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# Reviews

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Jon C. Lohse and Fred Valdez, Jr. (eds.), *Ancient Maya Commoners* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004), pp. viii + 299, $45.00, hb.

The goal of the editors of *Ancient Maya Commoners* is to 'bring attention to the rich diversity that characterised social non-elites in Maya society' (p. ix). The volume succeeds because the energy of the contributors has not been spent on considering why prior assumptions about Maya commoners are wrong, but on exactly how details of settlement patterns, settlement organisation, architecture, cultivation, building function, spatial mobility and economic constructs can enhance our knowledge of the ways in which common-status individuals and family groups participated in Maya life.

The final chapter by Marcus also functions effectively as an introduction. She summarises prior assumptions about 'commoners' as well as available information concerning where commoners lived, what we know about non-elite residences, what problems exist archaeologically in identifying residences and living space, what units of analysis can be used in the study of commoners, and what epigraphy has to offer. In recognising as problematic the broad set that subsumes Maya commoners – essentially all those not of noble birth (p. 277) – she nonetheless expresses reservations about a term that is coming to be used as a subset – the middle class – because it is an economic bracket which can subsume some nobles and some commoners. It is true that 'middle class' obscures the very social issues that validate the division between elites and non-elites, but deciding what terms we should use is still complicated by the fact that economic fluidity can be the stimulus behind changes in the elite/non-elite ratio.

Lohse and Valdez, the volume editors, set out to describe scholarly focus on elites and the partial picture of Maya society this produces; their concern is to frame a larger picture by defining the ways in which non-elites can be illuminated. Vogt provides a description of daily highland Maya life and ritual drawn from his ethnographic research of the 1950s. Powis, who analysed the Preclassic ceramic assemblages from the site of Lamanai in northern Belize, concludes that there is considerable variability in ceramic content within commoner and elite households, and also that the differences in ceramic types and forms identified in elite and commoner contexts and in domestic and ritual contexts are not significant. Arroyo focuses on the Pacific Coast, which is especially interesting because of its early development. This area certainly has much to contribute to our understanding of how social divisions developed in the first place.

Dunning's contribution explores the idea that houses and households were tied to landholdings. Lohse poses the important and neglected question of how different levels of social organisation might have acted simultaneously as agricultural agents. The interpretation of settlement distribution variation as a function of decision-making processes concerning land use is well worth further exploration. Yaeger and Robin studied two small-scale communities within the Xunantunich polity in Belize.

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Many aspects of life were examined such as local resources, chronology, architecture, domestic economy, ritual, and socio-political affiliations. Although commonalities existed, each community had clearly developed its own identity.

Inomata's focus on whether non-elites had the option of spatial mobility – that is, the option to move from one place to another – is a critical issue, and one not often envisioned. Masson and La Peraza make the proposition that in the Postclassic period social mobility based on economic power was an option that did not exist in Classic times. Gonlin emphasises how important it is to determine (as much as possible) the function of the structures being investigated as well as the function and use of areas such as courtyards, covered spaces, patios, and other activity areas.

All of the studies are highly effective in pointing out the ways in which future archaeological excavations can be conceptually and practically expanded to include information left us by non-elite Maya. Vogt's descriptions of Zinacantan life confirm the importance and relevance of continued ethnographic research. Powis's results suggest that we need to re-evaluate the ways in which we expect material culture to reflect social divisions. Arroyo distinguished a trend from early ellipse or apsidal house shapes to rectangular shapes through time, and it remains important to look to the Pacific Coast for details concerning the material expression and lifeways of the earliest Maya communities. Dunning's concept of an urban farmstead requires a new integrated thinking that seems well suited to discovering more information about commoners. Yaeger and Robin's approaches provide detailed and tangible guides for other investigators in locating daily practices and interactions in small-scale communities and situating these practices within the larger social and political institutions to which they belong. Inomata makes clear that the option of being able to move about the landscape must be a focus of greater concern among Mayanists. The incorporation of spatial mobility as part of lifestyle and social organisation must certainly have affected other areas of life; spatial mobility is therefore important in modelling what we can expect of Maya commoner activity, and indeed Maya activity in general. Masson and La Peraza's discussion of Postclassic society and its economic, occupational, and social complexity concludes by emphasising that social mobility warrants further study at more sites across the lowlands. Gonlin leaves us with a range of innovative ways – access analysis, considering cultural conventions and boundaries, hearths, energetics – to undertake the complicated and often frustrating task of determining the function of Maya structures. And Marcus's contribution closes by emphasising that although our archaeological units of analysis may be material expression, it is people whom we should have in mind. But even if we keep people in mind, will this make a difference? I think that the volume is helpful in this regard. For example, one of a number of important implications in Lohse's chapter is the case made for small-scale examination of environmental variability and its relationship to settlement patterning. Under these circumstances, the role of commoners as agents whose decisions matter looms large, whereas in the past commoners remained hidden in the shadows cast by monumental architecture and assumptions about elites.

*Institute of Archaeology, University College London* ELIZABETH GRAHAM

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Prudence M. Rice, *Maya Political Science: Time Astronomy and the Cosmos* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004), pp. xxii + 352, $60.00, $24.95 pb.

*Maya Political Science* arises from Prudence Rice's dissatisfaction with attempts to describe ancient Maya political organisation using models imported from halfway around the world. Rather than cloak Maya politics in the terms of African segmentary states or Balinese theatre states, Rice deploys the direct historical approach in order to locate a model of political organisation based on ethnohistoric sources from Postclassic and Colonial-period Yucatán. This model centres on the *may*, a 256 year period consisting of 13 divisions of roughly 20 years each (a *k'atun*). As Rice admits, there is no actual reference to *may* cycles in the ancient inscriptions. Rather, the *may* is only obliquely mentioned in the Conquest era books of Chilam Balam and had to be 'teased out' (p. 243) by Munro Edmonson. Rice seeks to demonstrate how *may* cycles structured relations between and among Classic period Maya polities.

In contrast to decentralised approaches which see each Maya site with an emblem glyph as an autonomous polity, Rice takes a centralised approach in which a small number of the most important Maya archaeological sites 'seated' the *may* and therefore became holy centres for the 256-year duration of the *may*. Within this period, secondary sites neighbouring the primary site, the *may* seat, competed for the honour of seating one of the 13 *k'atun*s within the *may*. The *may* had two halves: during the second half, the incumbent *may* seat relinquished some of its religious duties to the 'guest' site that would host the next *may*. Any single site's term as a *may* seat therefore consisted of three 128-year periods: guest seat, full seat and outgoing seat.

After introducing the reader to competing models of Classic period political organisation (chapter 2), the calendrical cycles that ground the *may* model (Chapter 3), and the major sources for her direct historical approach (hieroglyphic inscriptions, native contact-era documents, Spanish colonial documents, dictionaries, and modern ethnography; chapter 1), Rice turns to the central case study of her book, Tikal (chapters 4 and 5). Located in the Petén, Guatemala, Tikal exemplifies the *may* seat not only because many of its carved monuments celebrate *k'atun* endings (most faithfully in the Late Classic period) but also because, as Dennis Puleston and others have pointed out, important events in Tikal's dynastic history bracket periods of approximately 256 years and 128 years (a half *may*). Rice argues that Tikal was a *may* seat three times: during the Preclassic, the Early Classic and the Late Classic. Since identifying a *may* requires hieroglyphic texts with calendrical information, and since these are almost nonexistent in the Petén for the Preclassic period, Rice admits the difficulty of extending the *may* concept back to the Preclassic. Nevertheless she argues that buildings that mark the passage of time, such as E-groups and radial pyramids, make the case for the *may* plausible.

For Classic period Tikal, Rice argues that the *may* model helps explain two of Tikal's most extraordinary historical events: the Teotihuacan dynastic takeover in 378 C.E. and the Middle Classic hiatus. Regarding the latter, Tikal's Middle Classic hiatus began in 562 C.E., when Tikal was defeated by Caracol, and ended in approximately 692, during Tikal's revitalisation by ruler Jasaw Kan K'awil. Though others see the hiatus as a period of destruction and calamity, during which Tikal erected no carved monuments, Rice argues that in 554 C.E. the middle term of Tikal's *may* seat (during which it alone seated the *may*) came to an end. As outgoing seat, Tikal was a lame duck and needed to wait for about a half *may* (the duration of

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the hiatus) until it could serve again as a full *may* seat. However, this means that from 554 to 692, Tikal was both an outgoing *may* seat and a guest *may* seat. Thus, there were two guest seats from 554 to 692 – Tikal and the (unnamed) *may* seat that succeeded Tikal's earlier term – and it is not clear how this could fit the model. Furthermore, if the other guest seat shouldered the burden of erecting calendrical monuments why should Tikal, also a guest seat during the hiatus, not have done so as well? Regardless of these questions, Rice argues that the Tikal hiatus demonstrates one of the strengths of the *may* model: it accommodates dynamism in Maya politics and accounts for its transformations. The rises and falls of major sites result from the predictable shift of the *may* and the prestigious holy entitlements that come with it.

Rice next considers other sites (Calakmul, Caracol, Copán, Palenque, Coba, Dzibilchaltun, Uxmal, Seibal, Chichén Itzá) as Classic and Terminal Classic *may* seats (chapters 6 and 7). At the least, these chapters, like the two chapters on Tikal, serve as informative overviews of dynastic history in the Maya lowlands. Rice admits that the data for these sites are often very different and not as strong as the data for Tikal. For instance, Palenque has very few period ending inscriptions and one of the only pieces of evidence supporting the case for Uxmal as a *may* seat comes from its name, read as 'thrice built', which Rice suggests is a reference to the three terms of the *may*.

The extension of the *may* to these dispersed realms and time periods risks spreading the model too far. Mayanists have come to recognise that politics were tremendously varied across the lowlands. Rice's responds that the *may* accommodates such variability. Unlike the discredited calendar priest model of the early and mid 20th century, Rice's calendrical model allows for a degree of agency on the part of the rulers and anticipates conflicts between different factions both within and between polities over how time should be counted and politics structured. A follow up study of calendrics and political organisation would benefit by considering the agency of commoners as well as rulers.

Perhaps the best aspect of Rice's study is its articulation of political processes with historically particular and undeniably salient cultural themes, such as *k'atun*-ending celebrations and quadripartite cosmology. Rice also articulates many academic fields – iconography, ethnohistory, and, most importantly, epigraphy – with her own field of expertise, archaeology. These two articulations produce a fruitful model of scholarship for future studies.

*Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC* SCOTT R. HUTSON

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Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), pp. xii + 212, $34.95, hb.

The principal objective of the chapters of Stephanie Wood's book is to overcome the simplistic dichotomy of conquerors and conquered by presenting the complexity of indigenous identity and the perception of the other in colonial Mexico. *Transcending Conquest* may be placed in the current of recent studies on the mechanisms through which indigenous peoples incorporate and interpret those elements external to their culture in order to make them fit into their conception of the world. The primary sources are both early pictorial and late colonial written documents that are relatively little-known. They were produced by Nahua communities, and directed primarily to an internal public, not to Spanish authorities.

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The book consists of an excellent review of key scholarly works in the introduction, followed by four core chapters and the conclusions. Each chapter is built around specific documents: various portraits of Spaniards in native codices, a report on Spanish invasion from Santo Tomás Ajusco (south of Mexico City), the *Mapa de Cuauhtlantzinco* (Tlaxcala region), and a few late colonial *títulos primordiales*, primarily from the Toluca Valley.

Wood invites us to look at the Spanish invasion and presence from the indigenous point of view and to reflect on native perceptions of Europeans. She argues that Spaniards were perceived as different, but not as monsters. At times, some Indians may have seen them as gods but that was not a widespread impression; moreover, Indians perceived the man-god relationship in a radically different way from Europeans. Essentially, Wood states that indigenous people viewed the Spaniards as human beings, at least in their pictorial portrayals in codices and maps. The view of Europeans as gods could well have been influenced by the Europeans themselves, or it could have been combined with indigenous pragmatism to interpret and overcome the invasion. In this sense, Wood's argument fits into a wider current of scholarly research that does not see the conquest as a total rupture in indigenous history, but as another event in their cyclical conception of time.

The author's approach of allowing categories of analysis to emerge from the records is fruitful, permitting a study of indigenous images of Europeans and their effect on native behaviour towards the conquerors, free of the Eurocentric notions of conquest. Spaniards appeared under different categories in indigenous sources and were treated accordingly. For instance, while higher authorities were portrayed with signs of respect, *encomenderos* were usually represented with negative connotations. Thus Spaniards were not considered exclusively and unconditionally as unwelcome invaders. Indigenous people were not only able to incorporate the newcomers and their culture into their world, but also managed to draw differences among them and build a complex view of a new reality.

If distinction among categories of Spaniards is relevant, delineation of different indigenous groups in terms of relations with the colonisers and self-perception is equally important. In this respect the *Mapa de Cuauhtlantzinco* is a significant source since it comes from the Tlaxcala region, the inhabitants of which were famous for allying with the Spaniards to defeat Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Distinguished from other indigenous communities, the Tlaxcalans perceived themselves as allies, not rivals, of the conquerors. While the Tlaxcalans were peculiar in their resistance against the Aztecs, they shared a more general self-perception with various other indigenous groups: they viewed themselves less as vanquished and subordinated, than as fighters preserving their autonomy. After all, Wood cautions that the Nahuas were in turn conquerors of many other indigenous groups, so that in their view the conquest was not necessarily that of the Spaniards, but it could easily refer to various prehispanic campaigns.

The author rightly draws our attention to another vital aspect of indigenous identity – the weight of the local element. She is an expert in primordial titles, documents containing local histories built on the assertion of political authority and territorial dominion of a specific community, written for a local audience. These *títulos* emerged primarily in the eighteenth century, during a period of demographic growth and the consequent competition for land. They represented a reaction against the threat to indigenous autonomy posed by Spaniards as well as other

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indigenous communities. It is precisely this local element that helps to define such terms as hybridity or transculturation in the book. Indigenous people showed their clear ability to elaborate external influences and create a complex new reality. However, the core of this new world was dominated by a concern for territoriality, community autonomy, and a strong sense of local belonging.

As Wood says at the very beginning, *Transcending Conquest* is a collection of thematically related essays deriving from various projects. Such fascinating themes and serious research leave the reader wishing to see more integration among them. Any discussion of indigenous self-perception and the view of the other is a complex task, and especially if one chooses to undertake it from a historical perspective, where the danger of attributing modern anti-imperialist attitudes to native groups is frequently present. Wood has succeeded in avoiding such 'a risky projection of modern sentiments onto the past' (p. 147), producing an enjoyable and absorbing book that I warmly recommend.

*Institute for the Study of the Americas,*
*University of London* CATERINA PIZZIGONI

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Jacques Galinier, *The World Below: Body and Cosmos in Otomí Indian Ritual* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2004), pp. xvii + 271, $85.00, $34.95 pb.

*The World Below* is an English translation of Jacques Galinier's doctoral thesis, originally presented in French in 1985 and published in Spanish in 1990. The work is the result of extensive ethnographic study carried out over more than a decade among the Otomi of the Sierra Madre in Eastern Mexico. Galinier stresses that during the first years of his research his focus was on what he calls ethnography as 'external exegesis'. This entails the systematic compilation of information from native informants on their life ways and through the medium of their language. However, Galinier's interest in Otomi cultural traditions, and especially the shamanistic practices of Otomi healers, led to increasing dissatisfaction with this systematic approach. In part that dissatisfaction appears to have resulted from Galinier's ethnological interests, and in part perhaps from the traditional division of labour between ethnographers and ethnologists that has characterised the development of French anthropology.

Durheim, Mauss, Lévi-Strauss and Dumont all interpreted the ethnographic record without directly contributing to it through field work. To a large degree, their ethnological analyses and interpretations were possible because the ethnographic material under study pertained to explicit semantic classes within each native language. In short, the ethnographer could isolate and identify a named semantic field like 'kinship', and through 'external exegesis' elicit all the information salient to that semantic field. This record of the terms pertaining to a semantic field and its ethnographic context became the data of ethnological analysis and interpretation. It was, furthermore, assumed that, in the degree to which the process of their collective structuring was not readily accessible to reflection, the semantic fields under study were part of an unconscious patterning of culture.

Galinier, however, through extensive ethnographic practice came to question this methodology. In attempting an exhaustive study of the Sierra Otomi religious

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universe, he was confronted with a constant dialogic and polyvocal communicative process, which in its multilayered references erased any clear separation between reflexivity and unconsciousness. Contemplating homologies between this dialogic process and Freudian psychoanalysis, Galinier decided to engage in a prolonged field study of 'internal exegesis', which involved capturing the intimate associations communicated in whispers, jokes, wordplay, songs, through the plastic medium of ritual paper cuttings and during periods of drunkenness or ritual possession through the use of cannabis, especially those associations that in any way reflected upon or analysed sexuality.

The result of Galinier's novel approach is a frustratingly complex though original ethnological ethnography. One is reminded of how Freud's meticulous descriptions of the details of a specific case with its data from dream work, free association, non-verbal representations, etc., would be followed by an attempt to read the basic semantic and emotional directions that the patient was both pointing out and repressing. However, the scope of Galinier's topic is much more vast. The details required involve the entire Sierra Otomi ritual and ceremonial cycles and their local derivations. The book, then, can be used as a basic reference book on Sierra Otomi ritual processes. However, wrapped around this descriptive focus is a complex interpretative language aimed at capturing a complex repressed dialogic discourse on sexuality in the relation between body and cosmos.

