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Reviews

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Santa Arias and Mariselle Meléndez (eds.), *Mapping Colonial Spanish America: Places and Commonplaces of Identity, Culture, and Experience* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2002), pp. 302, £39.50, hb.

In recent years the examination of cartographic practices and materials has been fertile ground for the study of colonial regimes. Scholars from a wide range of disciplines have focused on the ways in which territory is analysed and represented in order to understand the intellectual underpinnings of empire as well as its everyday operation. Barbara Mundy's inspired study of the visual representation of community space in the maps accompanying sixteenth-century *Relaciones geográficas* and Walter Mignolo's discussions of the relationships among literacy, territoriality, and colonisation – to name just two salient studies on the Spanish Americas – find their counterparts in Matthew Edney's examination of the geographical construction of British India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or D. Graham Burnett's analysis of exploration in British Guyana, among others.

In this collection of essays fourteen literary scholars explore the ways in which texts about space constructed visions of the geographic and social landscape of colonial Spanish America. By incorporating ideas about territoriality, history, politics and social order, narratives about spaces served to map the places that their authors, subjects, and readers occupied in the world. The wide range of texts examined in this collection makes for a rich set of case studies. Celebrated authors like Garcilaso de la Vega and Bartolomé de las Casas mingle with lesser-known explorers and nuns; descriptions of frontiers and wild landscapes are juxtaposed with those of towns, plazas and convents.

Many of the essays are concerned with the relationship of space to issues of identity, representation, reappropriation and resistance. Rocío Cortés, Luis Fernando Restrepo and Erik Camayd-Freixas turn to Hernado de Alvarado Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (*ca.* 1598), Juan de Castellano's *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias* (1589–1601) and Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales de los Incas* (1609) to discuss the rupture of a bi-polar colonial society understood initially through the Other-Self opposition. By the turn of the sixteenth century it had already become impossible to think of unadulterated 'authentic' identities, and hybridity emerged as the voice of colonial bodies and spaces. Camayd-Freixas points out Garcilaso's vacillation between using 'us' and 'we' in his narrative, which indicates that colonial places must of necessity move constantly between the two, and that the author's position within both often remains indeterminable. Jennifer Eich's argument that conventual spaces allowed female mystic writers to subvert dominant narratives representing women's bodies as weak or frail resonates with Margaret M. Olsen's depiction of runaway slave communities in sixteenth-century New Granada as free spaces in physical, geographical, and symbolic senses. Both authors investigate the capacity of oppressed groups to escape or subvert hegemonic power by establishing cloistered spaces of reinvention. In a related essay Kathleen Myers describes how

the American frontier was perceived as unsettled landscape both in a geographical and a social sense, thus providing a setting in which women could invent alternative personas for themselves – including male-soldier-cum-nun, as was the case with the Monja Alférez, Catalina de Erauso. The counterpart to these permissive territories was evidenced by a growing need to discipline errant bodies that threatened to disrupt the established order, for instance the public torture and execution of Micaela Bastidas after her active involvement in the insurrection led by her husband Túpac Amaru in 1780, discussed by Mariselle Meléndez.

Despite the variety of themes examined, the essays are tightly connected in terms of both analytical approach and thematic interests. The frame is determinedly historical, providing new insights into the texts under discussion as well as the larger cultural, ideological and imaginative landscapes in which they were produced. The essays explore some of the central concerns currently shared by scholars of colonialism, regardless of their geographical speciality: alterity and the construction of the Other; the association of identity, human and territorial, with memory; the political and economical implications of geographical representation; the spatial experiences of gendered bodies; and the role of the city in imposing social and symbolic order. In doing so, they bring new perspectives to themes that have longed interested Latin Americanists as well as reaffirming the growing importance of gender and landscape history to the field.

Princeton University DANIELA BLEICHMAR

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Carolyn Hall and Héctor Pérez Brignoli with John V. Cotter (cartographer), *Historical Atlas of Central America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), pp. xiv + 321, $99.95, hb.

As intellectual interests and fashions change one of the casualties has been the study of the historical geography of Mesoamerica. Scholars who wrote around the turn of the nineteenth century, such as Karl Sapper and Franz Blom, were followed by a brilliant generation, many of them students of Carl O. Sauer at the University of California at Berkeley. Names such as James J. Parsons and Robert C. West come readily to mind. They in turn fostered a third generation including William M. Denevan, Carl L. Johannessen, and David R. Radell. An independent scholar such as Peter Gerhard must also be mentioned as being of this cohort. Some of them have continued to research and publish but it is fair to say that many of their major contributions date from the 1960s.

With a few notable exceptions this tradition has now fallen away, and the magnificent historical atlas by Carolyn Hall and Héctor Pérez Brignoli reminds us dramatically what scholarship on Central America has lost. To begin with, this is a beautiful book. The illustrations are visually attractive, colourful, apt and adroitly placed in the text. The maps are carefully and clearly drawn, convey information without clutter or overloading of data and, while complementing the text, independently tell much of the story as good maps should. Look, for example, at the maps, illustration, and explanatory charts on pp. 120–123, explaining the economy of the mid-colonial period.

Prefatory material is followed by five chapters, each cohesive and self-contained but very much part of the whole. Chapter One, 'Environment and Territory', sets

the scene. The region is defined and the historiography of geographical study of Central America is examined. The geographic and environmental situation is followed by an overview of Central America's place in larger histories from prehistoric times to the present.

Chapter Two, 'People and Places: The Patterns of Cultural Change', is devoted to what the authors call 'cultural geography', by which they mean the different culture areas before European invasion, the agricultural basis and staple crops of the region, Spanish explorations and conquests, labour and tribute exactions, new settlement patterns, the missionary Church, the post-conquest demographic disasters, ethnic categories and miscegenation, the pace of acculturation and the twentieth-century population explosion.

Chapter Three, 'Colonial Societies', intensifies the authors' examination of the three centuries of Spanish colonialism. They emphasise Central America's increasing involvement with the outside world, but there is due attention to the nature of colonial government, the role of the Church, social organisation and control, revolts, rural and urban societies, and the first attempts by traders, navies, pirates, and others to the strategic isthmian position, including the famous Panama *trajín*.

The next chapter, 'The Formation of National Societies', runs from the so-called Bourbon Reforms of the late colonial period to the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914. The collapse of the infant Central American Republic, the ensuing civil wars, and the opportunities for foreign intruders, especially Great Britain and the United States, created by these divisions, meant that economic development was slow. Later in the nineteenth century, under various Liberal regimes, the five small states fostered development and welcomed foreign investment. New exports such as coffee and bananas created monocultures, and the opening of the Canal re-emphasised Central America's strategic world importance.

There is no better illustration of the excellence of the maps and charts than the visual explanations of the post-independence civil wars (pp. 172–75). To many, these chaotic and repeated struggles are beyond logic or understanding, but in this atlas not only do we discover logical sequences and logistical sense, but also, together with the text, the maps make these wars, if not fully purposive at least comprehensible.

The last chapter, 'The Challenge of Development', brings the work to the present. Monoculture exports and the Canal have not solved the problems of Central America's chronic underdevelopment and poverty. Rapid population growth and urbanisation have nullified many advances, and peasant expansion into what had been sparsely settled frontiers has approached their limits.

Democracy has also proved elusive except in Costa Rica and Belize. Armies have consumed scarce national resources and installed dictators or leaned heavily on elected governments. Civil wars, repression and military atrocities have been common features of the last three decades. Intervention by the United States has been an additional complication in several cases.

Such a bald chapter by chapter account does not do justice to this superb work. The text is balanced and judicious, there are few typographical errors, the notes, glossary and bibliography (herein entitled 'Sources') are exemplary. In fact the bibliography in itself is of great utility to scholars of the area. Notable is the way in which many sections assemble previously disaggregated data to make new sense of them. Authors Hall and Pérez Brignoli and cartographer Cotter are to be

congratulated on a work of conceptual clarity, explanatory sophistication and visual beauty.

University of Florida MURDO J. MACLEOD

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Iván Jaksić (ed.), *The Political Power of the Word: Press and Oratory in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2002), pp. viii + 162, £14.95, pb.

This is a welcome contribution to a field that is increasingly attracting the attention of scholars on Latin America. While the history of the press is at the same time one of the oldest and most innovative areas in other historiographical traditions, it has only made a few preliminary steps on the region. As this volume combines the topic of the press with that of oratory, it is already alerting its readers that the focus here is on the circulation of ideas, or (as the title aptly puts it) on the power of the word in the realm of politics. An introduction by the editor is followed by seven chapters, the first three dedicated to the press, the last three to oratory and chapter four to both.

Rebecca Earle opens the first chapter by challenging the idea that the press had a relevant role as a precursor of Independence. Evidence from New Granada and Chile on low literacy rates and the existing small numbers of printers confirms, in her view, Alexander von Humboldt's impression that the press boomed after the break up with Spain, not before. In the following chapter Carmen McEvoy finds the relevance of the press in Lima between 1791 and 1822 in the articulation and circulation of concepts. She skilfully navigates through the contents of *El Mercurio Peruano* (between 1791 and 1795) and of *El Verdadero Peruano* during the constitutional regime (1811–1814), concluding with the maturity of the press between 1821 and 1822. It is the advancement, timid at first and confident later, of republican principles that connect the different stages of the analyses. The difficulties encountered in Peru by the advocates of civic humanism were similar to those in other Latin American countries at the time: how to create the public sphere necessary for the functioning of republican institutions where structural constraints impeded its birth. The link between state formation and education is studied in the following chapter by Sol Serrano and Iván Jaksić. The expansion of education pursued by the state was seen in Chile as a prerequisite for the construction of an educated male elite that could fulfil its role as citizens of the Republic. The authors concentrate on the figure of Andrés Bello to take the reader through the topics of the relevance given to language and education in the construction of the liberal state and through the slow but ultimate reaction of the Catholic Church against the liberal project. The series of publications launched by the Church by mid-century was a testimony to the relevance acquired by the printed word in political debates, a relevance that forced the Church to embrace the written word that it had for so long distrusted.

The chapter by Douglas Sullivan-González marks the transition of the book towards the topic of oratory. By concentrating on Catholic priests' sermons during the Rafael Carrera's regime in Guatemala (1839–1871), the author looks at the manner in which the oral discourse of the Church accommodated to political circumstance. A particularly insightful contribution is his analysis of the impact of this

discourse by looking at public reaction. The recovering of Emilio Castelar, 'the great Spanish parliamentary orator in an age of eloquence' (p. 128), from oblivion is the aim of the separate contributions by Eduardo Posada-Carbó and Charles Hale. Recognising that today few people know of Castelar, his oratory skills and his impact, Posada-Carbó traces his relevance in Latin America among prominent political and intellectual circles. One of the reasons behind the attraction of Castelar, besides his oratory, lies in the fact that his ideas were transformed over the extent of his career, becoming appealing for those who defended republican, democratic, liberal and conservative causes. Castelar's political ideas and their impact in Mexico after the restoration of the Republic in 1867 is the focus of the chapter by Hale. The reconciliatory aspects of his discourse made Castelar a regular figure in the pages of the press during the *porfiriato*. Carlos Malamud's final chapter analyses the oratory skills of Argentine politician Lisandro de la Torre at the turn of the nineteenth century. Rather than concentrating on his most famous speeches, Malamud chooses to analyse de la Torre's tactics and rhetorical techniques in congressional debates as well as during the presidential campaign of 1916.

In reviewing edited volumes it is common to note the varied nature of the contributions as a negative feature of the collection. I found this, however, a refreshing mark, both inevitable and welcome, particularly in a new field. The chapters presented here share some common features: they are restricted to politics, defined in a wide-enough sense to include ideas and practice, but still sufficiently restricted to maintain meaning; they avoid grand theories and loud claims, concentrating instead on empirical research on the power of the word. Above all, however, they are diverse and distinctive, each suggestive, in its particular way, of the potentiality of the theme.

Universidad de San Andrés/CONICET PAULA ALONSO

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04248088

Tom Brass (ed.), *Latin American Peasants* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003), pp. 421, £45.00, £18.50 pb.

This is one of the most important books to be published on the Latin American peasantry since the neoliberal turn of the 1980s. The resurgence of peasant studies over the past decade responds to the rise of peasant and indigenous movements, such as the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in the Mexican state of Chiapas and the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST) in Brazil, which have been in the forefront of the struggle against neoliberalism. It is my belief that this book will come to stand alongside such classics as Andrew Pearse's (sadly neglected) *The Latin American Peasant* (London, 1975), Kenneth Duncan's and Ian Rutledge's edited volume, *Land and Labour in Latin America* (Cambridge, 1977), Alan de Janvry's *The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America* (Baltimore, 1981) and David Goodman's and Michael Redclift's *From Peasant to Proletarian: Capitalist Development and Agrarian Transitions* (Oxford, 1981). Each of these books is a reflection of its time. The Duncan and Rutledge text focused on the development of agrarian capitalism since the nineteenth century, de Janvry's on land reform, Goodman's and Redclift's and that of Pearse on the various trajectories and destinies of the peasantry. Some of those themes reappear in the book under review, but are now placed in the new context of Latin America's neoliberal transformation. However, the main thrust of

the book is to debunk the postmodernist view of the peasantry that has become fashionable since the above classic texts were written.

The editor contributes two general chapters: one introductory ('Latin American Peasants – New Paradigms for Old?') and the other in the way of a conclusion ('On which side of what barricade? Subaltern resistance in Latin America and elsewhere'). The only other chapter to address the region as a whole is by James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer who discuss the relationship between the peasantry and the state. There are two chapters each on Bolivia and Brazil and one chapter each on Central America, Chile and Peru. While the omission of Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Paraguay is regrettable, the absence of a chapter on Mexico is particularly so in view of the Chiapas rebellion, the reform of the Constitution which puts an end to the land reform, and the impact on the peasantry of Mexico's membership of NAFTA.

The chapters by Brass and Petras and Veltmeyer are forceful Marxist critiques of postmodern, post-colonial and subaltern studies of the peasantry. Postmodernism replaces class with identity and ethnicity and refuses to address the class-state relationship thereby leaving the neoliberal state free to continue policies designed to 'empty the countryside'. Brass, in particular, launches a relentless attack on subaltern studies. While for him, as for the post-modernists, knowledge is a battlefield, the battle is one of class struggle rather than for the pursuit of identity, 'alterity' or 'cultural difference'. He laments the resurrection of *indigenismo* of the 1920s and 1930s by 'post-modern populism', seeing it as romanticising the peasantry, their culture and tradition. Petras and Veltmeyer are also critical of the 'neo-mercantilist' and 'neo-imperial' state in the USA, the European Union (EU) and Japan for pursuing protectionist policies at home while forcing open markets abroad. Their subsidised agriculture undermines Latin American peasants. In short, for Brass, Petras and Veltmeyer, as well for some of the other authors in this collection, subalternism reproduces the neo-liberal status quo rather than empowers the peasantry. John McNeish's chapter on the politics of community and ethnicity in highland Bolivia and Kees Jansen and Esther Roquas' joint chapter on the devil-pact narratives in rural Central America are also critical of postmodernism. But their criticism is more selective and partial, as certain issues raised by these perspectives seem to capture their imagination.

