advent of Spanish colonisation. The study's authors concluded that this evidence should discourage present-day development policies that rely on pre-European agricultural technologies.

The Pátzcuaro evidence fits into a larger argument regarding the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth century environment of the Americas. Was it a 'pristine' environment, carefully conserved and managed by indigenous peoples, or was it substantially modified – even degraded – before Europeans introduced livestock and ploughs? *Cultivated Landscapes* attempts to advance this polemic with a 'balanced treatment' of pre-European agriculture in Middle America, 'neither glorifying its successes nor exaggerating its failures' (p. 5). To support their argument for both careful management and significant degradation, Whitmore and Turner mainly discuss major agricultural achievements, with brief mention of famine and environmental damage. Indeed, at the time, the early-sixteenth-century Basin of Mexico was perhaps the world's most 'intensively managed' place, considering its relatively small area (7,000 square kilometres) and population of approximately one million inhabitants (p. 241). But, it was also the site of 'high levels of conspicuous consumption' and 'chronic food shortages and malnutrition among the working class' (p. 72).

Whitmore and Turner are geographers specialising in early sixteenth-century demographic history of Middle America and Classic Period Maya agriculture, respectively. Their book is the third of three volumes covering pre-sixteenth-century indigenous agriculture in the Americas; Oxford University Press has already published William Doolittle's survey of North America and William Denevan's work on South America. Together, the three volumes are a considerable achievement in synthesising decades of scholarly work by anthropologists, archaeologists, geographers and historians.

Similar to the other two volumes on native agriculture in the Americas, Whitmore and Turner's book surveys the spatial distribution of agricultural types including arbori-horticulture, rainfed, terracing, irrigation and wetland, with emphasis on technologies used and plants cultivated. Their overview of arboriculture and horticulture, for example, supports the conclusion that there were 'few forested areas of mainland Middle America that had not been significantly altered by pre-Hispanic land uses' (p. 107). Rainfed agriculture, ironically, probably occupied the greatest area of any agricultural type, but left little visible imprint on the landscape. By contrast, irrigation, terracing and wetland agriculture left visible features etched into hillsides, valleys and marshes. As the synthesis runs through a familiar list of subtypes of terracing, irrigation and wetland agriculture, it also highlights new research, such as the 'wetland irrigation' necessary to control water salinity for the *chinampas* in the Basin of Mexico (pp. 213–15).

Cartographic analysis is an important feature of *Cultivated Landscapes*. Dozens of maps depict the location of agricultural types in Middle America. However, a rather confusing array of terms describes the quality of evidence; these include 'sparse', 'indirect', 'inference and sparse archival', 'strong indirect', 'strong', 'confirmed' and 'archaeologically or archivally confirmed' evidence. Nevertheless, these maps make the book a useful reference for scholars seeking to know the location of, for example, terracing in the Basin of Mexico at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the quality of evidence. Readers hoping for in-depth discussion of political, social or economic organisation necessary for constructing and maintaining agricultural production will have to rely on brief discussions of subsistence and 'exogenous' demand, and of land-tenure regimes under the Triple Alliance of central Mexico (pp. 41–8).

How well does *Cultivated Landscapes* advance a 'balanced' view of the early-sixteenth-century Middle American environment? Claims for a 'degraded' environment do not extend much beyond the Lake Pátzcuaro sediments, notwithstanding a jargon-encrusted discussion of *tepetate*, a hard soil formation (pp. 233–4), that contributes only modestly to the authors' argument. The book's strict focus on the 'eve of conquest', unlike Denevan's volume on South America, prevents sustained discussion of agriculture – and environmental degradation – in places that had declined well before 1492, such as the Classic Maya, the lowland Gulf Coast and the Olmec. Finally, the authors' argument that a 'mosaic' of agricultural types in any given location complemented each other is developed only toward the end of the book, with reference to just two places, the Basin of Mexico and the northern Yucatán lowlands (pp. 237–43), with few substantive differences from a paper published by the authors in 1992. The holistic nature of the 'mosaic' argument may have provided balance to the extremes of the Pátzcuaro case for pre-1500 soil erosion and views of indigenous peoples as environmental guardians.

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José del Pozo, *Historia de América Latina y del Caribe, 1825–2001* (Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones, 2002), pp. 286, $12.70, pb.

José del Pozo's book constitutes a most welcome contribution to an historiographical path which, hitherto, very few Latin American historians have dared to follow, and it is no coincidence that, like those before him, this text was written far away from Latin America and the Caribbean. In this case, in Montreal where the author has lived since he left Chile, shortly after the 1973 military coup. In fact the author himself declares that the book is the result of a quarter of a century of teaching and research in Canada.

From another point of view, this can be considered as the first history of Latin America and the Caribbean to have been published in Chile, but for an initiative of the Instituto de Historia of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, which some years ago faced the fate of many editorial projects in Chile: distribution problems which made it almost unknown. So special praise should be given to LOM Ediciones, not only for a well-produced volume, but also for including this title in its most stimulating Serie Historia.

The book was written with university students and academics in mind, but also aimed at the non-specialised general public, to all of whom Del Pozo wants to present a 'most clear and concise synthesis as possible about the main facts, processes and personalities that have been present in [its] history, which covers 176 years'. Does the author succeed in such an ambitious target?

The answer is affirmative, for in this volume the reader will find a balanced analysis of the main social, economic and political processes, which have given its main characteristics to the area once the first and main wave of independence movements, was over. The main analytical tenets as well as the chronological plan of the book are drawn from the region's political evolution, which for pedagogical considerations the author chooses to follow, and which not only allow him to give a sound account of the various periods in which he divided the text, but also stress a number of other achievements that deserve credit.

First, there is a good coverage of all the most important variables (demographic, economic and social) behind every political movement and regime up to the year 2001. This is very well managed by the author in the last two chapters, which cover the period from 1960 to 2001, and which due to their 'proximity' pose analytical difficulties. Second, and this is a distinct merit of the book, the analysis not only covers the traditional areas – Mexico, Central and South America and the large Caribbean islands – but also the mostly ignored Dutch, English and French speaking territories. Third, there are separate sections devoted to the area's culture, something that is not very common to find in general histories. Although the strength of the latter two sections is not comparable to that covering the social and economic aspects, they bestow very distinctive characteristics on the book in the context of Latin American histories. Finally, Del Pozo's inclusion of analysis of the international context within which the region has struggled to overcome its main problems, is welcome.

In the introduction Del Pozo tells us that when he started this project, his hope to make a contribution to the teaching of 'the history of this part of the world', always difficult to understand not only due to its diversity, but also because of the difficulties in finding a method which taking into account the specific, can give an

account about what the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have in common. It's true that this is no easy task.

In this book lecturers as well as the student will find a considerable amount of information, but most important, incentives to pursue in the exciting task of giving account of the history of 'a part of the world' which has had a difficult existence since the 1820s. This not only on account of external factors, but mainly as a result of 'self-inflicted wounds', and that the author encapsulates in his final reflections when he makes reference to a couple of experiences which have always besiege the region: frustration and failure.

Universidad de Santiago de Chile LUIS ORTEGA

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Mónica Quijada, Carmen Bernard and Arnd Schneider, *Homogeneidad y nación: con un estado de caso, Argentina, siglos XIX y XX* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000), pp. 260, pb.

The essays in this volume – the results of a 1997 conference in Paris on cultural differences, racism and democracy – seek to explore Argentina's racial and ethnic composition through historical and anthropological methods. The authors want to investigate the Argentine phenomenon of ethno-racial disappearances, that is, the dual process of eliminating racial differentiation in the public's mind and the construction of a popular sense of identity that does not admit to the historical contributions of non-whites to the forging of the Argentine nation.

Five essays are presented, along with a brief introduction by Mónica Quijada, who also contributes three essays. Carmen Bernand contributes a chapter dealing with the population of blacks between 1777 and 1862. Arnd Schneider focuses on the European immigrants, starting with their arrival during the period of mass immigration up through more recent times in the second half of the twentieth century.

As is the case with most multi-author collections, the quality of the chapters varies and, in this case, the differences are considerable. Quijada contributes the volume's best written and conceptualised chapters. The first one treats the idea of homogeneity as a paradigm for understanding citizenship rights and their construction within evolving political entities, such as the nation-state. She treats nationalism and modernisation as ideas that are challenged by contested notions over the contours of modernity, along with the class and the ethnic ownership of ideas. It is a comprehensive and solidly grounded discussion of both theory and Latin American case histories touching on the nature of cultural pluralism in the process of forging the state. It lays down the case for not following blindly the North American paradigms of national culture and pluralism. And she wisely points to the ongoing challenge presented by multiculturalism: that every instance of inclusion imposes new boundaries of exclusion.

Quijada treats Argentina's Indians in a chapter that traces the frequently violent relations between whites and Indians but, still, with the apparently contradictory sentiment of inclusion that eventually extended to the indigenous population in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Indians participated in the successful resistance to the British invasions of Buenos Aires in 1806 and 1807. They were also present at the start of independence, fighting on both sides. Quijada presents an important theoretical framework by pointing to the fundamental differences in the mental constructs of the frontier found in the experiences of the United States

and Argentina. In the north, Indians on the other side of the frontier were not considered to form part of the nation; the dividing line separated two unassimilable worlds. By contrast, the Argentine frontier served as a fluid, dynamic and porous gateway that, when not engaged in war, served as a conduit for all forms of intercourse, ranging from commercial to linguistic, from sexual to religious. And in the end, the Indians of the United States, following military defeat, were organised into nations separate from the dominant power. In Argentina, defeat of Indians was followed by the very same citizens' rights as other Argentines. Hardly arguing that this entailed economic well-being, Quijada's noting of the coexistence of marginalisation and an indistinguishable citizenry from other Argentines calls for an explanatory model. She invokes the concept of an integrative approach to Indians that recognised hierarchy, to be sure, but also a principle of integration that held all ranks to be equally Argentine. The fundamental element of integration – and thus of constitutional and judicial equality in theory – was territory, the sharing of a land common to all. This chapter provides an early glimpse of Quijada's underlying theory to explain Argentina's historical development of cultural diversity, which involves an integrative but differentiated model of inclusion.

Carmen Bernand's chapter deals with the population of African descent in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although the black population of Buenos Aires participated in the resistance to the British invasions and in the revolutionary struggles, the legal status of the free sector was conditioned by the foreign status of their origins. That is, unlike Indians, blacks in Argentina were not normally considered to have been Americans or *criollos*. Thus, their free status did not entail the assignments of land and services leading to expectations of production and integration into the Argentine mainstream that Quijada pointed to in the case of Indians. We do not learn much that is not known already about the conditions of slavery in Argentina: an urban setting with relatively unobtrusive monitoring and freedom of movement, and a greater disposition toward manumission, although no comparative data are presented. Slave-owning on the part of a relatively wide spectrum of the white urban population, ranging from artisans to well-to-do merchants, meant that slaves were exposed to a more varied white culture compared to areas in which a relatively few and very wealthy owners dominated the slave market. Although this point may be considered interesting, it is not given further consideration. Finally, the notion that slaves knew enough about the law to be able to use the court system to press for improved conditions from masters, transfers to different masters, or freedom altogether, is made through several examples. Finally, Bernand offers some insight into the comparative legacies of the Indian and black contributions to Argentine national identity and culture. By the end of the nineteenth century, Indians began to form part of the nation's ethnology, serving to illustrate essentialist principles of Americanism and distinct cultural legitimacy, in contradistinction to anything that was not Spanish American in general and Argentine in particular. Blacks, while also seen as part of a distant past, were conceived in socio-economic terms, as part of popular culture and, in any event, exotic. A cultural nobility was assigned to Indians, a cultural curio to blacks.

Arnd Schneider's chapter treats the roles of European immigrants from the perspectives of post-modernism as applied in sociology and anthropology. The opening argument is unassailable: white ethnicities are not part of studies of Latin America, which concentrate on white and non-white differences and ethnographies. Schneider's essay gives the feeling of something strung together from remnants of

ideas and topics left over from previous studies. What it lacks in clarity and coherence it balances by multiple announcements of what will be presented in forthcoming pages. Schneider is intent on following leads that might uncover 'otherness'. Indeed, the insistence on unearthing 'others' takes on the tone of mission: the academic goal is to find differentiation not only between well-known and distinct groups, but also within groups that might otherwise appear to be coherent. Thus, doubts are raised as to the sufficiency of demographic data as tools for measuring the extent of marriage endogamy among ethnic groups when other factors might yield different identities of the marriage partners, such as attitudes toward work and play, or religious affinities or celebrations with friends, family or participation in neighbourhood organisations. Schneider's intended focus is the Italian and Italian-Argentine communities, while paying some attention to the Jewish, Spanish and German communities. Identifying the ethnic groups under study occasioned a silly sense of obligation to note that the selection 'does not signify the denial of the relevance of other contingents' (p. 151). Instead of feeling the need to preclude hurt sensibilities, it would have been more useful to have an adequate rationale for the selection.

In the end, we learn little more than we already know about European immigrants and their descendants: that there is always an 'other', that the sense of 'otherness' is fluid and contingent, and that the term *criollo* has had at least two different meanings. First, as a distinction between those who had been born in Argentina, as compared to the *gringos*, immigrants from other lands; and second, as the social marker that distinguished Argentine elites of great longevity from the *nouveaux riches* among the descendants of immigrants who had amassed wealth and were successfully marrying into the old aristocracy. As an afterthought, another example of poor organisation and ideas not thought through sufficiently, Schneider mentions in the last sentence that *criollismo* may turn out to have a third meaning aimed at differentiating Argentines, regardless of ethnic group, from the external agents of globalisation.

Mónica Quijada closes the volume with a chapter that reflects on cultural homogeneity as a historical process. In an intelligent treatment of culture and nation, Quijada offers an alternative to both the melting pot theory and the multi-cultural, multi-racial paradigm present in the history of the United States to explain Argentines' sense of white European homogeneity. Quijada rejects the applicability of the US model's extraordinary complexity and conflictiveness. She notes that to be 'Argentine' means to be white. Racial distinctions are 'simply ignored' (p. 215). Ethnic differences among immigrant groups remain alive in certain aspects of everyday activities but are subsumed under the conviction that all traditions belong to everyone and that this consensus represents a global Argentine culture. The fact that Argentina is not an ethnically homogeneous nation may not withstand academic inspection, she notes, but it remains a widely held popular perception. In the end, the historical intent of the Generation of '37 to form a homogeneous nation has achieved ideological success. For Quijada, the organisational principle that explains this sense of homogeneity is associated with the concept of a territorially bounded citizenry. The common culture rests with the 'alchemy of territoriality', the notion that the land of one's birth or adoption represents the essentialist bond common across the people of the sovereign nation. Quijada prefers the metaphor of 'alchemy' to others such as 'fusion,' 'melting pot' or '*crisol*'. She notes that homogeneity does not mean a state of existence in an objective manner, but rather the popular belief in homogeneity. Ultimately, reality is perception. This apparently

simple truth is arrived at through an elegant and subtle set of arguments grounded on sound research.

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Lilia Ana Bertoni, *Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas: la construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), pp. 319, pb.

Lilia Ana Bertoni's splendid new study of nationalist sentiment in Argentina between 1880 and 1900 joins a growing body of scholarly literature that seeks to revise our understanding of this important period in Argentine history. Based on her 1998 doctoral dissertation, this complex and lucidly-written book has two interrelated goals. First, it challenges the traditional view that this period was one dominated by cosmopolitanism. Instead, as Bertoni makes clear, many late nineteenth-century Argentine political elites were deeply concerned about the effects of massive European immigration, and sought to defend Argentine nationality by instilling a sense of patriotism among the new arrivals and by preserving the purity of the Spanish language. Moreover, members of the general public, both native and foreign-born, were themselves receptive to these nationalist currents, and often actively participated in patriotic organisations and festivals. Second, Bertoni argues that along with the growth of nationalist sentiment came new ideas about nationhood that challenged and ultimately shouldered aside the traditional liberal vision of the Argentine nation as a civic community open to all. The result according to the author was the triumph of an essentialist, exclusivist vision of the nation that saw cultural unity, language and a putative ethnicity rather than shared political principles as the basis of nationality.