Galinier tells us from the start that the Carnival figure *shihta* ('rotten father') in a parody of the anthropologist during the celebration in February of 1977 offered the key 'internal exegesis' needed to comprehend the body-cosmos relation in the Otomi ritual process. Prancing in ragged city dress with a 'camera' made of beer cans and a notebook in one hand, the *shihta* eagerly moved through the crowd, zooming in on the dancers' bellies and carefully pointing out the genitalia of onlookers while registering dimensions and uses in his notebook. Galinier, explores the ritual and etymological references to genitalia, sexuality and their relation to cosmos (especially lunar-solar, male-female, hot-cold, Catholic-indigenous oppositions). He uncovers a series of images which he argues reveal an 'Indian theory of the unconscious' since they allude to a 'sexual reality' that cannot be brought to consciousness through direct observation or empirical testing but constitutes the ontological grounds of Otomi cosmology.

Reading this complex ethnography completed two decades ago, one is surprised by its relevance to current debates concerned with ethnography as the key methodology in a reflexive anthropology. Nevertheless, Galinier in his critique both of Carrasco (pp. 120–1) and of Turner (pp. 186–8) appears to assume an ahistorical, essentialist position, perhaps inescapable in a Freudian approach to 'unconscious' psychic processes. Indeed, he repeatedly distinguishes between a surface reality and a deeper structural reality, be it with reference to cognatic kindreds with a partilineal deep structure (pp. 50–1) or with reference, in general, to a 'web of ventriloquial discourse' (p. 245) that he seeks to decipher into its unconscious source. History, as well as historical constructions, is treated like dream work; that is, as repressed re-elaborations of a timeless truth.

*El Colegio de Michoacán* ANDREW ROTH-SENEFF

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Iván Molina Jiménez, *La estela de la pluma: cultura impresa e intelectuales en Centroamérica durante los siglos XIX y XX* (Heredia, Costa Rica: Editorial Universidad Nacional, 2004), pp. 410, pb.

The long-neglected cultural history of Central America here receives the attention of a distinguished Costa Rican historian better known for his work on economic and social history. Molina's study of printed culture and several intellectuals enriches our understanding of the complex relation of culture to history. His ten previously-published articles focus primarily on Costa Rica, Nicaragua and El Salvador, but a few of them also have significant commentary on Guatemala or Honduras. The first five treat aspects of printed culture, while the last five analyse some intellectuals who may have had more influence on popular thought and culture in Central America than has formerly been recognised.

An opening chapter examines inventories of private libraries and the actions of the Inquisition during the late colonial and early national periods, demonstrating the preponderance of religious tracts, but also the presence of many proscribed works. A second chapter compares literacy rates in El Salvador, Costa Rica and Nicaragua between 1885 and 1950, noting the statistical differences between rural and urban regions and between genders. Molina highlights the impact of literacy on popular political activity. He sees it as a key toward understanding the unequal success with which peasants and workers in the three states entered the world of print and the political arena and the political and ideological options open to them in the emerging mass cultures. A third chapter compares Salvadorean and Costa Rican printed matter in the nineteenth century, providing statistical data on the kinds of material to be found in both places, as well as the numbers of publishers, printers, newspapers, and bookstores. He relates this activity to the development of national identity in Costa Rica, El Salvador and Nicaragua. His fourth article focuses more especially on the sale of books and other publications, as he studies the origins and languages of books for sale, as well as the development of national libraries and their holdings. The final chapter in the first section is a remarkable study of the Villacorta bookshop in San Salvador in 1923. Molina compares its inventory to that of San José's Album bookshop in 1858, reflecting both the differences in time and reading appetites in these two Central American cities. Molina continues his analysis of the impact of printed matter on radicalising the working classes of the two countries, as Costa Rica's higher literacy permitted wider influence of leftist literature among working people there than in El Salvador.

A second section offer views of five intellectuals and their unique roles in Central American cultural progress. Molina challenges the idea that Guatemalan novelist Máximo Soto Hall's *El Problema* (San José, 1899) was the first anti-imperialist novel in Latin America. Calling Soto Hall 'elitist' and 'fatalistic', he notes that this work, set futuristically in 1928, suggested no effort to oppose what Soto saw as the inevitable annexation of Central America to the United States. Although Soto never achieved the fame of other Guatemalan novelists – such as José Milla, Enrique Gómez Carrillo, Rafael Arévalo Martínez or Miguel Angel Asturias – Molina argues that he was nevertheless highly influential on popular culture and that he certainly stimulated a heated debate on anti-imperialist literature. Molina turns next to the Nicaraguan poet Salomón de la Selva, controversial because of his apparent support first for Augusto C. Sandino and but later of Anastasio Somoza. Molina explores why, some twenty years after his death in 1959, the official culture of modern

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Sandinismo appropriated his work. Using the ambivalence of de la Selva in both of his supposed political identifications, Molina emphasises the variety and ways that literature is often used politically, often well beyond the intention of the author. He concludes that 'el poeta Salomón de la Selva quizá no fue tan sandinista como usualmente se creyó, incluso estuvo en tratos con la diplomacia imperial en San José, y al final de su vida fue cooptado por el régimen de Somoza; pero sus poemas contribuyeron a abrir nuevos caminos para la poesía política en la Centroamérica del siglo XX' (p. 277). A third article focuses on Clemente Marroquín Rojas (later a major figure in Guatemalan politics and historiography) during his residence in Costa Rica in the 1930s. Molina suggests that Costa Rican journalist Mario Sánchez may have been a critical influence on him, whereas Marroquín writings of that period may have influenced Costa Rican policy changes more than has been recognised. Both writers, although they were not known to be associated, challenged the established order and called for social change. Turning to colonial historiography, Molina compares the significance of Severo Martínez Peláez's *La patria del criollo* (Guatemala, 1970) with that of Murdo MacLeod's *Spanish Central America* (Berkeley, 1973), especially pointing to their distinct intellectual approaches and the different uses of these works respectively by historians of Central versus North America. Finally, Molina reevaluates the influence of Dana Munro's Five Republics of Central America (New York, 1918), arguing that Munro's work was more influential for Central American historiography than many historians have recognised. He credits Munro as among the first to quantify Central American historical data.

Molina's work underscores the importance of literacy to political development, but also the complex nature of human and literary activity. He also emphasises that, despite some similarities with the other Central American states, Costa Rica experienced more democratic development as a result of its intellectual freedom. The work closes with this thought:

> El sabio, según [José Cecilio] del Valle, es un forjador de maravillas, de lo bello y lo útil, y por tanto, merecedor de himnos y estatuas, a cuyos pies debe oírse la voz del afecto, el acento de la gratitud. El 'viento que para todos sopla,' sin embargo, no está desprovisto de intereses particulares, de los cuales dependerá en cada contexto específico, cuales velas hinchará: las de la democracia y la equidad o las de la dictadura y la injusticia; las de la sociedad o las del mercado. La estela de la pluma no es siempre luminosa (p. 347).

*Tulane University, emeritus* RALPH LEE WOODWARD, JR.

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Erika Pani and Alicia Salmerón (eds.), *Conceptualizar lo que se ve. François-Xavier Guerra, historiador. Homenaje* (México, DF: Instituto Mora, 2004), pp. 554, pb.

In this book sixteen historians pay homage to the late François-Xavier Guerra (1942–2002), author of *Le Méxique: de l'ancien régime à la revolution* and *Modernidad e independencias: ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispánicas.* While the first work became a classic in Mexican historiography, the second gained Guerra a privileged place among Latin Americanists. Guerra described himself as a historian who happened to study the transition to modernity in Latin America and insisted on studying the region as 'an extension of Europe'. At best, this perspective gained him a wide audience who praised his interpretive framework; at worst it provoked charges of Eurocentrism. Contributors to this volume are among the supporters. Whether

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justified or not, another charge that Guerra remained a Mexicanist when he studied Hispanic America, is echoed in this homage, as only a third of the authors are non-Mexicanists.

All the articles discuss Guerra's contributions, or are inspired by them, giving consistency to the collection. But only a brief preface by the editors opens the book, and one misses introductory and concluding chapters which could have brought together common themes and allowed for greater dialogue. Those interested in Guerra's background may turn to the last chapter, a succinct intellectual biography collated by Nicole Giron from interview extracts. This is followed by a helpful bibliography of Guerra.

Of the four sections, the first, 'Guerra's books', comes closest to a general discussion. In a useful summary of the significance of Guerra's work in Latin Americanist historiography, Tulio Halperín Donghi identifies the transition from the ancien régime to modernity as Guerra's key interest, and the reason for his shift from a political history of the 1910 Mexican revolution to the early nineteenth-century independence revolutions throughout Hispanic America. Indeed, Alfredo Avila's informative and thoughtful review of independence historiography (with a Mexican bias, as he admits) concludes that there has been a change from studying political emancipations themselves to the wider subject of the transition from a traditional to a modern society. A second shift examined by Avila concerns the unit of analysis in independence studies: while Guerra successfully chose a supra-national focus, others have preferred a sub-national scale. In any case, single-nation studies are no longer the staple.

Most chapters reflect, if briefly, on Guerra's French influences, especially the revisionism of François Furet, his re-reading of de Tocqueville and his vindication of Auguste Cochin. Further exploration of his intellectual background and contribution comes in the section 'Concepts and methods' dealing with the public sphere, modern forms of sociability (*sociabilités*), prosopography and the supra-national scale. Elias Palti examines the influence of Cochin and the divergence from Habermas in Guerra's understanding of the development of a public sphere. Pilar González Bernaldo de Quirós provides a dense, deep and nuanced analysis of the history of the term *sociabilité*, as well as its applicability in post-Independence Río de la Plata.

A key innovation of *Le Mexique* was the use of prosopography to correct over-simplified analyses of class. Guerra compiled a collective biography of nearly 8,000 political actors, which has not been consulted by others but is available at Mexico City's Instituto Mora. Isabelle Rousseau judiciously argues for the advantages of prosopography while highlighting the need to complement it with the tools of organisational sociology and network analysis.

Annick Lempérière makes the case for supra-national units of analysis such as Guerra's Hispanic World (including Spain and its colonies), or the Latin World (additionally including France). In her defence of the study of interactions, transfers and similarities and differences between countries, Lempérière is aware of a thorny question but does not fully take it on: is such perspective prone to Eurocentrism/evolutionism?

The section 'Political culture and memory' presents new research on Mexico, Peru and Spain, on themes studied or suggested by Guerra: the development of the press (Laura Suárez de la Torre), correspondence (Joëlle Chassin), civic festivals (Verónica Zárate Toscano) and the consecration of patriotic heroes (Nora Pérez Rayón). Although the chapters are informative and empirically dense, the

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Guerra-inspired contention that such phenomena beget a modern *mentalité* is more often assumed than explained. Unconcerned with the modernity thesis, Miguel Rodríguez convincingly explores Spanish nationalism's appropriation of the American past in 12 October celebrations.

Contributors agree that Guerra's key themes are the contradictions and articulations between a traditional society and a modern political project pursued by an elite. Yet some appear comfortable within a dichotomous framework while others challenge potential simplifications. In the section 'Between the ancien régime and modernity', Juan Ortiz Escamilla emphasises the distance between the two, underscoring the failure of Mexican military reforms before 1808 and sweeping modernisation afterwards. Palti, on the other hand, sees Guerra's tradition/modernity dichotomy as a contradiction in 'Mexican Whig Historiography'.

Among those who prefer a subtler interpretation, Elisa Cárdenas valuably highlights Guerra's study of the interrelation of tradition and modernity. Studying the concepts of 'law' and 'constitution', Beatriz Rojas goes beyond the popular hypothesis of the persistence of the ancien régime, to examine modern ideas that developed before independence. Felipe Arturo Avila Espinosa challenges the idea of a society resistant to modernisation, showing how the Zapatistas produced an 'original combination' of *usos y costumbres* with liberalism and socialism. He comes closer to studies of a sub-national scale which have shown how tradition and modernity are not necessarily in contradiction (as some in this volume suggest) but may indeed complement each other. How should we approach their interaction? If intermingling is frequent, is there really any heuristic value left in the dichotomous opposition of modernity and tradition? These are two of the potential questions a reader may well ask, but which remain unaddressed in this volume.

Those interested in the periods and themes covered, and in Guerra's work itself, will certainly benefit from this book. However, a wider readership, although deserved by some of the contributors, might be put off by the lack of any overarching discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of a renewed modernisation theory for Latin American history.

*Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, Mexico*
ARIADNA ACEVEDO RODRIGO

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05270670

Daniela Spenser (ed.), *Espejos de la guerra fría: México, América Central y el Caribe* (Tlalpan, México, DF: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2004), pp. 392, pb.

There is a spectre haunting studies of the Cold War in Latin America. It is the spectre of scholarly innovation in a field too long dominated by government pronouncements, or worse, by political scientists. This book is one attempt to re-think the Cold War in Latin America. Its aim is to innovate, seeking to assess the Cold War more from the perspective of Latin Americans than from that of the superpowers. We hear the clarion call, but this ambitious, necessary and no doubt eventually productive task is still at its start. With two exceptions, these are fine, well crafted, and thoughtful essays, but do not break much new ground. Happily, the two exceptions – chapters by Eric Zolov and Ariel Armony – are outstanding and promise even better future work.

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In this book, Friedrich Katz presents a useful chronology of the Cold War and then gives a succinct and persuasive account, echoed in the separate chapters by Lorenzo Meyer and Jürgen Buchenau, that Mexico's Cold War experience differed from the rest of Latin America. Mexico retained substantial independence, greater than the norm elsewhere in Latin America, in the conduct of its international relations and its government's power over domestic politics. Meyer astutely discusses Mexico's relations with the United States, connecting Mexico's experience from the revolution through the Cold War, and – alone among these authors – reminds us that the Cold War has yet to end for Mexico. Part of its drama in recent years has been its growing conflict with Cuba. Buchenau challenges conventional interpretations of the all-powerful Mexican presidency in the 1950s and 1960s, arguing that Mexican foreign policy was a domestic and international balancing act, the result of bargaining more than design. Katz, Meyer and Buchenau highlight the Machiavellian skills of the Mexican presidency while never losing sight of the fact that its power was continuously under challenge.

Adolfo Gilly and editor Daniela Spenser present good accounts of the Cuban missile crisis, drawing principally (especially in Gilly's chapter) from the documents made public though an oral history project begun by James Blight and developed by the National Security Archives of George Washington University. They make effective use of these documents but, though they present the Cuban point of view better than typically happens in US publications, theirs is nevertheless a traditional study of superpower conflict. Spenser makes the additionally valuable argument that the Soviet-Cuban conflict over the missile crisis settlement induced the USSR to increase temporarily its support for insurgencies in Latin America in the 1960s, as the Soviets accommodated the preferences of Cuban leaders. She thus makes a key point for the study of the Cold War in Latin America: Cuba led, the USSR followed.

Richard Saull's chapter is, for this reason, puzzling. Described by his fellow authors and himself as explicitly theoretical, it argues that the Cold War stemmed from the global and unequal development of capitalism, resistance to which the Soviet Union supported. The Soviet role in support of revolutionary states and movements, Saull insists, was marked during the 1970s. Alas, his co-authors systematically disagree and, at times, even his own empirical account differs (pp. 53–4). Spenser in particular makes it clear that the claim that the Soviets supported revolutions in Latin America is always weak but especially so in the 1970s. Piero Gleijeses delights in reminding readers that Cuba characteristically led the Soviet Union in its support for revolution in Africa. (Gleijeses informs us that this article is a synopsis of his book on Cuban missions in Africa, which I have reviewed elsewhere and will forego repeating here.)

Also puzzling is Carlota McAllister's chapter. She studies a protest in Chupol, Guatemala, in 1979, when market women chased from the town the Guatemalan army that had come to conscript the town's young men by force. It is a marvellous, intelligent account of a local resistance that the development of local markets and roads and a bright unorthodox Roman Catholic priest facilitated. At the chapter's start, however, McAllister notes (248) that the relevance of this uprising for Cold War geopolitics is not self-evident – alas, that sentence, too, remains correct.

Gilbert Joseph's chapter has the qualities of a persuasive manifesto. It calls for innovative scholarship to connect the local to the transnational, the cultural to the economic and political, and celebrates the work of colleagues, though it leaves

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empirical work to other publications. But, in this book, we have a splendid example of exactly that kind of path-breaking study in Eric Zolov's chapter.

Zolov recounts a student riot in Morelia, Michoacán, which broke out in direct response to the US-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba in April 1961. The students assaulted the US Information Agency's Binational Center and burned the American flag, books and other cultural objects. Violence would purge Morelia from US cultural contamination. Zolov goes on to describe and explain the motivations of students, teachers, the state governor, local police, army detachment, national officials, US diplomats, and the Mexican press. He effectively weaves the local and the intergovernmental, the cultural and the military, the actions of the powerful and the often powerless to shed new light of the Cold War's quotidian yet timeless complexity.