Several of the contributors engage either directly or indirectly with the *campesinista* ('peasantist') and *descampesinista* ('de-peasantist') debate which raged during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The issue of the future of the peasantry under capitalism preoccupied most of the best minds in Latin American agrarian studies at the time. This debate on the persistence (and intrinsic value, if not superiority) of peasant farming compared to capitalist farming mirrored the debate in the early twentieth century between the neo-populist Chayanovian school and the agrarian Marxists. Did the development of agrarian capitalism lead to the proletarianisation and disappearance of the peasantry or was the peasantry able to survive and perhaps even to thrive under capitalism? The era of agrarian reforms in Latin America, which lasted from the 1960s to the early 1980s, appeared to give hope to the *campesinista* position while the *descampesinistas* saw the relentless penetration of agribusiness as heralding the end of the peasantry. Marxists were split on this issue as some argued that the peasant economy by providing cheap food and cheap labour could be functional to the capitalist system. This was linked to another prevalent debate of the time, that relating to the modes of production. The peasant economy through its

articulation with the dominant capitalist economy contributed to capital accumulation thereby ensuring its survival. (Marxists, of course, saw this articulation as an exploitative relationship.)

With the rise of postmodernism and neoliberalism this debate has faded into obscurity. By reposing the question on the fate of peasantry this book provides a welcome link with the classic texts mentioned at the beginning of this review. It also shifts the focus to one of the central problems facing the peasantry today: how to survive the twin assaults of globalisation (transnational agribusiness) and neoliberalism (unfair competition). Warwick Murray's well-grounded and careful study of the Chilean peasantry supports the *descampesinista* view. His conclusion – that the gains the peasantry made during the land reform period can easily be reversed under neoliberal policies – is valid for other countries besides Chile. Indeed, John Crabtree's analysis of the impact of neoliberal economics on the peasantry in Peru seems to reach a similar conclusion, although the counter-reform has been far less drastic there. José de Souza Martins presents a number of novel insights in his thoughtful chapter on the struggles for and about land in Brazil. He argues that the safety valves, which existed in the past against depeasantisation, have been curtailed. Most tenants have lost their usufruct rights to a piece of land as landlords began to modernise their estates and replace tenants with casual wage labour and as capitalist farms have invaded and dispossessed the Amazonian peasantry of their land. Stephen Nugent also raises the question of whether the peasantry is disappearing in Brazil but his analysis is limited to the Amazonia region. He laments the fact that the Amazonian peasantry have remained invisible and excluded from socio-historical analysis and he stresses their contribution to the valorisation of land by bearing the significant costs of land clearing as well as producing cheap foodstuffs. In this, then, he sees a dual tendency of peasantisation and de-peasantisation. Willem Assies, in his chapter on the agrarian struggles in the Bolivian Amazon, shows how rubber tappers – simple commodity producers, formally subsumed under capital – have made a significant contribution to capital accumulation through the creation of absolute surplus value which has been appropriated by merchant capital. He concludes that the 1996 land legislation has failed to resolve the conflicts over land and resources. Furthermore, forestry land is continuing to be concentrated by agribusiness. Thus, the neoliberal market-led land reform promoted by the World Bank is not a solution to the land problem, especially as there is no level playing field in the land market.

Let me finish this review on a lighter note. I often find footnotes or endnotes more fascinating and revealing than the main text. and Brass more than satisfied my appetite. His introductory chapter of just over 20 pages includes 67 endnotes amounting to almost 13 pages and has 7 pages of references, both in small print. In the last chapter of the book, Brass runs to 130 endnotes, packed into 26 pages of small print, outstripping the word length of the main text. But readers should not get the impression that I recommend this book only for its endnotes. It is a book that should be read by all those who are concerned with the fate of the Latin American peasantry in the new millennium.

Institute of Social Studies, The Hague CRISTÓBAL KAY

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Elizabeth Fox and Silvio Waisbord (eds.), *Latin Politics, Global Media* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), pp. xxii + 203, $55.00, $19.95 pb.

It has long been a source of surprise and frustration to journalists working on Latin America that so few books have been published on its media. Recent political developments just in Venezuela (where the media have arguably been the most effective opposition to Chávez) and in Brazil (where Globo's more positive stance on Lula clearly had a major impact on the 2002 elections) have sharpened the need for more investigation into the relationship between media ownership and its impact on political outcomes. This is particularly true now that so many more Latin Americans get their information from the media. Television ownership continues to boom (and outstrips telephone ownership), while internet usage is predicted to rise to over 30 million by the end of 2004. Several studies suggest that at the start of this decade, Spanish was for a time the fasting growing Net language after English, and Latin America was the fastest growing market.

This book goes a long way to filling some of the gaps. It is essentially a useful primer consisting of a helpful overview by the editors, followed by a mixture of single country and comparative studies which embrace not just the big three – Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico – but also Chile, Colombia, Central America, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. The authors come from different academic disciplines, so it is inevitable that the treatment is not uniform. But most chapters are solid and some full of helpful insights. The description of the monopolistic activities of Angel González in Central America is particularly illuminating. In general, the reader is clearly left with a good sense of the important historical, legal, and institutional differences within Latin America.

Argentina is a case in point, and the chapter by Hernán Galperín is excellent. He rightly shows how the development of Argentine TV has been distinct. Cable TV penetration is higher than any other country at more than 50 per cent of households mainly because of a ban on the formation of new TV terrestrial networks and the state's direct control of the existing ones. When the regulations were loosened in the 1990s, it became one of the few countries in Latin America (with Colombia) where foreign capital made a very significant direct investment in local media (through Citibank Equity Investment and Telefónica de España). Galperín is also correct in stressing how successive governments have clung to residual influence over the media by a totally politicised system of awarding licences.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of media globalisation is that in the rest of Latin America it has not fundamentally changed the pattern of ownership. Domestic groups still dominate most broadcast and print media, particularly of course in Mexico (Televisa) and Brazil (Grupo Globo). Family-based groups, such as the Grupo Cisneros in Venezuela and Grupo Santo Domingo and Ardila Lule in Colombia, are still the major players. Televisa and Cisneros have both diversified into other interests and become more globalised corporations, particularly interested in the more lucrative Hispanic market in the USA. The exception is probably satellite television and radio, where international companies have become major investors. These aspects are not explored enough in the book, and an overview chapter would have been a useful addition.

Also missing is an analysis of the way Spanish companies have invested in Latin American media. Telefónica is mentioned, but Grupo Prisa is not. Prisa is particularly interesting as it has bought a string of radio stations across Latin America

(including Televisa's radio arm in Mexico), partly as it correctly believes radio listenership has remained buoyant despite the onset of television, and partly as it is setting its eyes on the US$1bn Hispanic radio advertising market in the USA.

There is also little mention or discussion of the Internet, which with deserves a separate chapter. To name but two major players, Gustavo Cisneros in Venezuela and Carlos Slim, by repute Mexico's richest magnate, have invested heavily in the Net, in the clear belief that it will eventually be the main platform for delivering information, entertainment, shopping and communication. Few doubt this, and the argument centres more on how quickly it will happen.

Perhaps it is unfair to criticise a book for not predicting and therefore discussing major developments. Changes are so volatile in the media world that writing on the subject is a risky business. But there is a crying need for more books like this one.

BBC World Service JAMES PAINTER

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Hector E. Schamis, *Re-Forming the State: The Politics of Privatization in Latin America and Europe* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 204, £39.00, £14.00 pb; $55.00, $19.95 pb.

Once upon a time, there was a fat, bloated government controlled by special interests. In exchange for bribes and campaign contributions, leaders made policies that benefited the few at the expense of the many. But one day, a team of heroic technocrats arrived to scale down the size of the government, and to make policies that served the general good. The special interests lost their privileged position, and were forced to retreat; the rest of the country lived happily ever after.

Or so the story goes. The narrative of how rent-seeking interests were defeated by state-shrinking reformers has been told and retold so many times that it has come to define the literature on free-market reforms. Most often, however, this narrative is constructed around the issue of trade policy, which arguably fits this story rather well: selective protectionism benefits special interests by definition, and the reduction of trade barriers tends to lead to a diminished bureaucracy. In *Re-Forming the State*, Hector E. Schamis tackles the formidable task of testing how well this narrative fares with respect to another sphere of policy reform: privatisation. Although Schamis focuses mostly on the Chilean case, to which he devotes three chapters, he also examines the experiences of Great Britain, Hungary, Argentina and Mexico. Chile is thus framed as the defining case against which the other national cases are compared.

The story Schamis tells of privatisation in these cases debunks some of the most familiar elements of the fable of liberalisation – most prominently, the notion that liberalisation is promoted by technocrats who are autonomous from special interests, and the idea that the result is a salubrious downsizing of the state. The process of privatisation, the author shows, is profoundly shaped by collusion between policymakers and private sector groups, often leading to outcomes that are sub-optimal for the public interest. Most strikingly, in Argentina, Chile and Mexico, privatisations allowed business groups to consolidate their monopoly positions. The reason for these sub-optimal outcomes, the author suggests, is that privatisations usually occur at times of macroeconomic crisis, making it difficult to value assets,

and encouraging governments to sell off companies undivided and with monopoly rights as a way of generating revenues quickly. Moreover, as the title of the book suggests, privatisation can be accompanied by a strengthening, rather than a weakening, of state capacity. To make markets work, states must construct new and enhanced institutional frameworks. This is particularly evident for the case of Great Britain, where free-market reforms were accompanied by an ambitious programme of state-building – including an extensive reorganisation of the civil service, the centralisation of executive power over budgeting decisions, and legislative changes in such areas as bankruptcy law.

The main significance of this book may lie more in the questions that it raises than in the answers it proposes. Privatisation processes, we discover here, are messy affairs that are deeply embedded in local histories, politics, and social structures. There seems to be no modal privatisation experience, and it is difficult to make generalisations across the cases considered in this book. Collusion between the state and rent-seeking interests is common, but not universal, as demonstrated by the British case, where the state apparently acted in an unusually autonomous manner. State strengthening clearly occurred along with privatisation in the British case, but seems largely to have failed in Argentina, at least to a large extent. The author's suggestions to the contrary, the state-building project seems also to have failed in Mexico – and not just because marketisation delivered a *coup de grâce* to the centralised, single-party system. Salinas' reforms were characterised by the construction of some permanent institutional frameworks, such as the formal independence of the central bank, but also by a fair number of temporary, 'pork-barrel' measures, such as the infamous and now-defunct Solidarity programme. They gave remarkably little attention to key market-building institutions such as bankruptcy law and banking regulation. The variation in countries' ability to build strong and effective institutions for governing markets is important, because it may ultimately determine whether countries succeed or fail under the new market-friendly regime, the disastrous collapse of the Mexican banking system being a particularly salient example of the costs of failure.

These are extremely important issues to raise and debate. With free-market reforms an established (if not irreversible) fact, scholarship has moved from theory to archaeology, unearthing evidence of how reforms actually happened rather than rational-choice modelling of how they might occur. This book will undoubtedly be cited as a key contribution to that literature.

Boston College SARAH BABB

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Francine Masiello, *The Art of Transition: Latin American Culture and Neoliberal Crisis* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. xiii + 334, £49.95, £16.50 pb.

Francine Masiello's survey of recent cultural production in Chile and Argentina is certainly one of the most comprehensive, in English or Spanish, and ranges far beyond the usual suspects of critical attention (say, Piglia and Eltit; Perlonguer and Lemebel). As such, she offers new lines of enquiry for a growing critical interest in the role of literature (and other arts) in post-dictatorial societies. Masiello's argument is that the aesthetic may unsettle neoliberalism's claims to universalism,

technocracy's alleged neutrality, and transitional governments' much-lauded democracy. Aesthetic practices, particularly for Masiello those produced by women, point to the untranslatability of cultural particularisms, the memory of unresolved political struggles, and the silencing of popular voices in market-driven societies. Indeed, *The Art of Transition* provides some prescient insight into the forces that have, since the book's publication in 2001, convulsed Argentina and dispelled any notion that the neoliberal settlement was some done deal at the end of history. Increasingly, in Argentina, but also in Venezuela, Brazil, Ecuador and most recently Bolivia, we have seen a range of expressions of dissatisfaction and disbelief at claims that the market's hidden hand might offer equality, prosperity, and resolution to the social struggles that divided Latin American societies so visibly in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s. In a post-Cold War era, however, alternatives to the 'Washington consensus' are less apparent, and in one way or another equally dissatisfying, whether in the case of Colombia's narco-guerrilla, Chávez's populism *redux* in Venezuela, Lula's cautious social democracy in Brazil, or the stalemate that is the aftermath of the Argentine crisis. Masiello, however, suggests that we may find in the aesthetic not merely a reflection on the fragmentary and incomplete nature of neoliberalism, but also a way 'to rethink the social whole' and perhaps 'a condition of possibility […] with which to imagine a politics of alliance' (p. 14).

The aesthetic, then, presents us with both the diversity and difference of fragmentation, and also a possible means by which to bridge such differences while respecting a diversity that, for Masiello, is inherent in all attempts at representation. The book is more a series of meditations than a tightly-structured argument, and consists in a dazzlingly broad series of readings the central preoccupations of which reappear at regular intervals. However, we can extract a basic topography of the cultural work performed in the aesthetic experience, with at least four elements, and it is worth rehearsing them and the way in which Masiello sees their inter-relation.

First, she observes the ways in which aesthetic production maintains the trace of cultural diversity. What distinguishes art from the neoliberal market is the former's emphasis on heterogeneity versus the latter's attempt to impose conceptions of homogeneity. Art depends upon the incommensurable (if perhaps sometimes infinitesimal) gaps between particular languages and particular expressions: in highlighting gender difference, the popular, *mestizaje*, hybridity, the effects of translation, and more generally 'the space between different representations' art also preserves 'a realization of a spatial "in-between" from which subjectivities are drawn' (p. 187). Second, this distance between representations leads to a recognition of the gap between representation and experience, language and the real: there is no way to adjudicate definitively between differing sign systems, as none can ever be fully adequate to a materiality that subtends but also subverts any symbolisation. In short, the gap between languages highlighted by literature is homologous to a gap between language and the real that shipwrecks all attempts at representation. Third, however, aesthetic production also thereby indicates the presence of another, unrepresentable, sphere characterised by multiform fluidity, plenitude, corporeality, affectivity, and commonality. Masiello variously describes this level in terms of 'commonality of sentiment' (p. 91), a 'communitarian fullness' that is also 'a whirlwind of movement' (p. 92), 'an infinite flow of meaning' (p. 170), 'flows of darkened meaning' (p. 182) 'unstructured, unformed feeling' (p. 188) or the 'directness of corporeal feeling' (p. 202). Though this aspect is under-theorised, and it is not always clear that it is precisely the same 'thing' described in these overlapping phrases, Masiello

repeatedly suggests that the aesthetic offers some intimation of a zone where 'meaning flows uninterrupted and the language of repression is surpassed' (p. 136). Fourth and finally, then, in keying us into at least the longing for such a (pre-Oedipal?) unity, the aesthetic offers a blueprint for a politics that might recognise that difference exists only in the shadow of this (irrecoverable but determining) totality. It is the tension between actual difference and utopian commonality, both revealed in the work of art, that Masiello envisages the possibility of social and political alliances. A post-neoliberal politics is inscribed therefore in 'an ongoing search for meaning, a longing for a utopian wholeness that need not sustain nostalgia' (p. 286).