Neither the argument that nationalist sentiment in Argentina emerged before the twentieth century, nor the claim that essentialist, ethnic understandings of nationhood circulated during the late nineteenth century, is entirely new. Other scholars, such as Oscár Terán (2000), Ezequiel Gallo and Natalio Botana (1997), all of whom served as readers for Bertoni's doctoral dissertation, have noted these issues. What she adds, however, is exhaustive documentation of these two interrelated phenomena. She also offers a convincing and multifaceted explanation for why this new patriotic sentiment took on increasingly ethnic overtones. In addition to the general influence of European ethnic nationalism and pressures created by immigration, Bertoni stresses the importance of the imperial ambitions of Italy, which contributed a large segment of Argentina's immigrant stream. She cites in particular the inflammatory rhetoric of Italian politicians Boccardo and Crispi, who believed their country's emigrants remained part of the greater, ethnically defined homeland and who saw the growing Italian community in Argentina as a means by which Italy could gain a foothold in the Rio de la Plata region. Predictably, such rhetoric alarmed many Argentines and reinforced fears that their country's new ethnic and cultural diversity made it vulnerable to the imperial designs of foreign powers. Given these circumstances, Bertoni suggests, the growing influence of ethnic nationalism within Argentina was practically inevitable. Despite that conclusion, however, Bertoni is careful to note that the new, essentialist vision of Argentine nationality did not go unchallenged. Indeed, one of the strengths of her study is the careful treatment of the debates between those who opted for an

inclusive, civic patriotism that would embrace immigrants and tolerate cultural diversity and those who came under ethnic nationalism's sway.

Bertoni has organised her book into two sections. Part I, entitled '*La nacionalidad en marcha*', looks at the rise of nationalist sentiment in a variety of arenas, with individual chapters dedicated to educational policy, debates over naturalisation, and the increasing number and popularity of patriotic festivals. Part II, '*¿Cuál Nación?*', focuses more explicitly on the clash between distinctive types of nationalist sentiment, and traces the increasing dominance of an ethnic vision of nationality. Here Bertoni looks at debates over language, controversies over efforts to establish a pantheon of national heroes, and growing emphasis, as border squabbles with Chile heated up, on increasing the military readiness of Argentine males through sports and physical fitness programmes.

In such an ambitious and complex study, some omissions are inevitable. One that might strike students of Argentine nationalism is Bertoni's lack of attention to the phenomenon of late nineteenth-century '*criollismo*', examined by Adolfo Prieto (1988). As Prieto has noted, *criollismo*, or the celebration of the gaucho, was widespread among immigrants and provided the newcomers with a means of identifying with their adopted land. Also somewhat puzzling is Bertoni's identification of positivist intellectual José María Ramos Mejía with the early twentieth-century cultural nationalist Ricardo Rojas. To be sure, both individuals promoted patriotic education as means of solidifying Argentine nationality; but if Tulio Halperín Donghi (1976) is correct, their understandings of the *meaning* of nationality were entirely different.

These quibbles should not detract from what is a superb contribution to Argentine intellectual and cultural history. Bertoni has produced a sophisticated, richly textured analysis of a critical moment in Argentine history that will be required reading for specialists. In addition, as a case study of a society where a liberal, civic vision of nationhood ultimately gave way to one based on an imagined ethnicity, *Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas* will be of interest to all scholars of comparative nationalism.

St. Olaf College JEANE DELANEY

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Federico Finchelstein, *Fascismo, liturgia e imaginario: el mito del General Uriburu y la Argentina nacionalista* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002), pp. 159, pb.

General José Uriburu, leader of the Argentine coup of 1930, lasted less than two years as president and failed to install the corporatist measures that he deemed to be fundamental to national renewal. Shortly after leaving office, he died in Europe, and it might have been expected that his memory would fade away into obscurity. Instead, his brief political career became the object of fanatical admiration among the Argentine Right, who invoke him as a hero to this day. His influence is often mentioned, but rarely discussed, so Finchelstein's book certainly fills a gap in the literature. It opens with a survey of the historiography of Argentine right-wing nationalism in the 1930s which is, in itself, a valuable contribution (pp. 10–27). The book then goes on to cover, in turn, the relationship between right-wing nationalists and the Catholic Church (throughout Argentina masses were held in honour of Uriburu on the anniversary of his death); the creation of a historical memory

of Uriburu as a heroic revolutionary who broke with the past to create a new national foundation myth; the elaboration of an aesthetic of violence and a cult of the 'martyrs of September'; the sites of memory (spatial and temporal) created by Uriburu followers; and, lastly, the construction of Uriburu as the archetype of heroic masculinity (the influence of Sandra McGee Deutsch's work being evident here). The conclusion argues that right-wing Argentine nationalists utilised the memory of Uriburu to invent a foundation myth of rupture with the democratic past, a myth that excluded historical alternatives and paved the way for the political exclusion of the internal enemy. Finchelstein does not make it clear why he has chosen to characterise his subject matter as the 'myth' of Uriburu, when in many respects it seems that 'cult' might prove a more telling term. Indeed, he does not offer any discussion of what 'myth' might constitute; as a result, it ends up as something of an all-purpose explanation.

Finchelstein states that he seeks to challenge a tendency in the existing historiography to concentrate on the theoretical texts of nationalist leaders. Instead, he sees the various factions as formations rather than as parties, placing less emphasis on their institutional organisation and more on a sense of shared identity that transcended formal commitments to specific groups. The myth of Uriburu was, he claims, crucial in sustaining that sense of shared identity. He studies, therefore, the rituals and the representations that went into the creation of the myth, and tends to focus on what these factions had in common rather than, as is customary, what divided them. He states that he has been influenced by Dominick LaCapra's approach to intellectual history; Raymond Williams and Eric Hobsbawm also make their appearance in the footnotes. The bibliography includes some, but by no means all, of the recent literature on the relationship between memory, history and commemoration (Pierre Nora is not mentioned). By and large, his approach is fruitful, although there are occasional moments when he omits to apply it with sufficient rigour – if you are trying to write a new type of intellectual history, then you cannot talk in any uncomplicated way about 'the influence of Maurras' (p. 41). But much of the detail in this book is fascinating.

What I missed most in Finchelstein's work was Argentine context, both in relation to the history of Argentine nationalism and to broader political developments in the 1930s. The first, least significant, consequence of this omission is that the book will not be easy reading for anyone who is not already well-acquainted with the complexities of right-wing Argentine nationalist factions of the 1930s (publishers should note that a list of acronyms cannot be deemed an optional extra for topics such as this). But, more importantly, there are also intellectual problems that arise from the narrow focus on extremist groups with little evocation of the specific historical conditions in which they were operating. Finchelstein has also published on the historiography of Nazi Germany, and works on German and Italian fascism are well-represented in his bibliography. He sees Uriburu as a manifestation of fascism, a label which it is not worthwhile to dispute but which does not tell us much, I would suggest. Of course, Uriburu was aware of the ideas of Mussolini, Maurras and Primo de Rivera, although arguably less so than many of his followers. But the person he most frequently cited was Aristotle, calling upon a scholastic tradition of organic democracy that had far deeper roots in Argentina than any pronouncements by *Il Duce*. Earlier Argentine nationalists who sought to challenge the liberal cosmopolitan version of Argentine identity had drawn upon scholastic ideas to elaborate a nativist tradition. Finchelstein tends to write as if Argentine

nationalism was born in 1930. Surely the historical significance of Uriburu's coup lies not in his proto-fascist project, but in the fact that this was the first assertion by the military of an intent to reshape the Argentine state? Uriburu famously declared that his coup was 'against a system, not against one man': he regarded Yrigoyen's civilian opponents as little better than his supporters and sought to introduce corporatism in order to deny veto power to both the oligarchy and the middle sectors without conceding it to the masses. His ideas enjoyed little popular support, but they did have influence on certain right-wing civilians and on the Argentine military, which eventually seized its opportunity in 1943. By inference, the reader of Finchelstein's book concludes that the myth of Uriburu was probably significant in promoting *nacionalismo* among the officers, but the author offers little that would help us to understand exactly how this process operated. In short, Finchelstein is good on the creation of a myth, but less good on its impact, which raises another set of interesting questions.

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David Cahill, *From Rebellion to Independence in the Andes: Soundings from Southern Peru, 1750–1830* (Amsterdam: Aksant, CEDLA Latin American Studies no. 89, 2002), pp. xiv + 215, €25,00, pb.

This collection of nine essays provides a comprehensive view of social relations in Southern Peru during the transition between colony and republic. It is a welcome addition to the growing body of work on Cuzco and its sphere of influence at this crucial conjuncture. David Cahill's originality lies in his analysis of the social basis of subversive politics. Taking a long-term view from 1532 to 1824, his first essay focuses on how racial and ethnic categories were built. He notes how the Spaniards found in Peru a complex society with its own share of internal contradictions and that although the pre-Columbian ethnic classification system was destroyed, it did not completely disappear and was being referred to in documentation as late as 1780. He problematises the use of 'socio-racial categories' but emphasises they are still helpful if an awareness of the social nuances that prevail in any given era is maintained.

The core of the book can be divided into two parts. In the first, made up of four essays, Cahill paints a portrait of a society fraught with many contradictions. He studies curas in the *doctrinas* of Cuzco pointing out how conflict at the local level was a reflection of a much wider confrontation between royal and ecclesiastical authorities. The chapter on illicit *repartos* and first families describes the way in which local elites, who had gained wealth and power thanks to the distribution of the production of their *obrajes*, tried to adapt to a changing society with mixed results. Social relations of the *yanaconas* of Cuzco's cathedral quarter in the colony and the Corpus Chisti in the eighteenth century provide the basis for the author further to examine social change, concluding that it took place at different speeds, with widely varying impact according to time, space and social group. By looking at artisan guilds and their links to both *yanaconas* and religious festivals he identifies 'the beginnings of an urban proletariat in Cuzco of diverse ethnic origin and widely varying degrees of identification with native Andean society' (p. 80).

After having set the scene with this thorough look at social relations in Cuzco, in the second block Cahill concentrates on the disturbances in Arequipa in 1780,

mortality and material destruction during the Tupac Amaru revolution and the Ocongate 1815 uprising. In the three essays the author is interested in the viability of multi-class and multi-ethnic alliances. He believes that cross-class alliance found in Arequipa could have easily made the fragile foundations of Spanish power in the Americas crumble but that due to racial fear, distrust and the growing gap between the rich and poor, it could not have lasted. His study of Tupac Amaru focuses on the importance of the failed siege of Cuzco as the crucial moment in which his movement changed from a broad-based alliance against the colonial system into one that 'bore all the hallmarks of a xenophobic caste war' (p. 127). In the case of the 1815 revolt, Cahill questions to what extent it was an indigenous movement, since it has been traditionally seen as an urban uprising by a clique of dissatisfied Creoles who put together an alliance which crossed class and ethnic boundaries and was the counterpart to Tupac Amaru. He enquires why there was no large-scale Indian uprising although the levels of exploitation actually intensified, and he concludes this was due to the use of the courts to fight abuse as well as the erosion of Indian authority and traditional social stratification that came to being with the new tribute system. Cahill observes how Indians such as those of Ocongate and Marcapata used the Cuzco revolution as an opportunity to protest against local Creole exploitation.

The final essay looks at the social and political effects of the Bourbon fiscal reforms and how they changed the structure of indigenous political authority. On the one hand, the new system attacked the tribute exemption the nobility had maintained as the key differentiation from the *runa* Indians. On the other hand, hereditary *cacicazgos* that had already been suffering were progressively dismantled after the great rebellion. Creoles were interested in taking over them because they could exploit the indigenous sector, usurp community lands and demand unpaid labour.

The book is very successful in exploring the complexities of social relations in the Cuzco area, providing a better understanding of subversive politics. Even if at times the essays seem to be disconnected or to cross the same territory, it is a mosaic that manages to convey the way in which different social groups were affected by change.

University of London NATALIA SOBREVILLA PEREA

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X0328768X

Simon Collier, *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830–1865: Politics and Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. xxi + 271, £45.00; $65.00, hb.

A long-awaited sequel to the late Professor Simon Collier's acclaimed book on politics and ideas of the Chilean independence period (Cambridge, 1967), this volume reflects the author's profound love of Chile, its history, and its historians. It also caps his life-long dedication to political and intellectual history.

Picking up where he left off in 1967, Collier now provides us with a lively, sensitive, and detailed account of political discourse in Chile from the early 1830s until 1861 – a major turning point in the country's political development. Chile was afflicted by episodic internal strife and governed almost half the time under various regimes of constitutional exception from 1837 until 1861. For the next thirty years, unlike the rest of Spanish America, Chile suffered no irregular changes in government and gained a reputation for political stability and economic

progress. How this came to happen is the story told in *Chile: The Making of a Republic 1830–1865*.

Based on years of reading the political press of the era and investigation of primary archival sources, and spiced delightfully with Collier's dry humour and parenthetical speculation on the past and future, this book will take its place, like Collier's previous work on Chile, as a classic in the libraries of all who study nineteenth-century intellectual and political history in Spanish America. Part of what makes Collier's work so engaging is his ability to recreate for the reader the changing moods and subtle political differences among Chile's political elite in the nineteenth century. He finds just the right extracts from the political press and congressional debates to illustrate the Chileans' growing sense of their 'exceptionalism' among Spanish American Republics, their disdain for their more 'tropical' or less 'modern' neighbours, and their pride in the country's relative political stability (though it was marred by short civil wars in 1829–30, 1851, and 1859). Unlike many writers on Chile, Collier also fully understands and deftly conveys the importance in the evolution of Chilean political institutions of regionalism, the nuances of Church-state conflicts, and the complex family and business networks that sometimes magnified and other times softened the rancour of party politics. He brings to life the seriousness, and sometimes the pettiness, of political debate as well as the personalities of many of the Conservative and Liberal politicians and intellectuals of Chile's first half-century of independence.

The main goal of the book is 'to portray (across the whole period [1830–1861]) educated Chileans' political attitudes and their general view of Chile and the outside worldx …' (p. xvii). In this the author succeeds admirably, offering a well-balanced selection of political opinion over time and across parties and factions, from the early days of the Republic to the early 1860s. Collier takes the history of political ideas and their influence on everyday politics seriously; he makes no concession to more recent trends in social or intellectual history, no effort to accommodate post-modern or critical theory lenses on nineteenth-century history. Perhaps for that reason his previous work has been an inspiration for a generation of extraordinarily talented Chilean historians to return to the history of political ideas in the nineteenth-century, even as they lived under a military dictatorship or in exile: among them, Eduardo Cavieres, Cristián Gazmuri, Iván Jaksić, Luis Ortega, Rafael Sagredo and Sol Serrano.

True to his self-defined task of writing a sequel to the 1967 volume, and informed by a vision of Chilean history that emphasises the gradual ascension of nineteenth-century liberalism amongst most of the political elite – even in some ways amongst the least secular factions of the Conservative party – Collier's history of political ideas relies on extensive extracts from the political press, selected archives and political tracts. He allows Chileans of various political persuasions to do the talking – directly from the broadsides, pamphlets, and newspapers of the era. Perhaps ironically – or perhaps just as a reminder that the reader will be fully immersed in the discourse, debates, and political disputes *as they occurred in Chile* – he even alerts us that 'the seasons of the year, when mentioned, are those of the Southern hemisphere' (p. xxi).

One risk of this approach to the history of political discourse melded with political narrative is that what does not appear in the press or the archives does not become a part of the historical relation. Collier is more than aware of that dilemma. Describing the political ambience of the early 1850s during Manuel Montt's first

presidency, Collier tells the reader: 'The press was altogether subdued. This makes it difficult to judge the mood of the political class' (p. 196). It also makes it difficult to paint an accurate picture of the circumstances of the underclasses, of social conflict, and of the costs of elite disagreements and consensus for the other 90 per cent of the population – but of course that is not the task the author set for himself. Indeed, Collier relates that labouring Chileans ('*el pueblo*') were not included in the political system; 'educated Chileans coexisted with them, but were not (with a few honourable exceptions) much interested in them' (p. 18).