Finally, Ariel Armony forcefully and persuasively demonstrates that militant, independent foreign policies were not just Cuba's trademark during the Cold War. The Argentine military government (1976–1983) fostered intelligence service cooperation through Operation Condor, intervened to promote a military coup in Bolivia in 1980, took the lead in training the Contras in Nicaragua, and actively backed (instead of the Carter administration or beyond the Reagan administration) authoritarian repression El Salvador, Guatemala and Somoza's Nicaragua. The Argentine military government's anticommunism was its own, independent from that of the United States, and particularly influenced by the French experience in Algeria that not just legitimated torture but imparted torturers with a sense of mission that their cruelty somehow saved civilisation.

*Harvard University* JORGE I. DOMÍNGUEZ

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05280677

Michael Snodgrass, *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey: Workers, Paternalism and Revolution in Mexico, 1890–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. xii + 321, £50.00; $70.00, hb.

Drawing on a broad range of sources, including archival documents, reports of labour arbitration tribunals, company and worker publications, diplomatic reports, and oral testimonies, *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey* is an engaging, and very well written, reconstruction of labour relations in Mexico's 'Chicago' from the *Porfiriato* to the mid-twentieth century. At the centre of this study is Michael Snodgrass's examination of the development of a rather singular 'culture' of labour relations (by Mexican and Latin American standards), characterised by a highly successful paternalist structure linking employers and workers in the city's main industries. He focuses on four groups – steel workers, brewery workers, glass workers and smelters – although other workers, such as the railway workers, are also discussed. To his credit, although the book is a local history, it is firmly inserted into broader debates on Mexican history and, particularly, the history of the Mexican Revolution, to which it makes an important contribution by showing how studies of the Mexican working class can be incorporated into 'post-revisionist' studies of the Revolution.

In contrast to standard accounts of paternalism, Snodgrass skilfully demonstrates how the paternalist culture in Monterrey's industries was not a mere swindle orchestrated by wily employers, but rather a product of a dynamic process in which both workers and employers were engaged in response to a broad range of

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motivations. For employers, paternalism was certainly perceived as a way of undermining militancy in the workforce and instilling a particular work ethic (through temperance campaigns, education drives, or the creation of savings plans), but it also corresponded to ideas about how modern industry should be developed, often as a result of their experience and study of industrial relations in the USA. Paternalism in Monterrey was not exclusively about social control, it corresponded to a philosophy of business, which, among other things, contributed to strengthening a regional identity which prided itself on its singularity in the Mexican context and, implicitly, its cultural as well as physical proximity and affinity with the Colossus of the North.

Similarly, although workers were perfectly capable of perceiving the effect that paternalism could have on their independence, they were equally able to use paternalism to gain considerable material and symbolic benefits. Many of the considerable material gains obtained by workers in the early part of the twentieth century resulted from a skilful combination of deference and defiance vis-à-vis employers. At the same time, as Snodgrass illustrates in two early chapters, paternalism contributed to the construction of a patriarchal order within Monterrey's factories, as traditional masculine and feminine roles were re-affirmed thanks to the implementation of various measures (such as the obligatory retirement of female workers upon marriage). As attested by the workers interviewed by Snodgrass, the achievement of material and symbolic benefits within this paternalist structure, rather than against it, remains a source of considerable pride among Monterrey's working class.

One of the key contributions of this book is that it takes company unions seriously. Most accounts of the historical development of the working class have tended to concentrate on what Snodgrass calls here 'revolutionary unionism'. Yet, in Monterrey (and doubtless elsewhere in Mexico and Latin America), 'white' unions played a very important role in defining the character of industrial relations. As Snodgrass shows, in the 1930s economic depression and political polarisation contributed to the rise of revolutionary unionism, which came to challenge the culture of paternalism in Monterrey's factories (including the patriarchal order as new spaces – such as the revolutionary union – were created where manliness could be reaffirmed). With Cárdenas in power, tensions escalated and blood was shed. The resolution of these conflicts varied from industry to industry, but generally workers in both 'white' and 'red' unions succeeded in combining a number of strategies, including making use of the new language of contestation that Cárdenas provided (revolutionary nationalism) as well as company paternalism. But this success was short-lived. The final chapter illustrates how those gains were gradually eroded, first as a result of the politics of *charrismo* in the late 1940s that ended independent unionism in Monterrey and later through the neoliberal 'revolution' which signalled the end of paternalism.

I was somewhat disappointed to find no bibliography of secondary sources, and frustrated by having to search in the footnotes for the full reference of a previously cited text. A map of the city, identifying the factories and working-class *barrios* would have been welcome. Moreover, I would have been interested to learn a little more about intra-union politics, and to see how the views and strategies of both 'white' and 'red' unions were arrived at. Perhaps union minute books, a type of historical document of great use in my own research, were not available. But these are small gripes. Snodgrass's book is an impressive contribution to the history of the working class in Mexico and builds on what is becoming a small growth area of city-focused

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studies (see John Lear's recent book on Mexico City and Andrew Grant Wood's on Veracruz, among others). *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey* will be of great interest to historians of Mexico and, more broadly, to students of the working class in Latin America and beyond.

*University of Manchester* PAULO DRINOT

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Jürgen Buchenau, *Tools of Progress: A German Merchant Family in Mexico City, 1895–Present* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), pp. xi + 267, $49.95, hb.

*Tools of Progress* tells the story of the Bökers, a family of German immigrants, and the company they founded, placing them both within the national and international contexts in which they evolved. The story encompasses a period of 135 years, from the arrival of the first member of the Böker family, and the establishment of the Casa Böker in 1865, to the year 2000. This is not family history in the strict sense, since one of its primary interests is the evolution of the commercial house, but neither is it merely business history, since social, cultural and ideological aspects also occupy a central place in the narrative. As the author puts it: 'It is neither business nor immigration history in the traditional sense. Rather, it combines both … in order to provide a unique look at the long-term relationship between business practices and constructions of identity and, thus, between political economy and cultural history' (p. 2).

The author defines the type of immigration undertaken by the Bökers as 'trade diaspora', that is to say, voluntary migration by an already accommodated group that did not integrate rapidly into the local culture, as did the British immigrants to the USA, but which also did not remain as an enclave throughout generations, as in the case of German colonies in Argentina or Brazil. Buchenau then reconstructs the process by which these immigrants and their descendants progressively blended into the local environment. The first two generations of Bökers experienced the initial phase of adaptation, trying to adjust to the local milieu but rejecting any possibility of integration – they were 'expatriates rather than immigrants' (p. 3). The following two generations went through a stage of acculturation, opening themselves to local uses and social life, and only the fifth generation completed the assimilation process, abandoning for the main part their German identity, yet preserving some traits from their original culture.

As for the business firm they formed in Mexico, it was established as a small hardware store selling iron and steel products, produced either in Germany by the Bökers' factory, or in England and the United States (and, later on, in Mexico as well). Soon enough it would reveal itself as the fastest-growing hardware store in Mexico. By 1900 the Bökers had built the most alluring commercial building in Mexico City, at a cost that almost matched the capitalisation of the company (1.5 million pesos, for a company capitalised at 2 million). The project gave the firm a great reputation among the Mexico City business class, but jeopardised its liquidity for the next decades.

Throughout its history, the family business went through periods of boom, such as in the years of economic expansion characterised both by export success and an incipient process of import substitution industrialisation during the Porfirian regime.

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It also experienced times of disarray, as in the Mexican revolution, when severe supply and distribution problems accompanied high selling prices and growing demand. It experienced the harshness of the 1929 economic depression, as well as the harassment of the Mexican government as it was trying to fight what it perceived as the Axis influence during World War II. In the post-war period, the Casa Böker faced two new obstacles: the challenge of competition in the distribution business (mainly by Sears and other expanding department stores), and the trial of tariff protection against imports (the main component of its supply), aimed at favouring the domestic manufacturing of intermediate goods.

Although the author closely follows the evolution of the family's firm, his main concern does not seem to be its performance as a business enterprise. He is more interested in the qualitative aspects of its functioning, in the big episodes that marked its history (like the inauguration of its building) as well as in the biographic profile of the various members of the family. In fact, the only two types of quantitative data that the book offers more or less systematically are earnings and salaries (along with some scattered information about its indebtedness), and these simply as indicators of the general situation of the company and its employees. Likewise, there is little interest in dealing analytically with the institutional conditions that Mexico offered for the establishment and operation of business enterprises, and particularly of those owned by foreigners. I refer not only to political stability or foreign relations, which are indeed dealt with in the narrative, but mainly to the legal framework and the institutional traits that shaped business practices within the country and that changed thoroughly during this long span of time.

This does not in any way diminish the merit of the work that Buchenau has accomplished. It is a sound and comprehensive account, in the double sense that it deals in its entirety with the 135-year period that it covers, and that it leaves few gaps in the reconstruction of the story of the family and its company. Such thoroughness stems in part from a rather exceptional asset, which would be the envy of any historian: the author profited from the complete family archive, covering at least five generations, and including correspondence, diaries and other documents of personal nature, as well as reports and other records of the entrepreneurial activity of the Casa Böker. Along with this collection, never previously used with historical research purposes, Buchenau undertook a remarkable archival search in Mexico, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, as well as more than forty interviews with some of the central characters of the story. Last but not least, the volume displays an attribute that a more orthodox business history book would have probably lacked, namely, it is well written and pleasant to read.

*El Colegio de México* SANDRA KUNTZ FICKER

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05300678

Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr and Pamela María Smorkaloff (eds.), *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. ix+723, £20.50, pb.

This Reader provides a wonderfully eclectic selection of writings from and about Cuba, from the arrival of the first Europeans with Columbus, who famously declared that 'he had never seen a more beautiful country', to the multiple voices of contemporary life on the island. In the process, it passes through five hundred years

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of the island's history, doing so in such a way that the selection it makes contributes to recent directions being taken within studies of Cuban history. Here the focus is not on power politics and the deeds of the great, but on everyday lives and underlying social tensions, conflicts and expressions, problematising questions that remain central to the understanding of the island's history.

The volume is divided into eight sections, which combine a chronological with a thematic approach. The first looks at the Spanish conquest of the island and the impact that this had on the indigenous inhabitants. Rather than simply repeating the long-held preconception that Cuba's Amerindian population was entirely wiped out within a generation, extracts are included from recent research that suggests that a Taino-Arawak presence in Cuban society continues into the present. This is followed by a selection of nineteenth-century texts, from the 'golden age' when Cuba was the world's leading sugar producer, with its high human costs in the form of African slavery. The third section captures the moment of transition from Spanish colonialism, through independence struggle, to the imposition of neo-colonial control by the United States; and the fourth shows how this new Cuban reality developed during the twentieth century, up to the 1950s.

The second half of the reader concentrates on Cuba following the 1959 revolution. First, the building of a new society in the 1960s, not merely in terms of the hope that this gave many, but also revealing some of the tarnish that the revolutionary project never succeeded in entirely removing, such as the hidden problem of race relations and discrimination. A section is devoted to culture and the revolution, again taking the opportunity to give voice to elements of Cuban culture, such as religion, that were for many years officially ignored. The Cuban revolution's relationship with the world forms the seventh section, from missile crisis, through emigrations to the more recent export of medical staff as a new form of diplomacy. The final section brings the Reader up to the present day, dealing with the difficulties of the crisis of the 1990s and the changes that this has wrought within Cuban society.

In their introduction, the editors lay out four principal aims. First, they seek to present a selection that is sympathetic with the social, cultural and economic goals of Cubans seeking a more egalitarian society. In this they succeed very well. Unlike previous such readers, which tend towards more of a top-down view that sees society through a political and institutional lens,[1] here multiple voices are presented, most of them from below, achieving the effect of looking up at the system and from a social perspective. Cubans, in all their variety, are the subjects of this selection, not its object.

A second, closely related, aim is to combine scholarly analyses with voices of Cubans and other actors. Again, here they do very well. Contributions are included from primary historical sources, and secondary contemporary commentary; from internal participants and external observers; and from intellectual analysts or political actors, and ordinary folk expressing their everyday experiences. Poetry, including song lyrics, is also included, though here a criticism can be made: by only reproducing translations of most of these, rather than doing so alongside the Spanish original, something is inevitably lost.

Thirdly, the compilers aim to present a 'comprehensive, multifaceted vision of Cuban society, politics and culture', and to do so with a chronological and

[1] See, for example, Philip Brenner et al. (eds.), *The Cuba Reader: The Making of a Revolutionary Society* (New York: Grove Press, 1989).

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thematic balance, without taking sides. Here, however, they are not entirely successful. Despite presenting a wealth of material that does reveal aspects of Cuban society that often remain hidden, the compilers' own contemporary historiographical preoccupations inevitably show through. While they do not take political sides, their concern for redressing the balance by raising otherwise unheard voices in itself leads to an imbalance. Most obviously, questions and expressions of race appear to have been privileged over other social and cultural categories.

There is also a bias towards the North American involvement in Cuba's history, which belies the fourth aim of the editors: to reveal the global nature of Cuban history and society. There are many extracts that deal with the complex relationship between the island and the United States, and yet little illustrating the post-1959 interaction with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Cuba's important military interventions, and support of revolutionary movements, throughout the Third World (though most importantly, from a social perspective, in Angola) are also absent from view.

Cuban history, Fernando Ortiz once wrote, 'is an intense, complex, unbroken process of transculturation of human groups, all in a state of transition'. What this volume admirably seeks to achieve is to present a portrait of the island that is true to this multichromatic vision. Although probably in itself of small use to specialists, it is likely to prove a very useful resource for the teaching of courses relating to Cuba, providing a taster of many aspects of the island's history that should encourage those who dip into it to come away with a more nuanced understanding of an island that has been plagued by caricature. The anthological form of the Reader allows the compilers to do this by bringing together a multiplicity of voices, through whose combined experience a sense of the history of the island's society, politics and culture can be obtained.

*London School of Economics & Political Science* JONATHAN CURRY-MACHADO

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Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *To Die in Cuba: Suicide and Society* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), pp. xiv + 463, $39.95; £26.50, hb.

Louis Pérez Jr. is an incomparably original historian of Cuba. He has already completed what amounts to a modern history of the island in several volumes, and has then, as an added bonus to his readers, produced a number of tangential studies of which his wonderful account of the historical impact of the hurricane (*Winds of Change: Hurricanes and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba*, Chapel Hill, 2001) is perhaps the best-known. Now he has returned to another apparently peripheral theme by tackling the particular Cuban problem of suicide.

From the time of the Indians, through the period of African slavery and on into the era of white settlers, as well as during the years of Revolution, Cubans appear to have committed suicide in larger numbers than the inhabitants of comparable countries. For those who know the country as an endless fount of apparent verve and gaiety, this little-remarked-upon fact may come as a surprise, and Pérez's task is to explain this striking phenomenon.

The late Guillermo Cabrera Infante once wrote that suicide was one of the integral, almost essential, elements of the Revolution, but some readers may be

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reassured to learn that its incidence dropped dramatically during the first decade after 1959, although it increased thereafter. The stark choice on offer of 'fatherland or death' meant, for rather too many Cubans, the selection of the second alternative. The pattern had become so serious by the end of the 1980s that the Ministry of Public Health began a campaign against suicide in 1989 known as 'the National Programme for the Prevention and Control of Suicidal Conduct'. Things got worse in the 1990s during the so-called Special Period of the 1990s, and extended to the exile community in the United States. The spectre of suicide haunts the fiction of these years and is a frequent subtext in the cinema.

Yet for Pérez the current phenomenon is rooted in a long historical process through which the taking of one's own life became an understandable if not generally an acceptable feature of Cuban society at every level. He examines the historical record and prints as many relevant statistics as he can find, but he also uses plays, novels, films and newspaper cartoons to illuminate the way in which the subject of suicide has been treated by Cubans themselves. He writes mostly with amused detachment, sustaining a gently ironic tone until brought up short by the harsh reality of self-inflicted death. A lack of available weapons during the revolutionary years meant that men were obliged to kill themselves by hanging. The only simple option for women has been to set themselves on fire.

Indian women faced with Spanish slavery in the sixteenth century had a wider choice, according to Girolami Benzoni in his History of the New World. 'Some threw themselves from high precipices; others jumped into the sea; others again into rivers; and others starved themselves to death. Sometimes they killed themselves with their flint knives; others pierced their bosoms or their sides with pointed stakes.'

The first half of Pérez's book deals with suicide and slavery, with the 'exemplary deaths' of the independence wars of the nineteenth century, and with the despair engendered in the early years of the Republic. In the second half, concentrating on the twentieth century, he examines the economic difficulties that often provoked suicide, the social acceptability of the phenomenon, and, in a final chapter, the invocation by Castro of *patria o muerte* to secure for his Revolution an inexhaustible source of sacrifice and heroism.

The Revolution frowned on suicide, yet prominent revolutionaries took their own lives and these events had to be explained away. Haydée Santamaría, a combatant at Moncada, and Osvaldo Dorticós, the president of the republic, were among the most well-known. When the minister of labour shot himself in 1964 on hearing that he was about to be sacked, Castro explained that he could not have been fully conscious of what he was doing. 'Every revolutionary knows that he does not have a right to deprive his cause of a life that does not belong to him, and which can only be legitimately sacrificed when facing the enemy.'

Cuba has long been understood to have had a violent history, and Pérez's concentration on Cuban suicide gives an important new dimension to this sorry story. Statistics seem to suggest that Cuba is a special case, but other countries in Latin America, starting with Brazil and Mexico, might well benefit from a similar investigation.