The Art of Transition is an extraordinarily rich text that covers much ground. I would, however, have preferred a more rigorous theorisation of some of its key positions. For instance, what is the relation between the 'penchants for difference' (p. 83) that drive the market system of commodity exchange, or the 'difference [that] is, indeed, functional under democratic rule' (p. 63), and the subaltern differences *occluded* by 'global registers that emphasize sameness' (p. 275)? Or how to define the distinction between the 'late-fin de siglo preference for totalising narratives of comfort' that poetry unsettles (p. 223) and the (equally poetic) 'project to recuperate fragments of meaning that leads to a unified whole' (p. 217)? Ironically, indeed, the book itself is caught between, on the one hand, a narrative that is itself totalising and homogenising in that it tends to read almost all Southern Cone art in the same terms, as though it were but one undifferentiated meditation on the same themes, and, on the other hand, a set of virtuoso but discontinuous readings that produce continuous variations and that never quite add up to a single story. Masiello draws us to the tension between the universal and the particular, and shows us how it might be made productive, but she is also to some extent caught within this same tension, and as such prompts further theorisation still.

University of Manchester JON BEASLEY-MURRAY

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Rutgerd Boelens and Paul Hoogendam (eds.), *Water Rights and Empowerment* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 2002), pp. xii + 255, €25.00, hb.

For centuries Andean peasants and indigenous people(s) have built and managed irrigation systems and developed complex 'customary' rules to regulate the tasks of distribution, infrastructure maintenance and conflict resolution. Such – mostly community-level – organisational structures have also been obliged to develop the capacity to deal with other stakeholders at the local, regional and national level. At present they face particular challenges as water is becoming an increasingly strategic resource, and intensifying competition over its uses. Against this general backdrop governmental and non-governmental institutions draw up irrigation development projects that often include eloquent claims about participation and user-controlled community management. Such laudable aims are rarely achieved and the interventions have often provoked enormous problems for the communities affected, sometimes leading and have actually led to their disempowerment and a diminished capacity for local management.

This volume seeks to contribute to a better understanding of community-based water management in the Andes region in order to promote a more sensitive

approach that takes account of locally existing organisational forms, rules, norms and identities. The first chapter provides a conceptual introduction and is followed by ten chapters that mostly provide detailed, theoretically informed case studies from Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru, and a short concluding chapter by the editors. The volume seeks to analyse prevailing approaches and policies and 'to present conceptual and practical guidelines that can help understand the fundamental dynamics of systems managed by peasant and indigenous communities in the Andes and the processes of local empowerment and organization-building in Andean water management' in order to improve the interactive intervention by professionals and advisory institutions (p. 2).

With water becoming an increasingly scarce resource, subject to severe competition among diverse stakeholders who use it for different purposes, proposals for legislation to replace often obsolete legal frameworks are subject to intense debate and controversy. Most countries have attempted to copy Chile's 1981 Water Code, which introduced a radical neoliberal privatisation of water rights, but such attempts have often generated intense conflict. Although there is a general consensus that decentralisation of water management is desirable, the relation between the role of the state, the market and the private sector is a hotly contested issue. While governments seek to privatise water services and establish water markets, they typically fail to introduce adequate frameworks or regulatory bodies. Where established, such bodies are mostly alien to existing local practices, fail to involve local stakeholders or effectively marginalise the most vulnerable stakeholders.

In this overall context, governmental and non-governmental institutions intervene in a variety of ways to foster irrigation development and to build, rehabilitate or improve irrigation systems. They often do not take into account the complex systems of water rights that have developed over time in local communities and they fail to appreciate the potential benefits of empowering such communities. The case studies in the present volume illustrate how local perceptions of water rights, or hydraulic property, may well clash with those of intervention teams. In communities water rights are often proportional to the labour invested in creating the infrastructure to obtain water. Such a perception of rights may well clash with the views of an intervention team that, for example, promotes community participation in the building of new reservoirs but then feels entitled to distribute part of the newly available water to groups that have not participated but are in need of water. The failure to take the local construction of rights into account may thus generate conflict that can threaten the project's viability. In order to avoid such problems an effectively participatory approach that does not shy away from negotiating a project and, in doing so, create or reinforce a normative framework with clear, negotiated, equitable, well-known rules and rights is needed. Through the analysis of a series of cases this volume develops a framework for intervention strategies, known as the 'empowerment' approach. That approach is meant to provide an alternative to the 'state' and 'market' approaches and to go beyond a 'concertation' or 'consensus-based management' perspective in giving special attention to the strengthening of grassroots groups and marginalised sectors, including women.

The volume provides an illuminating overview of what one of the authors calls 'the battlefield of water rights' in the Andes region. The detailed and vivid case studies and the way in which an innovative and flexible 'empowerment' approach to community water management is developed make the book fascinating reading for

social scientists and obligatory reading for anyone involved in intervention strategies, whether they concern irrigation and water management or otherwise.

El Colegio de Michoacán, Zamora, Mexico WILLEM ASSIES

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R. Andrew Chesnut, *Competitive Spirits: Latin America's New Religious Economy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. vi + 189, £25.00, hb.

Scholars going for the big picture on Latin American religion are often tempted to find it in eschatology, the end-times rhetoric that is so easy to apply to social revolutions and other mighty events. Professional religionists are also fond of eschatological rhetoric: missionaries want to fulfil Biblical prophecies and liberation theologians want to build the Kingdom of God on earth. But ordinary Latin Americans are not particularly given to millennial narratives; as survivors and pragmatists, they tend to focus on the immediate needs of their families and themselves. No one has made the point more effectively than Andrew Chesnut, in a 1997 ethnography of the Assemblies of God in Belém, Brazil. As an oral historian, Chesnut hoped to trace a millennialist genealogy from Catholic holy men to the Protestant chapels of peripheral urban neighbourhoods. Instead, his interviewees cared a lot more about divine healing. What could possibly cure the running sores of poverty for these poor, mainly black Brazilians? The answer is possession experiences, virtual orgasms of the Holy Spirit, which Pentecostals often describe in terms borrowed from two other sources of ecstasy, drugs and sex.

But how to make sense of the many faces of popular religion in Latin America? In a new book that is commendably ambitious, short and sacrilegious, Chesnut argues that the religious landscape is best understood in terms of religious economy. He means this literally, not just as a loose metaphor. Now that Protestantism has ended the Catholic monopoly, Chesnut declares, there is a new, unregulated religious marketplace in which different 'firms' compete, not to give society an integrated worldview like the Catholic Church did, but to give individuals what they want. What the customers want, according to Chesnut, is 'pneumatic spirituality' and faith healing. Such is the product delivered by the three most successful religions in contemporary Latin America: 1) the Pentecostal churches which have far outgrown their non-Pentecostal Protestant rivals; 2) rather similar charismatic movements in the Catholic Church; and 3) the African diaspora religions of Candomblé, Umbanda, Vodoun and Santería.

Ironies abound in Chesnut's chapters on each. Pentecostals are still attacked as agents of US imperialism, but it was only when converts seceded from North American missions that their churches began to mushroom. Pentecostal churches are now so national that pastors are more likely to share the class and ethnic identity of their congregations than were Catholic clergy. The charismatic renewal inside the Catholic Church is a more recent phenomenon which many bishops have viewed with deep suspicion, and for understandable reasons. Protestants often helped start charismatic groups and sometimes have infiltrated them for proselytising ends. When ordained clergy apply discipline, entire charismatic groups have turned Protestant. Yet according to Chesnut, most bishops have decided that charismatic renewal is a barrier against Protestantism, which they have decided to ensure by

reorganising the renewal around the Virgin Mary. It would be hard to think of a better way to keep away evangelicals. Whatever happened to liberation theology? Chesnut estimates that the charismatic renewal in Brazil has four times as many members as the ecclesial base communities, which failed to thrive because they did not offer supernatural healing or baptism in the Holy Spirit.

The religions of the African diaspora are a case apart. While all three of Chesnut's brands of pneumacentrism empower women more than non-pneumatic Christianity, only the African-derived religions allow women to become priests. Unlike Pentecostalism and charismatic renewal, they can be enlisted to commit sorcery against enemies. They do not organise congregations like the Pentecostals and charismatics, but they do offer female-headed temples which operate like extended families and which, Chesnut points out, mirror the many fatherless households of Brazil and the Caribbean. Another interesting contrast is that African religions do not demand exclusive loyalty or conversion: while offering possession by spirits, they do not require a change of life. They are for people who want continuity rather than rupture with their secular identities. Unlike Pentecostalism and charismaticism, they offer spiritual protection no matter what one is doing, making them attractive to people who live at the margin of the law.

Chesnut's comparisons are extremely useful, but expect to be annoyed by his language. Since the publication of his first book on faith healing, he has fallen into the clutches of Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, authorities on the churching of North America, who have convinced him that the fate of any religious firm in a free market depends on four factors: product, marketing, sales representatives and organisational structure (p. 152). To defend himself against accusations of reductionism, Chesnut could have mentioned a few limitations of the free-market analogy. If I am in the market to be saved, I'm looking for something more complicated than a benediction at the lowest price. I want some combination of belonging, certainty and excitement which cannot be reduced to a commodity. If Chesnut wants to argue that I am maximising 'spiritual and material rewards' (p. 148), so be it, but my spiritual benefits could be very costly because religious groups tend to prioritise loyalty and sacrifice. Sacrifice and sanctity legitimise all kinds of uneconomic behaviour. However easy it is to find religion being hawked in crass ways, the kinship idiom of the congregation protects people from being reduced to commodities. Once a group has consolidated itself, the characteristic form of exchange is reciprocity, not market competition. Still, *Competitive Spirits* is an important contribution. It casts light in unexamined corners and it will induce argument.

Middlebury College DAVID STOLL

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Max Paul Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors: The United States Campaign Against the Germans of Latin America in World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. xii + 360, £25.00; $30.00, hb.

If one, before reading the *Nazis and Good Neighbors*, looks at the extensive advance praise for the book, reproduced on the back jacket, expectations are immediately raised to the highest levels. The study by Max Paul Friedman on the campaign of the United States against the Germans – German citizens as well as ethnic Germans – of Latin America during the Second World War is described as 'A stunning piece

of historical sleuth work, beautifully researched and compellingly argued', and 'written with the page-turning energy of a detective novel'; as a 'piece of work' that impresses with 'the research accomplished and the depth of ground covered'; as 'a brilliant work of research and analysis in three languages and seven nations'; as a book that 'is alive with the recollections, many made public for the first time, of those who suffered' in 'the sometimes deadly, sometimes Opera Buffa war against Nazi Germany' in the United States' 'backyard'. In short, Friedman, we are told, 'presents this important subject with such aplomb that it seems as though this book should have been written years ago'.

The question is, of course, whether Friedman's first book lives up to these eulogies. Does it deserve these unreserved endorsements by renowned academics (and one journalist)? Without doubt, *Nazis and Good Neighbors* is eloquently written, free of jargon and commonplaces, and highly accessible. One has to give Friedman credit for providing a lively and gripping account, not least because his narrative interweaves the broader historical analysis with the personal fates of people who, more often than not, were reduced to the roles of pawns in the confrontation between the United States and Nazi Germany. Despite the sobering and sometimes unsettling story he tells, it is a pleasure to read the book. Equally, the research Friedman undertook in two continents – the Americas and Europe – and eight countries – Switzerland seems to have eluded one of the commentators – is impressive. Adding to that the interviews he conducted with more than forty people, one can certainly say that he covers his ground well.

The structure of the book, too, convinces. Starting with a well-balanced assessment of the limited influence of Nazi Germany on the German communities of Latin America, and the relative lack of political interest it showed in the subcontinent, Friedman subsequently provides a detailed discussion of the United States' perception of, and responses to, the activities, real and perceived, of the Third Reich. He justifiably argues that Washington exaggerated the threat posed by Nazi Germany to its hemispheric interests as well as the Latin American nations themselves, both before and after the outbreak of the Second World War. At the same time, he underlines the familiar hypocrisy that underlay the United States' policies in and towards Latin America, the Good Neighbour policy notwithstanding. In the struggle against the Germans, long-term economic interests increasingly outweighed security concerns, with the USA trying to exclude Nazi Germany, which had made significant inroads into Latin America markets in the 1930s, from the subcontinent. Tellingly enough, while Washington never considered the internment of its own ethnic German population, the deportation of German citizens and ethnic Germans from Latin America to the USA was seen as an appropriate means to achieve the objective of securing its own hegemony. Through bullying, more or less subtle extortion, and collaboration with unsavoury dictators more than 4,000 people were deported during the course of the war. Only between 10 and 15 per cent were members of the Nazi Party (p. 111), the rest were fellow travellers and even Jews, some of who had survived Nazi concentration camps. Besides indicating the poor quality of its intelligence, these figures also reveal the shallowness of the United States' claims that it only wanted to remove the Nazis from the Americas.

There is no denying that the deportation programme was important, because it removed competitors from the United States' backyard and thereby paved the way for its renewed economic dominance, as well as deplorable, leading to the deportation of many innocent people. But Friedman goes one step further, stating that,

'Although it has somehow escaped notice, the deportation program – which was the most direct manifestation of wartime anti-Axis policy in Latin America, and which heralded the return of interventionism – should be at the centre of any history of the war and Latin America, and especially of US – Latin American relations in this era' (p. 3). Even in the light of the evidence presented in the book, that claim seems exaggerated. Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico – the more important countries of the region – did not bow to US pressure; they did not deliver German nationals and ethnic Germans for internment in the United States (p. 9), nor can one argue that this issue dominated their relations with the USA at any time. Indeed, apart from Colombia and Ecuador, most of the German deportees came from Central America, and especially Guatemala and Costa Rica, neither of them of considerable political influence. The question, in other words, was not at the centre of US–Latin American relations. This caveat should not distract from the fact, however, that *Nazis and Good Neighbors* is an important and highly recommended book.

CEDLA, Amsterdam MARCUS KLEIN

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04318080

Paul E. Little, *Amazonia: Territorial Struggles on Perennial Frontiers* (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. xv + 298, £31.00, hb.

The Amazon rainforest, which, ever since its 'discovery', has occupied a powerful mythical place in western imagination, became in the late twentieth century a key symbol of natural wealth being wastefully destroyed by capitalist greed, as well as the focus of passionate ecological activism in an attempt to counter unfitting development projects with alternative, environmentally and socially sustainable, programmes. The twenty-first century having barely started, it now becomes possible to measure the considerable political and economic resources which were mobilised throughout the 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s to protect the world's remaining tropical rain forests. *Amazonia* belongs to the emerging body of work in the social sciences whose purpose is to examine the social production of protected nature.

Paul Little's highly original study of two distinct watersheds located at two extremes of the Amazon Basin offers a detailed analysis of contemporary conflicts over Amazonian forest lands and resources, and their use. By examining the physical geography, history and political economy of two regions, one at the source of the Amazon river (the Aguarico river basin in Ecuador), the other at the mouth (the Jari river basin in Brazil), the author provides a convincing account of the economic, political and cultural forces (both endogenous and exogenous) that have shaped their social histories. He then uses his great knowledge of these two significant subregions of the mythical world biome to draw more general conclusions on the continuities and discontinuities between various stages in the historical unfolding of transregional mercantilism, in particular national development schemes and globalised neoliberal trade.