Collier shares the Chilean liberals' pride in the achievements of the early Republic and the continuity of the Chilean liberal tradition into the twentieth century. He explicitly rejects the more conservative interpretations that see the post-1830 period as a 'colonial reaction' (for example, Bernardino Bravo Lira, 1994). His final assessment of the period is consistent with most of the interpretations of Sergio Villalobos whom Collier calls Chile's greatest living historian, and with the Chileans' still persistent pride in their exceptionalism: 'In the contest between order and liberty, liberty had finally won, and with no sacrifice of order. In the calms and the tempests of the years between Portales and Pérez, a proud republic had been consolidated and the foundations of a great *tradition* laid – the Chilean tradition. … It is hard not to see the tradition forged in the 1860s as the essential line of Chilean political history, the precious legacy of the Conservatives and Liberals' (pp. 251–2).

A lifetime of research, collegial relations and friendships in Chile come together in this volume, which appeared shortly after the author's death in February 2003. Whether or not the reader shares Simon Collier's relatively benign interpretation of Chilean politics in the country's first half-century, this volume once again confirms the author's place as the foremost historian in the English language of political ideas and politics in early republican Chile.

San Diego State University BRIAN LOVEMAN

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Roderick J. Barman, *Princess Isabel of Brazil: Gender and Power in the Nineteenth Century* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2002), pp. xiv + 291, $60.00, $19.95 pb.

Isabel Cristina Leopoldina Augusta Micaela Gabriela Rafaela Gonzaga, eldest daughter of Dom Pedro II and his Austrian consort, Dona Teresa Cristina, was born in 1846, six years after her father was pronounced of age to rule as the second emperor of Brazil. One of nine women in the world to hold the regency or the monarchy in their countries, D. Isabel was nonetheless unprepared during her lifetime to assume the affairs of state. A dutiful if not overly studious daughter, she lived a sheltered childhood and adolescence, restricted to family circles and in almost total deference to her father whose decisions concerning the selection of her lady-in-waiting, her tutors, attendants, studies, languages, and social life she accepted obediently. Her father's total control was such that at the age of eighteen she had never been to either a ball or the theatre and was excluded from all contact in public affairs (p. 48). Roderick Barman has presented Dona Isabel's story through the stages of her life, based largely on consultation of her correspondence and the letters written about her by family, close associates, a few lifelong friends, her *aio* (lady-in-waiting) and political leaders of the time.

Barman argues that Isabel, like women of her time, was raised to assume domestic functions through marriage and child-raising, ever faithful to the dictates of the Roman Catholic Church, united with the state during the monarchy. Surrounded by slave attendants, Isabel surely reflected on the issue of slavery but, according to Barman, was ignorant of how most of her Brazilian countrymen lived. Her consent to marry her father's choice of a husband in 1864 transferred her domestic affections to the French Count d'Eu, Gaston d'Orleans, with whom she spent lengthy periods of travel in Europe. After the trying circumstances of miscarriages and stillbirths, she gave birth to three sons, described by Barman in the chapter devoted to her life stage as mother, 1872–1881. Isabel's duties as a wife and mother overshadowed her official position as heir to the throne. As Barman argues, 'having been taught by experience not to compete with or challenge her father, [she] was inhibited from embarking, as she grew older, on any independent foray into the world of learning' (p. 45). She served as regent in 1871–1872 during her father's absence in Europe, yet bowed to the authority of the Viscount of Rio Branco and a capable cabinet whose enactment of the Rio Branco law was a major stage in the eventual process of transition from slave to free labour. During the War of the Triple Alliance (the Paraguayan War), she saw her husband off to the battle front as commander-in-chief of the Brazilian armed forces, a reluctant concession by her father to a man who he customarily distanced from affairs of state.

The affectionate and nostalgic letters from Isabel to her husband at that time spoke of domestic matters and suggested little concern on her part for the meaning of the war or the position of Brazil in that conflict. In 1876–1877, Isabel exercised her second stint as regent. This period of her rule was compromised by internal political turmoil, the failure of electoral reform in 1876, a daunting religious conflict over freemasonry, a severe drought in the northeast in 1877, and the emergence of a feisty Republican Party. Despite her support for her husband's commitment to modernisation reforms in Brazil, her dedication to such aims amounted to her acceptance of invitations to be a patroness of charitable organisations. According to Barman, this was 'not a commitment to social reform so much as a desire to bestow benefits on the unfortunate in life with the intent to make them both happy and virtuous' (p. 168). In 1887 Isabel began her third reign as regent with the departure of the ailing emperor to European health spas. Brazilians credit her with her finest hour when she substituted the reluctant Cotegipe ministry with a ministry that was supportive of abolition, and earned the popular title of '*A Redentora*' (the redemptress) for her 13 May 1888 decree (*Lei Aurea*) that declared chattel slavery abolished in Brazil. She was awarded the Golden Rose from Pope Leo XIII in recognition of her role in ending slavery, yet in the popular eye she was perceived as a religious zealot who had subordinated herself as empress-in-waiting to the pope (p. 190).

Isabel never became the empress of Brazil. In the company of her unpopular husband, her sons, her parents and close childhood friends, she was hastily ushered into exile with the onset of the Republic on 15 November 1889. She survived her parents and her husband, and in the final chapter, 'Her Own Woman', Barman relates the tragic deaths of two of her sons during the Great War that cast over her a profound grief until her death in 1921. In the face of such troubled times there was little evidence that she mulled over the changes to European and Brazilian society.

Barman has carefully illustrated the book with images of Isabel and her family at different stages of her life. Carefully excerpted sections of Isabel's correspondence

during the various stages of her life support Barman's view of her as a devoted daughter, wife, and mother. As to a 'feminist' analysis of Isabel's life and the relationship of gender to nation, the study is rather thin on theoretical innovation. Women's studies have moved beyond Barman's introductory claim that 'women have at last become visible in history' (p. xi). Readers might welcome an (en)gendered evaluation of the paternalistic codes to which Barman claims Isabel was subject throughout her life. A suggested framework for the study might well have been 'strict cultural codes of what it is to be a "proper woman" are often developed to keep women in this inferior power position'.[1]

King's College London NANCY PRISCILLA NARO

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Andrew J. Kirkendall, *Class Mates: Male Student Culture and the Making of a Political Class in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), pp. viii + 269, £22.95, pb.

This engaging little book speaks to several important issues in Brazilian history. Scholars like José Murilo de Carvalho, Eul-Soo Pang, Roderick and Jean Barman, and others have long recognised the importance of the ubiquitous *bacharéis* – (law) degree-holders – who dominated the political elite of imperial Brazil. In the mid-twentieth century, Gilberto Freyre and Luís Martins argued that a fundamental division between educated, modernising *bacharel* sons and uneducated planter fathers characterised the empire, a view that echoes in the debate over the locus of political power in the monarchy. The law schools founded in 1828 at Olinda (moved to nearby Recife in 1854) and São Paulo forged a class of 'mandarins' (in Pang's overdrawn analogy to late-imperial China, rightly criticised by Richard Graham and others for its exaggeration of state autonomy) that dominated imperial politics and administration. This remarkably coherent and national elite, argued Carvalho, goes a long way to explaining the (relative) unity and political stability of the Brazilian Empire, in comparison to Spanish America. An oversupply of *bacharéis* in the last decades of the empire, concluded the Barmans, contributed to alienation from the monarchy among a younger generation.

For all the weight that the law schools carry in Brazilian historiography, it is perhaps surprising that no historian has peered into these black boxes to analyse how they produced the political elite. Kirkendall rises to the challenge of 'looking at how students formed their identities as members of a political class while in law school' (p. 9). His focus is not on the curriculum, which in any case mattered little to students, who rarely attended class, or to poorly-qualified teachers who placed a premium on memorisation and oratorical skills. Few students failed and the vast majority received the highest possible grades as a matter of course (pp. 102–7). Then they moved quickly into judicial and administrative positions, not private practice.

Rather than curriculum or careers, Kirkendall examines student life in their *repúblicas*, their shared accommodations, which brought together young men from across the empire. Freshmen were subject to hazing that focused on eliminating their regional accents and socialised them into the student community. Indeed, the entire law-school experience served as a rite of passage in which these young men practised being public men through oratory, poetry and journalism, thereby

[1] Nira Yuval-Davis. *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997), p. 47.

asserting their 'cultural authority' (p. 13). Repeatedly, law students presented themselves as idealistic youth, the future of the nation, and set for themselves (rhetorically at least) the challenge of remaking their country.

Law student culture underwent several transformations. From the late 1830s to about 1860 students reacted to the perceived disorder of the Regency by defining liberalism in narrow terms appropriate to a slave society. This was the heyday of student poetry and other literary activities, as they embraced Romanticism and basked in the certitude that 'power flowed from the shaft of a pen' (p. 61) in the civilised Brazil. In the 1860s political concerns resurfaced in the schools, as partisan political lines hardened in the country, and as students embraced abolitionism. Often this was just a youthful phase in these men's lives; indeed, it is remarkable how much criticism of Brazilian society and patronage-laden politics (not to mention outrageous behaviour) was tolerated among students. Fathers might admonish student sons to devote more time to study and to temper their criticisms of politics, but they knew that their sons would soon grow up and become responsible members of the political class. In the 1880s republicanism, along with positivism and other social sciences, gained ground among students, especially in São Paulo, but Kirkendall notes that republican students were far from radical; rather, 'republicanism was merely part of a larger search for new forms of identity that would ensure their continued authority over Brazilian society at large' (p. 165). In this, *bacharéis* were remarkably successful, Kirkendall concludes, for the decentralised republic opened up new opportunities for many at the state level even as it undermined law students' pretensions to being a national elite.

Kirkendall relies heavily on the three early twentieth-century alumni histories of the two faculties, which provide his most engaging anecdotes about student life. Here, however, he might have been more cautious in distinguishing between what happened and how alumni or chroniclers remembered the episodes. Literary depictions of law-school life get a bit too much attention, but for the most part, these portrayals are consistent with what he can infer from the relatively limited private correspondence of law students that has survived. He carefully analyses the extensive student literary press. While writing an institutional history was, of course, not Kirkendall's goal, there is no indication that he was able to use the schools' administrative archives (or even whether they have survived). These are, however, minor questions about a model cultural history that speaks directly to many of the big questions in nineteenth-century Brazilian history.

University of Calgary HENDRIK KRAAY

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Thomas L. Whigham, *The Paraguayan War: Volume 1, Causes and Early Conduct* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), pp. xvii + 520, £57.00, hb.

It is rare to come across a work of traditional diplomatic history among new books appearing on Latin American history. It is also most unusual to find that the same study will be spread out over two volumes. The Paraguayan War is certainly a fitting topic for such extensive and in-depth treatment. Professor Whigham's first volume explores the causes and recounts in detail the early part of the conflict up to New Year's Day 1866. The story is well told and ends at a timely and critical moment

in the conflict – when the Paraguayan forces are in retreat and the armies of the Triple Alliance are preparing to invade Paraguay.

The first part of this excellent study outlines the history of the emergence of political societies within the Platine region of South America. The resulting nation states of Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil are described as 'uneasy neighbors'. The bone of contention for all three was the control of the buffer state of Uruguay, a complex issue that the author perceptively discusses in a chapter entitled 'The Uruguayan Imbroglio'. The diplomatic road to conflict is carefully examined though the chapters often overlap with each other so that it is not always easy for the reader to follow the course of events. Nevertheless, there are interesting sections, especially on the regional rivalries that made it so difficult to promote a sense of Argentine national identity. By contrast the people of Paraguay are shown to have a more developed sense of cultural and national identity. One of the reasons for this was a succession of strong and influential leaders. Professor Whigham gives informative and perceptive portrayals of José Gaspar de Francia, Carlos Antonio López and Francisco Solano López. The latter is credited with 'a grand design' (p. 203) and is regarded as the instigator of the war with his neighbours.

The second half of the book is concerned with the military campaigns. The initial Paraguayan offensive is described in meticulous detail and includes the land operations in Mato Grosso, Corrientes and Rio Grande do Sul. There is also an excellent chapter on naval operations leading to the battle of Riachuelo. Whigham concludes that the Brazilians won because they 'had superior material and better luck' (p. 326). Nevertheless, the author makes the valuable point that, from the beginning of the conflict, López was confident of victory over his enemies because Paraguay was able to mobilise larger military forces and was relatively better prepared for war. The problem was the marshal's strategy, judged by Whigham to have been ill-considered and replete with a succession of tactical errors. A glaring weakness was the fact that the chain of command was dependent upon decisions made by López at his headquarters. Conscious that any form of disobedience would mean their certain dismissal and probable execution, generals in the field were unable to take independent action. The resulting delays and confusion eroded any military successes and gave the enemy time to recover. When the forces of the Triple Alliance regrouped and launched their counter-attacks the Paraguayan armies were compelled either to surrender or to retreat.

The actions of political leaders, diplomats and generals loom large in this diplomatic history of the war. Indeed, Whigham provides fascinating pen-pictures of the principal combatants. The self-centred and 'restless' nature of Francisco Solano López is reflected in his youth when he responded to his father's gifts 'as if all the nation were his personal property to be played with or discarded according to whim'(p. 68). This contrasted markedly with the behaviour of Dom Pedro II who at the same age was 'incorruptible, attentive to his duties, kind, and intellectually precocious – in sum, just the person the [Brazilian] "nation" required to foster positive change while preserving the established social hierarchy' (p. 58). Bartolomé Mitre is described as 'negligent of dress and reserved in manner'. The Argentine leader's 'most striking characteristic was his bookishness, but this attribute never prevented the young colonel from acquitting himself well in battle' (p. 119). Of the three leaders, it is Mitre who emerges as the most capable and impressive figure. Whigham argues that Mitre was initially dismissive of the Paraguayan military threat because he did not believe that López would take the offensive. But once the

invasion occurred, Mitre seized the opportunity to use the conflict to promote his own idea of Argentine nationality. The first priority for the Triple Alliance in 1865, however, was to overcome the Paraguayan forces. The allies might have greater numbers and resources to put into the field, but they also distrusted each other. During the first six months of the war Whigham shows that military operations were poorly coordinated. In particular, he singles out the Brazilian navy as the biggest offender when it failed to attack the Paraguayan army as it retreated from Corrientes to the fortress of Humaitá. Consequently, the Paraguayan army survived to fight another day. In a preview of his next volume Professor Whigham notes: 'The Allies were badly mistaken, if they thought that these thrice-whipped soldiers were resigned to their defeat' (p. 422).

University of Exeter JOSEPH SMITH

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X03327683

James D. Henderson, *Modernization in Colombia: The Laureano Gómez Years, 1889–1965* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. xvii + 508, $55.00, hb.

James Henderson has written extensively on political conservatism in Hispanic America and on socio-political conflict in the Colombian department of Tolima during *la violencia* of the late 1940s up to the early 1960s. This book is an attempt to explore the career of the Conservative president and opposition leader, Laureano Gómez, and to explain broader processes of civil violence and development.

Henderson claims that the career of Gómez has been obscured and trivialised by partisan polemic, and needs to be rescued from both his detractors and his hagiographers. This was perhaps true thirty or even twenty years ago, but a new generation in Colombia is more likely to be ignorant of the political history of the early and mid-twentieth century than to take a passionately confrontational stance. Gómez was unusual in Latin American political history in two respects. First, he was an effective, though not always loyal, leader of an opposition party over a long period. Secondly, he did more than any other figure to keep a civilian Conservative identity alive in Colombia, when elsewhere in the continent Conservatives merged with Liberals to remain electorally viable, were displaced by other groupings, or found expression in military regimes. Confronting acute problems of lack of patronage, an expanding male electorate (one of the largest in the continent), challenges from older and younger generations for the national leadership, and opposition from key departments like Antioquia and Caldas, Gómez used several techniques to cement a divided party. A skilled orator in congress and in the plaza at a time when rhetoric was highly valued, Gómez alternated unpredictably between elevated debate based in omnivorous reading and abusive denunciations and savage exposés that wore down opponents. He was co-proprietor of a conspicuously partisan newspaper, which acquired an influence disproportionate to sales. Gómez kept young opponents of Liberal rule alert to the possibility of political alternatives by pioneering new devices, both technical – *La Voz Conservadora* in radio – and ideological – ranging from the brief advocacy of the tactics of non-violent protest preached by Gandhi to flirtations with the language and rituals of Spanish Falangism.