*Institute for the Study of the Americas,*
*University of London* RICHARD GOTT

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Frank Salomon, *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. xxi+331, £81.00, £19.95 pb.

Steam-bending a twisted stick of alder-wood to straighten it out, a staff-maker from Tupicocha (an Andean village just up the hill from Lima) explained his work with a comparison. The ethnographer translates: '"custom" straightens out what [Isaiah] Berlin (following Kant) called the "crooked timber of humanity"'. Such authorial interpolations are an example of Frank Salomon's hermeneutic style: he seeks the English phrase or North Atlantic theory that best *matches* Andean linguistic and cultural intentions. And the idea of 'matching' one with another embodies a common cultural ideal in Andean civilisation, which Salomon makes his own: just as irregular materials must be pared or bent to make them fit flush with each other, different linguistic forms must be matched through deft translation, and peasant bodies and their symmetries re-combined in productive social contexts through the propitiation of balance and equitable participation. This style of democratic culture seeks consensus concerning the need for creative discipline: equivalence and hierarchy are each in the service of the other; shared ideals of social behaviour ('custom') channel the wayward flow of individual deviance under the vigilant eyes of annually elected community officials. The need to regulate community service and responsibility, by modelling social collaboration in advance and leaving a record (*constancia*) of it afterwards has, Salomon suggests, been a motor behind the development of the art of the khipu in Tupicocha.

Salomon's book is a milestone in Andean and comparative literacy studies. It is, first, an ethnography of khipu *use and performance* in a present-day community which, against all the odds, still possesses and manipulates in ceremonial contexts a set of these enigmatic knotted-string records, one (originally two) for each of its ten *ayllus* (patrilineal corporative groups). And the *context of cultural use* is precisely what has been missing from analyses of museum specimens. Thus we learn, for example, that the 'quipocamayos' [*sic*] of Tupicocha are *wrapped around* the bodies of the ayllu authorities at start-of-year fiestas, indicating their continuity with the sign-systems of prestigious woven cloth. Embodying the collective project of community, they sustain and legitimise the authority of each new ayllu incumbent.

The discovery of khipus in action in a modern Andean village is doubly remarkable, because Tupicocha lies in the middle of the old 'vertical archipelago' of Checa, one of the five Inca 'thousands' (*waranqa*) that made up Huarochiri (Lower Yauyos). All are mentioned in the famous 'Huarochiri Manuscript' already edited and translated into English by Frank Salomon and George Urioste (Texas 1991 [1608]). Moreover, Tupicocha also has community and private ayllu archives, and over 128 hand-written books registering the events of communal life from the 1870s till the present, totally confounding still-current liberal stereotypes of the 'illiterate peasant'. These will be the topic of a third book on the growth of vernacular literacy and graphic practices in Tupicocha, as alphabetic writing finally took over from khipu literacy following the Chilean War of the Pacific. They show again that modern literacy programmes designed in ignorance of pre-existing forms of literacy are, as Brian Street argued for Iran, missing the point.

Salomon is aware of the special opportunity and responsibility this fluke of history has given him. He shows how the whole community became involved in the research, particularly young Nery Javier, charged by his dying great-grandfather with

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preserving khipu lore. Today's cord-keepers no longer read their charges, nor are they still made and remade for new purposes; at the same time, they have become emblematic of the community's identity in Toledo's Perú. Salomon has tried to answer the concerns of the Tupicochans, and also to work with them to produce a wide-ranging theoretical reconsideration of the 'khipu problem'.

The results are thrilling. Inca khipus are aligned with the semasiographic scripts of other 'early States' (semasiography registers information independently of the sounds of any particular language), such as proto-Cuneiform which, according to Peter Damerow, should be seen, not as 'a defective attempt to represent speech, but as successful attempts at representing knowledge'. With khipus, iconicity is present in the arrays of data sets they contain, performing and 'matching' the structure of social actions on the ground. And in Tupicocha they were continually unknotted and reknotted to update simulation plans, e.g. for mobilising collective labour. Cords would have been slid along the main cord (the attaching knot is a simple hitch, easily loosened, with intervening cords being pulled through the loop), or taken off and replaced; Tupicocha khipus are full of signs of manipulation ('wadding, stitching, interknotting of pendants, and overlooping of attachments'): one gets the feel of the open-ended set of techniques used by each keeper's busy fingers to relate and revise information. The idea of exact correspondence with emergent reality even gives rise to the ritual use of khipus as oracles (khipumancy). And Salomon takes the relation between khipu structure and non-linguistic reality to indicate a 'road not taken' in the Old World, which in a momentous cultural move preferred generally to emphasise 'fixity' and 'speech-equivalence' as a defining trait of 'writing', rather than the fluid modelling and matching of non-linguistic realities present in Tupicocha.

Salomon's key ideas of simulation, modification and *constancia* may be extendable: for example, to the 'action-sequences' involved in singing past deeds, by establishing the thematic sequence of songs within a chant–series. Precisely this 'historiographic' function is performed by the knotted cords used today by the Yagua of the Peruvian-Brazilian border, which appear to commemorate inter-tribal battles going back many decades, if not centuries (Jean-Pierre Chaumeil, 'Mémoire nouée; les cordelettes à noeuds en Amazonie,' in *Brésil Indien. Les arts des Amérindiens du Brésil* [Paris, 2005]). Can their working shed light on the so-called 'narrative khipus' mentioned in the early Spanish sources for the Andes? It may be premature to see the 'elementary structures of khipu-literacy' in Amazonian practice, but in the light of Salomon's findings it is possible that individual cords were developed independently before being attached in groups to a main cord.

If we cannot know everything contained in the decontextualised ancient khipus in the museums, then, we can now ask how, why, and what kinds of things they could have been made to *simulate*, and through what transitions local-level embodiment became the 'cold statistics' of state fiscal administration. Reading Salomon's work, both khipu-studies and the theory of inscription suddenly seem wide open. As for the Tupicochans, the anthropologist has repaid their trust: the caution and rigour of the argumentation leading up to the thought-experimental reading of khipu M-01 are daunting. But the result is one more fruit in the cornucopia offered by this extraordinary book, which teaches us that, at the local level, rather than khipus *referring* to aspects of on-going social life according to a code modelled on speech, people were instead expected to live by the social patterns *silently pre-embodied* in khipus. The exploration of khipu iconicity as data sets, using the

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insights offered by Salomon, may yet teach us (as heirs to a different mind-set) to see differently what lies before our eyes. It may turn out, to paraphrase John Murra's pregnant epigraph, that the art of the khipu is 'not lost; it is just now being found'.

*University of St Andrews* TRISTAN PLATT

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05330677

James Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural and Literary History* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2005), pp. xiv + 243, £12.00, pb.

Located on a coastal desert between the Andean foothills and the Pacific Ocean, Lima is today a sprawling metropolis of nine million people. A small rural community during pre-Hispanic times, Lima became the viceregal capital of Spain's South American empire and the centre of economic and political power and Western culture in Republican Peru. 'In Lima I have learned nothing about Peru,' wrote Alexander von Humboldt in 1802. As massive migrations from the Andean highlands to the capital have in recent decades completely transformed the city's way of life and cultural identity, Lima is no longer the colonial enclave that Humboldt visited. 'The whole of Peru is now in Lima', states a popular refrain. Oriented to a lay public interested in visiting Peru, the aim of this book is to show that 'there is much more to Lima than can be glimpsed on a cursory visit and that a longer stay will be richly rewarded' (p. xi). A specialist in Peruvian literature and a regular visitor to the city, Higgins' book provides a wonderful journey through Lima's history.

Higgins brilliantly explores the evolving identity of the city as reflected in varied cultural manifestations: literature, painting, music and architecture. An example of this evolving identity is the controversial case of the monument to Lima's founder Francisco Pizarro. From 1935 to 2003 an equestrian statue of Francisco Pizarro stood in Lima's main square, the Plaza Mayor. While some considered it only natural that the city commemorated its founder, others saw it as a celebration of colonialism and prejudice over native Andean populations. To Higgins there was some truth in this as the statue was indeed placed in the 1930s as an assertion of Hispanic values in opposition to emerging indigenist movements. In 2003 municipal authorities decided to remove the statue, a decision Higgins considers to be an outcome of the fact that Peruvians of Andean origin constitute now the majority of the population of Lima.

In addition to the Hispanic heritage, Lima's character has been shaped by many other influences: the small but dynamic community of European immigrants that rapidly situated themselves in the summit of the local hierarchy; massive arrival of Chinese immigrants during the nineteenth century that introduced new alimentary habits (*chifas*, the local name for Chinese restaurants, are to be found in every corner of Lima); and a long-lasting African heritage. This strong African influence may seem strange for contemporary observers, given the small black population of the capital, but as Higgins states, during colonial times Afro-Peruvians constituted the single largest sector of the city's population. African heritage is particularly strong in music and dance. *Marinera*, the most popular local dance, derives from dances brought from Africa by black slaves, and the *cajón*, the most popular local musical instrument, originated as an improvised substitute for the traditional African drum.

Most interesting of all is the section devoted to the last decades of the twentieth century: 'The Expanding Metropolis'. Here Higgins explores the radical urban

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transformations produced by the massive arrival of Andean migrants. This 'Andeanization' of the capital is also observed in popular culture: while *Huaynos* and *Chichas* are replacing traditional Creole dances, migrant experiences are becoming the main inspiration of movie makers, novelists and painters. Anxieties of local elites over this 'invasion' of subaltern peoples are evoked by poet Antonio Cisneros: 'On the sandy hills barbarians from the south and east have built a camp that's bigger than the whole city, and they have other gods' (p. 217). Indeed, the influence of Andean culture is observed as well in the religious sphere. The cult of Sarita Colonia (a folk saint not recognised by the Catholic establishment) has been taken up by Andean migrants outnumbering the cult of Creole or Afro-Peruvian saints such as Santa Rosa de Lima or San Martín de Porres. Higgins' book is essential reading for anyone interested in the cultural history of Lima.

*University of Manchester* JORGE LOSSIO

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05340673

Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850–1935* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. xi + 310, £60.00, £14.95 pb.

Carlos Aguirre has already helped to transform historians' understanding of an institution that profoundly shaped Peruvian history: slavery. In a pioneering study, Aguirre showed that the emphasis in the historical literature on President Ramón Castilla's magnanimity in decreeing the abolition of slavery in 1854, and explanations that emphasised the supposed incompatibility between slavery and economic 'modernisation' overshadowed the fact that slaves in Peru were 'agents of their own freedom'. Drawing on the approaches to the history of slavery in the Americas developed by Rebecca Scott and others, Aguirre's study helped to establish a new focus in Peruvian history on subaltern strategies of resistance by homing in on what anthropologist James C. Scott famously called the 'weapons of the weak' and, specifically, their deployment by Lima's slaves as elements in the process of abolition. In this book, an equally important contribution to Peruvian and Latin American history, Aguirre turns his attention to another key institution: the prison. He is interested in bringing to light the agency of the prisoners of Lima's institutions of confinement and in showing how prison life was shaped by the negotiations that took place at the limits of criminal law and the customary order in the prison. But this is only one dimension of a broad ranging and highly rewarding study of how criminality was understood and addressed in Lima between 1850 and 1935, in which Aguirre uses his analysis of penal confinement to make a series of broader points about the character of Peruvian society in the period under review.

The book is divided into three parts, each of which links the specific issues examined to broader themes in early twentieth-century Peruvian history, such as racialisation, class formation, and state-formation. The first part looks at the process whereby certain sectors of the population were criminalised in the nineteenth century; a process in which elite ideas about the racial inferiority of the majority of the Peruvian population played a fundamental role. The adoption of European criminological 'science' by the medico–legal elite at the end of the century transformed local ideas about criminality, but also helped to confirm the earlier racialised criminalisation of Lima's urban poor. Aguirre notes that in contrast to other

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experiences, the criminalisation of the urban poor in Lima did not extend to the working class, who were seen by the elite, and who came to see themselves, as different from the criminal element. Aguirre also explores the role played by the police, which, on the whole, reproduced the elite's racialised criminalisation of the urban poor by targeting specific groups.

Part two focuses on the different penal institutions in Lima and their male inmates. Aguirre shows that in spite of the supposedly humanitarian goals of Peru's prison reformers, prison life emphasised punishment above redemption and re-incorporation into society. In similar vein, in an overview of the different groups that peopled Lima's prisons, such as *faites*, *rateros* and political prisoners, Aguirre points to how the social hierarchies that existed outside the prison were often reproduced within it by the prison authorities and by the prisoners themselves (treatment, particularly when it involved physical punishment, could on occasions be meted out 'democratically'). The final part explores life inside the prison. Aguirre points to the tensions that existed between the regime that the authorities sought to impose on the prison and the customary order that was a consequence of the limits of state capacity (i.e. the lack of funds as well as the lack of will to carry out reforms) as well as prisoners' own agency. Within these tensions emerged what Aguirre calls prison 'subcultures', the different ways in which inmates sought to express and defend themselves and make their prison lives more tolerable. The examination of these 'subcultures' gives the reader a sense of how prisoners coped with (accommodated to and resisted) the prison regime (by developing forms of identity such as tattoos and prison slang, by establishing both violent and affectionate relationships with each other, by attempting to escape) and how they sought to influence it (with some prisoners going as far as drafting a proposal for penal reform).

Rejecting oversimplified Foucauldian approaches to the study of places of confinement, Aguirre clearly is interested in highlighting how agency is always at work even in an institution like the prison. In contrast to naïve and celebratory accounts of subaltern agency, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds* places the prisoners' agency in its rightful place. Aguirre's deft used of the documentation of the archive of the Dirección General de Prisiones, along with a number of other sources (including a prisoner's sketch book) allows him to bring to life the prison experience and to show that prisoners were capable of fashioning a tolerable existence within the prison to the extent that some felt safer inside than out. But, to his credit, Aguirre never loses sight of the fact that Lima's prisons were also nasty, violent and dehumanising places: 'even though prisoners (…) were not always passive or acquiescent victims, the overall picture is one in which they suffered from the state's and society's indifference and malice, if not open brutality' (p. 13). Prisons, and the more general issue of male criminality, therefore, emerge in this book as reflections of broader Peruvian society; they 'reveal the exclusionary character of Peruvian society and the marginalisation of subaltern groups imposed and strengthened by the state' (p. 221). In that sense, this book, like Aguirre's earlier work on slavery, helps to pave the way for a new history of, in this case, Peru's 'modern' period; a history that seeks to uncover how exclusion and marginalisation (often mediated by racism) – features that, as the report of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission confirmed, are deeply embedded in Peruvian society – were reproduced and reaffirmed. For this reason, I would have welcomed a projection of Aguirre's argument beyond the mid-1930s; the end date of the study seems arbitrary and is largely unexplained. But this should not detract from the fact that this book is

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not only a superb social and cultural history of Lima's prisons, but also a brilliant and challenging example of how some of the key issues in Peruvian history can be addressed.

*University of Manchester* PAULO DRINOT

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X0535067X

Arlene J. Díaz, *Female Citizens, Patriarchs, and the Law in Venezuela, 1786–1904* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), pp. xii + 335, £29.95, pb.

This book examines Venezuela's nineteenth-century nation building by focusing on the competing constructions of femininity and masculinity in the laws, the courts and households in a time period when liberalism was the dominant ideology. Historian Arlene Díaz is interested in understanding the dynamics of official culture and ordinary people's beliefs during Venezuela's transition from Spanish colonialism to independence and the regime of order and progress of the 1880s, a process characterised by ambiguous political change. Indeed, Venezuela's first constitution in 1811, pioneering a trend repeated by several other newly independent Spanish American nations, included ideas of liberty, equality, individuality and citizenship, but reserved the full rights of citizenship to a mostly white creole elite of educated and propertied males. At the same time independent Venezuela maintained many Spanish legal codes, such as the thirteenth-century *Siete Partidas* that supported a hierarchical society and granted male heads of households (*padres de familia*) almost absolute power over their wives, children and dependents.

The book, thus, deals with these contradictory dynamics of change and continuity, when an already economically entrenched elite rose to political power and attempted to preserve Venezuela's hierarchical socioracial and gender relations. More specifically, it explores the contradictory ways in which Venezuelan women of different social and racial origins employed the republican principles of individual liberty and equality together with the paternalistic protection of the colonial and Catholic codes to improve their daily lives and their relationships with their male partners.

Díaz adopts a *longue-durée* approach to investigate the impact of liberalism in Caracas society from colonial to republican times: from 1786 to 1880 (or 1888). Thus, the book's title, which announces a study of the whole country from 1786 to 1904, is somewhat overdrawn. The study's main source is a large sample of court records, or *expedientes*, pertaining to Caracas. A total of 578 judicial cases is examined: 139 from 1786–1790, 240 from 1835–1840, and 199 from 1875–80. A source already valuably used by other historians of gender relations, these court records provide important insights into many aspects of the lives of ordinary women and men as well as into their interaction with the state. Not oblivious of the limitations of her selection of *expedientes*, Díaz complements them with legal codes, newspaper articles, speeches, and treatises on law.