In addition to the introduction, in which the concept of frontier is critically examined, and to the conclusion, in which territoriality is theorised, the book comprises four chapters which discuss systematically and comparatively: the specific outcomes of the destruction and mixing of indigenous societies from the colonial encounter to World War Two (Chapter One); the post-war developmentalist and

nationalist agenda of the Ecuadorian and Brazilian states, which caused massive migration to the Amazon (Chapter two); the environmentalist ideology of the 1980s and 1990s, and the establishment of protected areas during this period (Chapter three); and, finally, the contemporary social and environmental conflicts resulting from the contradictory goals and projects of social actors promoting, on the one hand, large-scale industrial development and, on the other, those promoting long-term, sustainable use of forest resources (Chapter four).

Paul Little's unremitting conceptual attention to 'territories', which he identifies through the numerous timescapes and landscapes explored in the book, deserves mention. Territories, for him, are 'homelands', or specific spaces in the rain forest which human groups occupy, use, claim rights to, and struggle over in their historical attempts to constitute or reconstitute viable societies. Precolumbian chiefdoms and other tribal polities, missionary settlements, commercial networks, river-based family units, industrial and agro-industrial enclaves, new towns created by migrants and rural communes developed by colonists, national parks, extractive reserves and co-managed ecotourist complexes are all, in his analysis, territories. This concept allows him to study overlapping territorial claims as resulting from the coexistence of different types of legitimacy, a bold and welcome move away from essentialised class or cultural identities. So whereas traditional local actors (indigenous communities) justify their claims according to the length of their past occupation, colonists, who share in the national government' developmentalist ideology, legitimate their claims on the basis of their immediate needs and aspirations. By contrast, conservationists justify their claims 'according to the future needs of the earth and humanity in its attempt to survive as a species', that is, according to the much longer time frame of natural history (p. 232).

With his longitudinal focus on process, conflict, change and migration, the author seeks out structural similarities (e.g. the common characteristics and similar development effects of a wood pulp plant at the mouth of the Amazon, and of an oil field at its source) and structural differences (e.g. the contrastive ways in which two indigenous communities, one 'traditional', the other 'colonist', access forest resources and deploy their environmental knowledge), as well as differences in scales of organisation, which make territories 'fractal' (p. 8). The establishment of a territory, which always involves specific social actors, some physically and culturally removed from the area constituted as territory, and some with little knowledge of its biophysical characteristics, is never definitive. As Paul Little concludes (p. 237), 'the lesson of perennial frontiers [is] that all territorial claims can be contested as historical situations change and as new social groups, with new interests and power, emerge and migrate'. Therefore, what characterises Amazonian history is not *the* Conquest, but a process of multiple conquests (p. 62). There has not been one, uniform and unilineal, process of modernisation, but the continued coexistence of 'the old, the new and the hybrid' resulting in a wide array of successive frontiers, out of which three are singled: the colonial frontier characterised by genocide and ethnogenesis, as well as its legacy of indigenous homelands and commercial dependency; the development frontier, with its enclave territories and inescapable poverty belts, its developmental state and its faith in western technology; and, finally, the environmentalist frontier, with its (new) biocentric understanding of space, and its renewed faith in global science.

A veritable *tour de force*, *Amazonia* is political ecology at its best. Paul Little is not only a brilliant geographer, but also a talented ethnographer, and an excellent

journalist. A committed anthropologist and a responsible environmentalist, he has worked for many years with a wide range of Amazonian communities ('indigenous', 'traditional', 'colonist', 'rural', 'urban', 'marginal' and 'poor'), and a number of non-governmental and governmental environmental organisations. He knows intimately, and understands, the perspective of each of these 'territorial communities', and speaks of each very perceptively. This is why his book shines with humanism. It contains the best ethnographic description of Amazonian migrants I have ever read, as well as numerous touching portrayals of contemporary Amazonian lives.

University of Oxford LAURA RIVAL

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04328087

Helio Jaguaribe and Alvaro de Vasconcelos (eds.), *The European Union, Mercosul and the New World Order* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003), pp. xix + 247, £45.00, £17.50 pb.

One of the most surprising elements of much of the analysis of the EU and the Mercosur in recent years has been the apparent reluctance to situate these regions in their global context. Attention has been heaped on the 'internal' processes of European and Southern Cone integration, and over the 1990s the transformative impacts of globalisation came to be perhaps the primary concern across the social sciences. The reluctance to marry the two concerns has been most especially evident in the field of European studies, but it has also been more evident in studies of the Mercosur than one might have expected. This book thus represents a laudable attempt to consider the Mercosur and the EU in a wider international/global context, and particularly to advance a set of interesting questions about their position within, and responses to, the structures of power that currently underpin what the editors call the 'new world order'.

Yet it is rather hard to describe how the book goes about this task, and this challenge points to a central difficulty that the reader encounters in getting to grips with what the book is primarily about. The messages are confusing. The book jacket presages a study of the 'politics and economics of relations between the EU and Latin America, particularly Mercosul', but one quickly becomes aware that EU–Mercosul relations are a passing concern in some chapters. The preface indicates a study of European and Southern Cone countries, along with associated regional blocs, 'vis-à-vis the more likely alternatives of a future world order' – a very different proposition from a study of EU–Mercosul relations. The 'General Introduction', somewhat frustratingly, offers no clarification and does not outline the book's concerns and content, delivering instead a lucid and thought-provoking consideration of what the current world order looks like and what the central tendencies are that might indicate its future form. The EU, interestingly, is hardly mentioned in this Introduction, despite lengthy descriptions of the Mercosul and Southern Cone countries, which adds to the reader's confusion.

It is not until we reach the conclusion that we discover that the aim is indeed to look at the EU and Mercosul positions in the world order, but then that raises the question of why this might not have become clear in the rest of the volume. The chapters are not sufficiently integrated to give clear signals in this respect, and they do not offer a genuine comparison of the EU and the Mercosul, nor indeed a justification for why these two regions were selected to form the focus of such a

study. The chapters on the Mercosul are very much more empirically detailed than those on the EU. One is struck, moreover, that there is considerable attention paid to the internal dynamics of the Mercosul – occasionally at the expense of attention in the relevant chapters to the core theme of the book – but there are no comparable chapters offering this sort of focussed analysis of European integration. The chapters on Europe occupy themselves rather more with the positions of the region in the 'new multilateralism', 'international order' and the transatlantic structure.

The book seems to me to be working with a variety of understandings of 'new world order'. In fact, I would suggest that the editors' and most of the authors' attentions are directed not as much to a notion of 'world order' as to a notion of US hegemony and/or unipolarity. Clearly the latter underpins and shapes the former, but the former cannot be reduced to the latter. Moreover, according to Jaguaribe's very interesting three-fold classification of countries in the global system – into ruling, resistant and conditioned/dependent categories – most European countries (and particularly those considered in the book) would fall into the first category along with the USA, and therefore become less amenable to the study of their defensive responses to the new world order and the assertion of US hegemonic or unipolar aspirations within it.

In a framework of studying the responses of EU and Mercosul countries to the manifestations of US hegemony, however, much of the discussion is valuable and very timely. Pierre Hassner signals in his foreword the conclusion that European responses to US hegemony incline strongly to a platform of 'structured multilateralism' – itself a very engaging notion – while the principle of multipolarity is far more evident in Mercosul countries' responses. Both concepts need to be pushed a good deal further, into a more theoretical and conceptual consideration of the role of *regions* in the new world order, be it multipolar or multilateral in character, and how regionalism is mobilised as a fundamental dimension of strategies to promote each of these modes of international organisation. This is the area in which the book could have woven together the analyses of the EU and Mercosul in a genuinely comparative and conceptual manner. Equally, it is an area for which this text makes an extremely interesting empirical contribution that invites further engagement and discussion. In sum, there is a great deal between the covers of this book that makes it very rewarding reading, raising a raft of important, thoughtful and thought-provoking questions that deserve sustained attention.

University of Manchester NICOLA PHILLIPS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04338083

Linda Lewin, *Surprise Heirs II: Illegitimacy, Inheritance Rights, and Public Power in the Formation of Imperial Brazil, 1822–1889* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. xxx + 397, $60; £ 46.95, hb.

In two tightly argued volumes, only the second of which will be reviewed here, Linda Lewin has made a major contribution to the historical study of the family in Latin America. Lewin argues that much of the work on Brazilian family history has been flawed because of a lack of understanding of distinct legal categories of illegitimacy and of changes in the law that took place during a 'middle period' in Luso-Brazilian history between the mid-1700s and the mid-1800s. During the late colonial period those Brazilians of all social classes living in a wide variety of consensual

unions began to be able to have their illegitimate children's inheritance rights recognised. While the previous volume is based largely on a close reading of the extremely technical legal commentaries of the colonial period, this second volume examines parliamentary debates from the 1820s through the 1840s, during which the possibility of illegitimate children retaining and even expanding their rights remained viable. Lewin correctly argues that there were significant continuities during the transition from the absolutism of the eighteenth century to the liberalism of the nineteenth century, not least of all in the failure to make a more complete break with a colonial society of estates and establish legal equality. Legitimacy of birth became more and not less important during the imperial period as a marker of status with real life consequences. By 1847 a more narrow 'bourgeois' definition of the family had taken hold. The legislation introduced in that year remained in force well into the republican period. Lewin laments the failure of reform efforts that would have built on an evolving Luso-Brazilian tradition to make all children equal before the law, and she shows that the fathers' power to recognise (or not) their children expanded at the expense of the rights of mothers and children during the imperial period.

Some of the key figures examined in her book will be familiar to any historian of the period. Diogo Antonio Feijó, a priest's son and a man of the cloth himself who also fathered children, sought to free the clergy from their vows of celibacy but in the process undermined the wider case for civil marriage. Despite changes in church–state relations in the eighteenth century which had weakened the Church considerably in Brazil, legislators were ultimately unwilling to challenge orthodoxy and end the Church's monopoly over marriage. The increasing number of consensual unions and illegitimate births reveal the failure of official moral precepts, but legislation became more rigid rather than accommodate itself to the widespread societal acceptance of these realities. Brazil's first emperor, Dom Pedro I, is an unlikely hero of the book because of his unswerving commitment to his children by numerous women other than his first wife. Lewin is, of course, aware that the emperor cannot really stand for the large number of other elite men who wanted to secure their illegitimate children's succession rights. They, after all, did not have the power to ennoble the husband of a lover in an attempt to improve the status of the latter's adulterine son.

Despite its rigour and sophistication, the book raises some questions. One concerns definitions of honour, a subject which many Latin American historians have got a good deal of mileage out of in recent years. Since her work implicitly challenges much of this work, it is puzzling that Lewin does not address the issue directly. I also wondered at times why the author seems to have narrowed her range of sources, notwithstanding the richness of the debates in the General Assembly for understanding contemporary elite attitudes. It is not clear why she does not do more with court cases concerning the issues at stake (her point about anxieties regarding family secrets revealed at awkward moments would have been strengthened thereby). A consultation of contemporary newspapers might have helped flesh out the debates on proposed legislation, as well.

These comments notwithstanding, Lewin exemplifies the extent to which the revival of imperial history in recent years has deepened our understanding of a complex and contradictory period. The book is worth reading for her analysis of Brazilian liberalism (and its relation to Iberian developments) alone. One of her most important contributions here is to clarify just how important an understanding of political history is for a deeper understanding of family history. The book is a fine

contribution to Brazilian history that should aid scholars for generations to come; it also belongs in any law library with pretensions to completeness in comparative international legal studies.

Texas A&M University ANDREW J. KIRKENDALL

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X0434808X

Raanan Rein, *Argentina, Israel and the Jews: Peron, The Eichmann Capture and After* (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 2003), pp. xxi + 275, $25.00, pb.

Rein's new book, in its English translation by Martha Grenzeback, presents us with a major research effort to assess both the history of the relations between Argentina and Israel, and the role played – or perhaps sometimes suffered – by Argentinian Jews since the period of Peron's rule. Rein deals here again with the figure of Peron, this time again as the central political actor of Argentina's drama but focusing on Peron's attitudes towards the Jews of his country, towards the foundation of the State of Israel, and towards the relations between both countries. Peron's shadow fell over his homeland well after he was deposed from power by the military in 1955, and the influence of Peronism is taken into account in this work, which also considers Eichmann's capture in Argentina, in 1960 and its consequences both for Israeli – Argentine relations and for the local Jewish community.

The author knows the secondary sources in this area and uses them very well. But here he also incorporates what has been published in another area, that of the studies in contemporary Jewry, with particular respect to Latin America – one can only be impressed by the vast array of primary sources, their analysis and their use in the text and as footnotes. This provides a serious basis for almost every analytical claim presented in the book, although sometimes it does create difficulties for the reading of a text that is mostly fluid and interesting.

Adopting a chronological approach, the author establishes an analytical framework for a series of central events and phenomena that characterise this complex subject. The explanation of Argentina's abstention in the vote of the UN resolution about the Partition of Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, in November 1947, which provided the international legal basis for the establishment of the State of Israel is heavily slanted towards the role of personal character. Although the issue for Argentina's foreign policy was far from central, it is difficult to imagine how, after the Second World War and the problem of association with Fascism under Peron, the decision to abstain was not handled with more diplomatic professionalism or even political consideration.

Rein depicts Peron's relations with the Jews of his country in terms of failure and those with the Israel as a success. The hypotheses are richly documented and well argued but they confront a basic conceptual problem intimately related to the subject(s) of the book.

As Rein himself is aware, in Argentina the conceptual categories of Jew, Israelite and Israeli are not clearly differentiated in the popular mind. Argentina's tradition of immigration and social integration was favoured by the Jews that settled in the country, but social anti-Semitism of a Catholic origin combined, with more modern forms of socio-economic anti-Semitism, theories about Jewish world conspiracies and Nazi influence, to make Argentina the focus of anti-Semitism in Latin America. Thus, Peron in this work is depicted as confronting two conceptual categories. On

the one hand, in his efforts to create a large populist ruling coalition he tries to incorporate organised Argentinean Jews as his supporters, and in this Rein finds that Peron fails. On the other hand, the international game of diplomacy favoured the development of very good relations between Argentina and Israel. The organised Jewish community, as linked as it may have been to Israeli diplomats in Buenos Aires, developed its own interests and policies vis-à-vis the Argentinian state, sometimes in contrast to those of Israel, as Rein himself shows for the Eichmann case. Israel, as sensitive as its policies may have been towards the local Jewish community, first and foremost considered its own interests, as indicated by the Eichmann case. Thus, the triangle between Peron the Jews of Argentina and the State of Israel is, theoretically, far from equilateral. To create a balanced theoretical model to analyse the interaction between factors of different value, role, scope and size, would have added much explanatory power to this work, but that is a task in the realm of the social sciences.

The reading of the chapter on the Eichmann kidnapping and its sequels, especially for Argentine Jews, is fascinating. Raanan Rein has written an excellent book in a difficult interdisciplinary terrain and this text is a must for those who are seriously interested both in the history of Argentina and in contemporary Jewry.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel MARIO SZNAJDER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04358086

Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), pp. xii + 399, $55.00, $24.95 pb.