An instinctive polemicist and a tenacious opportunist, Gómez' career had one consistent characteristic, which his Liberal and leftist opponents underestimated.

This was a commitment to a Catholic conservatism that, influenced from his youth by the Jesuits, contained a strong mystical and anti-materialistic underpinning. Stressing divinely ordained hierarchies of family, gender, class and race, Gómez argued that Catholicism provided a unique basis for social harmony and mores which liberalism – individualist and collectivist – subverted. Stressing the urgency of a transition to Catholic corporatism in state and society from the mid-1930s, in 1940 Gómez deployed neo-Thomist arguments of the right and duty of Catholics to rebel against unjust regimes. Citing ideologues of the Spanish Counter-Reformation like Francisco Suárez, Gómez wanted to humiliate the incumbent Liberal president, Alfonso López Pumarejo. The inference to be drawn from Gómez' rhetoric was that he helped to use the uncertainties of the Second World War to destabilise the government by reasserting the right to tyrannicide. Furthermore, as Liberal rule stagnated during the early 1940s, Catholic corporatist ideas were projected effectively by Gómez as the core of an alternative strategy that was both more 'modern' than liberalism and more in keeping with national and local tradition. While various Conservative businessmen, notably several prominent *antioqueño* industrialists, prospered from Liberal economic policies and preferred collaboration to confrontation, Gómez sharpened the edge of Conservative partisanship with violent rhetoric broadcast by radio, whose impact became greater as transmitters became more powerful. Gómez' speeches played a major but not a unique role in fanning partisan rivalries, which often spilled over into violence in small upland towns and in the countryside.

Rooted in a wide range of printed primary and secondary sources, the book has considerable merits. It is refreshing in approaching history as a whole, rather than presenting a sectional case for a sub-discipline. While the work runs over much familiar territory, it contains numerous rewarding insights into politics, mentalities and culture: the author broaches themes as diverse as 'casual anti-semitism', theories of racial degeneration, the beginnings of aviation, the student carnival of 1929 and architectural innovations in the cities. The author seems more comfortable with the first three decades of the twentieth century than the second. He writes enthusiastically about the intimate friendships and antagonisms of political, business and intellectual leaders of the early twentieth century and the face-to-face society in Bogotá in which many operated. He writes less convincingly about the slow transition to a 'mass society' that followed, and recoils from explicit discussion of what he understands by 'the dangers of political inauthenticity' – a label he attached to the period 1932–65. The analysis of Gómez' career is limited by the fact that Henderson has not enjoyed access to Gómez' archives, though has has made fruitful use of interviews with his son, the defeated presidential candidate, Alvara Gómez Hurtado. One curious omission from the book is a discussion of the relationship of Gómez with the Jesuit Universidad Javeriana and its long-serving rector, Padre Félix Restrepo, who was the most persuasive ideologue of Catholic corporatism between the late 1930s and 1950s. Constrained by the power of Liberalism and the influence of regional notables in his own party, Gómez was never the dominant figure in Colombian history that José Vicente Gómez was in Venezuela or Getúlio Vargas in Brazil. As a consequence, Henderson stretches plausibility by writing a history of Colombia around Laureano Gómez. The coffee ascendancy might have been a more realistic unitary theme. In places the book relies excessively on the telling anecdote, descends into an indulgent lyricism ('gone was the old social tranquillity, gone was the once great public world'), and lapses into simplistic

statements (late-twentieth century Colombia was 'full of bellicose citizens'). Yet, with these reservations, the book can be recommended as a stimulating contribution to Colombian historiography, which rewards careful reading.

University College London CHRISTOPHER ABEL

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Stuart McCook, *States of Nature: Science, Agriculture, and Environment in the Spanish Caribbean, 1760–1940* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), pp. xiv + 201, $50.00, $22.95 pb.

States of Nature addresses three issues important to Latin America's environmental history: how scientific research contributed to the consolidation of nation-states; how scientific research supported agro-export economies; and how political and cultural factors influenced scientific research. Stuart McCook, an historian of science, addresses these questions by devoting his core chapters to three broadly related topics. First targeted is Henri Pittier, a Swiss botanist who produced national floristic surveys of Costa Rica and Venezuela during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. McCook then focuses on early early twentieth-century strategies taken to combat a disease attacking Cuba and Puerto Rico's sugarcane fields. Finally, he analyses the work of Carlos Chardón, a Puerto Rican scientist who had a leading role in sugarcane disease research and later consulted on scientific education for several Latin American countries.

McCook argues that attempts to 'nationalize and commodify nature' amongst nineteenth-century elites were necessary for the export boom in coffee, bananas, sugar and other crops, but ultimately 'produced sick, deteriorated landscapes over large swaths of the Spanish Caribbean' (p. 6). Elite power was based partially on control of nature, which in turn required '[subjugating] all facets of the natural world' (p. 2). The conceptual transformation of nature and the environmental implications of Latin America's agro-export boom certainly are important topics for research. The challenge for *States of Nature* is to support these claims using a biographical-scientific analysis of Pittier and Chardón, McCook's two main interests.

The case of Pittier is meant to represent the dozens of Latin American countries that produced national inventories of plants between 1880 and 1930 in attempts to 'nationalize and commodify the region's wild landscapes' (p. 8). Pittier's botanical work attracts much of McCook's attention, while much less analysis is spent on Pittier's national maps of Costa Rica and Venezuela or his other non-botanical research. McCook alleges that Pittier's research illustrates the 'complex place of science and nature in the process of nation building in Latin America' (p. 45), but the claim is not supported by sufficient evidence. Allegedly, when Pittier gave plants 'civil status' (p. 28), he was 'nationalizing' nature, and therefore complicit with unspecified aspects of the overall nation-building project. However, it is unclear precisely how Pittier's work contributed to the consolidation of states or nations. In what ways did government officials use Pittier's research? Was it useful for attracting investment, promoting exports, raising nationalist feelings or creating a national scientific community?

Chardón's scientific work allegedly represents the adaptation of agricultural research to local environmental and institutional conditions, a process McCook calls 'creolization'. Between 1898 and 1927 Cuba and Puerto Rico established five major agricultural research centres; in addition, many private mills had established

their own research facilities, which apparently collaborated with publicly funded researchers. Combating mosaic disease in sugarcane was a significant challenge, but the introduction of resistant hybrid cane varieties from British and Dutch colonies proved effective. While McCook emphasises the 'creolization' of science, the major issues appear to be the bias of research, especially against sugarcane suppliers known as *colonos*, and the reasons why sugarcane growers were slow to adopt resistant sugarcane varieties.

McCook acknowledges the research bias (p. 63) and the fact that new varieties would demand costly contract negotiations with *colonos* (pp. 101–2), but he does not develop these issues sufficiently. Focusing on the political economy of scientific research would have centred McCook's research more firmly within the book's objectives. It is clear enough, in this case, how agricultural science influenced continued sugar production in the Spanish Caribbean. Nevertheless, McCook does not use sources that would suggest how elites viewed the mosaic disease issue and the adoption of resistant hybrid cane; nor is there serious effort at analysing the role of private research institutions.

Overall, *States of Nature* shows how scientists contributed to the consolidation of nation-states by producing systematic descriptions of plants; similarly, scientific research encouraged agro-export production by combating a key sugarcane pest. Certainly, scientists who were not botanists fortified the nation-state in many ways. For example, explorers mapped regions with valuable natural resources, while geologists described mineral deposits; these and other generalists, often without academic credentials, did plenty of 'science' in the interests of elites and nation-states. In addition, other commodities besides sugarcane, especially bananas (and coffee, cocoa and rubber, depending on how one defines the 'Spanish Caribbean'), were targets of scientific research. Were these crops different from sugarcane? Is it possible that natural aspects of these commodities were not always 'nationalized' successfully? Attention to these neglected actors and commodities could have delivered more substantial evidence necessary to address the important claims advanced in *States of Nature*.

Texas A&M University CHRISTIAN BRANNSTROM

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Jennifer Abbassi and Sheryl L. Lutjens, *Rereading Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Political Economy of Gender* (Lanham, MD, and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, Inc., 2002), pp. xi + 393, £20.95, pb.

Rereading Women in Latin America and the Caribbean is a book in which the approach and subject matter truly conform with its title, and which, in my view, will be an indispensable source for scholars interested in how contemporary work on gender in this region has evolved from an immensely rich past.

The book forms part of a series launched by the long-established regional periodical – *Latin American Perspectives* – which attempts to synthesise themes which have featured in the journal in the last three decades. In the present case this involves the collation of gender-relevant *Latin American Perspectives* articles under three main headings: 'Women, Work and Development', 'Politics, Policies and the State', and 'Culture, History and Feminisms'. Each section comprises five or six key journal articles (from the 1980s and 1990s), preceded by integrative, theoretically informed overviews by the book's editors: Jennifer Abbassi and Sheryl Lutjens.

Inserted into these are extracts from the feminist historical archive. These are often pieces published in *Latin American Perspectives* during the 1970s by leading scholars such as Eleanor Leacock (on anthropological facts and fictions about 'women and development') and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla (on conceptual considerations concerning 'class movements' and 'sex movements'). In setting such extracts within the context of Latin America's changing political economy and shifting academic debates on gender, the sophistication of early feminist scholarship, despite its foundation in only a fraction of the research that is available to us now, becomes strikingly apparent. Also significant is the continuity of key issues bearing upon gender inequality not only in Latin America and the Caribbean, but elsewhere, particularly in relation to motherhood, familial ideologies and reproductive labour.

In the first section on 'Women, Work and Development', the interconnections between labour markets, gender and households form a major unifying theme. For example, the first two chapters, by Helen Safa and Mercedes González de la Rocha respectively, consider, *inter alia*, shifts in employment in recent decades and their impacts on women, family life and livelihood strategies. Although the contexts are different – Safa's chapter is based on her extensive long-term comparative research in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Dominican Republic, whereas that of González de la Rocha derives from her detailed longitudinal research in Mexico – both contributions highlight remarkable similarities. One which particularly stands out is the tendency for increased female labour force participation to have gone some way to 'empowering' women economically and to represent greater incursion into the 'public' domain, but for normative ideologies of women's primary allegiance to the 'private sphere' of home and domesticity to have stayed virtually unchanged. Given that cut-backs in social sector spending and rising costs of living have placed greater strain on domestic provisioning, and that there has been little corresponding crossing of conventional gendered boundaries on the part of men, responsibilities assumed by women for household reproduction have intensified, diminishing still further their time and energy for negotiating substantial changes in the gender status quo. This is further echoed in Lynn Stephens' chapter on Women in Mexico's Popular Urban Movements, where activism in the face of economic hardship is often constrained by women's increasing labour loads, and where it does emerge, women's collective struggle for survival tends to be grounded in practical needs which can reinforce gendered divisions of labour.

The theme of family and gender subordination appears in a rather different form in the chapter by Grace Esther Young on 'The Myth of Being "Like a Daughter"', which deals with the ways in the familial context in which domestic servants are embedded in middle income households in Peru, perpetuates dependent, paternalistic – and class – relationships.

Family (and class) are never far from discussion in the contributions selected for Part Two, on 'Politics, Policies and the State', although here the chapters are more diverse in scope. Some, such as that by Moema Viezzer on Domitila Barrios de Chungara's Housewives Committee in Bolivia, and by Christine Eber on indigenous women's struggles for power and autonomy in Chiapas, deal with women at the grassroots. A more 'top-down' perspective is provided by Karen Kampwith's incisive account of Violeta Chamorro's ascent to the Nicaraguan presidency in 1990 as 'mother of the nation', and the impacts of appeals to 'traditional womanhood' on different aspects of social policy during the first few years of the UNO administration. Two chapters in this section – that by Sara Nelson on 'Constructing and

Negotiating Gender in Women's Police Stations in Brazil' and on Cuban women and the state by Sheryl Lutjens – address the problematic of feminism and the state, and more particularly, the contradictions arising from cooptation of women's initiatives into the political and bureaucratic mainstream. As with other chapters in the volume, the discussions may be grounded in Latin America, but they have much wider global resonance.

The third section, on 'Culture, History and Feminisms', is possibly the most diverse selection of articles in the book, drawn from a variety of disciplines such as literary theory, anthropology and cultural studies. These complement more mainstream work on economy, family and politics in enlivening ways. Included here, for example, are David Kunzle's review of reactions on the part of the Nicaraguan women's organisation, AMNLAE and others, to the work of controversial erotic cartoonist, Róger Sánchez, and Marta Savigliano's frank and perceptive observations on the character and impacts of Alan Parker's multi-million Hollywood production of 'Evita'. Also covered are questions of the re-making of identity among Brazilian women in exile in other parts of Latin America and in Europe during the military period (Angela Xavier de Brito), and the evolution of Latin American women's 'testimonial' literature, particularly in relation to military repression and the loss of children (Nancy Saporta Sternbach).

Instead of a conclusion, there is an extremely useful annotated index of all articles on women and gender which appeared in *Latin American Perspectives* between 1974 and 2001. With these numbering around 70, the judicious work of the editors in background reading and selection is roundly confirmed. The volume comprises not only a good indicative sample of key themes but also contributions based on a variety of Latin American countries and by scholars from within and outside the region.

My only reservation is that, for a book of this nature, the index is somewhat skimpy. Substantive topics and cross-referencing have been neglected at the expense of author names, which, in themselves, are unevenly covered. While this is possibly not such a problem for readers who are already familiar with the Latin American gender literature, this will be less the case for students new to the subject. On balance, however, I cannot imagine that *Rereading Women in Latin America and The Caribbean* will be anything other than a popular and positive choice for university courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Students and staff alike will enjoy the book's wide yet coherent thematic reach, the editors' helpful signposting, and the opportunity to consider samples of scholarship from three decades of dedicated feminist writing on the region.

London School of Economics SYLVIA CHANT

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Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. xix + 572, £33.50; $34.95, hb.

Piero Gleijeses has written the most detailed and revealing book yet published about the foreign activities of Castro's Cuba, as well as about the history of contemporary Africa, and it would be difficult to overestimate its importance. Although covering a short, 17-year time span, from 1959 to 1976, this classic study is essential reading for anyone wishing to understand the history of one small island and one large

continent in the second half of the twentieth century, as well as the international ramifications of their interaction during the Cold War era.

Gleijeses, professor at Johns Hopkins University and long-serving Latin American specialist, received unprecedented access to the Cuban archives in Havana in the course of his research. He was also able to unearth significant unpublished material from the US State Department and the CIA, and to interview innumerable protagonists in Cuba, Africa and the United States. The range of his linguistic qualifications, in Portuguese and Afrikaans, as well as Spanish and German, has given him unusual access to a wide range of published sources that will be unfamiliar to many specialists. The result is an academic *tour de force*, easily assimilable by the general reader.

The original core of the book concentrated on the Cuban military intervention in Angola in 1975. This astonishing and entirely unexpected move took the world by surprise, and led to the defeat of a South African army that had hoped, in a lightning dash to Luanda, to change the balance of forces on the continent. This would have been a major subject for investigation, sufficient in itself, but in the process Gleijeses found himself chronicling the entire history of the Cuban Revolution's early involvement in Africa, from the first flush of enthusiasm for the revolutionaries in Algeria, the extraording intervention in the Congo/Zaire by Cuban forces led by Che Guevara, the little-known story of the troop sent to Congo-Brazzaville, and the painstaking and ultimately successful struggle of Amilcar Cabral's guerrillas in Guinea-Bissau. (The later story of the intervention in Ethiopia in 1977, and a second operation in Angola against South African forces, at Cuito Cuanavale in 1988, will have to wait for another volume, or for another historian to take up the tale.)

An important and original aspect of Gleijeses's story is his emphasis on the significant relationships between small Third World countries, somehow missed, or unconsidered, by Washington. Always led to believe in the simplistic notion that leftist movements and countries were manipulated by Moscow, successive governments in Washington failed to understand that such countries might have a dynamic all their own, and establish close friendships with others that needed no prompting from the alternative super power. Indeed, Moscow was often ignorant of developments occurring in what was supposed to be its sphere of influence – and sometimes it was hostile towards them.