The book is divided into three parts, each comprising a five-year period: the late colonial (1786–1790); the liberal (1835–40); and the Antonio Guzmán Blanco (1875–80) eras. For each chronological period three chapters focus on similar themes. A preliminary chapter discusses 'masculine struggles for hegemony at the government level that informed the legal and administrative reforms'. A second

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chapter examines the legislation affecting gender relations and court practices. A third, concluding chapter relies extensively on *expedientes* to analyse 'how women's understandings of gender and the laws challenged contemporary gender laws' (p. 17). The conclusion discusses Venezuela's 1904 divorce law before returning to the main findings of the book.

Díaz's book contributes to bring Venezuela into the hemispheric discussion of state formation and gender relations. Few historians, aside from Miguel Izard, John Lombardi and Winthrop Wright, have chosen to study Venezuela through the lenses of issues representative of the Americas. At the same time, Venezuela stands out as a multiracial society in which liberty and equality resonated since the late eighteenth century not only among the white creole elite but among the lower classes of colour as well. Díaz convincingly demonstrates how the struggle for political power during the process of independence and nation building, by granting women equal citizenship without the rights and duties attached to it and without questioning gender hierarchy, strengthened patriarchal authority.

Díaz also brings Venezuela into the Spanish American comparative framework by entering into dialogue with the existing scholarship on gender, notably works by Steve Stern, Christine Hünefeldt, Eileen Findlay, Silvia Arrom and Sarah Chambers. One regrets that she did not include Teresita Martínez-Vergne's *Shaping the Discourse on Space: Charity and Its Wards in Nineteenth-Century San Juan, Puerto Rico* (Austin, 1999), which examines how the liberal elite attempted to bring new order to gender and class hierarchies in their changing society.

Moreover, Díaz's is a major contribution to the growing scholarship on Latin American women's and lower classes' role in the political culture and the transformation of their society. Indeed, Caracas women and plebeians were far from being passive. Díaz's sample of *expedientes* for 1786–90 and 1835–40 shows that in almost half of the cases women acted as plaintiffs, whereas in 1875–80 they represented two-thirds of the claimants. Simultaneously, an increasing proportion of plaintiffs came from the lower classes, generally in litigations opposing them to other plebeians (p. 193). For each period, Díaz analyses some fascinating cases of elite women struggling against patriarchy and, after independence, agreeing with an elite conception of citizenship based on property ownership to claim rights against their husbands. She also discusses several cases of lower-class women who based their claims on the liberal defence of their individual rights when they demanded responsibility with men in the household, defended themselves in abusive relationships, and vindicated their right to work for a salary. Many of these cases poignantly show the narrow margin of action of poor, unmarried women with children who struggled to provide economic support to their families, in sharp contradiction with the code of honorable womanhood, i.e. women's seclusion in their homes.

Overall, Díaz's argument is convincing. A few times, however, especially when dealing with the upper class for which she has fewer but more substantial *expedientes* as both parties could hire lawyers and lengthen the process, she repeatedly relies on specific cases, such as Vicente Ochoa's death sentence for the murder of a female slave (pp. 108, 120–4, 131, 147–9) or Micaela Ravelo's divorce and claim to her properties administered by her estranged husband (pp. 145, 151–55, 164, 168). This is not without problems as the information on these cases tends to be scattered in different sections according to the argument it serves to illustrate. One also ends up wondering whether these cases are representative of general trends or rather

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exceptional, and hence be handled accordingly. These issues aside, *Female Citizens, Patriarchs, and the Law in Venezuela* is an innovative contribution to the history of Venezuela, gender studies and state formation.

*Université de Genève* ALINE HELG

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05360676

Caroline A. Williams, *Between Resistance and Adaptation. Indigenous Peoples and the Colonisation of the Chocó, 1510–1753* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, Latin American Studies New Series 5, 2004), pp. x+254, £40.00, hb.

This closely researched volume offers a historical study of the colonisation of El Chocó, a region of modern Colombia that extends from the border with Panama along the Pacific coast, known in colonial times as a part of the *El Nuevo Reino de Granada*. The presence of indigenous gold-working cultures in this region also ensured that it was the focus of repeated Spanish invasions, both military and evangelical. However, the difficulties of the terrain and fierce resistance from indigenous groups meant that it was not until the late seventeenth century that the region was under effective Spanish control, from when on it became a productive mining region in the new Viceroyalty of New Granada, proclaimed in 1739.

This story of episodic invasion and eventual domination is certainly familiar from many other contexts in Spanish South America, and the neighbouring regions of both Colombia and Venezuela likewise proved resistant to effective colonial political control and economic exploitation well into the seventeenth century. As the author notes, such colonial control was as much achieved through the eventual demographic decline, sometimes very precipitate, of the indigenous population, as it was by the conscious deployment of resources on the part of the Spanish crown. Such demographic impacts resulted from both the direct transmission of disease, as well as the processes of re-location and re-settlement that was central to missionary strategies, and a by-product of the insertion of the colonial economy into this and other regions. A further corollary of such dislocations and the changing political challenges that the myriad of invaders represented for the native population, was an intensification of patterns of warfare and raiding amongst indigenous groups themselves, no less than against the Spanish.

However, a note of caution needs to be injected here since the 'disappearance' of native groups, imperfectly documented and enumerated in the first place, was sometimes a matter of the disappearance of distinct kinds of ethnic formation and political alliances, rather than a physical extermination through war or decimation by disease. Careful though this study is, more thought might have been given to the way in which the inferred dynamics of indigenous society throughout this period have to be evaluated critically against the documentary background of Spanish reporting. While the author should not be faulted for not having written an ethnohistory of the peoples of El Chocó, it is important to emphasise the relevance of such an exercise to an improved historiography of both the Spanish and native peoples, especially since the work foregrounds 'indigenous peoples' in its title.

Nonetheless, the author is very alert to the manner of indigenous and Spanish interaction; indeed, the history of the region could hardly be written otherwise. As a result, a most important gap in our knowledge is filled and the relevance of historical models that stress the contested nature of colonial domination and its mutual effect

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on coloniser and indigene are well demonstrated. It is noteworthy that the process of increasing dependency on the part of the native population is as important here as any overt and direct attempts at military or evangelical conquest in achieving the stable control which Spanish governance required. But within that stabilising political and economic regime the place of the indigene inevitably declined and foreshadows their current plight at the margins of what has now become a globalised economy in Colombia.

The author's extensive research in the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville has paid off handsomely. The solid and painstaking reconstruction of the successive frontier societies of El Chocó, along with their ebb and flow according the vagaries of metropolitan policy and indigenous resistance are nicely drawn out to produce a dense historical narrative. A minor criticism would be the absence of any maps and the lack of illustrative graphic material – which are certainly amongst holdings in the *Archivo*. Nonetheless, the author is to be congratulated on an excellent first work and the obviously conscientious nature of the scholarship which produced it bodes well for future publications.

*University of Wisconsin-Madison* NEIL L. WHITEHEAD

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05370672

James E. Sanders, *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. ix + 258, £62.00, £17.50 pb.

In *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* James E. Sanders argues convincingly against the still-common view of nineteenth-century politics as an elite-driven affair. Sanders writes a 'social history of politics' that highlights the protagonism of plebeian inhabitants of Colombia's largest nineteenth-century province, the Cauca. In emphasising subaltern agency, Sanders draws from recent theories of subalternity, hegemony, state formation, and contentious politics. Yet, his text, for all its theoretical sophistication, is remarkably clear, concise, and accessible. Moreover, he contributes significantly to our understanding of nineteenth-century partisan politics in Colombia and in the Atlantic world more generally.

Sanders combines class analysis with an attention to the heterogeneous racial identities and political ideologies of subaltern Caucanos. He chooses to focus on three groups of inhabitants: Afro-Caucanos (blacks and mulattos), Indians, and small-holding migrants from neighbouring Antioquia. These were the groups, he argues, whose distinctive discourses and identities emerged most clearly in archival documents. Each group, he argues, tended to practice and enunciate a distinctive variant on 'popular republicanism'. He refers to these forms of republicanism respectively as 'popular liberalism', 'popular indigenous conservatism' and 'popular smallholder republicanism'.

For Sanders, inter-class alliances are key to understanding nineteenth-century partisan politics. Elite leaders needed subaltern supporters. Eschewing the 'patron-client' model that most other Latin Americanists – myself included – have used to explain such alliances, Sanders prefers a term that attributes greater agency to subalterns: bargaining. Through bargaining, he argues, Afro-Colombians established consistent alliances with the Liberal party elite. Indians and *antioqueño* migrants, meanwhile, bargained and allied with both the Liberals and the Conservatives.

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While he discusses all three of these subaltern groups, he seems to focus most of his attention on the blacks and mulattos of one area within the sprawling province: the Cauca Valley. He narrates a dramatic story of how the Afro-Caucanos of the Cauca Valley emerged out of slavery, embraced liberalism, attacked their former owners, and then went on to exercise considerable political influence, only to end up repressed and disenfranchised. This story began in the late 1840s and early 1850s, as slavery declined and Colombia's two political parties emerged. Liberal leaders saw an opportunity to build their own constituency by taking the slaves' side against Conservative slaveholders. Liberals performed public manumission ceremonies, supported emancipation, expanded the franchise, and recruited newly liberated men of colour into political clubs and the National Guard. These institutions became notorious as unruly 'black' Liberal redoubts that helped the Liberals to take over the state. The Liberals won a series of key regional and national civil wars and elections. Liberal power peaked regionally and nationally in the 1860s and 1870s.

Rather than simply pawns or 'cannon-fodder' for elite struggles, popular forces participated in these conflicts on their own terms, reframing liberal republican political ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity and property to suit their own needs. And they successfully forced their elite allies in both parties to make concessions in order to ensure their continued support. For example, with regard to land, Afro-Colombians impeded the privatisation of municipal communal lands. Meanwhile, by playing Conservatives and Liberals off against each other, indigenous communities obtained legislative protection for their communal landholdings. Likewise, *antioqueño* settlers obtained support in their conflicts with land speculators. Poor people supported their parties in elections, on battlefields and on the streets and town plazas. Women, who could not vote, participated along with men in boycotts, demonstrations and violence.

Race combined with political ideology in diverse ways. Indian petitioners insisted they were both indigenous and citizens of the nation. Migrants were proud of belonging to *la raza antioqueña*, which was often identified with whiteness. Afro-Caucanos preferred to emphasise their political identities rather than their race, but their enemies emphasised their blackness (these patterns would have important implications for twentieth-century ethnic organising).

When landless Afro-Colombians pushed for a land reform that would break up large estates in their favour, their elite Liberal allies balked. By the late 1870s, in a worsening context of economic and political instability, the Liberal party splintered. Elite Caucanos spearheaded the Independent movement, which brought together Conservatives and Liberals on a regional level – and ultimately on the national level – to 'regenerate' Colombian economy and society by restoring social order. They centralised the state, returned power to the church, and restricted the franchise. The Regeneration enjoyed the support of culturally conservative Antioqueño migrants and indigenous communities who continued to make gains under the new regime. For Sanders, the Regeneration, and the Conservative regime that followed, represented a fundamentally reactionary retreat from political bargaining and from Colombia's remarkable democratic effervescence. Never again, he argues, would black Colombians exercise the kind of power, as a group, that Afro-Caucanos enjoyed in mid-nineteenth century.

The book's exclusive focus on three salient groups over a few decades is both a strength and a weakness. The narrative is remarkably coherent and therefore

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compelling. But the general exclusion of mestizos leaves out certain dynamics of interclass/inter-ethnic relationships, especially for the small mountain towns in which local politics often pitted mestizos against indigenous populations. Moreover, the assertion that republican bargaining represented something entirely new, a departure from 'traditional' politics, left me wondering about the earlier period and whether some of these inter-class alliances did not have roots in the independence wars. Recent research on a different region by Alfonso Múnera, Aline Helg and Marixa Lasso shows that *pardos* exercised considerable power on the Atlantic Coast in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, when they were already allying with liberals.

Nonetheless, *Contentious Republicans* is the best and most innovative book on Colombian nineteenth-century party politics that I have recently encountered. It challenges us to rethink our understanding of Latin American partisanship and class struggle. Moreover, Sanders frames this provincial study in the larger context of the Atlantic world. The Cauca was a turbulent and impoverished provincial backwater of a poor and fragmented country, on a continent usually associated with political backwardness. Yet, Sanders boldly puts this province at the forefront of an international democratic revolution. He compares it favourably to other areas of the hemisphere: in the mid-nineteenth century, slavery, monarchy, and imperialism still persisted in Cuba and Brazil; race and other restrictions continued to limit male citizenship rights in the United States. In Colombia, meanwhile, democracy flourished. Poor, non-white people – many of whom were Indians or former slaves – proclaimed themselves citizens and took an active and influential part in republican politics.

*State University of New York at Binghamton* NANCY P. APPELBAUM

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05380679

Marcelo Bucheli, *Bananas and Business: The United Fruit Company in Colombia, 1899–2000* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), pp. xi + 239, $45.00, hb.

Marcelo Bucheli, Newcomen Fellow in Business History at Harvard Business School and Professor of Economic History at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, has made a significant contribution to a growing body of scholarship on the United Fruit Company (UFCO) in Latin America. Using previously untapped company records found in Colombian archives, Bucheli constructs the first general political and business history of UFCO in Colombia.

Bucheli attempts to correct gaps in the literature and correct misperceptions about UFCO by analysing this infamous multinational corporation as a business enterprise. According to Bucheli, none of the previous works on United Fruit have analysed the company's long-term business strategies or how its policies were shaped by shareholders' interests or the American consumer market. In his critique of the existing literature, he promises to shed new light on the company's operations by applying the analytical tools of economic theory and financial accounting. Bucheli argues: 'The shareholders' interests has not been systematically analysed in the historical studies on United Fruit, so these studies have not taken into account the differences between the wants of the company's management, its shareholders, potential investors, and the American government' (p. 5).

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Bucheli successfully reconstructs the history of UFCO in Colombia using company documents he discovered in the archives of United Fruit's offices in Colombia, as well as the records of the Consorcio Bananero, a banana export company, and the archives of the Colombian national tax office. These archival resources include correspondence from managers in Colombia to their superiors in Boston, as well as financial reports on the division's performance. Although the author refers to these sources as the 'internal archives' of the United Fruit Company in Colombia, readers should understand that these records do not constitute a full and complete run of company documents from 1899 to 2000. As indicated in the bibliography, these records consist of correspondence, reports, memoranda and other records, most of them dated between 1948 and 1980. This is indeed a valuable untapped resource for researchers, but Bucheli did not find the keys to the sacred United Fruit Company vault, the long-sought treasure of UFCO documents, with the complete run of minutes of the board of directors, plus all the correspondence between Boston, New Orleans and all division headquarters.

Bucheli found enough primary documentation to construct a persuasive reconstruction of the company's history, marshalling an impressive array of data that is not to be found elsewhere. In Chapters 2 and 3 Bucheli lays a solid foundation for his analysis of United Fruit in Colombia by examining the US consumer market and how company management devised strategies to meet this demand. The result is an approximation of how company strategy during its formative years, when it acquired plantations, railroads and port facilities around the Caribbean and thereby came to control at least 50 per cent of the banana market in the United States. Bucheli understands and rationalises this process as a form of 'vertical integration'. He explains: 'Companies that marketed bananas had to ensure a smooth flow of fruit from production sites in Latin America to consumers in Europe and the United States, the best way to reduce uncertainties was to control all stages of the production process from plantation to market. By so doing, United Fruit was able … to coordinate the entire process' (p. 49).

People not versed in business history or the corporate world might wonder about the difference between what Bucheli calls 'vertical integration' and what the United States Department of Justice called 'monopoly'. Although Bucheli succeeds in enlightening readers on the perspectives and interests of the board of directors in Boston and New Orleans, he falls short in his efforts to explain why it was just a technical necessity for United Fruit to monopolise the shipping and marketing of bananas. Standard Fruit also integrated vertically, but it did not gain a monopoly on the banana industry. Corporate directors apparently succeeded in their efforts to maximise profits for their shareholders, fulfilling their primary responsibility as managers of a capitalist enterprise. However, they skirted around the law and operated in constraint of trade.

Bucheli is at his best in describing company operations in the post-1945 era, when it began a process of vertical disintegration. By divesting of its plantations and negotiating with independent planters throughout the region, United Fruit responded effectively to increasingly nationalistic and hostile host governments while still securing a steady supply of bananas to the US market. The divestiture reduced company risks, maintained profits and kept the company in business for another fifty years.

Bucheli is not the first scholar to examine the company's transition from direct production to the marketing of bananas produced by independent contractors. Steve

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Striffler has examined the process in Ecuador and reached conclusions similar to Bucheli. The case of Colombia as presented by Bucheli reinforces the trend to study the banana industry as a multi-dimensional process in which corporate decisions are not simply imposed on the banana producing divisions without any input from the host country government, labour unions, or local farmers. The Colombians were not passive victims of a multinational corporation. Instead, Bucheli concludes; 'The workers, landowners, and the government had agency, initiative, and made rational decisions' (p. 184).

This perspective is a welcome addition to an emerging body of balanced and sophisticated scholarship on Latin America's most controversial and infamous corporation. There is no doubt that the image of United Fruit Company needs revision and that Bucheli has made a valuable contribution to the revisionist trend. He argues persuasively that the violent suppression of the 1928 strike did not terminate labour activism or the banana industry. Indeed, workers continued to press their causes and the Colombian banana industry continued, albeit in a form negotiated by corporate directors, workers, landowners, government officials and others.