In a work of great interest to scholars both of the colonial Americas and of peasant and communal politics, Sinclair Thomson makes a major contribution to the current reexamination of the late colonial Andes through a theoretically and methodologically original examination of eighteenth-century Aymara politics. Focusing on the La Paz region – the heartland of the Túpaj Katari stage of the Great Rebellion of 1780–3 – Thomson examines this social violence in the context of the widespread transformation of local politics in La Paz's indigenous communities from the 1740s. Far from an allegiance to a static 'moral economy', Aymara politics in the pre-rebellion decades were marked by widespread, but locally rooted, struggle for self-rule, manifested in community conflict, anti-cacique agitation, and anti-colonial projects. By concentrating on this realm of communal politics, and emphasising its dynamism, Thomson recovers as a motive force of the Rebellion the forceful articulation of a popular, indigenous political vision, there, then, we find a strong corrective to a historiography that has focused either on the agency of indigenous elites (above all José Gabriel Túpac Amaru), or on the fundamentally reactive character of popular resistance. Thomson provides a powerful analysis of the profound change in the structures of authority of indigenous communities at the end of the colonial era, a transformation that is often absent from accounts of the 'Revolutionary Atlantic' that ignore political aspirations beyond those of creole revolutions for independence from the metropolis.

In eighteenth-century La Paz, the anti-colonialism of popular politics cantered on a rejection of colonial authority, and above all that of indigenous, hereditary lords (or caciques), a 'crisis of legitimacy' that is an established part of the historiography

of the colonial Andes. Thomson moves beyond the standard variables of 'legitimacy' (ancestry, cultural assimilation and wealth) to locate the historical conjuncture that produced this widespread repudiation of the legitimacy of the caciques in the loss of political identification between them and their communities in the decades before the Rebellion (a subject which merits, further elaboration). Certainly, local politics was not removed from the developments of colonial rule and the Andean economy. Thomson traces the complex effects of the courts, the Bourbon reforms (especially the *reparto*) and the maturing of the highland market economy in undermining the traditional structures of pueblo authority. But, in refusing to reduce Aymara politics to a response to such external processes, Thomson elucidates the creative and dynamic process within these local politics: in this instance, the emergence of an alternative, non-noble communal leadership.

That internal political crisis was manifest in widespread unrest in the 1760s and 1770s, culminating in serious, localised uprisings in 1771, which served as a formative experience for Túpaj Katari. When the broader challenge to Spanish rule started by Túpac Amaru and Tomás Katari reached La Paz in 1781 these Aymara communal politics drove the Rebellion. Dominated in Cusco and Potosí by the indigenous elite, here the great anti-colonial movement was led by commoners, like Túpaj Katari, whose rise was made possible by the crisis of the legitimacy of the caciques. As a result, in La Paz the Rebellion was defined not by the political and social ideals of the Indian nobility (largely comprehensible in Spanish terms), but rather by the cultural categories of the Aymara commons – hence its growing 'radicalism' and 'violence' in the eyes of Spaniards. By playing close attention to the role of cultural categories, and their multiplicity, this work escapes the reductionism of 'Aymara radicalism' that looms in much of the historiography of the Rebellion, although at times the focus on Túpaj Katari would seem at variance with the larger goal of the work.

Although La Paz's elite of caciques remained overwhelmingly loyal to the crown during the Rebellion, it was then repudiated by royal officials, and the forty years between the Rebellion and Independence saw the collapse of its dominance of the pueblo, consolidated in the late sixteenth century. Here Thomson's shift of focus from elite to popular politics yields real fruit. For what in the perspective of the Indian nobility can only be seen as the final victory of Spanish rule, becomes instead a moment in which 'power shifted to the base of the community' (p. 236). While Spaniards also benefited from the collapse of the indigenous elite, this emphasis on communal politics helps to explain the profound shift in indigenous Andean societies during these decades, from rule by caciques and their officers to rule by elders and village government. In highlighting the historic specificity of this definitive shift in the organisation of authority in Aymara communities, Thomson's work recovers the central role of their complex, and creative, politics.

Reed College DAVID T. GARRETT

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04368082

Amalia Pallares, *From Peasant Struggles to Indian Resistance: The Ecuadorian Andes in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), pp. xv + 272, $44.95, hb.

Political scientist Amalia Pallares' in-depth ethnography of highland Ecuadorian indigenous politics during the 1970s and 1980s makes key contributions to our

understanding of race in social movement politics. Her book is also an important complement to works which argue that land issues motivated the well-known 1990 uprising led by the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), or works that stress the post-1990 period of indigenous politics in Ecuador. It demonstrates that common experiences and consciousness of ethnic and racial discrimination underpinned the indigenous motivation and solidarity that made the 1990 uprising possible. The author also shows us how official pluriculturalism's denial of socio-economic demands during the 1980s frustrated indigenous activists, whose understandings of pluriculturalism included material concerns, but *articulated* them in cultural terms. These distinct understandings of pluriculturalism, Pallares contends, informed much of the debate and mobilisation around indigenous politics throughout the 1990s.

The combination of ethnic and class concerns constitutes the thematic thrust of Pallares' book. She seeks to explain how and why contentious politics in the Ecuadorian highlands shifted from a peasant identity to a self-conscious Indian identity. Going beyond the strictly class-centric or ethnic-centred analyses that explained indigenous cultural mobilisation as false consciousness or expressions of essential ethnic traits, Pallares argues that contextualised forms of 'double consciousness' provide a more accurate and subtle explanation of this paradigmatic shift from *campesinista* to *indianista* ideologies and agendas.

Drawing on archival research, participant observation and extensive interviews with indigenous and non-indigenous activists, the book's case studies illustrate how ostensibly reformist political and economic structural changes (often paradoxically) intersected with the subordination of indigenous peoples in Ecuador based on racial and ethnic discrimination. In land reform debates of the 1970s, for example, indigenous peasants who were to receive greatly increased access to land and credit, which would enable them to contribute to national development, were successfully portrayed by white and mestizo landowners as lacking the necessary knowledge and technology to be productive contributors to modernisation. This repositioned large landowners as the key agents of progress and limited the redistribution of land and agricultural resources to indigenous peasants. While official Ecuadorian discourse touted the integration of all citizens into national development, the reinscription of racialised notions of indigenous inferiority contradicted this discourse and stifled Indian advancement under the rubric of a 'peasant sector'.

One of the implications of this limited land reform in the context of rural modernisation is that former hacienda peons and members of free indigenous communities migrated increasingly to towns and cities. As such urban spaces were previously monopolised by Ecuadorian whites and mestizos, this migration ignited competition between indigenous people and mestizos, especially over work, commercial space, education, and fair access to municipal government. Pallares reveals the racialised dynamics of this interaction in two intriguing local case studies. In the Cotacachi region of Imbabura province, abuse and mistreatment of indigenous people by the police and justice system (called *maltrato*) generated a new sense of common suffering and mobilisation based on racial consciousness as Indians. This new thinking underpinned new movements that generated a local indigenous peasant organisation and the election of indigenous leaders to the Cotacachi city council.

In the Cacha region of Chimborazo province, domination of market access, labour opportunities, religious rites and cultural fiestas by mestizo townsfolk and

municipal authorities was supported by an ideology of Indian inferiority internalised by the local indigenous population. On the grounds that this ideology is conceptualised by Bourdieu's notion of *doxa* (orthodoxy), Pallares argues that increased support from priests inspired by liberation theology, as well as decreased dependence on nearby mestizo towns for trade with other parts of Ecuador, enabled local Indians to rethink their situation in more *heterodox* terms and create new strategies of struggle. In so doing, they shifted from resistance rooted in Scott's everyday 'weapons of the weak' to one based on a local indigenous dignity movement that recovered ethnic history and mobilised around Indian autonomy. Culminating this escape from domination by local mestizos was the establishment of a separate Cacha parish (*parroquia*) run by an elected indigenous administrator (*teniente*) and elected indigenous council (*cabildo*). Such a reform was unprecedented in Ecuador at that time.

Indigenous movement efforts to generate new political platforms and alliances that embraced material *and* cultural needs were equally complex. This is where Pallares' use of double consciousness is especially fruitful. Activists in the local Cotacachi indigenous peasant federation (UNORCIC) and the highland regional indigenous federation (ECUARUNARI) federation were influenced by the extant class based identity of *campesinos* – rural workers and farmers – struggling for socio-economic justice together with mestizos. Yet they also recognised the growing racial awareness of their grassroots constituents and the increasing political legitimacy of cultural demands for bilingual education, literacy, and appropriate rural development. Although reluctant to give up on the perceived gains of peasant identities and class-based alliances, the marginalisation of indigenous leaders and cultural/racial issues within labour unions and leftist political parties increased the appeal of *indianismo* to indigenous activists, prioritising ethnic issues and promoting indigenous political autonomy. As Pallares astutely points out, however, it was only when *indianismo* was constructed in a way which 'culturalised' material and class concerns (as of the mid 1980s), that indigenous activists gradually abandoned *campesinismo* in favour of *indianismo*. In Cotacachi, this enabled UNORCIC to embrace *indianista* thought while formally retaining affiliation with a national multi-racial peasant federation; ECUARUNARI, in contrast, united with native Ecuadorians in the lowlands to create the now famous CONAIE in 1986, an almost exclusively Indian confederation promoting indigenous *nationalities*.

Pallares' text persuasively argues for the need to go beyond rigid class or ethnic based explanations of contemporary indigenous mobilisation and identity. As such, she rightly situates her approach with 'other recent works [that] underscore the role played by race in structuring contemporary Latin American politics' (p. 225). Pallares' theoretical contribution could have been strengthened, however, by engaging more directly with recent developments in this literature that highlight the fluidity and multiplicity of identities, in order to make explicit how a double consciousness approach speaks to a complexity that may be more than two-dimensional. Creating a clear synthesis or dialogue between double consciousness and the resistance/*doxa* concepts that the author uses in the Cacha case study of Chapter five would also enhance the theoretical novelty of her book. Such theoretical unity is also important empirically, because, unlike the Cotacachi Indians or the regional ECUARUNARI indigenous confederation, the Cacha Indians analysed in Chapter five do not appear to grapple much with the class/ethnicity tension. Instead, they organise and struggle around a localised Cacha indigenous narrative that does

not explicitly subsume material concerns nor adopt the pan-ethnic solidarity of *indianismo*. Pallares points out, in fact, that the local Cacha indigenous organisation remains unaffiliated with *any* national confederation or front. Exactly where this case sits in the *campesinismo* to *indianismo* shift, therefore, remains a little puzzling.

None of these concerns detracts from the keen insight, solid scholarship and fascinating fieldwork material provided by this highly recommended book. Not only does Amalia Pallares make us more aware of the complex character and profound legacy of contemporary Ecuadorian indigenous mobilisation, she also reminds us that the decline of socialist regimes and organisations in Latin America and elsewhere does not entail a decline of the significance of ideology in contemporary politics.

Hobart and William Smith Colleges ROBERT ANDOLINA

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Enrique Brahm García, *Preparados para la guerra: pensamiento militar chileno bajo influencia alemana, 1885–1930* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Cátiolica de Chile, 2003), pp. 157, $20.00, pb.

Although victorious in the War of the Pacific, certain influential Chileans recognised that their nation owed its triumphs to their almost suicidal valour of their own forces and the incompetence of their foes. And while they could continue to rely on the courage, their next enemy might prove less accommodating. Thus, the president, Domingo Santa Maria, sent off to Europe for a military mission to introduce modern methods into an old profession.

Not surprisingly, given its recent triumphs in the Franco-Prussian war, the Chileans selected the Prussian Army as their model: they hired the services of a Captain Emil Körner, a War Academy graduate noted for his prowess in the classroom as well as the battlefield. Since his lack of noble background virtually guaranteed that he would never round 'the Captain's corner', Körner accepted the Chilean offer. Arriving in Chile in 1886, he began to train the Chilean army. Later a host of other Prussians officers would supposedly assist him.

Among the various changes, the Chilean officers began to publish professional journals, the *Revista Militar de Chile*, and later, the *Memorial del Estado Mayor General del Ejército*, the army's longest continuously running magazine, first published in 1899. These magazines, by reading and translating articles from some eighty-six foreign military journals, made the Chilean officer corps aware of the new trends in the art of war.

The Chilean officer corps finally embraced the notion of attacking in open order and concentrating on the enemy's flanks, rather than depend, as Baquedano had in the war against Peru and Bolivia, massive frontal assaults. The Chileans also became acolytes of the new 'scientific' ways of waging war, seeing combat not merely as the survival of the fittest writ large, but as a singularly redeeming human endeavour. It was to spread the advantages of military service that Chile enacted a draft law in 1900. While Körner and others considered conscription as 'democratic and levelling', the upper and middle classes did not; the draft only snagged the powerless. Seeing the railroad as necessary to mobilise and defend the country against its various enemies, the military advocated the expansion of the nation's rail system. Similarly, it called for and received some coastal artillery. Some local military thinkers even mentioned the importance of air power.

As the journals and, in some cases, various officers' memoirs or monographs observed, the Chilean officer corps, like their European counterparts, quickly forgot the painful lessons gleaned from earlier conflicts in Europe or America. Thus, rather than recognise the power of an entrenched soldier firing a repeating rifle, the Chilean military embraced 'the spirit of the offensive' and the supposed shock value of the cavalry charge. As we know, these tactics cost the Europeans and North Americans millions of lives in World War One. Chile, however, never again fought against a foreign enemy although. As Brahm notes, twice Santiago averted a war with Argentina, in 1896 and 1898, when the Chileans were ill prepared.

While an interesting book, this volume suffers from a severe limitation: although it describes and traces the evolution of Chilean military thought, the author does not explain if, or how, the Chilean state or armed forces used this information. Developing theories is fine but it is a real army, not a theoretical one, which has to fight the war. Finally, it would have been nice to see if author had consulted the various *Memorias de Guerra*, the legislative sessions, and the popular press, to discover how much, if at all, these military issues became a matter of public interest.

As Brahm demonstrates, elements in the Moneda's army not only knew what was happening abroad but also tried to disseminate that new knowledge among the officer corps. These facts alone distinguish Chile's army from those of other Latin American nations, thus making this book a valuable contribution to our knowledge of military history.

California State University, Long Beach WILLIAM F. SATER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04388085

Roberto Arancibia Clavel, *La influencia del ejército chileno en América Latina, 1900–1950* (Santiago: Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Militares, 2002), pp. 537, $30.00, pb.

Although various studies have traced the influence of Prussian advisors on the Chilean army, none has explored the influence that Latin American armies had on each other. Now, thanks to Roberto Arancibia's excellent book, we learn that Chile's army shaped the military of Ecuador, El Salvador and Colombia.

Arancibia began his work, not unnaturally, by explaining how Emilio Körner, assisted by various Prussian officers, converted the Chilean army into what many believed was a faithful copy of the German military. In the process, Körner purchased the newest weapons from Krupp and Mauser – while obtaining healthy commissions for himself. He wrote many of the army's manuals, completely reorganised the force, revised the curriculum of the Escuela Militar while creating the Escuela de Clases, as well as the Academia de Guerra. He also convinced the legislature to make military service obligatory.

Regrettably, many of these changes proved cosmetic: Körner's army lacked the equipment, manpower, weapons and training to make it a formidable force. Happily for Santiago, however, the rest of the world or overlooked these errors. Instead seeing the Chilean army, clad in German uniforms, carrying German weapons, goosestepping to German martial marches played on German musical instruments, various Latin American nations concluded that Chile's army had faithfully replicated the Prussian model.