Algeria was the first country to which Cuba provided medical assistance, bringing Algerian orphans to Cuba for education and training, and sending Cuban doctors to help replace the French doctors who had left after independence. The tradition established of free medical help, almost unique in international relations, was later expanded to many other countries and has lasted until today.

Gleijeses explains Cuba's strategic decision, made early in 1965 when revolutionary fires in Latin America were burning low, to involve itself directly, with a guerrilla force, in what was perceived as the unfolding African revolution. This was not the individual whim of Che Guevara, but the choice of the Cuban state. 'Africa is rising from the ruins,' *Verde Olivo*, the Cuban army magazine, announced in December 1964. 'The fire of national liberation is burning in Angola. The Zairean patriots are raising the flag of independence on the points of their guns. Rebels are fighting heroically in Mozambique.'

The time had come for the Cuban Revolution, still aflame with the fierce spirit of internationalism, to lend a hand, and Guevara was despatched to Africa that

month to make contact with liberation movements seeking to free the continent from white rule, as well as with surviving supporters of the martyred Patrice Lumumba in Congo/Zaire. Gleijeses produces much detail, never published before, about Guevara's meetings in various African capitals between January and March 1965. He suggests that the Cubans may have been misled by the enthusiasm of Jorge Serguera, their ambassador in Algiers and a veteran of the Sierra Maestra, whose advice about Africa was not always wise. Serguera may well have contributed 'to Havana's overestimation of the revolutionary potential of the region'. He later moved to Congo-Brazzaville, where as one Cuban secret service officer commented wryly, he conceived a plan of 'Napoleonic proportions' that sought 'to open guerrilla fronts in almost every country in Africa'.

Small groups of Cuban guerrillas were sent out to Congo/Zaire later that year, under Guevara's command, and operated for a few months to the west of Lake Tanganyika. A second group, led by Jorge Risquet, went to Congo-Brazzaville to protect that country against possible attack from Tshombe's forces in Congo/Zaire. Gleijeses produces much fresh evidence about Guevara's tragic adventure, an episode that the Cubans were only prepared to discuss decades later, in the 1990s. The expeditionary force was withdrawn after six months, due to internal differences with the Congolese and the intervention of South African mercenaries, but the Cuban appetite for further activity continued: in Congo-Brazzaville, where Risquet's force began training the Angolan guerrillas of Agostinho Neto, and in Guinea, where another group was sent to help Cabral's rebel movement in the neighbouring, Portuguese-controlled, territory of Guinea-Bissau.

The Portuguese coup of 1974 transformed the situation in Angola, and Castro was again asked by Neto, in the autumn of 1974, for assistance with military training in Angola. The Cubans were cautious, after their earlier experience, and took no action until August 1975, when they agreed to send out 500 military instructors to staff four training centres.

The USA had moved a month earlier, in July, when President Ford, at Henry Kissinger's prompting, authorised the CIA to provide covert assistance of $24 million to Neto's rivals, Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi – the start of a clandestine operation in Angola that would continue for the next two decades. Money and weapons poured in to the two groups opposed to Neto, according to Gleijeses' detailed account, long before Cuba or the Soviet Union began their own, initially rather meagre, operations. In August, almost certainly with US knowledge and connivance, South African troops moved across into southern Angola to protect the hydro-electric project on the Cunene river. The Portuguese protested, but the South Africans claimed they were protecting their investment.

In the same month, made aware of the delicate military situation in Angola after a visit to Havana by Colonel Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, the most radical of the Portuguese revolutionaries, Castro sent a message to Brezhnev indicating that Cuban special forces might well be required in Angola, and, if so, they would need Soviet help with transport. The Soviet Union, bent on a wider rapprochement with the United States at the time, was reluctant to offer help, and produced no transport assistance until the following year.

Kissinger later claimed falsely that Cuban combat troops had arrived in August, but the evidence accumulated by Gleijeses indicates that this was not so. A fleet of three Cuban merchant ships, with the promised contingent of 480 instructors, did not dock in Angola until the beginning of October, and Neto's forces were

successful in their defence of Luanda that month, holding off the attacks of Holden Roberto. They did so without Cuban troops.

The nature of the war did not change until October 14, when the South African army invaded in strength in the south, in an operation code-named 'Zulu'. The South African force moved north at speed, in lorries and armoured cars, reaching one of the Cuban training camps outside Benguela at the beginning of November. The Cuban instructors, their camp overrun, were obliged to take part in the defensive battle of Catengue, losing more than 20 men, dead, wounded and missing. Benguela fell to the South Africans on November 6, and Luanda's fall appeared imminent, perhaps before independence day, scheduled for November 11.

Castro, in Havana, hearing news of the defeat at Catengue, decided on November 4 to send troops to defend Luanda – without, it seems, even waiting for a request from the Angolans. He consulted no one apart from his brother Raúl, and made no attempt to talk to Moscow. Time was of the essence, and the Russians would almost certainly prevaricate, as Brezhnev had done in August. With neither permission nor assistance from the Russians, Cuban special forces were flown out on Cuban turbo-prop planes, involving gruelling 48-hour flights, with refuelling stops in Barbados, Bissau and Brazzaville. Some arrived in time to take part, manning half a dozen Soviet rocket launchers, in the battle of Quifangondo, outside Luanda, on November 10. Stiffened by the Cubans, Neto's forces held out. A handful of Cubans had turned the tide. The South African invasion force withdrew a few months later.

One interesting aspect of the African conflicts revealed by Gleijeses is the extent to which newspapers exaggerated and misinformed their readers about what was going on in the early 1970s, notably about Cuban involvement. (The subject is also well covered in James Sanders' book, *South Africa and the International Media, 1972–1979*, London, 2000.) This misinformation spread rapidly through into the political system in Washington – and to a lesser extent in London, Paris, and Lisbon, the three European capitals most concerned with African affairs. By contrast, the CIA officers on the spot, and the analysts back in Washington, were often well-informed and level-headed, writing reports that were far from alarmist. Yet Washington consistently listened to the newspapers and ignored the analysis produced by their own specialists. When told of the Cuban airlift of troops to Angola, the Americans were amazed, their own secret plans confounded. Gleijeses's splendid book reveals the extent of their discomfiture.

Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London RICHARD GOTT

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Jorge Duany, *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. xv + 341, $49.95, $19.95 pb.

Jorge Duany's important new work seeks to address a question that scholars and intellectuals have heatedly and fruitfully debated in recent years: how have Puerto Ricans constructed a resilient and broad-based national identity without ever having created an independent nation-state? Duany explores that question with great rigour and imagination not only by discussing the cultural politics of US colonial rule in Puerto Rico but also by examining the impact of the *nación en vaivén*, the nation on the move, created by Puerto Rican migration to the United States.

Duany's work engages the rich production in Puerto Rican cultural studies (I use this term broadly as it includes a number of approaches and disciplines) that has explored the definition of nationalism in the context of colonialism and migration. Among these works are Arcadio Díaz-Quiñones' *El arte de bregar*, Juan Flores' *From Bomba to Hip Hop* and *Taíno Revival* edited by Gabriel Haslip-Viera. Duany notes how the tension between Puerto Ricans in the diaspora and those on the island has led to a re-examination of the contours of Puerto Rico's 'imagined community', a concept obviously taken from Benedict Anderson but one that Duany refines to conceptualise Puerto Rican nationalism, noting that, 'I do not believe that [nations] are necessarily imagined as sovereign or as limited to a particular territory' (p. 15). The author also reflects on the literature of postcolonial studies, including the work of Partha Chatterjee and Homi Bhaba, that has interrogated the relationship between colonialism and nationalism.

The wide-ranging and brilliantly conceived variety of sources used to shed light on his concerns is immediately apparent in chapters two to four as Duany turns his own gaze to that of North America in the early twentieth century. In turn, these chapters examine the representation of Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, at World's Fairs in Buffalo (1901) and St. Louis (1904); the work of the North American anthropologists Jesse Walter Fewkes and John Alden Mason in Puerto Rico; and US photographic representations of Puerto Rico (or 'Porto Rico' in early colonial parlance) and Puerto Ricans. Duany finds a certain surprising consistency across these media and methods. Puerto Ricans were inferior to their North American overlords and in need of educational and economic tutelage. Nonetheless, because the North American gaze found them to be Catholic and European in origin, they were 'too familiar to be entirely alien, too alien to be entirely familiar' (p. 121), unlike the peoples of the Philippines whom the USA consistently represented as primitive and inscrutably 'other'. Tellingly, the viewpoint of the anthropologists Fewkes and Mason, which Duany reconstructs through their field notes and correspondence held in the National Museum of Natural History and the American Philosophical Society, excluded Puerto Rico's 'third root', Africa, in depicting Puerto Rican culture. Fewkes emphasised the Taíno culture, while Mason concentrated on the impact of Spanish folk culture. That exclusion is a recurrent theme in Duany's study (see also the essays in *Taíno Revival*).

The next section dwells on the response by Puerto Rican politicians and intellectuals at mid-century. Crucial here is Luis Muñoz Marín who sought to complement Operation Bootstrap with Operation Serenity, an effort to rescue and preserve Puerto Rico's national culture in the face of North American political and economic preponderance. The politician found help from two important anthropologists, Ricardo Alegría and Eugenio Fernández Méndez, who were instrumental in founding the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture. Duany characterises all three as cultural nationalists: 'cultural nationalists typically proclaim the spiritual autonomy of their nation by commemorating their heritage, celebrating their rituals, rescuing their traditions, and educating the people' (p. 123). Though the Institute insisted on the 'three roots' of the Puerto Rican nationality, it also placed the Spanish language at the centre of Puerto Rico's cultural and national autonomy from the United States, which would have a significant impact on relations between Puerto Ricans in the USA and in Puerto Rico.

Those tensions, between 3.4 million Puerto Ricans in the USA and 3.8 million on the island, are the subject of chapters 7 to 11. The island government took

the early lead in organising Puerto Ricans in New York and other cities, usually through their original localities, the Caborrojeños Ausentes being one such example. However, these societies eventually became sources of friction as U.S.-based groups chafed at what they saw as the paternalist attitudes of island-based politicians and intellectuals. On the island, cultural nationalists expressed anxiety over the rise of 'Spanglish', interpreted as a sign of cultural deterioration. Again, Duany's selection and interpretation of sources is inspired. Particularly rich are various documentary and photographic collections at the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños (Hunter College, CUNY), from which he gleans evidence about associational life and the re-interpretation of national symbols and rituals in New York City.

Duany offers no resolution to these tensions. Rather, in his view they represent the condition of possibility of the Puerto Rican nationality, one forged by numerous actors on the island and in the diaspora in the context of a persistent colonialism and mass migration. While he has made a major contribution to the understanding of Puerto Rican national identities, Duany has also demonstrated that the *nación en vaivén* is an important site from which all scholars can reconsider the cultural politics of nationalism and colonialism.

Fordham University CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT-NOWARA

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Hernando Calvo Ospina, *Bacardi: The Hidden War* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), pp. xvi + 127, £40.00, £10.99 pb.

Each generation has its own version of Latin America. One could imagine an archaeological project to unearth the various layers of representation that have constituted the region in the twentieth-century alone: dictatorships and guerrillas; rainforests and developers; magic and realism; pyramids and ceremonies; and so on and so forth. Few of these constructions ever fully fade away; rather they are always available to be taken up and adapted in new circumstances and for new ends. Undoubtedly, the dominant images that make up our contemporary imagination of *latinidad* revolve around sex, sun and salsa. Culture has replaced politics or nature, and low culture has edged out high culture, such that Ricky Martín, Jennifer López and Shakira have now replaced (say) Che Guevara, Evita Perón or Gabriel García Márquez as Latin America's prime representatives in the global consciousness.

Hernando Calvo Ospina's intent is to turn back the tide. In *Bacardi: The Hidden War* he takes as his target an icon and promoter of this 'new' Latin America – a corporation whose current UK advertising campaigns feature a 'Latin Quarter' where desire can run free, liberated by alcohol, music and dancing – and uncovers the connections between the Bacardi company and over forty years of anti-Castro plotting and dirty tricks among the exiled Cuban-American community in the United States. In other words, behind the fun and frolics is the familiar Cold War politics brought forward into a globalised world. Bacardi's 'hidden war' is both a trade war against, above all, the French Pernod-Ricard corporation that has since 1994 marketed Havana Club internationally, and also a political war (albeit one that occasionally turns violent) for which the company bankrolls the Cuban-American National Foundation (CANF), provides the lawyers to write the Helms-Burton Act, and generally does everything within its power to maintain pressure on the US state and the Cuban economy to topple the Castro regime.

But there are three problems with Calvo Ospina's argument: what he describes is not a war, is not hidden and is only tangentially related to Bacardi. Thus, contrary to the impression this book may give, while many directors and shareholders connected to Bacardi have been involved in Cuban exile politics, many have not. Those who have are scarcely sole instigators of the CANF's activity; the CANF and others are never less than vocal about their opposition to Castro, and US capital does little to hide its impatience to see Cuba open up as a market for its goods. Finally, for the past thirty years the Miami Cubans have been engaged above all in no more than fundraising and lobbying, and with such success that covert activities or armed action have seldom seemed necessary.

Which is not to say that there is no story to be told here. For instance, Calvo Ospina could have provided us with a history of the complex and contradictory inter-relations between commerce, politics, and culture among the Cuban-American right-wing. This community has changed enormously since the early 1960s, in part as those who were first to flee to the USA have grown older, more settled and successful, and so less likely to return to any post-Castro Cuba, in part as their children have grown up with no memory of life before the revolution, and in part as new waves of immigrants such as the *marielitos* and the *balseros* have altered its class (and race) composition. Much as the CANF and its now deceased leader Jorge Mas Canosa would have liked to pretend otherwise, and despite the fact that Calvo Ospina sees only a unified, homogenous web of intrigue, Cuban-Americans do not speak with one voice or act (or vote) in only one way.

Moreover, the Bacardi family itself has also changed, adapted, disagreed, and dispersed. Peter Foster tells some of this story in his 1990 *Family Spirits: The Bacardi Saga* (a book that Calvo Ospina shows no sign of knowing), but Foster's analysis could be updated and provided with more scholarly and political rigour. By the 1990s, the family dynasty of Cuban exiles that had jealously kept the Bacardi empire together had for the first time handed over all the day-to-day running and most of the control of the business to others. Bacardi's 1993 acquisition of Martini & Rossi involved a massive shift in its internal dynamics, and by the late 1990s, as George Chip Reid became the first non-family member to be chair of the firm's board of directors, the company had been for all intents and purposes completely transformed into a firm much more similar to the global corporations that in other ways it had anticipated.

For, as Calvo Ospina notes without fully registering, the irony is that Bacardi only 'wholeheartedly "reinvented" itself as Cuban', by identifying itself with the 'new' Latin America of desire and excess, once it was 'headed by a US citizen who had never set foot on Cuban soil' (p. 78). From the 1960s to the 1980s this stateless, placeless corporation had, by contrast, advertised itself as the ultimate mixer, blending almost invisibly with any combination of drinks, environments or emotions. It is when, in 1998, the company re-brands its 'Bacardi and Coke' a 'Cuba Libre,' that the product is visibly re-Latinised, heralding a new relation between politics, economics and culture.

In the end, Calvo Ospina seems to lose sight of the fact that Bacardi, when it comes down to it, makes rum, an alcoholic drink consumed in a variety of specific social and cultural environments. He writes as though 'the political' (and a pretty narrow definition of the political, at that) were somehow the truth of the much broader and more complex set of historically evolving discursive and material practices that, in combination, constitute both Latin America and our relation to it.

Our version of Latin America is no longer that provided by *Bacardi: The Hidden War*, and our version of Latin American Studies needs also to change accordingly.

University of Manchester JON BEASLEY-MURRAY

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Miguel León-Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún: First Anthropologist*, translated by Mauricio J. Mixco (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), pp. ix + 324, $29.95, hb.