Although Bucheli may have gone too far in trying to explain the virtues of vertical integration, he does not attempt to apologise for the company's behaviour. He criticises the company's behaviour when the evidence leads him to that conclusion. By analysing the company as a capitalist enterprise responding to market demand in the United States, political conditions in host countries and labour demands in the divisions, he has added a new dimension to our understanding of this important multinational corporation. One can only wish that he will one day gain access to the full and complete run of company archives at corporate headquarters.

*University of South Florida* PAUL J. DOSAL

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05390675

Robert Borofsky, *Yanomami: The Fierce Controversy and What We Can Learn From It* (Berkeley, CA, and London: University of California Press, 2005), pp. xviii + 372, $49.95; $19.95 pb; £32.50, £12.95 pb.

This is an interesting and ambitious volume, an attempt to address key ethical problems associated with anthropological field research by performing a detailed post-mortem on the controversies surrounding the publication of Patrick Tierney's *Darkness in El Dorado* (2000). *DED* contained, amongst other allegations, the key claims that the anthropologist Napolean Chagnon and the geneticist James Neel (who died shortly before publication of *DED*) had engaged in illicit medical research on Yanomami Indians (without informed consent), and that they had contributed to a devastating measles epidemic within Yanomami territory. While the headline claims (genocide) were rapidly and convincingly dismissed, other charges, mainly concerning Chagnon's field methods and attitudes toward the Yanomami, continue to be the subjects of serious dispute, and many vague or unresolved accusations still linger, contributing to a prickly atmosphere.

The publication of these charges elicited strong comment from three quarters: 1. the mainstream press; 2. defenders of Tierney; 3. critics of Tierney. Discussion was chaotic, tempers were strained and a highly complicated set of circumstances,

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charges, ideological positions, arguments, data and helpful and unhelpful gestures was basically reduced to a simple standoff. Matters were complicated by the fact that pre-publication commentary – instrumental in fanning the flames of controversy – appears to have been based on a manuscript somewhat different from that eventually published (although the fundamental charges remained the same), and further complicated by web publication of charge, countercharge and character assassination. The El Dorado Task Force was established by the American Anthropological Association, which had declined such a move when charges against Chagnon were raised by Brazilian anthropologists almost a decade earlier, and there is considerable overlap of personnel and purpose in the Task Force and in the roundtable discussions at the core of this book.

The volume of material, the kind of material, the number of interlocutors, the range (uninformed to informed) of commentary and uncertainties within the discipline about how to proceed in formulating ethical guidelines are all factors that militate against easy presentation of the *DED*-controversy material. The source material for the controversy is itself a severely complicating factor: *DED* is presented with extensive scholarly apparatus, seventy pages of endnotes, and has all the appearances of a well-prepared monograph, careful examination of which led one reviewer (Tooby) to conclude that as a National Book Award nominee, *DED* should have been in the fiction category.

The solution reached in this volume is to combine a moral lesson for undergraduates (on the assumption that the case cuts right to the heart of contemporary anthropological ethics debates) with detailed call-and-response presentations derived from a roundtable discussion among expert commentators (Ray Hames, Terry Turner, Bruce Albert, Leda Martins, Kim Hill, John Peters – along with Borofsky). The pedagogical aims are explicit (there are notes to teachers and undergraduates, film suggestions, short contributions from student commentators) and driven by the worthy words of the subtitle: 'the fierce controversy and what we can learn from it'. However, the light shed on anthropology by this particular controversy may not be as helpful as Borofsky intends, not least because it is quite clear that the pro- and anti-camps are as far apart at the end of the discussion as they are at the outset.

What is immediately at issue in the discussions presented in *Yanomami* is the role of anthropologists in simultaneously meeting research goals and protecting their subjects from harm; at this level the discussions reveal a lot of thoughtful reflection and recognition of the many dimensions of the task. Blame is not casually allocated and there is general agreement about the ethical parameters. There is a larger issue, however, a disagreement that is no closer to resolution, concerning relations between the anthropological sub-fields of socio-cultural anthropology and evolutionary psychology/socio-biology. It is a measure of the severity of disagreement about these relations that a thoughtful group of experts feels obliged to retrench implacably (see in particular the exchanges between Hill and Turner).

A naïve observer presented with Borofsky's invitation to 'learn from the controversy' might back off in amazement: here are intelligent, experienced, motivated anthropologists who basically can't talk to each other. A less naïve observer might also back off, for here is a dispute for which even a 'let's agree to disagree' resolution is not offered, and in that context it is not clear how the current volume advances debate as much as consolidates opposed positions. This is not to dismiss

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the many areas of agreement achieved in the course of the discussions/debates about ethics in the abstract, but these – as all seem to agree – were not very contentious in the first place.

Although not a stated goal, the volume reveals how messy doing anthropology can be. The story of anthropology's engagement with the Yanomami, imparted through competing analyses of the significance of Chagnon and Neel's work, throws light on the micro- and macro-politics of fieldwork, individuals' career trajectories, how mass media interpret anthropological findings, the workings of professional associations and other topics which are not so often displayed with such vigour. The remaining problem, and one which does not lie at the feet of this volume alone, concerns negotiations about anthropology and science, what counts as evidence, and the co-existence of research programmes that adopt, at times, radically different epistemologies. This is not an area of dispute that shows any signs of mutually satisfactory resolution in the short term, and as contributions to this volume pointedly note, in the clamour of dispute it is the fate of the Yanomami that too often gets sidelined.

*University of London* STEPHEN NUGENT

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John Burdick, *Legacies of Liberation: The Progressive Catholic Church in Brazil at the Start of a New Millennium* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. xiii + 163, £45.00, hb.

In the flurry of articles in major newspapers and magazines about how Latin Americans viewed the newly-elected Benedict XVI, interviews from the grassroots made one theme clear: liberation theology is alive and well and continues to fuel a progressive church element in the Catholic Church. This awareness has been frequently lacking in English-speaking countries, where until very recently the publishing of works of liberation theology had largely dried up. Rosemary Radford Reuther and other theologians have pointed out that English readers know little of the expansion and depth of the liberationist church.

Since many assessments of the Latin American Church have been impressionistic or based on the views of persons from the past, interested parties are left with verifying what influence the liberationist church has wielded. John Burdick's *Legacies of Liberation: The Progressive Church in Brazil* appears in print at a crucial time to allow for a fair evaluation.

Burdick presents an argument that will be difficult to counter since he has painstakingly traced the evolution of three sectors of Brazilian society where liberation theology has been influential: racism, women's rights and the landless movement. He devotes two chapters to each of these sectors of social and religious activism.

Burdick, as perhaps no one else, Brazilian or otherwise, has delved profoundly into religious efforts to counter racism in Brazil. In other writings he explored the efforts of various religious groups to grapple with racism. Here he concentrates on what the Brazilian Catholic Church has called the Pastoral Negro (ministry to Blacks). He could have added here an organisational analysis of the Brazilian Church. For some years the Brazilian Church has been highly innovative in its pastoral activity and planning through channeling its scarce human resources into sectors of society through specialised ministries. More than 20 ministries are

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directed towards persons in special need, as landless, prostitutes and blacks, all of whom are focal points of Burdick's analysis.

Burdick traces the presence of the progressive church in the anti-racist movement from the 1970s. At the heart of this effort is an 'Afro Mass'. In Burdick's account, Afro liturgy was crucial in its cultural-political goal of altering popular attitudes towards African culture, and thereby Afro identity. Within the church, this activity was a radical shift because many Catholics, especially clergy, had demonised Afro religion for centuries. Burdick notes that in the process of creating an Afro liturgy, the Catholic black movement created a sophisticated respect for Afro religiosity in Brazil.

Beyond cultural affirmation, the black ministry participants engaged in two struggles. The first was their campaign to gain access for non-whites to higher education as the portal to better employment, income and status opportunities. The result was not only an unmistakable growth in Black students at public and private universities, but also a greater awareness of race in the country. The second effort of the black Catholic movement was de-stigmatising African ancestry. The activists did this first by substituting negro for intermediate terms of colour, but eventually fostering pride in brown persons as being mestiço with an African ancestry.

The second area that Burdick chose for showing the influence of a liberationist church is women's rights. This seems to him more difficult because of 'mother Church's less than emanicipatory stance toward women' (p. 57). Burdick has to trace a more subtle, indirect influence to the point that some readers may feel his argument is that of a contortionist. In one chapter he takes up women's rights to equal treatment in the home and to equal treatment in the church. He argues that women's involvement in small communities, the *comunidades de base* (Christian base communities – CEBs) altered male–female relations.

Within the church, Burdick investigated the CEBs governing councils and national leadership meetings. He found that women increasingly occupied higher-status roles in the church. The liberationist ideology, he believes, fostered a more egalitarian attitude and opened the way for women to assume higher leadership posts and coveted ministerial positions, as Minister of the Word.

In a further chapter, Burdick takes up the issues of domestic violence and the access of women to abortion. Another specialised ministry of the Brazilian Church, Pastoral da Mulher Marginalizada (Ministry to Marginalised Women – PMM), was key in facing up to domestic violence. This ministry began as an outreach programme to prostitutes and later expanded as its primary objective the end to all forms of violence against women.

In regard to the contested issue of abortion, Burdick argues that the progressive Church unwittingly generated an ideological framework for the legalisation of abortion. Researchers found that women in CEBs tend to view moral judgments about family planning and abortion within a background of poverty and inequality. Moreover, these women have confidence in their own views rather than in official Church prohibitions. In sum, Burdick believes these tendencies have produced a small but growing Catholic pro-choice movement.

Burdick chose to investigate as the third area of influence of a progressive Church what has been called the largest and most successful social movement in Latin America, the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra (Landless Workers Movement – MST). The Church's personnel in its Comissão de Pastoral da Terra (CPT) have been widely credited with the creation of MST. This connection seemed

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largely broken after the military relinquished control of the government in 1985. Burdick painstakingly shows how 'important clusters' of MST leaders continue to emerge from and be inspired by Catholic youth ministries and the Church's CPT.

Thus, Burdick shows how a progressive church sector survives by adapting from a Cold-War context to a one of democracy and free-market capitalism. This is an exemplary work, one that largely fulfils the challenge Burdick posed in a 1994 review essay to any one who would analyse the progressive church: provide a thick grass-roots description of how persons live and make decisions based on religious or other motivations. In doing so, Burdick has furthered our understanding of social movements and their 'outcomes'.

For those readers who wish confirming evidence of a liberationist church, Carol Drogus and Hannah Stewart-Gambino have recently published *Activist Faith: Grassroots Women in Democratic Brazil and Chile*, and Edward Cleary and Timothy Steigenga have provided a recent analysis of the extension of liberation theology to indigenous political movements in *Resurgent Voices in Latin America*. For those who wish a look at the future, Ashgate, Burdick's publisher, provides a strong statement from an Argentine, Harvard-educated theologian, Iván Petrella who authored *The Future of Liberation Theology*. Hence, Burdick may be correct when he concludes that the era of social movement change has only just begun.

*Providence College, Rhode Island* EDWARD L. CLEARY

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Benedetta Calandra, *La memoria ostinata: H.I.J.O.S., i figli dei desaparecidos argentini* (Roma: Carocci Editore, 2004), pp. 221, €23.10, pb.

*La memoria ostinata* analyses a recent addition to the dramatic cast of characters of Argentina's political arena: the children of the *desaparecidos*, mobilised through the association *Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia, contra el Olvido y el Silencio* (H.I.J.O.S.) In exploring their double role as innovative civil activists, and as living reminders of a traumatic past that simply refuses to go away, the book pursues two interrelated objectives. The first is descriptive – to chronicle the birth and evolution of the association. The second is theoretical – to discuss the implications that the emergence of H.I.J.O.S., and their unique repertoire of popular contention, might have for our understanding of the politics of memory in contemporary Argentina.

*La memoria ostinata* accomplishes its descriptive purpose well, by providing one of the best studies of H.I.J.O.S. to date. Thus, in the first two chapters (*Irruzioni* and *Identitá*), Calandra diligently reconstructs the socio-political circumstances that led to the founding of the association, and carefully illustrates H.I.J.O.S.' current structure, purpose and activities. She also carries out an instructive comparison between the association of the children of the *desaparecidos* and earlier human rights groups – such as the *Madres* and the *Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*.

Calandra's comparative analysis leads to a number of preliminary conclusions. First, she underscores the evident continuity between H.I.J.O.S. and older human rights organisations. However, she also adds that H.I.J.O.S. – in their twofold capacity as survivors and descendants of the *desaparecidos* – provide perhaps an even more compelling reminder of the dictatorship's crimes (and of the ongoing impunity for the perpetrators) than either the *Madres* or *Abuelas*. Second, Calandra suggests that H.I.J.O.S. falls short of the highly cohesive and methodical political actor model

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provided by other human rights groups in Argentina. In effect, members' motives and activities within H.I.J.O.S. vary a great deal depending upon whether one is an offspring of a *guerrillero* or a party activist; of a *desaparecido*, a *torturado* or an *exiliado*; or of a union leader or an intellectual. Finally, the author points out that, in addition to pursuing justice and the truth for the disappeared, H.I.J.O.S. affiliates seek to recover their individual identity through increased knowledge, celebration and – at times – even reappropriation of their parents' political struggle. In other words, because H.I.J.O.S. ostensibly represent the most innocent and vulnerable victims of the dictatorship, they are able to denounce, not only their parents' physical elimination, but also the current social obliteration of their intellectual and ideological experience. These are both subtle and original insights, for which Calandra should be highly commended.

Overall, the book provides an excellent portrayal of H.I.J.O.S. that significantly enhances our knowledge of this new political actor. However, from a political scientist's perspective, the author could have made a stronger argument for why this interesting case study stands to increase our understanding of the politics of memory in post-authoritarian societies. Thus, although H.I.J.O.S. provides the opportunity to formulate general hypotheses that might apply beyond the immediate scope of the study, Calandra prefers instead to delve into the uniqueness of her subject matter – particularly the 'multiple discourses' within the association – rather than sustain a theoretical argument.

For example, in her third chapter (*Dissonanze*), Calandra mentions that H.I.J.O.S. members routinely organise public memorials for their parents, during which audiences are encouraged to pose the following counterfactual question: what would Argentina be like today, had our parents not been forcibly removed from the political arena? Their answer, predictably, is that Argentina would be quite different. While it would not necessarily be perfect, it would probably be a more just society, where idealism, civic engagement and altruism tend to be rewarded. Here, Calandra could have called greater attention to the clearly innovative quality of H.I.J.O.S.' 'public use of history'. The children, in fact, ostensibly memorialise their parents, not only to seek redress for the personal injustice they suffered in the past, but also – and, perhaps, most importantly – to trigger society's ability to imagine a different future. H.I.J.O.S., in other words, appears less concerned with seeking the factual truth about Argentina's authoritarian past, than with crafting an interpretation of their parents' struggle that might support an alternative political project for the country's future.

Similarly, in chapter four (*Spazi*), Calandra analyses in detail H.I.J.O.S.' innovative forms of popular contention – which include, most famously, the *escraches* (i.e. H.I.J.O.S.' renowned protests before the homes of alleged regime torturers). She appropriately highlights the association's ability to come up with activities that attract considerable media attention, as well as its remarkable versatility in the creative use of public spaces. Here again, however, the author avoids formulating general hypotheses. This is rather unfortunate, as she could have easily extended her earlier comparative analysis to explore the sources of H.I.J.O.S.' extraordinary talent for political protest, as well as the reasons why the association favours demonstrations before the private residences of alleged tortures, over protests in front of the *Casa Rosada*. Most regretfully, Calandra refrains entirely from elaborating on how H.I.J.O.S.' unconventional style is likely to affect the association's relative ability to influence government policy in the long run.

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Despite these theoretical shortcomings, there is much to praise in this book. Achieving a careful portrayal of a new political actor in Argentina's current struggle over memory, while the conflict is still raging, is no easy feat. What is good about Calandra's work, then, is that she succeeds in illustrating her moving target both accurately and comprehensively. And that she uses both historical and comparative analysis in order to do so. This book will be of considerable interest not only to those looking for a reference work on H.I.J.O.S. or on Argentina, but also to the wider audience of new social movements and social memory scholars.

*Providence College, Rhode Island* PAOLA CESARINI

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Marcus Klein, *Im langen Schatten des Nationalsozialismus: Faschistische Bewegungen in Chile zwischen der Weltwirtschaftskrise und dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 2004), pp. 236, €28.00, pb.

Three-quarters of a century ago fascism and corporatism were popular vehicles for South Americans who feared Marxism and doubted the ability of democracy and capitalism to address economic and social underdevelopment. Scholars have recently taken some hard looks at the historical background of recent authoritarian experiences in the region that relied on support from the same sectors whose actions once gave ardent nationalism a very bad name. *Im langen Schatten des Nationalsozialismus* is a fine example of this trend, for it focuses on one of Latin America's most important stridently nationalist authoritarian movements, the Chilean Movimiento Nacional Socialista, from its gestation in the Great Depression to its wartime activities as the Vanguardia Popular Socialista, and on into the post-World War II years, when it lost its identity within the ever-fractious Chilean political system.