Impressed by the changes that Körner wrought, first Ecuador, then El Salvador, and finally Colombia requested that Santiago send military missions to train the armies in the Prussian mould. Their reasons were numerous: the nations shared with Chile a common language and culture; they saw Chile as a nation which had created a modern army, a disciplined and apolitical military. Ecuador, and to a lesser extent, Colombia, also shared Chile's enmity toward Peru. Thus, training missions could forge a strong bond and, constitute perhaps the beginning of a more permanent alliance. El Salvador, which also saw itself as a possible target of aggression, believed it too must modernise its army.

The approximately seventy officers, who staffed these three military missions, constituted some of Chile's finest soldiers. Selected from those who had troop experience, sometimes learned in Europe as well as Chile, in addition to having served on the faculties of the Escuela Militar and Escuela de Clases, these men created similar institutions in their host countries. Those who had taught at Chile's Academia de Guerra also created and staffed comparable schools in their guest countries. Chileans also wrote the regulations, organic codes, training manuals; in a few cases, such as that of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, they even served as combat officers in war. Additionally, well over 120 Ecuadorean, Colombian and Salvadorean young men enrolled in Chile's Escuela Militar, various basic and advanced officer courses, as well as its Academia de Guerra; others served with Chilean units in the field.

The Chilean military advisors gained enormous good will for Santiago, in the face of unflagging hostility on the part of Peru, Bolivia and Argentina. Chile continued working with its allies after World War One, although occasionally missions from other nations, like Italy, briefly displaced them. Although the United States emerged as the principal influence in Latin America following World War Two, Chile's military missions still operated in the three countries. Indeed, generations of officers owed their professional education to their Chilean teachers.

Woven throughout General Arancibia's book are concise biographies of most of the Chilean officers who participated in these training missions, as well as those of the officers from Ecuador, El Salvador and Colombia, who worked alongside the Chileans or had received their education in Santiago. Some Chilean officers married into the local aristocracy, resigning their commissions in the Chilean army, to take a place in the military of the host country. A few of these men even reached the rank of general in their adopted countries.

This volume is very comprehensive. Indeed, Arancibia has had to write a history of Chile's modernisation as well as of the impact of Germany's influence throughout Latin America, before describing what occurred in each of the three countries under study. The bibliography, which includes an enormous number of primary and secondary sources from Chile, Ecuador, Colombia and El Salvador, as well as from Germany, France and the United States, is extremely impressive.

In short, General Arancibia's book is a significant intellectual achievement which exhaustively studies the interaction between Chile and three other Hispanic republics. Well written, perceptive and exhaustively researched, it is a model monograph which anyone interested in military history must consult.

California State University, Long Beach WILLIAM F. SATER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04398081

Alfredo López Austin and Leonardo López Luján, *Mexico's Indigenous Past* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), pp. xvi + 349, $39.95, hb.

In thinking to reclaim a national past, the intellectuals of post-Revolutionary Mexico accepted and institutionalised history and anthropology as working concepts, far less than they did archaeology. While this arrangement hardly hindered Gamio at Teotihuacán or Caso at Monte Albán, it did allow, in the reactionary response to 1968, a scientistic rebound that enabled archaeologists to excavate a site without feeling obliged to take the broader view, like reading native accounts of it, not least inscriptions on the very surfaces they uncovered. This is the context out of which *Mexico's Indigenous Past* emerges, as a thoroughly collaborative effort by anthropologist/historian father and archaeologist son, first conceived (in Spanish) as a contribution to the Colegio de México's series *Hacia una nueva historia de México* (a title that echoes *Hacia una nueva idea de la historia de la América septentrional* [1746], the work by Vico's disciple Boturini). It is particularly refreshing to see the commitment here to deep history, beyond and despite that insistence, prevalent among US archaeologists, that all that happened in America before Columbus belongs to 'prehistory'. The translation, by Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano, is excellent.

Throughout, *Mexico's Indigenous Past* follows the guidelines of the series for which it was originally written, providing 'a unified vision … for scholars as well as for a wider audience but without footnotes'. It gathers great amounts of up-to-date information in an uncluttered sequence of five chapters. In line with much recent work on what was once called the 'northern frontier', the first chapter deals with geography on the grand scale: 'The Great Divisions: Aridamerica, Oasisamerica, and Mesoamerica'. Thereafter, the story of Mesoamerica is told over the four well-established periods of the Preclassic, Classic, Epiclassic (which receives less than 20 pages), and Postclassic (over 100 pages and easily the longest chapter). The brief Conclusion returns us to the idea of 'The Three Histories', after what has been substantially the history of the third 'great division'.

In covering such swaths of time and space, the book insists on verifiable detail, ever striving for the most reliable estimates of dates and horizons, from the first plantings of squash (8000 BC) and maize (5000 BC) to the last flourish of the Aztecs. In so doing, it intelligently combines what we can learn from western archaeology on the one hand and, on the other, from the native testimony that Boturini was the first seriously to foreground. This is certainly true for the Zuyuans of the postclassic southeast, a culture whose very name was derived by López Austin from the Maya *Books of Chilam Balam* (*Mito y realidad de Zuyuá*, 1999). Other groups, however, are less fortunate in this respect, notably the Chichimec, even though they exemplarily transcended the great geographical divisions and left behind the richest account of themselves. Unrivalled in number and range of provenance, the corpus of Mesoamerican codices and texts in the Chichimec tradition precisely maps a history of multiple migration and settlement over centuries that archaeology has been loath to recognise, and which perhaps asks to be noticed more sympathetically in a book with this agenda.

Over its considerable length, the final chapter on the Postclassic in practice casts much further back in time via a number of themes and topics, often enough using the anthropologist's present tense. Hence, the subsection on 'Myth, Religion, Magic and Divinations' offers a general treatment of Mesoamerican 'gods', 'hearts or essences', 'the supernatural' and so on. Thanks to the care with which

native-language terminology is treated here, the reader can see how these concepts derive from complex taxonomies of their own: the 'supreme god' called 'Invisible and Intangible', for instance, in Nahuátl is Yohualli Ehecatl, literally Night Wind or Dark Breath, a powerful pairing in the philosophy of genesis (which is where it belongs). At the same time, the reader might sometimes come to feel a need for more textual specificity, given the complex intellectual differences that developed with the multi-millennial project of Mesoamerican script and calendar (for example, the doctrinal divergence between the *Popol vuh* and the *Legend of the Suns* on the subject of how, and from what, the humans of this world-age were created).

In looking so purposefully west and north from the Mesoamerica, this book vastly enriches understanding of this middle area, and of itself corrects much woeful misapprehension about blood-thirsty ancient Mexico that became fashionable a decade or so ago on the US side of the border. In its very achievement it cannot but suggest the need to look also in the other direction, to east and south, to the great tropical and equatorial heartland of the continent which powerfully nourished the early stages of Mesoamerican culture and civilisation.

For anyone interested in the history, anthropology and archaeology of Mesoamerica and its northern extensions, this is a most valuable and timely book. It brings together between two covers a wealth of information and highly-informed thinking.

Stanford University GORDON BROTHERSTON

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **36** (2004). DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X04408086

Marie Theresa Hernández, *Delirio: The Fantastic, The Demonic, and The Réel* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), pp. xii + 306, $55.00, $24.95 pb; £18.95 pb.

Delirio is an ethnography that studies the folk tales and oral traditions of Nuevo León, Northern Mexico in order to learn what they have to tell us which has been ignored in more official histories. The stories are fantastical, striking and routine by turns. So too the author's interlocutors and so also, at times, the author – our ethnographic narrator – who recounts many of the stories herself. We are made quickly aware that this is not the field of 'traditional' ethnography, with the ethnographer marking differences and distances between the self and the subject. In fact, the author makes clear from the outset her personal investment and interest in the project. At one level it is a study of her own 'origins' or of the path she has travelled from Nuevo León to the heart of the US academy. None of this is particularly exciting – 'traditional' ethnographies are rare to come by nowadays – but what marks *Delirio* out is the key concept at the heart of the book. This consists of the author's desire to create a 'mimetic' moment where her narrative reproduces the sensation of 'travelling discourse'. Through reading, the reader accomplishes as much of journey as did the author herself.

Delirio is dived into four parts: History, Landscape and Narrative, Ethnographic Imaginaries, and Locations of the Réel. The section on history opens with the author explaining her interest in the imaginary as used in works of ethnographers Pandolfo and Taussig. These remain some of the key models for the book and the critical dialogue set up with them is one of the most interesting aspects, providing some enlightening cross cultural as well as theoretical insights. Hernández's debt to Michel de Certeau should also be mentioned. Her theoretical and methodological sources

are eclectic (from literary critics through historians to ethnographers proper) and provide an extraordinarily wide breadth of reference, though occasionally this is mishandled (the treatment of Foucault and Lacan is somewhat superficial). In this chapter Hernández sees the imaginary as tied to an ambivalently experienced historical space.

The chapter on Landscape and Narrative provides a kind of topographic survey of the region. Framed in a travel narrative, we accompany the author on an adventure to see how folklore is produced/orchestrated in the region. There is a fascinating consideration of H. Alvarado Ortiz, the first TV presenter in Nuevo León and the producer of folklore documentaries. Interspliced with this narrative is a tangential story of some nuns the author meets during filming. Their stories shed light on issues of authority, control, national and regional identity.

The accounts of the author's ethnographic work in various towns make up the third section of the book. Hernández claims that the quality of some of the tales is 'surreal'. However, there is no very clear definition of this term and in fact the 'surreal' quality seems to lie in the author's perception and narration of the experience rather than in the experience itself. As a result, this is one section where the quality of the storytelling does not do justice to the theoretical analysis.

In 'locations of the réel', Hernández concentrates on narratives from Monterrey – the most successful industrialised city of the Mexican North. The dominating image here is of the aptly named 'Macro' plaza – a bleak modernist expanse which necessitated the demolition of a large part of the old city centre – a plaza which drowns out the myriad 'little' stories which Hernández makes it her job to seek out. The final part of the chapter is given over to the description of the house of one of Hernández's interviewees. There is a dream like quality to this property. More usually, we are familiar with an ethnographic tradition which examines 'primitive' objects as 'other'; in this case the 'other/primitive' is in fact a host of material objects which represent 'Europeanness'.

In *Delirio* the author argues that the complexity of the situation and of the narratives she uncovers prevents her from offering a 'meta' explanation. This, though coherent in relation to the methodology of the book makes for difficult reading at times (not least because the style is often elliptical or full of unexplained jargon). Perhaps the most uncomfortable reading experiences come when the sophistication of Hernández's theories come head on with her personal reminiscence or account of feelings; here the disjunction between the two narrative voices is extreme and the reader feels helpless rather than enlightened: which voice to listen to? Fundamentally however, this is a courageous and innovative book which puts into practice its faith in different kinds of analytic processes which do not homogenise or synthesise but instead single out – indeed pursue – the traces and irregular patterns which provide a vivid picture of the fantastical and 'delirious' world of Nuevo León.

King's College London ELISA SAMPSON VERA TUDELA

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Christon I. Archer (ed.), *The Birth of Modern Mexico, 1780–1824* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2003), pp. xii + 257, $65.00, hb.

Professor Archer had assembled and edited a representative collection of essays, which reflect recent and differing views of the transformation of the Spanish

colonial viceroyalty of New Spain into the nineteenth-century Mexican federal republic. The authors in this collection do not see this transformation as the automatic expression of developing nationalist sentiment. Rather, they are concerned to show how the Spanish empire, with its viceroyalties and captaincies general, broke up. They view 'Modern Mexico' as a society in which newly governing elites sought to inculcate a national sentiment *ex post facto*. Considerable emphasis is placed on the impact of metropolitan Spain's introduction of a constitutional system throughout the Hispanic dominions after 1810. At the same time, the impact of the Mexican revolutionary movements and the continuing insurgency throughout the decade is made clear. Although the themes developed here are broad, one major element is missing. This is an examination of the financial breakdown of both the metropolitan state and its viceregal dependency during the decisive war years from 1795 onwards. There is now a growing literature in that field (by Herbert Klein and Carlos Marichal, for instance), and its study considerably modifies our understanding of the transition process. This literature examines the relationship between metropolitan financial collapse and a viceregal government plagued by rebellion and insurgency during the 1810s.

Archer provides a constructive introduction and a fine chapter of his own (pp. 125–49). This chapter stresses the problems faced by the royalist army in its attempts to finish off the insurgency in the aftermath of defeating the main revolutionary leaders in military campaigns in 1810–11 and 1812–15. Archer identifies the crucial years as 1815–16, when the full extent of the strain on the official armed forces became abundantly clear. Over the years, Archer's work on the military has illuminated a great deal of the complex process of responding to entrenched or shifting insurgencies in distinct localities and over varied terrain. In this present essay he highlights the fears of the royalist commanders that the army itself might collapse under the strain. Even the development of innovative counter-insurgency strategies could not deliver the final blow. Large territories remained in insurgent hands or were roved by itinerant bands, for instance, in Guanajuato and Veracruz, threatening crucial trade routes. Archer argues that the army was in crisis by 1820.

Eric Van Young (pp. 41–65) aims to differentiate elite and popular ideology, giving emphasis to the perceptions of 'Indian' villagers, and identifying a 'racial division'. He argues for a 'Mexican popular political culture' expressed in 'popular piety and collective outbursts of violent protest' (p. 43). This he contrasts to the creole leadership of the Independence movement, which reflected a 'proto-liberal nation-building programme', deriving from a critique of the Bourbon state and rooted in urban culture (p. 43). According to this argument, there could be no bridge between these two differing perspectives. The dichotomy presented by Van Young leads him to diminish the significance of the Hidalgo Rebellion of 1810–11 in the centre-north-west and its successor movements led by López Rayón and Morelos, which were rooted in Michoacán and large swathes of territory east and west of that province. Instead, he inflates the importance of the central Mexican local conflicts, which are the subject of his research. Van Young sets out to challenge many interpretations of the independence process, particularly those associated with Mexican nationalist assumptions.

Paul Vanderwood (pp. 165–86) in many ways amplifies and complements Van Young's emphasis on popular religious culture. The problem for both authors, however, is one of determining the factors, which rendered these popular perceptions so incandescent that they exploded in the violence of 1810–11. As we study

what they have written, the extent of the problem becomes clear. Vanderwood, for instance, refers to the impact of 'the cultural barrage unleashed by the Bourbon reforms' (p. 181). Amongst all the innovative interpretation, then, we are thrown back on the 'Bourbon reforms' as a source of the trouble. This raises the question of how effective Bourbon measures actually were, and in which periods were they more effective or less effective. If it turns out that the main impulse of Bourbon policies came in the years 1763–76, rather than later, then what are we doing attributing insurgency affiliation to them? Make no mistake, it is Van Young's *moral* world (identity, community, language, cult) which he sees as primarily under threat. If we are to follow these authors' lines of reasoning, then we are faced with a stark portrayal of 'Indian' rejection and resistance at the end of three centuries of colonial rule, in which, it should be stressed, the composition and distribution of the population had radically altered. There is certainly much that will need to be closely examined.