The life of the great compiler of the Florentine Codex was portrayed by León-Portilla in a book in Spanish in 1999, that is now made available in English. The various stages of Sahagún's life are reconstructed in seven chapters that offer many interesting and sometimes little known details, for example about his years in Spain before reaching the New World, or the last years of his long life and the struggle to preserve his writings. The chapters are preceded by an introduction with a useful summary of the most important references to Sahagún's work, starting as far back as Mendieta and Torquemada, registering the significant nineteenth-century contributions of García Icazbalceta and Paso y Troncoso, and noting the students of Garibay (León-Portilla, López Austin and Sullivan) and the advances of research in the USA and Spain.

Sahagún emerges as an indefatigable man from the very beginning, his early days of teaching in the college of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco, in 1536, and his research in Tepepulco between 1558 and 1561. After that, he went back to Tlatelolco and started to edit and expand his writings, together with the elders of the community and the students of the college, a work that lasted until his death in 1590. He experienced some very difficult times, especially after 1577, when the Inquisition prohibited the printing and dissemination of any part of the Sacred Scriptures in the native languages, and when Philip II asked him to forward all his texts to Spain. Fortunately, Sahagún kept most of his writings and worked on them, so that today we can appreciate his effort. He was passionate about his work, and until the very end had new projects in mind, such as a Nahuatl grammar and a trilingual dictionary.

Sahagún was certainly a man of exceptional energy and motivation, but what was it that moved him to work so relentlessly? As a Franciscan, he believed in his mission to foster evangelisation and eradicate idolatry, for which he deemed it necessary to understand the indigenous culture in depth, like a physician who has to know an illness in order to cure it. Moreover, he was extremely interested in the indigenous language and in ancient cultures. As León-Portilla says, he had a religious, linguistic and historical-anthropological approach to the Nahua world.

Throughout this biography León-Portilla also gives us a portrait of a country and of a period of time, expanding the analysis to include the preparation given to the friars in the university of Salamanca, where Sahagún studied, or the internal conflicts that divided the Franciscans early after the Conquest. As for the details of Sahagún's life, many remain in the realm of supposition, especially the years in Spain, since no direct testimony has been found; but even so, the discussion here is useful in terms of understanding the world in which the works of the friar were produced. What emerges is the picture of a man caught in a fascinating dilemma, between uncovering and eradicating idolatry and admiring the indigenous culture he was studying. This ambivalence of Sahagún, if not new, is usefully underlined in the book

as one of his major characteristics, and a most interesting one since it gives a measure of the intricate encounter of the two worlds.

The book ends with a very useful discussion of the legacy of Sahagún. Besides the extraordinary information gathered on the Nahua society, his methodology is perhaps the most surprising aspect since in some respects it resembles that used by contemporary anthropologists or ethnographers, being based on questionnaires to collect oral testimony and on the reproduction of paintings and glyphs from the codices. In addition, he collected much material given more spontaneously by the natives, and enquired about various aspects of the language. That is why León-Portilla, with qualification, defines Sahagún as a pioneer of anthropological research. His interest in the language and his appreciation of the indigenous culture have made an invaluable contribution to the studies that have followed up until our own day. The final chapter concludes with an extremely useful section on the publications of Sahagún's works and on the gaps that still remain in the research (although some important recent developments have been left out, such as the critical edition of Book Twelve of the Florentine Codex in James Lockhart's *We People Here*).

This is a valuable and useful book that presents in a unitary form much of the scattered information on one of the most fascinating figures of early New Spain. If other indigenous societies had had a Sahagún to collect information about them and describe their culture, we could today appreciate their contribution to humankind and regret what has been lost as we do with the Nahuas of central Mexico.

Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London CATERINA PIZZIGONI

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David Carey, Jr., *Our Elders Teach Us: Maya-Kaqchikel Historical Perspectives* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2001), pp. xv + 385, $29 95, pb.

David Carey's *Our Elders Teach Us* makes an important contribution to Maya studies and to the field of ethnohistory more broadly. Carey's writing calls on an impressive corpus of data: hundreds of transcribed oral histories collected in the language of the Kaqchikel Maya of highland Guatemala. He is thus able to provide 'a new perspective on contemporary Guatemalan history by allowing the indigenous peoples to speak for themselves', as the back cover proclaims in large type. Indeed, Carey's synthesis of ethnography, linguistics and history breaks fruitful new ground. Maya ethnohistory has long been concerned with reading indigenous agency into colonial documents and using native informants to help interpret native texts. But Carey goes a step further by constructing a history of twentieth-century Guatemala as seen through the eyes of living informants, a history that is at once broad and particular. His approach illuminates modern histories neglected in more formal and official treatments while shedding light on contemporary circumstances, making the work valuable both as ethnohistory and as ethnography. It is a book worth reading.

The book's nine chapters are organised topically, with titles such as 'Epidemics', 'Natural Disasters', and 'Kaqchikel in the Military'. Within the chapters, Carey interrogates the received wisdom of Guatemalan history with the memories and oral traditions of his informants, loosely following the chronological development of each topic over the last hundred years or more. For example, the chapter on

'Education, Exclusion, and Assertiveness' traces state education policies and local responses starting with the liberal/conservative debates of the nineteenth century and continuing up through late twentieth century Maya cultural revitalisation efforts. The depth of analysis on any given time frame varies from chapter to chapter, presumably due to the constraints of available data and space. Nonetheless, what emerges is an effective narrative strategy that slowly constructs native analytic categories from the ground up so that by the last three chapters Carey can make increasingly explicit his overarching argument and contribution to Maya historiography.

While generally clear and well-written, at moments Carey's style slips into an overly dense or pedantic tone. Perhaps this is a function of attempting to write across established disciplinary boundaries, with no constituency ever fully satisfied. It is also occasioned by the author's self-conscious political positioning, one of solidarity with the Maya people. I am in full sympathy with such a position, but it sometimes seduces Carey to practice a sort of reverse ventriloquism in which he seemingly unselfconsciously adopts a Maya voice and treats his informants' memories as unproblematic historical 'facts'. It also results in less than nuanced statements such as: 'In general, political and economic elites, who are heavily influenced by Western values and education, have infringed upon, exploited, attacked, and killed aborigines since the time of the Spanish invasion' (p. 23).

A fair percentage of this volume's 274 pages of text are quotes from interviews Carey conducted, all of which are meticulously documented in the endnotes with names and dates. Indeed, so nuanced his is presentation of the individuality and diversity of memories and perspectives, that these very data subvert his occasional attempts to offer conclusions that are too neat and tidy. For example, in the chapter on 'Land, Labor, and Integration', Carey writes that 'similar to work on the coast, factory labor is exploitative' (p. 109). Yet, this statement immediately follows quotes that both extol factory jobs and lament them. The real value of Carey's work is not in such stark pronouncements, but rather in the fine-grained documentation of historical memories that elude any easy synthesis and that show us the multivalent complexity that is history as lived by individuals. Here Carey's work shines, shedding light on our understanding of Guatemala and pointing the way for new syntheses of history and ethnography.

Carey takes on the difficult narrative task of integrating the often contradictory historical consciousnesses expressed through individual memories within a framework that speaks to the regional tradition of academic historiography. In this he succeeds by cleverly counterposing historical 'facts' with subjective memories to convey a vivid, deeply human account of history as lived experience.

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Roderic Ai Camp, *Mexico's Mandarins: Crafting a Power Elite for the Twenty-First Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2002), pp. xi + 308, $54.95, $21.95 pb; £37.95, £15.95 pb.

Roderic Camp has written a number of works discussing the social origin, education and path to power of different parts of Mexico's power elite. This is another work in the same vein though it is much more strictly comparative in respect of categories of elites within Mexico. It considers five such categories – religious,

military, cultural, political and business. Camp shows that there is very little overlap between them, in the sense that few individuals clearly belong to more than one elite. There is little sign, as yet, of the emergence of a single 'globalised' power elite in Mexico. However, when each category is taken separately, there clearly are groups of people who can be categorised as constituting elites in each category and there are some interesting patterns in their origin and recruitment.

The work contains a chapter on the mentoring of the aspirants to elite membership – something regarded by Camp as particularly important, no doubt due in part to the *camarilla* system of recruitment within the Mexican public sector. Other chapters cover networking, political socialisation, and the role of education. One factor to which Camp gives considerable importance is foreign study. A higher degree from the United States (or just possibly Europe) is generally important to cultural, military and political elites while for the clergy most roads led to Rome. Yet, as Camp points out, the effect of foreign study upon Mexican (and other Latin American) elites has to date been under-researched.

Overall, Camp has written an excellent work that will be of interest to students and specialists alike. It is both academically rigorous and a very interesting read. He writes well and his work is characterised by a wealth of empirical detail, too much to be fully captured in a single review. The book contains some fascinating first person accounts. Camp is generally careful not to generalise too sweepingly but some strong conclusions do emerge. One of them is that family connections matter a lot to business elites, and significantly less to other elites. Intermarriage is important to Mexican business elites, who remain significantly familial despite the pressures of NAFTA and globalisation generally. There is much less separation of ownership from management than there is in the United States. In broader context, generational issues are also noteworthy. The military and clerical elites were on the whole significantly older than the others, which may of course reflect the relative slowness of promotion in their more bureaucratic hierarchies. There is also evidence of a marked decline in Mexican social mobility in recent years, with far fewer members of the elite born after 1941 than those born earlier coming from working class families.

There are few real surprises in Camp's discussion of political, cultural and business elites. There has been less general discussion of military and religious elites. Camp is inclined to the view that the military is a very powerful behind-the-scenes force in Mexico, a view that justifies his inclusion of military elites in this discussion. This perception is tenable but not self-evident. However, what Camp has to say about military career structures is very well worth reading. Camp is also interesting on the training and selection of religious elites though this reviewer would have welcomed more discussion of the relationship between the Church hierarchy, the PAN and democratic politics more generally. Some issues, such as the growing importance of ITESM in Monterrey, are indeed addressed.

Camp concludes by attempting to tackle the question of how far democratisation is in the process of changing the composition of Mexico's elite system, particularly in its political dimension. It is probably too early to reach confident conclusions about this, but some indicative trends can still be noted. As Camp points out, the gap between business and political elites may be in the process of closing as President Fox has brought a number of leading businessmen into his government. The media is becoming more assertive and important. Camp mentions this, but does not discuss media ownership very much. He also suggests that the political arena may

be becoming increasingly diverse, with power moving from the presidency and the technocracy to provincial governors and other individuals with their own power bases. However, there is another trend that he does not sufficiently discuss and which could form the basis of a sequel work: the increasing importance of the judiciary and independent regulatory bodies such as the IFE. Regulatory power seems to be on the increase in Mexico, as it will have to be if democracy is to consolidate.

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Kevin J. Middlebrook (ed.), *Party Politics and the Struggle for Democracy in Mexico: National and State-Level Analyses of the Partido Acción Nacional* (La Jolla, CA: Center for US-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2001), pp. x + 278, pb.

For many years a wall of indifference kept the Partido Acción Nacional away from the sight of specialists interested on the Mexican political system. Up until the mid-eighties even journalists and opinion-makers tended to ignore a party that was founded in 1939, that every three years since 1943 fielded a variable number of candidates to the Chamber of Deputies, every six years since 1952 consistently participated in presidential elections, and was recognised by Mexican voters as the sole independent opposition party. During the long years of PRI rule (since 1946), other political minorities were also organised as opposition parties and participated in elections or gained congressional representation, but they were supported – financially and other – by the government itself. The PAN's independence was not a minor feat and with time it became a solid political capital that the founders of the party bequeathed the *panistas* of the eighties. Thanks to this tradition of independence from the state, PAN became pivotal in Mexico's transition from a one-party hegemony to a multiparty system. It was, however, an unexpected evolution.

For decades the presence of PAN was not even felt in a political dynamic that was entirely dominated by the state and the PRI, or by their conflicts and confrontations with leftist mobilisations and groupings that accused the party in power of betraying the 1910 Revolution's goals and commitments, and fought authoritarianism by other means different from votes and elections. During most of the PRI's fifty-year hegemony Acción Nacional remained a secondary political actor unable to produce an inspiring discourse or a powerful leader. In these years the party survived on the fringes of the political system, representing a current of opinion that was clearly a minority in a society that remained loyal to the legends, the discourse and the experience of the 1910 Revolution. Most of these goals and commitments were criticised by PAN from an anti-state perspective. Its criticisms were ignored also because the party had very limited resources. Its only support came from sporadic victories – mostly at the local level – a determined belief on the long-term transforming power of elections and an unflinching preference for incremental change and the unequivocal rejection of radical solutions. In the eyes of public opinion PAN represented, and was associated with, counterrevolutionary forces and attitudes, with conservative social values and with the Catholic Church and its lay organisations. All these attributes and characteristics made PAN an unlikely candidate to lead political change at the end of the twentieth century.

However, this was the very same party that in the eighties first challenged the PRI electoral hegemony, triggering a process of extended electoral mobilisation that led to the victory of the PAN candidate Vicente Fox, and to the demise of the PRI from the presidency in July 2000.

The book edited by Kevin Middlebrook is an important contribution to a better understanding of the party that rules Mexico today and of its participation in the country's political transition. To this end, eight authors describe and analyse different aspects of PAN and its recent evolution: its ideological origins, its electoral strategies, the party's doctrine of local government, the relations of the party with its constituencies, the interaction between economic and political conditions that favored PAN's progress, variations in the party's strength, organisational advances and challenges. The four chapters in the book dedicated to the analysis of the party's state-level experience in Baja California, Chihuahua, Guanajuato and Yucatán make this volume particularly valuable and attractive. The editor is to be congratulated on his decision to look at PAN's evolution from the perspective of state-level competition, local balances of power and competition. This approach reflects Middlebrook's clear comprehension of the process by which PAN conquered the federal government in 2000. In addition, it permits comparisons between different states' experiences; these four chapters provide rich information that can be used to discover the identity of the party at the end of the twentieth century. Moreover, in her chapter on the PAN in Guanajuato, Guadalupe Valencia provides evidence that explains Vicente Fox's presidential style, some of which were already present when he was governor of that state, and in her review of his gubernatorial administration (1995–1999) one finds interesting insights to his recent failures in the presidency.

Kevin Middlebrook's introductory chapter places PAN's experience within the Latin American context, identifying similarities between the Mexican party and other right and right-of-centre parties in the region. This is a well-informed and extremely useful essay that analyses the relationship between moderate political forces and the Catholic Church and how this relationship has translated into lines of partisan conflict. The author emphasises the different historical environments in which these parties developed in each country – Colombia, Chile, Venezuela – and notes the very complex links that tie PAN with the Catholic experience and institutions in Mexico, given the anticlerical legislation that prevailed until a constitutional reform in 1991.

The Middlebrook chapter should have been a reference for those authors in the book that find an essential incompatibility between the party's conservatism and its leading role in the fight against authoritarianism. As Middlebrook aptly notes '… experience shows that there is no necessary inconsistency between advocacy of conservative policy positions or the defense of the private sector and opposition to political authoritarianism'. However, even among specialists the idea of a right-wing party leading change seems almost ludicrous. The assumption that only liberal or leftist parties can reform or transform a political system has misled many students of PAN in their understanding of the complexities of the organisation. This assumption is at the basis of an ongoing debate among Mexican historians on the intellectual origins of the party and on the ideological preferences of its founders.

The chapter by Alonso Lujambio illustrates the position of those who dislike the idea of PAN being a conservative party. Here the author argues that the ideas

of Gómez Morín (one of the founders) on local government were inspired by those of the Progressive Party in the United States. The evidence Lujambio cites is weak and unconvincing: books in Gómez Morín's personal library, handwritten comments on marked pages and 'contacts with intellectuals', in New York, when he was a representative of the Mexican finance ministry in the twenties. Lujambio does not give any details as to the ideas or the authors relevant to sustain his assertion; his argument is further weakened by his silence regarding the influence of French Catholic thinkers that were repeatedly and publicly mentioned as references by Gómez Morín himself, such as *Alain*, or Paul Valery. Lujambio also downplays the influence of Spanish intellectuals on Gómez Morín's proposals about local government, his criticisms of liberalism or his admiration for Catholic corporatism. Lujambio is so intent in presenting Gómez Morín as a liberal, that he cannot explain how this 'liberal', established a close political alliance with the other founder of the party, José González Luna, a well-known traditionalist and Catholic thinker who sustained *discreet* relations with the ultraconservative Unión Nacional Sinarquista, and became the undisputed ideologue of PAN.