Along with the Brazil's Acção Integralista Brasileira and Argentina's Nacionalistas, the MNS evinced the serious anti-democratic and anti-political convictions once also associated with *Aprismo* and *Justicialismo*. The ideological and intellectual basis of Chile's *Nacistas* (they never wanted to be called Nazis) bespoke the same early twentieth-century lack of faith in liberal democracy and free-enterprise capitalism, associated, as they were, with foreign interests, that encouraged Marxists, labour activists and the spectrum of nationalist-authoritarians throughout a region of failing states.

On 5 April 1932 (anniversary of the Independence battle of Maipú in 1818), a band of men gathered in Santiago to form an organisation (they did not want to be called a party at the time) to struggle against the crises of Chilean culture, economics, political life, and society. The early MNS had strict rules, of conduct, staged rallies, paraded in grey shirts adorned with special insignia, revered the Portalian State, attacked electoral corruption, scorned democratic and Marxist politicians, and party politics, defended traditional family and Church-based values (women were allowed to participate within a few years, soon after they became eligible to vote in municipal elections in 1934), and advocated economic nationalism, cross-sector socialism, broad social and economic reform, Iberoamericanism, anti-Marxism, and anti-imperialism. They behaved very much like Fascisti, Falangistas and Nazis.

*Nacistas* eschewed participation in national elections until 1937, when they captured three seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Just a year later, after officially

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declaring themselves a party of the left, they were an influential part of the Frente Popular, which supported Radical Pedro Aguirre Cerda in the presidential election of 1938. With the outbreak of war in Europe, as the Vanguardia Popular Socialista, they were behaving fully like a party, participating (as were Communists and Socialists, after all) in the very political life they had once condemned. Soon after the end of the war they would be relegated to forming bits and pieces of the Partido Agrario Laborista (the major support group for General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo's second presidential triumph in 1952) and other cross-sector agglomerations. Some die-hards could still be spotted amongst the membership of Patria y Libertad, an important support group for the military rising of 1973 and the ensuing government of General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. All along the way they had allies within the ranks of the army, and their ideas had durability long after their party dissolved, it is increasingly clear.

This thoroughly-researched piece of scholarship raises questions about, and offers explanations of, all this and more. Were *Nacistas* and *Vanguardistas* of the 1930s and 1940s in fact Chilean Nazis, or were they Catholic corporatists with shirts, slogans, and songs whose activities just happened coincide with documented long-term subversion, espionage, and propaganda activities by the Reich? Or, did the MNS constitute an insidious 'fünfte Kolonne' rather than a national expression of disillusionment à la those of Italy, Spain, and Portugal? Or, all of the above? Further, did the Nacistas' post-World War II passage into history and the advent of globalisation nullify forever statist and corporatist thought as alternatives to the fusion of transnational capitalism and liberal democracy? Did what happened on 11 September 1973 signify that nationalist-authoritarian sentiment had not abated in 1945? Those who seek a greater understanding of the historical context of the Pinochet years will learn much from Klein.

When founder Jorge González von Marées became the MNS *jefe máximo* – he never wanted to called Führer – Chilean intellectuals were becoming more aware of the writings of Europeans like José Ortega y Gasset, Eugenio d'Ors, Jacques Maritain and F. R. Leavis, say, who decried much of what they themselves lamented about the culture, economics, politics and society of Chile. They obviously had understood the ideological implications of encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* (1891), *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Non Abbiamo Bisogno* (both 1931), and would understand those of *Divini Redemptoris* and *Mit Brennender Sorge* (both 1937), as well as Hilaire Belloc's controversial *The Crisis of Civilization* (1937).

There was as much inspiration for Chile's MNS in contemporary thought (Roman Catholic or not), in short, as there was in the writings of bona fide *Fascisti* and Nazis (European or not). The fact that anti-democratic civilians and military champions of late twentieth-century professional militarism in Argentina, Brazil and Chile were citing Ortega and Belloc, to name just two, makes it obvious that nationalist-authoritarian alternatives to democracy enjoyed more than fringe appeal well into the Cold War.

Klein successfully details the evolution of González's grey-shirt cohort from movement to party to historical curiosity, and he does it very well indeed, using a plethora of German, English and Spanish sources, both primary and secondary. He has ably placed European variants of corporatism in a Latin American context, and he has shown how local idiosyncrasies made adaptation possible. His discussions of the *Nacistas* as a 'rightist' movement and a 'leftist' party are as readable as they are thickly documented. Also, his description of their absorption into organisations

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with strikingly similar ends after 1945 does much to explain Chilean nationalist-authoritarian politics of the last half century. All serious students of democratisation, democracy, civil-military relations and anti-politics will find this book illuminating.

*Portland State University* FREDERICK M. NUNN

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Patricia Richards, *Pobladoras, Indígenas, and the State: Conflict over Women's Rights in Chile* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), pp. x+254, $62.00, $22.95 pb.

In this book Patricia Richards examines the differences that emerge when feminists, *pobladoras* and Mapuche women claim rights as citizens of the Chilean state, and how these groups relate to the state's women's policy office, SERNAM. Differences between women's groups in the region have been widely discussed elsewhere. As other studies show, the different interests formulated by middle-class feminists, *femocrats*, poorer urban women and, indeed, rural and/or indigenous women, sometimes obstructed the emergence of a strong and united women's movement to negotiate over gender relations. An early conceptual characterisation of the observed differences in interests between groups was the idea of strategic and practical women's needs, first formulated by Maxine Molyneux in 1985 to distinguish between a strategic feminist position that seeks to change gender relations, and the existence of women's groups who seek the redistribution of basic services to fulfil gendered needs. In referring to these concepts, Richards adds Nancy Fraser's influential typology of social movements in which a distinction between demands for redistribution and recognition is highlighted. As Richards suggests, the Mapuche women she discusses not only made demands as (poor) women, but, also, and specifically, as Mapuche women. Their quest for being heard by the state was characterised by a quest for recognition as a different ethnic group. Meanwhile, *pobladoras*, as Richards shows, sought incorporation into existing systems of redistribution and decision-making.

Before unpacking the positions of the specific groups – *pobladoras* and Mapuche women, broadly seeking redistribution and recognition respectively – Richards discusses the relation between women's demands and the state, social policy and the poor, and issues of participation and representation in SERNAM. The functioning of SERNAM has been widely discussed elsewhere, although Richards does not mention Macaulay's important work in this respect, published in Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux's *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Although these different debates are relevant to her discussion, by the time Richards gets round to SERNAM, we have reached chapter four and have not yet seen much of the data on which she bases her analysis.

To the existing discussion about SERNAM as a tool for addressing women's interests from within the state, this book aims to add the voices of those that it might (not) represent: *pobladoras* and Mapuche women. Chapters four, five and six focus on this relationship between *pobladoras*, *indígenas* and the state. The predictable conclusion is that both groups do not feel represented by middle-class educated *femocrats*, and that most *femocrats* do not identify with their less well-off counterparts either. Inequalities based on ethnicity and class are reproduced in the women's movement and, through SERNAM, in the state.

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Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is hidden in the appendix, as Richards has chosen to separate the bibliographical data on her interviewees from her main analysis. Although I assume that this was done in order to keep the main text focused on the issues of citizenship, representation and participation, it has made the text somewhat dry and the individual voices barely audible and disembodied. By the time one reaches the appendix, it is difficult to relate the stories of the interviewees back to the references in the main text. This is especially unfortunate since, in the introduction, Richards gives a careful account of her methodological position and ethical considerations in relation to the main source of data: the women she interviewed. The voices of these women's leaders, placed in their different social, political and economic backgrounds and histories that outlined the differences in positions, demands and interests in their negotiations over rights and citizenship in Chile could have been at the centre of the main narrative. That would have made the book a vivid case study of the reproduction of inequalities, whereas it now resembles a synthesis of existing work. In addition, the references in the appendix raise some interesting but unanswered questions about the women's organisations studied: why was there an age limit to participation in certain organisations? Why were married women members of single mothers' groups (p. 224)? Who was representative of which analytical observation in the text, and why?

In sum, although *Pobladoras, Indígenas and the State: Conflicts over Women's Rights in Chile* (strangely, the subtitle as stated on the title page differs from the subtitle as stated on the cataloguing page, where it is said to be *Difference, Equality, and Women's Rights in Chile*) does tell us something about the prevalence of ethnic and class positions among women's movements and the state, it fails to make these inequalities palpable.

*University of Bradford* JELKE BOESTEN

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05440675

Laura Tedesco and Jonathan R. Barton, *The State of Democracy in Latin America: Post-Transitional Conflicts in Argentina and Chile* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. xi + 233, £65.00; $125.00, hb.

*The State of Democracy in Latin America* constitutes a welcome addition to books breaking with orthodoxy in studies of Latin American politics and society. Most works favour mid-range theorising, frequently policy oriented, on carefully circumscribed problems held in isolation from each other. Debates over democracy tend to focus on the consolidation of electoral and representative institutions and on governability, understood as political stability, public accountability, effective public administration, and general public orderliness – the 'quality of democracy' issues. Cautious optimism over the persistence of electoral democracy since the 1980s suffuses this literature, although concern mounts daily that mass-mobilisation, voter disenchantment, corruption, crime, economic crises, and institutional brittleness will overwhelm it. In the face of these stresses, a steady stream of policy studies recommend constructing institutions for effective governance to improve the quality of democracy and, thus, ensure its consolidation throughout Latin America.

Tedesco and Barton argue that this narrow institutional approach cannot adequately account for why after twenty years democracy has not provided Latin

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America with more political and social stability; only theories that consider the key factors of social relations of domination and subordination and power can do that. Accordingly, the authors contend state-centred analytical frameworks are more useful for understanding, and effectively addressing, the travails of democracy in contemporary Latin America. Not content with 'just' explaining the current dilemmas of Latin American democracy, in the best tradition of theoretically-oriented scholarship the authors also attempt to make a contribution to general theories of the state.

The book's central insight is disarmingly straightforward. The process of state formation over the past twenty years frustrates the fulfilment of democracy's promise, which accounts for the profound disenchantment with that form of government throughout the region. Unearthing this basic contradiction requires an expansion of the definition of democracy from its minimalist procedural expression to include its more contested substantive dimensions. For subordinate social groups – the vast majority – democracy is also about greater socio-economic egalitarianism. Fair and free elections, separation of powers, accountable governments, political parties, citizenship rights – in short, the institutions of procedural democracy – are vehicles to level the political playing field with socio-economic elites who have historically dominated them and to improve their life chances. However, the formation of a neoliberal state that combines procedural democracy with free-market oriented economic and social policies has left those aspirations stillborn. Instead of improving life chances, subordinate social groups, for the most part, experience widening exclusion from the 'bounties' of the New Liberal Consensus; small wonder that people are not sitting still for this.

Conceptualising the state stands at the heart of the book. The authors' chief innovation is an attempt to synthesise liberal social contract, Weberian, and political economy approaches. The state, they argue, consists of three interrelated parts: an idea, the crystallisation of social relations of domination and subordination, and their expression in institutions. For a state to exist the idea of exclusive territorially bounded rule must crowd out all alternatives, a condition that Tedesco and Barton assume. The state also consists of a social contract between rulers and the ruled that sums up power relations in society and is constantly being 'rewritten'. The type of consent given to the social contract – whether freely given because it is right and proper, or coerced, or through dint of custom – affects that state's legitimacy and, hence, its potential stability. The terms of the social contract determine the institutional expression of the state. These components of the state are both cause and effect. Social relations and conflict affect the social contract and state institutions, but these in turn impact social relations. Tedesco and Barton further argue that a state's stability depends on the consolidation of a Gramscian hegemonic bloc and, although they say so less explicitly, the construction of Weberian legal-rational institutions.

Applying these concepts to contemporary state formation in Latin America takes up the rest of the book. The balance of social power has resulted in the 'writing' of a social contract that supports a neoliberal state. That state promotes liberal democracy, which emphasises a limited capacity for government intervention in the economy and society, arenas where markets are the primary organising criteria. In the New Liberal Consensus, then, state institutions emphasise formal political equality with strong protection for private property rights. By definition the state plays a residual role in redistributive politics. Hence democracy in its full sense is

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truncated; it is only a half democracy that subjugates a large portion of the citisenry to misery.

Understanding particular cases, such as Argentina and Chile, Tedesco and Barton contend, requires sensitivity to path dependency. Their analysis begins with an examination of the correlation of forces during the authoritarian period and the resolution of key conflicts during the transition to democracy. The main differences between the two cases were the emergence in Chile of an enduring hegemonic bloc in favour of the New Liberal Consensus and the predominance of legal-rational principles in the state bureaucracy and political parties. Their absence in Argentina, and the presence of strong patrimonial tendencies, expressed as personalism and *caudillismo*, explains Argentina's greater political instability.

*The State of Democracy in Latin America* is an ambitious work that should be widely discussed for the implications of its central argument concerning the contradiction between the egalitarian promise of democracy and the neoliberal state. Instead of dwelling on that point, however, I would like to conclude by raising questions related to ambiguities in the text that merit equally wide discussion given the authors' theory building intent. How useful is it to combine liberal social contract theorising with political economy in the analysis of state formation? If the book has emphasised structural factors, have the authors done their analytic framework justice by arguing in the end that differences in the characteristics of political leadership explain relative political stability in Chile and Argentina? Where social struggles are concerned, what can be done to clarify the interaction between the state as a dependent variable and as independent variable? Regardless, I, for one, am thankful for a book that forcefully places socio-economic egalitarianism at the centre of debates over democracy with rich implications for theories of the state.

*University of Missouri-St. Louis* EDUARDO SILVA

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Lesley Gill, *The School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence in the Americas* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. xviii + 281, £14.50, pb.

This book, the author tells us, is the story of empire building in the Americas that turns on violence of the state and depends on soldiers as agents of empire par excellence. Written by an anthropologist, based on interviews with US and Latin American officers (from Colombia, Honduras and Bolivia) who pass through the Western Hemisphere Institute of Security Cooperation (formerly known as the School of the Americas), peasant coca growers in Colombia (Putumayo) and Bolivia (Chapare), and US activists seeking to shut down the School, it is a scathing condemnation of US imperialism and its Latin American policies. More particularly, Gill denounces the role of US military training of Latin American military personnel at the School of the Americas in shaping military forces from across the Americas 'into proxy forces under US control' who are provided 'with opportunities to participate in a cosmopolitan, modern world and to bask in the refracted glow of empire …' (p. 20).

Gill's writing is passionate and the voice is often first person. She makes no bones about her sympathies, her biases, her expectations about finding monsters among the US military officers interviewed, and about her surprise in finding that most were

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not and, indeed, 'many, in fact, probably did not have blood on their hands …' (p. 17). Likewise, she is enormously sympathetic toward the peasant coca farmers who are impacted by the US-sponsored drug war and for the activists who have created a social movement seeking to close down the School of Americas, renamed as the Western Hemisphere Institute of Security Cooperation (WHINSEC). The title of chapter three, 'Foot Soldiers of the U.S. Empire', reveals the tone and focus of most of this volume.

Much of the book consists of discussion of the interview material which sheds light on the interviewees' and the author's views on the operation, curriculum, efforts to reshape public image, and effects of the School of the Americas, on the intersection of military training of Latin American soldiers with human rights violations and impunity in Latin America – and even with aggravating racism and class-based exclusion in Latin America, and the results of military-to-military ties from Latin American officer participation in the Command and General Officer Staff. A separate chapter is dedicated to dismissing the value of the human rights training offered in the refurbished SOA/WHINSEC – 'Human rights training at the SOA is less about curbing the atrocities committed by security forces than shoring up the legitimacy of a discredited institution and obscuring the brutality of U.S. foreign policy' (p. 138) – followed by a discussion of the dynamics of impunity, particularly as it relates to state terrorism and the drug war which 'provides justification for U.S. military intervention' (p. 21). Finally the author relates the history of the more than a decade-long effort to have the SOA closed, with interview material from the movement's founders and other activists.

As a long time critic of US foreign and security policy in Latin America, and with years of research on politics and the armed forces in Latin America behind me, I was predisposed to appreciate Gill's efforts to investigate the relationship between US military training and assistance programmes and repression in Latin America – especially its effects on Latin American military personnel who go through the US training programmes. What I was not prepared to discover is that Gill is not always careful with facts, nor even with names and spelling; an assassinated Chilean general, Carlos Prats, and a woman assassinated by agents of the Chilean secret police in Washington, DC, Ronni Moffit, are well-know enough to be properly identified in the text and index. This is not petty criticism of typos or spelling errors, but reference to a certain lack of precision throughout the volume. And despite informative interviews with Latin American officers (for example, with Lt. Miranda at the end of chapter 6, 'If [he] had learned anything about human rights at the School of the Americas, it did not seem to apply to coca-growing Indians, who seemingly operated outside his universe of moral responsibility' [p. 162]), Gill gives insufficient attention to the cultural and historical context of the Latin American military institutions. Whatever Lt. Miranda learned or did not learn at the SOA about human rights and Indians, if he grew up anywhere in Meso-America or the Andean region, racist disdain and mistreatment of Indian peoples were likely part of his life experience, if not his own values, long before he saw Ft. Benning. Even if forty hours of human rights training were effectively and sincerely delivered at WHINSEC, the Latin American personnel enrolled in these courses typically regard the human rights curriculum as naive, driven by US political necessities (funding from Congress depended on improving the old SOA image), and generally a bother. And, as Gill recognises, these courses 'cannot possibly alter beliefs and practices that are deeply ingrained in military institutions' (pp. 238–9).