The chapters by Hugh Hamill (pp. 67–84) and Virginia Guedea (pp. 85–105) point more to collaboration across social and ethnic divides, rather than to exclusion and confrontation. Hamill discusses the original conspirators' decision to appeal to popular social groups, while Guedea examines the linkages between Mexico City creoles and the movements led by Rayón and Morelos after the defeat of Hidalgo and Allende in 1811. The initial invitation to the popular groups was taken, as Hamill states, because the leadership had no confidence in outright creole adherence. When the revolutionary movement collapsed, creoles in Mexico City, as Guedea argues, sought other means of achieving their goal of home rule within the monarchy and empire. Guedea does not refer to the village movements around the central valleys, for which Van Young claims so much. She does, however, point to feelers put out to insurgent chieftains in such places as Sultepec and Toluca, and to Rayón and Morelos's forces. Her argument is that creole conspirators in Mexico City were both pro-insurgent and in favour of autonomy, perhaps contradictory positions. Even so, it proved impossible to remove the colonial regime from within the capital.

The chapters of Timothy Anna (pp. 187–204) and Jaime Rodríguez (pp. 205–28) examine the final stages of the struggles for home rule or independence, and for constitutional government rather than either revolution or absolutism. Anna emphasises the element of surprise in Mexico's achievement of Independence in 1821. Mexico, he argues, was consequently unprepared for the task of forming a viable government. The hated Iturbide, whom Archer in his introduction describes as 'brutalizing and dehumanising' the insurgency (and 'crafting career moves' during it), now becomes the key figure (p. 31). This dubious character put himself at the centre of a consensus designed to intimidate the colonial authorities, which he had earlier served, into conceding home rule. Unfortunately, we see very little here of Vicente Guerrero's role in contributing to this tactical consensus. After achieving his aim, Iturbide abolished the legal status of 'Indian'. In spite of the attention given to 'Indians', the newly independent government apparently did not regard this as in any way a controversial measure. Iturbide's centralism ran up against the provincial sentiment, which had developed during the war and had been fostered in the constitutional system. Rodriguez equally points to Iturbide's mistaken attempts to assert executive predominance at the expense of the legislative power. Essays by John Kicza (pp. 107–23) and Anne Staples (pp. 151–64) examine social and economic continuities during this period of uncertainties.

University of Essex BRIAN HAMNETT

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Claudia Agostoni and Elisa Speckman (eds.), *Modernidad, tradición y alteridad: la Ciudad de México en el cambio de siglo (XIX–XX)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001), pp. 340, pb.

After many years in which Mexico's Porfirian regime, 1876 to 1911, was analysed largely as the prelude to the revolution, recently several studies, including Paul Garner's biography of Porfirio Díaz, have examined the social, economic and political events of this era, without making a cause for rebellion. One of the best of these volumes is *Modernidad, tradición y alteridad*, which examines Mexico City at the intersection of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Editors Claudia Agostoni and Elisa Speckman, well known for their monographs on the *Porfiriato*, *Monuments of Progress: Modernization and Public Health in Mexico City, 1876–1910*, and *Crimen y castigo. Legislación penal, interpretaciones de la criminalidad y administración de justicia*, selected 14 of the presentations made at a conference at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México to compile this anthology. The authors in the volume are a combination of well established scholars (Valentina Torres Septién, Nora Pérez-Rayón Elizundia, and Carmen Ramos Escandón) and others at the beginning of their careers (Erika Pani and Beatriz Urías Horcasitas) from a cross-section of Mexico's universities and research institutions. The essays are organised into three broad topics – 'Las élites y sus proyectos', 'Los debates y las ideas' and 'La moral y las normas de conducta', that achieve the editors' intention of offering a broad-gauge historical evaluation of the capital city at around 1900. Taken together the essays successful represent more than then sum of their parts; they offer a significant mosaic of urban life in the city.

The first set of essays, dealing with the elite projects, examines banking (1850–1890), the textile industry (1890–1910), independence day celebrations (1877–1910), bureaucrats and dealers in health (1880–1910), and Porfirian medical duties and practices (1880–1910). They reveal both the daily practices of the elites and the legal changes taking place that constituted in many ways the opportunity created by the Porfirian regime. By implication, these chapters give practical demonstration to the increased economic opportunities discussed by John Coatsworth in his essay on the constitutional changes that facilitated capitalistic development during the period.

The second set of essays examine the 'Debates and Ideas' that characterised society in Mexico City. They examine the critiques of the Porfirian regime coming from Liberal and Catholic newspapers, the magazine *Revista Azul*, and through discussion of bullfighting. These essays reveal the channels available for criticism of the regime of Porfirio Díaz. The Liberals challenged the political practices such as constant reelection, while the Catholics, effectively removed from politics and guided by the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, raised social concerns. Here Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera uses magazine discussions of degeneration in order to develop a critique of positivism. The bullfighting article poses questions of criticism through performance in intriguing ways, especially at issue were Mexican and Spanish styles of facing the bulls. Of course, the performances raised issues of Porfirian policies adopting foreign, including Spanish, social standards, rather than reframing uniquely Mexican ones. Here one wishes that the editors had included an essay on bicycling, the most popular participation sport of the era, and one that expressed a whole series of modernist attitudes.

The third set of essays considers 'Morality and Behavioral Mores'. The topics include the regeneration of indigenous peoples through the Mexican Indian Society,

the development of Porfirian legislation, Manuals of Conduct for Women, Positivist Women and Women Suicides.

In many ways, these authors provide the most fascinating discussions of events in Mexico City, but at the same time the essays seem slightly out of date. Most of the chapters focus on the broad issue of women and modernity. Historians today in at least two of the articles (those on positivist women and women suicides) would have broadened the theme to look at positivism and gender, and elite suicides, not only those of women, but also of men, and the comparison between the two. The discussion of the Manuals of Conduct serves as a signpost, pointing the direction for a host of cultural studies on turn-of-the-century fashions, women assuming new roles in public life, and, perhaps most significantly, the rise of a consumer society.

Overall, Agostoni and Speckman deserve praise for identifying the legal theme that runs through all of the essays at least by implication. The laws, their formulation as legislation, their role as a social and economic framework, and their rejection in some cases creates the context in which ordinary Mexicans lived out their lives. Of course, this suggests that other essays might have been included, such as one on the critical penal code of 1870. Nevertheless, the editors and authors have offered readers a valuable composite of life at the end of nineteenth century in Mexico City.

University of Arizona WILLIAM H. BEEZLEY

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Keith Brewster, *Militarism, Ethnicity and Politics in the Sierra Norte de Puebla, 1917–1930* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2003), pp. xi + 215, $47.00, hb.

Brewster's study on Gabriel Barrios and his brothers does not fall out of the blue. It was to be expected that earlier fine studies of Thomson and Mallon on nineteenth-century Sierra *cacicazgos* and communities were to be followed up and subject to critical comments on the structures and dynamics of *cacicazgos*, their relations to the state and the political agency of indigenous and mestizo peasants and their communities. Lucas, Barrios predecessor, had been able to build and extend his *cacicazgo* during the turbulent years of the Reform war and French intervention and maintained regional power in loyalty to Díaz. When he finally died in 1917 his trusted friend Gabriel Barrios Cabrera had proved himself sufficiently to succeed.

Brewster's study is based on meticulous research in many archives and collections and prolonged stays in the field, where he wandered on the old mule paths from village to village in order to become acquainted with the social and physical geography of the Sierra and collected still living memories of the old days. Meticulous comparison of civil and military documents, newspapers and recorded interviews with family members, resulted in the undoing of many still living myths and stereotypes, and a solid post-revisionist critique of twentieth-century cacique studies. Brewster's study of Barrios points to the risks of existing nationwide generalisations on the characteristics of *cacicazgos*. His study makes it clear that the structure and dynamics of *cacicazgos* can be very complex, especially if ethnicity and quite different local social structures are in the game. While a top-down approach might easily have resulted in the image of a boss in solid control of his power domain, Brewster's bottom-up approach presents us a flexible cacique confronted with ever-changing relationships to the state and fluctuating and differing balances of power between

the Barrios clan, its *jefes de armas* and community leaders, stressing the variable but considerable political agency of the pueblos. In other words, 'Trying to apply generic formulas to explain the post-revolutionary Sierra is doomed to failure' (p. 165).

The structure of the book follows this bottom-up approach starting with a critical historical analysis of the heterogeneity of communities and their unique responses to outside challenges and the wide range of their strategies. The diversity and dynamics of political postures assumed by Sierra communities and their motives to engage in mestizo politics are central to the author's analysis. His approach to Barrios' *cacicazgo* follows the lines of other researchers like Mallon, Thomson and Guardino in their focus on the quite impressive political agency of *campesinos* and the henceforth need for caciques to combine the priorities of communities, tired of war but conscious of their value as soldiers, with external priorities at the state and federal level.

Chapters two, four and five present a fascinating bottom-up analysis of a *cacicazgo* far from homogeneous in terms of loyalty and control. A flexible and pragmatic Barrios confronted the challenge of many heterogeneous communities by constructing a network of *jefes de armas* and their *cuerpos voluntarios* in the ethnically and socially different pueblos. These jefes were trained to convince community leaders that Barrios was their best bet if it came to the desire of the *serranos* for security and stability. But internal social and ethnic differences, as well as clashing local or family interests made patterns of negotiation quite complex and the acceptation of Barrios authority depended per community on sometimes quite different factors and motives.

Chapter three, five and six make it clear that Barrios never managed to establish a fully independent *cacicazgo*. He depended for his own patronage system on government favours and funding, needed representatives to face political challenges at the state- and national level, but was able to create the illusion of full control. He succeeded because the federal government wanted to believe in his capacity for control. The geopolitical importance of the Sierra for a revolutionary government, still in the woes of consolidation and trying to get control over a chaotic state government of Puebla, made control over *serrano* communities and their military capacity imperative. It recognised the impossibility for federal agents to start a direct dialogue with the indigenous mountain communities because of geographic, cultural and linguistic barriers, and offered Barrios the political space and the opportunity to consolidate his cacicazgo. This 'marriage of convenience' ends in 1930 when the need for military capacities on the village level is vanishing with the Mexican army domesticated and the PNR to be imposed as the sole arena for political activity. The pragmatist Barrios, who had done his best to open up the Sierra in terms of communication, education and agricultural improvement, recognised his dependency from the federal government and accepted his transfer.

University of Leiden RAYMOND BUVE

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Valentina Napolitano, *Migration, Mujercitas, and Medicine Men: Living in Urban Mexico* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), pp. xvi + 240, $49.95, $19.95 pb; £35.00, £13.95 pb.

The title of this book refers to three disparate themes that the author explores in this study of a low-income area (*colonia popular*) of Guadalajara, Mexico. The author

integrates these themes through three interrelated threads of analysis, 'the problematisation of self and experience', 'prisms of belonging' and 'vernacular modernities'. The first chapter is an excellent and clear presentation about why these ideas are important for anthropological analysis. The book, however, is slow at interweaving these threads and in getting to its main points about modernity. One wishes that it would have focused more on medicine and medical practices though one should not fault the author for attempting such a complex overview of *colonia* life – from discussion of social movements, the Catholic Church and popular medicine to analysis of the fifteenth birthday (*quinceñera*) celebrations of young women (*mujercitas*).

The first chapter, 'Prisms of Belonging and Alternative Modernities', starts with a central problem – does ethnography always have to focus on cultural difference? The author emphasises that researchers have applied categories, such as the urban poor, poor women etc., to express essentialist notions of identity that do not take into account the hegemonic and emergent cultural processes through which identities are articulated. By interrogating identity Napolitano seeks to provide a new way of talking about residents of *colonias* that goes beyond general characterisations of 'the poor' and traditional themes of patronage, adaptation, and networks. The concept, 'prisms of belonging', is meant to capture the ways in which history and memory are embodied and reconfigured in urban space. The concept 'vernacular modernities' focuses analysis on how local actors destabilise the universalising narrative of modernity as unilinear progress. The author employs both the 'prism' and 'vernacular' concepts to rewrite urban culture, not as a linear transition from rural to urban/modern but as a place constituted through relations of power and disagreements over ideas of justice, religiosity, gender identities, health, etc.

The next chapters, 'Internationalizing Region, Expanding City, Neighborhoods in Transition' and 'Migration, Space, and Belonging', focus on the political and economic dynamics behind the formation of the *colonia*. The chapters go over land regularisation policy and state-sponsored modernisation programmes before exploring how migrants conceptualise rural and urban life. The author argues that being from a rural area is both a source of pride and shame that informs how belonging is expressed in the home and *colonia* while referencing what cannot be known. She concludes, not surprisingly, that reflections on home, village and urban neighbourhoods are major prisms of belonging.

The next chapters, 'Religious Discourses and the Politics of Modernity' and 'Medical Pluralism: *Medicina Popular* and *Medicina Alternativa*' are attempts to further explore these prisms in the context of vernacular modernities. The chapter on religion is too general, focusing on the views of two priests, one traditional and another a participant in Christian Base Communities, while going over the history of the Catholic Church in Mexico. The chapter ends with commentary on how these differing notions of the Church are an aspect of prisms of belonging through which residents of *colonias* reconstitute their own religiosity and sense of becoming modern. The following chapter on popular medicine also draws upon similar arguments in showing how homeopaths simultaneously engage scientific, self-help and 'traditional' notions of curing. Napolitano rightly argues that the tensions between traditional and modern medicine are not part of a linear process of development but rather a struggle between how modernity reinscribes the meaning of 'traditional' and how local subjects generate a vernacular that challenges modernity from within.

The following chapters, 'Becoming a *Mujercita*: Rituals, Fiestas, and Religious Discourses' and 'Neither Married, Widowed, Single, or Divorced: Gender Negotiation, Compliance, and Resistance', both explore the construction of gendered identities. In exploring rituals the author emphasises that *quinceñeras* are not simply about the transformation of female social status but also represent the paradoxes of modernity by displaying different forms of female subjectivity and expressing the possibility of female desire. This theme – female subjectivity as expressing paradoxes in modernity – is continued in the next chapter which ends with a rich description of the predicaments of women who try to make ends meet in everyday life, engaging in popular forms of healing, and seeking to make a life that goes beyond the binary of living in a time of illusion (before the *quinceñera*) and becoming a married woman. These uncertainties speak to the incomplete project of state-sponsored modernisation and the ability of local actors to create vernacular modernities. The last chapter of the book, 'Epilogue', reiterates these arguments while focusing on the suffering and economic hardships which low-income residents of Guadalajara face.

The book's emphasis on uncertainties and unfolding certainly relates to my own understanding of an ethnographic project based on problematising self and experience. Like the author's informants, I struggle to understand alternatives to modernity and move beyond the politics of not knowing; perhaps we need a vernacular post-modernism. This book is a worthy attempt to redirect urban anthropology and should be of interest to readers interested in gender and urban culture in Latin America.

Swarthmore College MIGUEL DIAZ-BARRIGA

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Leslie Salzinger, *Genders in Production: Making Workers in Mexico's Global Factories* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), pp. xi + 217, $55.00, $21.95 pb; £37.95, £15.95 pb.

This marvellous new ethnography of four *maquiladora* factories in and around Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, accomplishes two important goals among many others. It manages to discuss diversity of gender identities and practices without losing sight of gender inequalities overall, and it does the near impossible in gender studies: it actually explores gender in terms of both women and men, femininities and masculinities.

This is also a deceptive study because the language is so clear and the extraneous verbiage so absent that Salzinger's elegant and very original conceptual framework of gendered work might be missed by those who think theory can only be presented through linguistic wizardry. This book is among the most sophisticated ethnographies of gender and globalised production to date.