Lujambio's chapter is much more interesting in the description of the PAN's strategy to achieve power progressing from the periphery towards the centre of the federal government. The municipalist approach to power that was rooted both in a pragmatic analysis of the party's possibilities in an authoritarian regime, and in an ideological tradition that saw local government as a natural 'corporation', that, after the family, integrated organically the person into society. Unfortunately, the power of Lujambio's analysis is diminished by his uncritical reliance on party's sources. Luis Calderón Vega is the official biographer of PAN and María Elena Alvarez is a distinguished member of the party that has a long career in Congress; both authors are extensively cited by Lujambio.

The analyses of PAN in Baja California, Chihuahua, Guanajuato and Yucatán show that although in each of these states the support for PAN has different origins and motivations, in the nineties, the *panista* governors, tended to concur in their views of government and in their promises to the electorate. One of the many contradictions of Mexican voters that appear from the reading of these chapters is that while at the federal level they rejected the technocrats of the De La Madrid, Salinas and Zedillo administrations at the federal level, at local elections they chose *panista* candidates that promised efficiency and a government based on knowledge, understood as managerial skills more than superior intellectual capacity.

Valencia's chapter seems richer today than when the book was published at the beginning of 2001. Her description of Vicente Fox's understanding of the notion of 'citizens', as equivalent to that of 'customers' or 'consumers', deserves a serious discussion after three years of the Fox presidency, because many of the problems that he has encountered in what seems to be for him a frustrating experience, may derive from this equivalence, not so much a conceptual confusion as an ideological assumption. The idea that a democracy is like a market, and that the citizens are consumers who choose among different 'goods', betrays a very narrow view of Mexican society, of which a relatively small percentage are 'consumers', and have the corresponding attitudes and behaviour. Those are the ones that could respond to Vicente Fox's understanding of democracy, a notion in which apparently there is no place for those Mexicans that are citizens without being consumers.

Party Politics and the Struggle for Democracy in Mexico is a very readable book that helps understand PAN and its role in Mexico's transition. It also sheds light on the

origins of many of the present strengths of the party, as well as of the inconsistencies, tensions and difficulties it has faced in the age of the Vicente Fox administration.

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Helena Simonett, *Banda: Mexican Musical Life Across Borders* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), pp. 384, $65.00, $19.95 pb.

The ethnomusicology of Mexican music has paid little attention to the windband traditions despite its importance to Mexican music history and its significant presence throughout the country, particularly in rural towns and villages. Within Mexican intellectual spheres, the overriding assumptions are that all band traditions have developed as a result of national cultural policies carried out by the state since the second half of the nineteenth century, that they are reminiscences of a romantic European imposition, and that they are not really part of the authentic local musical traditions. Helena Simonett's book shows that *banda* music of Sinaloa is a thriving musical tradition among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans living in Mexico and North America, which traditionally has been capable of incorporating and adapting new and different repertoires, genres, and technological innovations. *Banda* music serves as a source for new musical styles such as technobanda. Simonett also demonstrates, in a detailed and fascinating historical account, that *banda* music is a tradition rooted in local mestizo rural culture and history. The strong regional character of *banda* music in combination with faster beats, vocals and electronic sound (*tecnobanda*) made the perfect fusion formula in which the new and older generation could identify themselves, fulfilling their desires to be the heirs of a common Mexican heritage in a transnational, technologically developed and post-modern context.

The book is divided in three main sections which take the reader on a tour from the analysis of the successful movement of technobanda on Los Angeles streets and night-clubs, to the historical roots of *banda* music crossing the border down to the Mexican state of Sinaloa. Talking us through local newspapers, traveller accounts and history lives we understand the formation and transformations of windbands during the second half of the nineteenth century and all throughout the twentieth century. In the third part, the author looks at the contemporary challenges of the *banda* tradition and returns to the transnational setting addressing the relationship of the Sinaloan narco subculture and the successful production and commercialisation of *narcocorridos*.

The author starts her journey in the early 1990s in Los Angeles, when *tecnobanda* – a technified offspring of *banda* music – was making the headlines of prestigious American newspapers and the radio station KLAX 97.9 FM was enjoying the glories of having found an active audience who responded to its new format of *banda*, *tecnobanda* and *ranchero* music resulting in a fabulous broadcasting success. Having questioned the nature of this success, the thrust of this first part of the book demonstrates that the *banda* movement of that period in North America was a cultural reaction and a reaffirmation of difference, that is, of a Mexican ethnic identity from both Mexican migrants and Mexican Americans. This was in response to the aggressive and discriminatory immigration policies, discourses and treatment of the Californian government who blamed the state recession on this population.

Simonett emphasises the key role of dance and dress code for the participation of youth in the musical movement who publicly expressed their distinctive identity. She allows us to understand the pleasure and power that dancers feel as they go on weekend jaunts to nightclubs to dance the '*quebradita*'.

The quest for 'revealing the past as a living tradition' takes the reader through interesting and romantic historical quotes from travellers and local journalists who describe the musical life and public celebrations of Mazatlán and Culiacán. And the life histories of main Sinaloan musicians let the memories of friendship and music making flow in a recreation of their shared experiences in past bands.

An occasional moralistic tone is used when referring to the publicity that *narcocorrido* songs give to, and the audience acceptance of, narcotraffickers and the narco subculture. Nevertheless the third part is a good reflection upon cultural values imbedded in the stories of trafficking, bravery and betrayal narrated in the *corrido* and *narcocorrido* songs. The image of the 'narco' character fits exceedingly well with the classical revolutionary heroes and bandits whose deeds made history through song which immortalises them. I believe that the great appeal of *narcocorridos* and other symbols of the narco subculture among the Mexican population in the USA derives from the fact that Mexican migrants and narcos are both illegal, and as such both challenge the US state and society. Although migrants are not criminals, they are treated as such. The identification with the narco does not imply a wicked social morality it is more than anything an act of empowerment.

The book is part of a new generation of ethnomusicological research which emphasises the importance of a historical perspective in the study of popular musics. I highly recommend the book, especially to those interested in contemporary Mexican culture in the United States.

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Chappell H. Lawson, *Building the Fourth Estate: Democratization and the Rise of a Free Press in Mexico* (Berkeley, CA, and London: University of California Press, 2002), pp. xiv + 287, $19.95, pb.

It is an anecdote etched into the collective memory of generations of Mexican journalists: how a proof-reader's oversight left a front-page caption reading 'The zoo has been enriched', intended to explain a photograph of a monkey, beneath one of the less-than-photogenic president Gustavo Díaz Ordaz. The subsequent closure of the *Diario de México* – on the president's orders – demonstrated the extraordinary degree of state control over the mass media and illustrated why for so many years the latter was such a compliant servant of Mexico's 'perfect dictatorship'. Censorship and corruption were such well-established constraints on media activity until the 1990s that, save a few noble exceptions, reporting was characterised by official control of the agenda and a shameless partisan bias in favour of the PRI.

However, Mexico's mass media has undergone a remarkable transformation and Chappell Lawson's book is an important study of its new role serving a new master, democracy, that fills a puzzling hole in the academic market. Despite the burgeoning literature on most aspects of democratic transition, and the rhetorical homage paid by cynical politicians to the media's democratic vocation, there

has been little systematic research on the emergence of an independent media of this kind.

Lawson provides a methodological framework that will be of value in the analysis of other regions and that avoids the limitations of discourse analysis in favour of a concrete empirical emphasis upon political economy. His arguments are boldly stated and supported with convincing data, and he leads his reader through them effortlessly by employing a systematic and clear structure. He makes forays into two unresolved academic debates: the relationship between market reform and democratisation, and the extent to which 'media effects' can be ascertained.

First, he examines how journalists with a different vision of their profession who founded such publications such as *La Jornada* and *Reforma* attained a measure of financial autonomy that, in turn, fuelled new competition and further enhanced independent coverage elsewhere. Lawson moves on to trace the retarded enlightenment of the country's pusillanimous broadcasting oligarchy. The death of the Televisa baron Emilio Azcárraga Jr. – described as more pro-PRI than the PRI itself – was among the decisive factors that transformed the network's notorious reverence for the party into market worship unadulterated by politics. Lawson shows how the extent of subsequent changes to Televisa's approach became apparent in the tectonic shift in coverage away from the PRI to the benefit of opposition candidates prior to the 1997 elections. The voters would deliver the *coup de grâce*. He attibutes these changes, above all, to the impact of commercial competition following the privatisation of government-owned channels under Carlos Salinas de Gortari – ironically, himself no friend of the media. The implication is clear, reversing the notion that political liberalisation nurtures media opening and giving human agency and market reform much greater weight in the democratic equation. Second, Lawson argues that changes in media content exterted a powerful influence over the process of political transition by providing succour to an infant civil society. He suggests that more independent publications such as *Proceso* and *La Jornada* acted as midwifes to civic groups developing outside the corporatist apparatus in the late 1980s, feeding growing public disenchantment. The increasing assertiveness of the press emboldened independent journalists to tackle themes previously off-limits, from official corruption to electoral fraud, further eroding the regime's declining legitimacy.

But it is Lawson's examination of the influence of the media upon voting behaviour in the 1997 elections that is most interesting, and he makes a strong case for a demonstrable 'media effect' upon electoral preferences that punished the PRI. He supports his argument with data from a panel study of 402 Mexicans surveyed during the campaign, critically assesses his own findings, modestly concedes that it is difficult to identify explanations for this media effect, and remains cautious enough to give due weight to the peculiar historical context of this election.

There is no doubt that competition is the best guarantor of media independence, and hence any constraint upon market activity may distort overall patterns of coverage. It also seems clear, in the 1997 election at least, that a dramatic shift in behaviour by such a potentate as Televisa would almost inevitably influence outcomes. What is less clear is that media independence in itself necessarily serves the public interest or indeed encourages political competition, especially in weaker markets, and that the circumstances of Mexico at that moment were anything other than utterly unique. While Lawson's faith in the democratic pretensions of journalists is touching, cynics may find it naive, and there is an unmistakeable

normative hue to his perspective. But British scholars must avoid sniping – for there can be little doubt that the democratic sensibilities of Mexican journalists today are more robust than those found in the complacent newsrooms of our own, jaded Fourth Estate.

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J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X03447688

Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost (eds.), *Politics in Latin America: The Power Game* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. xvi + 542, £55.00, £24.99 pb.

From a teaching perspective it has become increasingly difficult to provide undergraduate students with a full appreciation of the turbulent political, economic and social changes experienced in Latin America over the past two decades. Many of them labour to imagine an age when democracy, the free market and globalisation were not the norm. Like Plato and Socrates, left-wing revolutions and military government seem like ancient history. For those new to the study of Latin America, then, the complexity and diversity of the region can be hard to grasp, while the range of theories and approaches used to explain the political process can be difficult to impart to baffled undergraduates. The great value of this book is that it can serve as a solid introductory text.

The stated intention of the editors is to provide a realistic understanding of politics in the region. In the tradition of Harold Lasswell they pose the question 'Who gets what, when and how?', with the book structured around their argument that politics is dictated by power and the powerful. The first nine chapters examine the way the 'power game' is played. There is a strong focus on historic, social and economic factors, which they argue condition this game. Thus chapters on early history, the colonial experience and the process and impact of integration into the global economy provide a framework for the subsequent analysis of those actors included or excluded from the game. Women, indigenous peoples and Afro-Latins are analysed in chapters four and five as case studies in exclusion. Chapters on religion, institutions and political economy point to the background and relative power of key groups decisive in the game, namely the church, business, unions, the military and political parties. The first half of the book concludes with a chapter on revolution and revolutionary movements, placed within the context of a 500-year tradition of resistance and political structures wherein power is determined by a capacity for violence.

The second half of the book is based on seven country case studies of varying quality, which appear to have been randomly chosen. As with the first half of the book, these do provide a good foundational insight for those approaching the study of the region for the first time, but there are two criticisms. The chapters have inevitably fallen victim to the passage of time. Although the book was published in 2001, there have been major political changes in a number of the countries chosen as case studies. This implies an alteration to the dynamics of the 'power game' played out. Brazil and Argentina are particular cases in point. Clearly, there has to be a cut off point for a country-based analysis, but the problem here is that there is little in these chapters of predictive value, nothing in the structure which even hints at the possibility of transformation, upheaval or change. This rigidity seems to contradict the opening thrust of the book, which places strong emphasis on the dynamism

and unpredictability of politics in the region. The second problem is that with each country case-study structured to follow the themes defined in the first section, there is a tendency for repetition of issues and facts.

Each chapter concludes with a guide to further reading, films and relevant internet sites. Contributing to the novice friendly nature of the book there is a wealth of tables and statistical infromation, in addition to handy time-lines.

This is a book which has certainly been written with a passion for the region, and while those familiar with Latin American politics may find something of interest in this lively volume, they may also adopt a more critical and questioning posture with regard to the overall thrust and structure of the book. The tendency simply to list actors, without a detailed analysis of their interaction, does undermine the theoretical coherence of the approach. There is also a vacuum of analysis around the role and impact of external actors and developments, for example the United States, international law and the Organization of American States. Although these influence the relative power or weakness of actors in the power game, they are neglected. Overall, the book provides an easy, jargon free introduction to a complex region and on these grounds it is a valuable teaching tool.

Kingston University JULIA BUXTON

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X03457684

Joseph L. Arbena and David G. LaFrance (eds.), *Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Wilmington DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002), pp. xxxi + 241, $60.00, $19.95 pb.

In one of the more interesting chapters of this anthology, Jeffrey Tobin argues convincingly that intellectuals in Latin America and elsewhere have tended to despise the study of sport and its role in society. Marxists (though not Gramsci) frequently saw sport as a means of social control; elites on the other hand have considered those who participate in and support popular sports such as football to be totally inappropriate ambassadors of their countries. Women's sport has been disdained or ignored not just by men, whatever their political persuasion, but also by feminists (anyone remember Maria Bueno or know of Cecilia Tait?). The academic study of sport in Latin America is thus an infant area, lagging behind the growth that has taken place in Europe and North America.

The subject is made more problematic by the fact that the intellectual leadership, both in Latin American and in sports studies, lies very much in the United States, which has its own peculiar sporting traditions. While this permits US academics to empathise with the development of baseball in the circum-Caribbean (in the case of this volume in interesting chapters on Mexico and the Dominican Republic), it limits their capacity to understand football, the major sport in South America, and even more so cricket, still dominant, though under increasing challenge from basketball and football, in the Anglophone Caribbean. However, there are other difficulties for academics coming from a US sports background, not least its obsession with statistical minutiae and its peculiar organisational and business structure in which universities feed players into professional franchises that are controlled centrally and transferable from one city to another. In Latin America sport is much less about statistics, strength, power and profits, but rather about community, nationality, individual genius and aesthetics, especially if this results in winning international competitions against First World rivals. The pride Brazilians felt after

the 2002 World Cup was not just about their unprecedented fifth victory in the competition, but about the style in which they accomplished it (which assuaged the memories of the much more functionalist and tactically sterile 1994 team).

The publisher claims this book to be 'the most comprehensive overview to date of the development of modern sports in Latin America'. Given the state of the field, that would not be difficult, though it is in fact an anthology aimed presumably at a US student market. There are large areas of sporting activity that are overlooked (if the Anglophone Caribbean is to be included at all, for example, why have a chapter on basketball and not one or more on cricket?). The lead editor, Joseph Arbena, has made an immense contribution to the study of sport in Latin America, not least with his bibliographies, but there is a huge disjuncture here between the publisher's claims and his own rather guarded and diffident introduction and concluding chapter, which point much more towards opportunities for research and debate rather than offering authoritative interpretations.

Like most anthologies, this one has its strengths and weaknesses. It contains thirteen case studies, covering five team sports (the only individual sport that makes a fleeting appearance is boxing). Almost all of them have been published previously, no fewer than six in a special 1994 edition of *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*. In many ways the book thus provides a snapshot of the field in the mid-1990s. In one particular case, a chapter on Cuba written in 1993 and premised on Castro's imminent demise, there is a very dated feel to the work. This also means that some of the leading figures in the recent development of the field, such as Eduardo Archetti and José Sergio Leite Lopes, are simply absent altogether. The chapters that stand out are one of the four on football (Steve Stein's model research on early twentieth-century Lima), one on baseball (David LaFrance's fascinating discussion of Mexican players' forlorn attempts to organise against their employers in the 1980s), one on basketball (the Mandles' analysis of the eastern Caribbean), and Kathleen Sands' ethnographical account of the Mexican equestrian tradition of *charreada*. The principal themes that emerge are threefold: sport as a vehicle for the creation and reproduction of local or national identities; sport as a metaphor for a society (the internecine rivalries, lack of resources, and disorganisation of Caribbean islands evident in basketball, or the discipline and hard work of Peruvian women volleyball players compared with the sporadic genius but generally disastrous record of the men's football team); and the relationship between sport, politics and politicians.

This leaves out a lot. The absence of cricket, except as a preamble to a discussion of how the descendants of migrant cane workers contributed to the development of baseball in the Dominican Republic, undermines the claims of the book's title. The fundamental relationship between sport and the media, the driver of the sports business ever since the 1970s, is simply ignored. João Havelange, the key Brazilian figure in the commercialisation of the World Cup and the development of FIFA's obscure and ill-fated relationship with ISL, never receives a mention. There is one passing reference to Televisa, the Mexican media giant (though in the context of baseball, not football), but nothing whatsoever on TV Globo, the dominant power in Brazilian domestic football. The institutional history of sport in Latin America largely disappears from view after the introduction and, unfortunately, so do the fans. As a result of this and the focus on team rather than individual sports there is no analysis of the creation and significance of Latin American sports icons, save for a couple of pages on Diego Maradona and Gabriela Sabatini. It is strange, in a book

that the publishers claim to be an overview and which takes a predominantly historical and cultural approach, to find nothing that might explain the Brazilian adoration of Ayrton Senna, for example, or older Argentines' pride in Juan Fangio – but then Formula One is not a US sport.

Maybe I was expecting too much, but I concluded this book having enjoyed discovering new material, especially about baseball and equestrianism, but somewhat frustrated by its patchy coverage, dated feel and variable quality. The study of sport in Latin America, on the evidence here, remains very much in its infancy and requires considerably more primary research to deserve the attention of mainstream historians and social scientists. Finally, it is not clear, given the quite different nature of its sports cultures, business and organisation, that the United States is the most appropriate arena in which to conduct or disseminate research on Latin American sport except, of course, for baseball, which fits more easily into US consciousness.

University of Liverpool RORY MILLER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X03467680

John Peeler, *Building Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner, 1998), pp. xv + 239, £43.95, £15.95 pb.

This book has an engaging title. The titles of most other general books on Latin America contain concepts that are inimical to democracy if not its utter negation. Revolution, populism, corruption, clientelism, authoritarianism, internal colonialism, exclusion, exploitation, lawlessness and the like are the usual fare on the cover of the typical book for consumption in the English-speaking market.

However, this seemingly welcome change of focus rapidly leads to deception because there is little that is new in this book. It has been rapidly put together on the basis of the most readily available secondary work, and restates the general stereotypes. The research here does not reflect the new historiography that has been emerging, principally in Spanish and Portuguese, on political development in the area. With so much repetition of the standard perceptions and arguments, this book is hardly a departure from the usual views that have socialised several generations of Latin Americanists since the 1950s. It emphasises elite domination, the weakness of institutions, the shallowness of elections, the prevalence of authoritarianism, the foreign origins of legal and constitutional frameworks, and so on. Not surprisingly, historians will, in particular, find this book profoundly disappointing.

The book opens with a wide-ranging discussion of democratic theory from classic antiquity to the present. This discussion sets up the notion that there is a distinctive 'Latin American Constitutional tradition' which is different from the rest in so far as it is based on an Iberian medieval corporatism (as if there were only one such). As a result, the author repeats the standard argument that Latin America (yes, the whole continent!) has been 'inhospitable to the development of democracy' (p. 25). What is remarkable here is that Latin American constitutional and legal theorists, such as Andrés Bello, are never even mentioned. The reader is left wondering whether the author even knows whether they exist. The book then falls into the usual superficialities regarding '*caudillismo*' in the early republics, covering the whole continent and the whole nineteenth century.

The author discusses next some 'early democracies' although a good portion of the text is devoted not to the nineteenth but to the twentieth century. The argument is that such systems were shallow given elite control, although there is nowhere

a serious discussion of early political participation through elections and no analysis of electoral procedures. The book simply asserts that Latin American democracies were unable to deal with expanding participation within the normal bounds of democratic regimes. The result was first '*caudillismo*', then – in the twentieth century – populism, revolution, or breakdown. The simple-mindedness here is equalled only by the lack of historical depth. The author also focuses his lens systematically on the failures or insufficiencies. The fact that countries like Argentina and Chile were world pioneers in abolishing slavery is, for example, not even mentioned. And yet African slaves and exploited Indians are very much part of the picture presented here.

The rest of the book is no better. Most countries are understood to be developing what are called 'later democracies', having emerged from authoritarian rule as a result of 'elite settlements' or much simpler 'pacts', or given the 'extrication' or collapse of the authoritarian rulers, sometimes as a result of US pressure or military occupation. These are fragile or 'diluted' democracies even in the best of cases. The author argues for example that the Chilean right is so attached to Pinochet that Chilean democracy depends on the continued electoral success of the Concertación alliance of parties (p. 85). The book discusses Cuba, Paraguay and Mexico as the last remaining authoritarian regimes, and the author notes that only Paraguay has a good chance to make a transition (p. 136). Of Mexico the author writes that 'it seems unlikely that the PRI … will ever permit itself to lose the presidency by electoral means' (p. 136), although by the time the book was published the Mexican electoral reforms were already in the works. Economic and social conditions are presented as dismal everywhere, and this of course does not help democracy. A final section on 'institutionalizing democracy' turns out to revolve on a discussion only of parties and party systems. Calling the Venezuelan party system 'institutionalized' does not seem to be quite correct given the collapse of ADN and COPEI while the ink of this book was not yet dry. But institutionalising democracy surely has to do more than with just the party system. And yet there is no discussion here on how civil military relations have evolved, on judicial system reforms, on local government or regionalisation, on new mechanisms to control state finances, on new social policy initiatives, on the OAS's charter for democracy and its effects, etc. The reader continues with the impression that nothing really chances in Latin America, and that nothing works well anywhere.

The author does try to cover a lot of ground in what is a relatively short book. But this is not the problem here. It is, rather, that the author jumps from one superficial generalisation to the next, resulting in a rehash of the half-baked views that have unfortunately informed much of what passes for scholarship on Latin America in texts aimed at the broad college market.

University of Notre Dame J. SAMUEL VALENZUELA

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J. Demmers, A. E. Fernández Jilberto and Barbara Hogenboom (eds.), *Miraculous Metamorphoses: The Neoliberalization of Latin American Populism* (London: Zed Books, 2001), pp. xvi + 208, £49.95, £16.95 pb; $65.00, $27.50 pb.

The evolution of populism in Latin America has generated a flourishing debate over the last few years, dictated largely by the quest to understand the

phenomenon of 'neopopulism' (sometimes referred to as 'neoliberal populism') and its relationship with the 'old populism' characteristic of the post-war period. This book seeks to fit into that ongoing discussion and to contribute to it by offering detailed country case studies of the trajectory from old to new forms of populism, prefaced by a consideration of the 'regional and global' dimensions of the trends in question. Its success in this endeavour, however, is immediately complicated by the fact that readers are nowhere offered a concrete indication of how the term 'populism' is to be understood in the book. The introduction limits itself to an overview of the various possible definitions of populism and neopopulism – actually quite a helpful one to those new to the concepts – but the editors fail then to set out clearly their preferred definition, beyond a rather vague allusion to a 'political understanding'. The unhappy consequence is that the chapters thus lack a common conceptual foundation, and it is not entirely clear what sort of conceptualisation of neopopulism each of them is working with. Nor is there a concluding chapter which might have reflected usefully on the significance of the analyses in each of the chapters for the debate about the nature of populism and neopopulism in Latin America. The editors state right at the outset that 'a re-examination of the nature of populism in Latin America is needed' in light of the fact that previous theories of populism have been shown to be 'partly misconceived' by the trend towards neopopulism (p. 1). These constitute, in my opinion, precisely the most interesting twin claims of the book, but the latter is not explained and the former does not appear to me to be addressed in any sustained or concrete way.

In fact, one of the most striking elements of the book is how very infrequently the terms populism and neopopulism appear on its pages. Only a couple of the chapters pay much attention at all to the notion of populism in their particular country contexts, and even then the concept does not seem to be central to the analyses nor to inform directly the way in which the discussions are conducted. A couple of the chapters seem not to mention the term at all. This strikes one as symptomatic of the chapters' general failure – and indeed that of the book – to engage with conceptual issues relating to the ways in which we can understand populism, and it is difficult to see how many of the chapters would have been written differently if the authors' brief had been simply to produce an overview of the transition from inward-looking to neoliberal development models, or an overview of recent processes of political and economic change in each of the countries. Of course, the concept of populism might well provide a useful framework for considering these transitions, but at the same time it is too concrete and specific a concept simply to be reduced, or indeed broadened, to a very general and loose context within which the chapters can unfold an historical narrative. To give the book its due, it does provide useful and detailed accounts of contemporary political and economic change in specific countries and will make rewarding reading in that sense, but one is forced to the conclusion that it does not add as much as one might have hoped to our understanding of populism *per se*.

University of Manchester NICOLA PHILLIPS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X03487683

Kay B. Warren and Jean E. Jackson (eds.), *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), pp. vi + 294, $50.00, $22.95 pb.

Since the 1970s, but especially in the last decade, indigenous people have gained a place in national politics of Latin America, found powerful allies in the international arena, asserted prominent collective voices of self-representation in cultural political affairs. Even in countries where their demographic presence is miniscule, political conditions have shifted in indigenous people's favour. Focusing analysis on Guatemala, Colombia and Brazil in eight splendid essays, the book under review here asks: How have these openings been created? How are indigenous peoples taking advantage of them? With what results?

Both the context of these questions, and the answers provided, make for an instructive contrast to a similarly titled 1991 volume edited by Joel Sherzer and Greg Urban. That book's message was perhaps more dramatic – announcing a definitive rupture with anthropology of times past, which portrayed indigenous peoples as cultural isolates – and in other respects more tentative – expressing anxiety that assertive indigenous political actors inclined to speak for themselves might leave anthropology without its raison d'être. The present volume provides an aggregate picture of the intervening decade of indigenous activism marked by contradictory advances, deepening dilemmas. This overall message, in turn, provides a counter-intuitive key to the authors' relatively confident stance in regard to the gnawing question, which indigenous intellectuals have continued to pose in pointed terms: 'if we now are doing it for ourselves, what is (foreign) anthropology good for?'

The most confident response, not surprisingly, comes from Víctor Montejo, the only native scholar in the collection. He uses anthropology to analyse the Maya movement, of which he forms part (albeit at a distance, from UC Davis), to substantiate his own vision of a moderate, pluralist Maya politics, to deconstruct the movement's adversaries, and to provide refreshingly candid criticism of other Maya leaders with whom he disagrees. In the end I wondered how such strong positions can be compatible with the principle of pluralism that he also defends; yet in tone if not in content, he negotiates that tension admirably. Jackson's essay, similarly, highlights a crucial problem that indigenous people in Colombia now face: with state recognition of rights to cultural difference comes the prerogative to define the limits of these rights. State ideology is now present *within* indigenous political sensibilities and intra-indigenous disputes in unprecedented ways. Warren follows a parallel track in Guatemala, by probing the stunning defeat of the Constitutional Referendum of May 1999, when a solid majority voted *against* pro-indigenous reforms. While her data suggest that Mayas on the whole supported the reforms, and Ladinos opposed them, her analysis also points to fractures: influential Maya leaders who opposed the reforms, and a troubling inability of national and regional-level Maya organisations to mobilise the very people who they purport to represent on issues crucial to their future well-being. This essay echoes, and contributes to, a rising call by national-level Maya activists themselves to reassess their movement's strategies, especially regarding electoral politics, and relations with the Maya multitude. Alcida Ramos' concluding essay places these insightful, sobering, reflections in a broader register, urging us to think about the current moment of indigenous rights organising – at least in part – in terms of new forms of governance. The state recognises cultural difference, feeding its own appetite for the 'other' (what she calls

'indigenism'), but simultaneously creates stringent standards of cultural authenticity that few can meet; the state promotes cultural difference, confident that the differentiating logic of ethnicity will make unified opposition all the more difficult; the state grants decentralisation and autonomy, but in the process sloughs off accountability, inciting NGOs to do the disciplinary work in its place. Ramos might have pushed this analysis one step further, to a provocative conclusion: the future challenge for indigenous movements may no longer be to get the state out (i.e. autonomy), but to oblige the state to stay in, on their terms.

A second group of essays take these same cultural-political conditions as backdrop, but make the internal dynamics and cultural logics of indigenous movements the main focus of analysis. Paradoxically, these three essays are more sanguine about, and affirming of, the movements they analyse, but less engaged with producing knowledge that movement leaders and intellectuals themselves might find useful. They have a faintly vindicationist tone, in critical dialogue with other foreign scholars who might think differently. This tone is most evident in Graham's essay: an argument for how indigenous leaders creatively combine culture-specific and 'Western' discursive registers, to meet complex strategic goals in relation to multiple audiences. She makes the unfortunate choice of framing her argument against Napoleon Chagnon's absurd (if not racist) contention that when indigenous people use Western rhetoric they cease to be authentically Indian; this deflects attention from a serious question: what consequences follow when leaders make political claims (even strategically) using powerful adversaries' essentialised categories? Turner's engaging description of Kayapo self-representational practices with video is, theoretically, an attempt to exorcise post-modern demons, whose notion of power leaves the Kayapo as hapless victims of Western master narratives of technological progress. The point seems valid, and the Kayapo themselves certainly help drive it home. However, I would have been more comfortable if Turner's alternative had left power a little less thing-like, closer to that productive meeting-ground between Gramsci and Foucault. Rappaport and Gow's account of Colombian indigenous politics provides an impressive grasp of daunting internal complexity, and a cogent point about how indigenous relations with the state are mediated by these internal politics (and visa versa). Their final salvo – to understand indigenous movements in terms of 'multi-temporal heterogeneity' – seems poised to enter a critical dialogue between indigenous and Western ways of knowing, with challenge and critique flowing in both directions. Yet as written, it is directed more toward fending off outside critics, defending rather than engaging their indigenous interlocutors.

In their introductory essay, Jackson and Warren artfully mediate between these two analytical projects – to engage indigenous leaders and intellectuals, and to make indigenous politics intelligible for outsiders – and quite appropriately, they allow ample room for both. Their task is made easier by the fact that all the authors, in the long haul of their careers, have alternately or simultaneously done both, with as much success as anyone in the profession. Still, I would have liked them to plumb the tension between these two, as a means further to specify the cultural-political moment that their book aims to capture. Previously, foreign anthropologists aligned with indigenous movements were often limited to two tasks: affirm the struggle, and to subject the powerful forces that stand in its way to critique. Perhaps this book is a portent of a counter-intuitive inversion in the making: the most affirming analysis will embody these two tasks, but go beyond them to advance critiques of

the dangers, traps, and contradictions that even the most inspiring, courageous and successful movements face. When this inversion is consummated, anthropology may finally have shaken free from a problem even more debilitating than residual colonialism, which Ramos names most explicitly: we too often have been busily at work developing insights about indigenous movements, and spelling out their theoretical ramifications, long after the actors themselves have understood these same insights in their own terms, too late for our analysis to be of any use to the very people to whom we have pledged our solidarity and support.

University of Texas at Austin CHARLES R. HALE