Building on the substantial literature that documents women working in global assembly – where, it turns out, questions of cheap, malleable, trainable, undemanding, docile, and dexterous women are emphasised as much by researchers as anyone else – in this study the key is on the process whereby not just consumer goods but workers themselves are produced, often in ways that differ remarkably from one plant to another in the same city. This is the empirical gem that Salzinger has uncovered in Juárez, the site where half a million women and men assemble TVs, car parts and other commodities in factories across from El Paso, Texas, thus right on the Mexico–USA border.

The focus of this ethnography is 'productive femininity'. The argument is not that femininity has been overrated by feminist researchers, for clearly this issue is of utmost concern to many if not all plant managers as well. Instead, we learn that the highly gendered discourses of managers and their ilk elicit dramatically different subjects: 'from productive sexual objects to disembodied, masculinised producers, while their male co-workers similarly vary widely, from shamed "women" to masculine breadwinners' (p. 157). Taking us into the actual social worlds of the four plants, and not simply the official representation of company brochures, this ethnography of life on the shop floor of these factories – memorably nicknamed by Salzinger as Panoptimex, Particimex, Andromex and Anarchomex – instructs us about labour control processes and the monitoring of finger speed efficiency and manicures in a single glance, not to mention flirting breaks. The heart of Salzinger's theoretical insight resides in grasping that, 'Contrary to managerial hopes and feminist fears, docile labour cannot simply be bought; it is produced, or not, in the meaningful practices and rhetorics of shop-floor life' (p. 16).

Salzinger was given access to managerial decision-making through attendance at meetings in all four plants, and more intimate knowledge of life on the line when she was allowed to work with other women in three of the four. Her insights are informed as much by interactions with workers and supervisors alike not only as a *gringa* sociologist but also as a woman, subject to the same ogling and pressures for certain kinds of feminine self-presentation.

Ultimately, the issue at stake is not the mere assertion that gender matters in global assembly but why it does and why it does so in such varied forms. Where in one plant we find assertive femininities explicitly opposed to the doctrine of productive femininity, in another we encounter the archetypal passivity of the transnational assembly plant woman. Masculinities and femininities in evidence in these factories are not, thus, simply the product of some kind of rural, traditional, family-based gender identities and relationships; they are produced in often contradictory, and anything but preordained, fashion in these notorious sites of women's global exploitation. In fact, Salzinger makes clear that it is as much managerial behaviour as some pre-existing set of gendered production relations that determine what constitutes masculinity and femininity in the plants she has studied. Monitoring efficiency and women's legs simultaneously is thus no simple reflection of outside relations between men and women: this is the very substance of sexualised discourses and practices that in turn may be also reflected in events away from the factories.

I read this book travelling to and from a conference in Juárez on the *femenicidios* there. It was the perfect complement to our discussions at the conference about the causes and impact of the rash of murders of young *maquila* women that has occurred in Juárez in the last decade. A stick-figure approach to gender, women, men, femininities, and masculinities was useless given the enormous variety of engendered inequalities in the maquilas and as evidenced in the outrageous murders that have largely gone unsolved and unpunished. Homogenous and homogenising rhetoric about gender is never in short supply, but with *Genders in Production* we have a brilliant ethnography that refuses to reproduce such boxiness and instead takes us into new conceptual realms in which gender inequalities and struggles are as emergent as they are resilient.

Brown University MATTHEW C. GUTMANN

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Steven Palmer, *From Popular Medicine to Medical Pluralism: Doctors, Healers, and Public Power in Costa Rica, 1800–1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. xiv + 329, £17.95, pb.

Steven Palmer's book is an important contribution to the new social history of medicine in Latin America. This thought-provoking and richly documented study, succeeds in presenting a holistic view of Costa Rica's licensed and unlicensed medical practitioners from the late colonial period to the 1940s. At the same time, it underlines the importance that medical pluralism had – and has – throughout Latin America. By taking a long view, by considering a broad range of medical practitioners (physicians, surgeons, *curanderos*, phlebotomists, midwifes, herbalists, miracle-workers, among others), and by analysing a wide variety of primary and secondary sources from Latin America, Europe and the United States, the author redefines the borders between conventional and unconventional medical practice, and challenges the stereotypes that have associated popular medicine with a romantic, Arcadian, illiterate indigenous or African past. Furthermore, the book documents the ways in which the rise of Costa Rica's modern health system was influenced by the dynamic interchange between popular and official medicine, shedding new light on the history of social security in this dynamic periphery of Latin America.

Palmer identifies three broad periods in the creation of a community of physicians in Costa Rica. The first stretches from the 1820s to the 1860s, when foreigners made up the largest number of certified medical practitioners in a heterogeneous and primarily domestic medical universe. The author examines in great detail the importance that domestic medicine had, the coexistence of different systems of medicine and argues that, the Costa Rican state, through the establishment of a republican Protomedicato (1858), recognised and attempted to regulate Costa Rica's rich medical pluralism.

During the second phase under study – the last third of the nineteenth century – the book assesses the first generation of native born physicians. This large, heterogeneous and hierarchical group – led by Carlos Durán – is vividly portrayed by Palmer, who examines how they lived and practiced alongside many unlicensed physicians in both urban and rural settings. Furthermore, the author explores how medical practitioners transformed and were transformed by the changes that medical education, association, identity and practice underwent, both at a local and at an international level.

The consolidation of an official medical apparatus and of the nation-state were inseparable processes in Costa Rica, and it was precisely during the final years of the nineteenth century when the redrawing of the boundaries between conventional and irregular medicine took place. However, and contrary to the developments of other Latin American countries of the era, the book explores how Costa Rica's state jurisdiction over public health did not translate into the suppression of unconventional medical practitioners. Instead, Palmer argues that the incorporation of empirical healers into the network of public power was a paradoxical feature of the relationship between the medical profession and the Costa Rican state.

Of particular relevance are the pages of this study devoted to the rural physician. These individuals had to overcome local political influence and popular expectations, ensure (as of 1884) that vaccination was efficiently and effectively carried out,

attend to emergencies, perform legal medical duties and lead the first comprehensive public health campaign against hookworm disease in 1907. According to the author, the hookworm campaign was characterised by the coexistence and convergence of biomedicine and popular medicine, and became an important vehicle for the popularisation of a hygienic catechism among the popular classes.

During the interwar years – the third phase examined by the author – physicians had become prominent members of the governing class and were responsible for the renewed domains established for medicine and public health had acquired. It is also argued that it was precisely during this period when the basis of contemporary Costa Rica's health system were established, culminating with populist physician-president Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia's programme of social reforms during the early 1940s.

A particular virtue of this book is its emphasis on the medical pluralism of Costa Rica. Popular healers of all stripes, such as Carlos Carballo Romero or Professor Carlos Carbell, women healers and midwives, as well as domestic medicine's overwhelming presence are all vividly illustrated and analysed in a comparative perspective. Equally important is Palmer's successful challenge of the idea that presupposes a linear transmission of knowledge and practice from a Euro-American centre to a Latin American periphery, as well as his emphasis on the dialogue, coexistence and complementarity among conventional and popular medical practitioners.

This is the first study of popular and conventional medical practitioners in Latin America that succeeds in moving beyond the binary opposition between popular medicine and biomedicine that has characterised the literature on medical practice in the region. Palmer's book will become an indispensable tool for all who wish to study the complex process of medical professionalisation in Costa Rica, and Latin America in general.

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Luis Martínez-Fernández, D. H. Figueredo, Louis A. Pérez Jr., and Luis González (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Cuba: People, History, Culture* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 2003), 2 vols., pp. xxix + 376 + 688, $174.95, hb.

Fernando Ortiz, the Cuban anthropologist who introduced the concept of transculturation, described Cuban culture, society and identity as an *ajiaco*: a stew in which a multitude of ingredients are mixed together, blending to form something new and distinctive from the combination of flavours and textures. What better way to savour the variety and complexity of Cuba's contemporary reality, and the vibrant history from which this emerged, than through the encyclopaedic juxtaposition of entries on subjects ranging from the *Abakuá* (Afro-Cuban religious secret society), to the poet-warrior Zequeira y Arango; from the island's National Anthem, to the diaspora that has spread Cubans around the world? There can be few more ambitious undertakings, nor more important scholarly resources, than such an attempt to gather this wealth of material (over 700 distinct entries) into a single publication, drawing on the expertise of eighty-one specialists.

The *Encyclopedia of Cuba* is not the first attempt at such a collation of Cuban history, society and culture. Others have done so before, such as the

fourteen-volume *Enciclopedia de Cuba* published in 1975 in Puerto Rico.[1] However, what this newest encyclopaedia lacks in physical size, it seeks to make up for in scope and accessibility. Here entries can be found from pre-Columbian times up to the present day, integrating the post-revolutionary experience into the broader sweep of the island's past. Having just two volumes, this is not an attempt at encapsulating the entirety of knowledge about Cuba, but rather seeks both to provide a convenient quick reference tool, and to whet the reader's appetite to delve further, following the bibliographical paths that each entry recommends.

In his introduction to the *Encyclopedia*, the senior editor, Luis Martínez-Fernández, identifies a number of 'grotesque distortions' (p. xxiii) that have tended to prejudice much that has been written about Cuba since the 1959 Revolution polarised the opinion and allegiance of many who have written about the island. A self-avowed aim of the encyclopaedia's editors and contributors was 'to prevent these distortions by striving to produce a collective work that is balanced and thus avoids a politicised depiction of the Cuban past and present reality' (p. xxiv). It therefore seems reasonable to judge the strength of this publication, and its potential value as a resource for future scholars, on the extent to which it succeeds in countering the identified distortions.

The most obvious distortion that the encyclopaedia addresses and combats is that of politicised interpretations. While by no means avoiding the sensitive and controversial issues that lie at the heart of Cuban divisions, this is done in a balanced way, not so much providing both sides of the story, as seeking to stand above such dualities to present information, without bias, on the different positions and most prominent political actors, past and present. Here can be found revolution, dissidence and counter-revolution, on and off the island, alongside characters who have eschewed such ideological conflicts to pursue those other activities that make society far more than the sum of its political postures: musicians and artists, athletes and scientists; and all those anonymous Cubans without whom the island's history could not have happened.

There has been a marked tendency to view Cuban history as a teleological process, in which past events are seen as leading inexorably towards first independence, then revolution. This publication avoids such a flaw. It might give greater weight to more contemporary events and faces, but it does so alongside doing considerable justice to earlier periods of Cuban history. These are written of not in the simple terms of their present day relevance, but on their own terms, in keeping with their contribution to past developments. Besides, the encyclopaedic format itself aids such a lack of temporal privileging, replacing the linear narrative followed by most histories with the hypertextual leaps that enable an infinite number of paths to be followed by the reader.

Another of the 'grotesque distortions' identified is that of the static view of Cuba following the Revolution. This is something that has afflicted many of those in the diaspora, who continue to believe that little has changed in the island since the 1960s. The encyclopaedia sets out to explode this myth, and is generally successful in doing so. There are many entries exploring different aspects of life in post-1959 Cuba, and these reveal how the island and its culture and society have continued to develop up to the present day.

[1] Vicente Báez (ed.), *La Enciclopedia de Cuba*, 14 vols., San Juan: Enciclopedia y Clásicos Cubanos, inc., 1977 [1975].

When talking of Cuba, it is important to recognise that what is being referred to is not simply a piece of land but, as Fernando Ortiz asserted, also a people. The contemporary Cuban diaspora is not a post-1959 phenomenon of opposition to the effects of the Revolution. For at least two hundred years it has been a part of the Cuban reality. Today, one in ten Cubans lives outside the island; but the same was true in 1898. The turbulence of Cuban history has always made exile and return a central theme for the Cuban people, and this encyclopaedia recognises and embraces this, making no hard distinction between those who have continued on the island, and those who left. To be included it is sufficient to be 'Cuban', and as Guillermo Cabrera Infante has remarked, 'to be Cuban is to go with Cuba everywhere'. Prominent Cubans who have lived and worked their entire lives outside the island can be found alongside those who never left its shores.

In both the past and the present, Cubans and their island have been distorted in the imagination of other peoples, turned into romanticised and even eroticised objects to suit the political or libidinal needs of foreigners. While here can be found many of those elements that such cheapening of Cuban life and culture has drawn upon, they appear alongside entries relating to those from whom no such alien capital was accumulated. The language used by the contributors ensures that what is presented here is a humanised vision of the island's people, history and culture that, while never in isolation from external influences, has developed on Cuban terms.

However, the chapter divisions chosen by the editors, through which they deviate from a strict alphabetical organisation, may inadvertently be playing to such foreign audiences. There appears to be a privileging of precisely those areas of Cuban life that have most attracted such external attention (popular culture, arts and sports), while less glamorous pursuits, such as industry or the natural sciences, while not absent, are spread through the other chapters without any particular attention being drawn to them.

There may be some advantages to this division of entries into distinct chapters, and the rationale for it was to place related entries in close proximity. However, this has had the effect of allowing other highlighted distortions to creep in despite the editors' best intentions. Having criticised the before-after narratives that take the 1959 Revolution (or, prior to this, 1902 Independence) as insurmountable discontinuities, fulcrums around which Cuban history has to be written, they succumb to just such a division. Three major chapters carve up much of the material into Colonial Period, Republican Period and Revolutionary Period. Since the chapters impose a certain narrative order on the otherwise free form that an encyclopaedia might be expected to take, this makes it very hard for them to achieve what they profess to be seeking: the highlighting of historical continuities. By imposing a particular way of ordering the material, they in fact end up separating many related entries that might otherwise have been more closely connected. For example, the nineteenth century sugar industry is separated by almost two hundred pages from the twentieth century continuation of its story; likewise the constitutions of the Republican Period are separated from the 1976 Revolutionary Constitution (and the 1869 Constitution of the independence movement is relegated to an Appendix at the back).

It might have been better had a more usual alphabetical approach been taken, possibly in combination with more entries dealing with broader themes through which, by relying on the cross-referencing power of an encyclopaedia, other continuities and connections could have been revealed. While in some subjects this is

achieved, there are some notable gaps. For example, race, class and gender may be abstract concepts, but they are nevertheless inseparable from understanding Cuban history and society. Yet there is no attempt to address these, either separately or in combination, so losing the possibility of allowing the encyclopaedia to contribute to the understanding of these dynamics.

However, to overstate such criticisms would be churlish. It would be hard for a project of this scope to succeed in entirely pleasing all readers, and perhaps unreasonable to expect it to do so. The editors themselves state this to be simply a 'first step in many future studies that shall continue to increase our knowledge and understanding' of Cuba (p. xxix). Of course, this can hardly be described as being the first step in such an undertaking; but for many years to come, this encyclopaedia is likely to be an important reference work for all students and researchers working on Cuba. It is to be hoped that new editions will be forthcoming, not just taking account of contemporary developments as they unfold, but to also build upon and extend the entries already included, and to add to the very useful appendixes of historical documents, chronologies and lists that this edition provides.

The editors may have set out to produce an encyclopaedia that stood above the political divisions that have torn Cubans from one another in recent years. However, this in itself, in the current circumstances, has immense political significance. Any project that seeks to bridge the abyss that separates Cubans on the island from those in the diaspora is to be lauded. Any project that can bring into dialogue those who have for too long been divided by ideological distrust and misunderstanding, is to be welcomed: even if that dialogue simply takes the form of placing all concerned, without judgement, into the close proximity and relationship that an encyclopaedia permits.

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