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More generally, Gill's study leaves the reader without a proper frame for understanding the history, organisation, recruitment, training, socialisation, pre-cold war experiences, nationalism, even anti-Americanism within the Latin American militaries. Likewise missing is attention to the great diversity among Latin American military institutions, for example, the stand-offish doctrine and policies of the Mexican military, the development of important doctrinal alternatives to US influence in Brazil and Peru – and the preference in Chile and elsewhere for the Prussian influence of yesteryear rather than for the doctrine and ideological messages offered by the US military schools. Gill is right that Latin American military forces frequently violated human rights from the 1960s to the present; but they were not, and are not, merely passive receptors of US doctrine and methods, nor easily transformed into compliant instruments for achieving US objectives. And even if SOA- WHINSEC 'remained dedicated … to training new cohorts of officers ready to defend the ramparts of the American empire', (p. 233), the Latin American officers rarely return to their countries entirely willing to do this chore on behalf of the United States. They have their own agendas, career goals and nationalist sentiments.

In short, this book fails to contextualise US influence (and the limits of its influence) and properly to incorporate in the analysis the extensive literature on the Latin American military institutions of the last decades (to mention only some of the most obvious books of general interest, all uncited in Gill's bibliography, and not including numerous country studies: Barber and Ronning, 1966; Basombrío, 1998; Black, 1986; Bowman, 2002; Bustamante et al., 1988; Coatsworth, 1994; Carothers, 1991; Diamint (1999); Farcau, 1996; Fitch, 1998; Handleman and Sanders, 1981; Klare et al., 1982; Loveman, 1999; Marcella, 1994; McSherry, 1997; Nunn, 1983, 1992; O'Brien and Commack, 1988; Perelli, 1987; Rial, 1991; Rouquié, 1984; Skidmore, 1988, Stepan, 1971, 1986; Wesson, 1982, 1986; Williams and Walter, 1997; Varas, 1988; Zagorski, 1992; Zaverucha, 1994). To understand military training and political violence in the Americas, it is first essential to take into account, seriously, Latin American military institutions themselves. From there, the marginal differences in officer attitudes and careers, sometimes very important, but often superficial, made by experiences in US military schools or by collaboration with US officers can be better assessed. As made clear in over forty years of published research, US cold war policies, and beyond, have often supported military dictatorships and facilitated state terrorism, but Torquemada came long before John F. Kennedy and state terrorism in Latin America long before Ronald Reagan.

In the end, Gill's history of the movement to close the SOA and the interviews with coca producers in Bolivia and Colombia are highly readable and enticing contributions. She is at her best, and the book most exciting and original, with the raw material from the interviews, especially from the peasant coca growers and to a lesser extent with the military personnel. Her reports from Chapare and Putumayo (especially in Chapter 6, 'Disordering the Andes') provide graphic first-hand accounts of the negative impacts of the US-sponsored drug war and also the unintended consequences of neoliberal policies in rural Latin America more generally. They also bring home forcefully the meaning for local populations of the impunity for human rights violations committed by the armed forces, police and other government agents, as well as by the paramilitaries and guerrillas. Among the dead peasant leaders in Chapare was an interviewee killed by the Chapare

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Expeditionary Force, 'a counter narcotics entity created by the United States' (p. 188). The author's personalisation of the death in Chapare of Casimiro Huanca, along with the description of public display of corpses disfigured by torture, and the virtually pervasive culture of violence and terror in much of Colombia, bring home starkly the human consequences of failed US policies in the region.

But unless readers have neglected the entire literature on Latin American civil-military relations, state terrorism, human rights violations, guerrilla war and insurgency, and the impact of US military assistance, training of Latin American military personnel, and US regional security policy more generally, there will be few surprises in this book. What is still missing, unfortunately, is research that traces, even explains systematically, the concrete and variegated implications of training Latin American officers at the School of the Americas and other military schools rather than repetition of the criticisms, even the on-target denunciations, of certain US policies and military assistance programmes published over the last four decades.

*San Diego State University* BRIAN LOVEMAN

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Oscar Terán (ed.), *Ideas en el siglo: intelectuales y cultura en el siglo XX latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2004), pp. 424, pb.

Comparative studies on Latin American history are usually edited in Europe or in the United States, which means that sometimes they suffer from a lack of familiarity with each national experience. Such intimate knowledge is naturally more developed in the region itself and, therefore, it must be highly welcomed that the Argentine historian Oscar Terán has brought together six distinguished Latin American scholars to summarise their expertise in the intellectual history of their respective countries within one volume that allows the reader to draw comparisons. The choice of countries for such an enterprise is always arbitrary, and Terán might well have thought this, since he eschews an explanatory introduction altogether. Instead, there is a preface of two paragraphs, which states that the book's aim is to offer updated accounts of intellectual developments in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay during the twentieth century. Each country receives approximately 100 pages and, with the partial exception of Uruguay, all chapters follow a methodologically rigorous and chronological approach. Rather than presenting research into specific topics, this is meant to constitute 'a synthetic and representative frame of the unfolding of cultural phenomena in our countries' (p. 7). The outcome is an impressive contribution to Latin American intellectual history, which conveys basic knowledge for students and subtle suggestions for the researcher.

In his own chapter on Argentina Terán displays stylistic elegance and an admirably sure hand when unravelling the intricacies that he encounters on his way through a hundred years of intellectual life. Typically for a historian, his interpretative confidence diminishes the closer he gets to the present. He thus decides to begin with positivism and the modernising sway of 1880 and end with the transition to democracy in 1983. Rather than in the social, political or institutional positions of intellectuals, he is interested in reconstructing what may be called climates of ideas. For this purpose he includes a wide array of strands of thought, whilst never failing to separate the anecdotal from the relevant. Had he adopted a more sociological perspective of the relationship between intellectuals, politics and the state, his

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periodisation might have been more questionable. The anti-intellectual bias of the Argentine state that has been so often lamented might have appeared more important and the centenary or the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1912 a more obvious starting point. Readers interested in the generation of 1880 could still refer to Terán's study on *fin-de-siècle* Buenos Aires, passages of which are literally reproduced here without acknowledgement. Nevertheless, Terán deftly accomplishes his aim to provide a general synthesis from the perspective of the history of ideas.

The chapters on Brazil and Chile match the outstanding quality of the opening section. The first section of the Brazil chapter, written by Margarida de Souza Neves, ranges from the generation of 1870 to the centenary of 1922, from where Maria Helena Rolim Capelato takes the narrative up until the military coup of 1964. The recurring theme of the chapter is that during this period both intellectuals and politicians privileged order to the disadvantage of progress whenever the two watchwords of the national flag appeared to contradict each other. Some readers might speculate about how this centrality of the notion of order related to the fact that Brazilian intellectuals had a relatively harmonious relationship with political power and the state when compared to many Spanish American countries, a phenomenon to which the authors pay due attention. Did this draw Brazilian intellectuals closer to the politicians' preoccupation with order than their counterparts elsewhere? And how does this relate to the extreme inequalities in Brazilian society? Rather than seeking simple answers to such general questions, the article skilfully outlines a wide array of material that cautions against hasty conclusions.

Of all the contributions, Sofía Correa Sutil's chapter on Chile is the most optimistic about the illustrative force of long quotations, particularly relating to questions of national identity. The title suggests that throughout the twentieth century (understood more conventionally here) Chilean thought stood 'under the shadow of Portales'. Not surprisingly therefore, Correa Sutil's particular interest is *decadentismo*, the idea of national decline, which developed a preference for the conservative Portales as the quintessential national hero. What comes out of this chapter as most striking in comparison to the other countries, then, is the importance of Catholic corporatism in Chile, which is depicted as flowing together with neoliberal ideas in the constitution of 1980. Since her focus is largely on a number of key authors rather than on institutions or formations, readers who are unfamiliar with Chilean history might occasionally struggle to assess the position and importance of individual writers in relation to other trends and broader phenomena, but they will nevertheless get a highly valuable introduction into the ideas of figures such as Alberto Edwards, Francisco Encina or Jaime Eyzaguirre. Finally, the chapter on Uruguay by Gerardo Caetano and Adolfo Garcé blends a chronological with a thematic arrangement, which makes it less straightforward than the other parts. Its interpretations on more limited questions, particularly regarding the influence of philosophy, by and large follow the observations made in much earlier works, for example by Arturo Ardao or Carlos Real de Azúa. The scarcity of previous studies, however, means that it will be among the few comprehensive introductions to Uruguayan intellectual history in the twentieth century.

The overall organisation of the book means that the histories of the four countries are juxtaposed, each set firmly within its national boundaries. They hardly contain comparative remarks and there is no introduction to hold them together.

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Likewise, the bibliographies follow each national case study and therefore neglect references to comparative works. Despite these problems, the interested reader will inevitably draw comparisons. *Ideas en el siglo* is an invaluable introductory tool for this, but rather than radically new interpretations, it offers concise syntheses of great expertise, written with convincing verve.

*University College London* MICHAEL GOEBEL

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Eduardo Posada-Carbó and Carlos Malamud (eds.), *The Financing of Politics: Latin American and European Perspectives* (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London, 2005), pp. xiv + 266, £35.00, £14.95 pb; $65.00, $19.95 pb; €50.00, €24.00 pb.

This collection has its origins in a conference co-organised by the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of London and the Instituto Universitario José Ortega y Gasset at Madrid and held in London in March 1996. It opens with a brief survey of major relevant themes by Eduardo Posada-Carbó. This is followed by a contribution from Laurence Whitehead in which he discourses upon some of the key issues raised by the necessary interface in modern democracies between the market and the political process. Emilio Lamo de Espinosa considers the relevance of a Latin *European* perspective for Latin American politics although this contribution is focused primarily on corruption, saying little about the financing of politics. Michael Pinto-Duschinsky looks at the funding of political parties and election campaigns in Western Europe as well as succinctly identifying some general themes and problems thrown up by this topic. Véronique Pujas and Martin Rhodes explore the links between corruption, scandal and party finance again within a southern European context. There follow six country studies each of which explores the main features of the respective process under which politics is funded: Pilar del Castillo deals with Spain, Julian Fisher with Britain, Fernando Cepeda Ulloa with Colombia, Diego Bautista Urbaneja and Angel Eduardo Alvarez with Venezuela, Manuel Garretón with Chile, and lastly Kevin Casas-Zamora with Uruguay.

Everett Dirksen, a US senator, used to say that three most important factors in politics are: 'money, money and money'. Dirksen's apothegm is cited by Fernando Cepeda Ulloa in the conclusion to his piece here on financing politics in Colombia. Whilst money alone cannot win elections, money is always present at elections and money exposes politics to the influence of financial interests.

Urbaneja and Alvarez agree that this situation bears the potential to distort the democratic political process for democracy, in principle, should be based upon a fair degree of parity of financial resources among those who compete for the support of the electorate. Without such parity there is a serious risk that democracy will be subverted by powerful economic interests. On the other hand, citizens should be free to support the party of their choice and there is no reason why this support should not manifest itself in monetary donations. Thus Urbaneja and Alvarez recognise that there is a conflict here between liberty and equality. We must nonetheless confront the fact, they maintain, that a significant disparity in resources does undermine the democratic process. Not only does it give undue political clout to the party which is able to enjoy strong financial backing, but also marginalises

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newcomers whose penury makes it difficult for them to enter the contest. The implication seems clear: there is a strong case for the state to attempt to redress the balance by subsidising the political process.

However, the case with which Urbaneja and Alvarez deal, Venezuela, under the Constitution of 1999 prohibited the public financing of political campaigns and political parties as well as establishing a new law aimed at regulating private donations. The abolition of state support was prompted by the endless wrangling between the two main parties, AD and COPEI, each accusing the other of misusing public resources when in power to boost its electoral chances. A fundamental problem, one that is by no means peculiar to Venezuela, is a general lack of transparency in the process under which funds are dispersed. The theme of a lack of transparency recurs again and again throughout these essays.

In abolishing state support Venezuela appears to be running against the trend, for sixteen of the countries of Latin America give some degree of public funding to political parties. The most radical position seems to be taken by Mexico where by law 90 per cent of funding should come from the state. The drift towards state funding, also readily apparent in Western Europe, appears to be driven by dissatisfaction with a system base entirely or primarily upon private donors. Since a privately funded process allegedly provides greater opportunity for corruption then the obvious solution is to shift the emphasis on to public funding. Not only should this reduce the opportunities for abuse but also help to restore public confidence in the political process. As a well-known British political historian has put it: 'a public funding structure would rejuvenate parties and end allegations of sleaze'.

However, Pinto-Duschinsky warns us that there are no simple solutions to the problem of curtailing abuse in the funding of politics in democracies. Public funding is not necessarily the panacea it is often held to be. Whatever the system, public or private, it needs to be regulated and this requires some form of agency or commission which is independent of the various interests. The task of enabling such agencies to operate unhindered and free from interference is not inconsiderable. In highly institutionalised polities such as those of northern Europe there is a tendency for the process of regulation to become bogged down under an endless series of legalistic attempts by politicians and their agents to exploit loopholes in the rules. In less institutionalised polities, such those of Latin America and Italy, the agency is often ignored, manipulated or intimidated; or it lapses into inertia through lack of resources. In Italy, under Christian Democrat hegemony, the administrative system at large was effectively parcelled out or 'Balkanised' through clientelist networks. Unsurprisingly, 90 per cent of Italian voters (and taxpayers) favour the abolition of state funding of political parties.

As the theme of financing politics is one that is under-researched – not least because of terminological problems as well as shortcomings with official data – this collection is welcome. However, it would have benefited from a clearer conception of corruption which could have been achieved by the inclusion of more empirical examples of the 'corruption – scandal – attempted reform' configuration. Given the emphasis in the Introduction on comparison, a final chapter bringing together main themes and suggesting future possible directions for research in this area would also have been helpful.

*University of Westminster* ROBIN THEOBALD

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Sylvia Chant with Nikki Craske, *Gender in Latin America* (London: Latin America Bureau, 2003), pp. xx + 308, £15.99, pb.

There can be little doubt that this recent publication by Sylvia Chant and Nikki Craske is one of the most complete readers on gender in Latin America to date. The book has a number of strengths which are worthy of mention here, and it is the particular combination of these in one volume which makes this such a timely and useful resource for teaching and research.

Chant and Craske play to their strengths by drawing on their extensive experience of conducting primary research in the region and their particular disciplinary expertise. They complement this with an impressive range of secondary sources and work by specialists from Latin America, USA and Europe, thereby providing the reader with different viewpoints and experiences from within the region and outwith. As such, the book provides a thorough coverage of gender issues across a range of disciplines and subject areas including politics, sociology, human geography, and development studies. The book covers a time period of around thirty years and thus can demonstrate the considerable changes in gender relations which have occurred over this time. By avoiding a snap-shot approach which tends to portray lives and experiences as frozen and static in time, the authors can provide balance and reflection, breadth and depth of coverage, and an understanding of the complex linkages between economic, political and social factors.

Furthermore, the book does not disappoint the reader with the claim to deal with gender in Latin America for it offers coverage across Mexico and Central America, the Andean region, the Southern Cone and Brazil. By drawing on a range of examples from different countries, the authors are able to communicate to the reader a sense of the tremendous diversity of Latin America, both across the region and within countries themselves. Thus, they convey the many commonalities of gender relations across the region and also the ways in which gender is experienced differently for reasons of culture, race and ethnicity, social class, political situation, and levels of economic development.

A further strength of this volume is the fact that it genuinely does address the complexity of gender relations by providing a critical analysis of not only the experience of women but also of men. This is a long-overdue and crucial addition to gender studies in Latin America which, to date, have tended to focus on women, and particularly on poor women. While such research was clearly necessary and provided a vital perspective which had hitherto been ignored, there was a danger that an important part of the picture was missing from studies of gender in the region. Chant and Craske successfully counter this tendency by including current debates from Latin America on masculinity and detailed examples of how male identity and experience have been affected by changes in the political, social and economic conditions. The authors are also sensitive to differences based on social class, race and ethnicity, age and location in rural or urban areas. As a result, they are better able to convey to the reader the notion that gender relations are complex and yet are an integral part of everyday lives, they are dynamic not static; they are both subject to and are in themselves forces of dramatic societal change. This book reminds the reader that gender affects both men and women, sometimes positively, sometimes negatively, and that changes in gender relations are rarely a unidirectional, zero-sum game.

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The book is organised into specific chapters which cover particular aspects of gender from a thematic perspective. Beginning with an overview of gender in the region, this introductory chapter is followed by chapters dealing with politics, poverty, population, health, sexuality, families and households, employment and migration. Each chapter provides an introduction to the subject matter covered therein and a detailed discussion of the key issues, thus providing the reader with the necessary background knowledge and then the gender dimensions of the topic are discussed.

In most cases, this format works well, but in some chapters there is a danger that the contextualisation is so thorough and detailed that it threatens to crowd out the gender dimension. Other chapters attempt to cover so much that inevitably important aspects are either underdeveloped or omitted. There are further difficulties relating to the structure of the book, which caused a sense of confusion in this reader. These relate to the primary allocation of certain themes to a particular chapter and their reappearance in others at various stages of the book, resulting in extensive cross-referencing between chapters and some difficulties with continuity. The challenges involved in dealing with such a complex issue as gender across time frame of thirty years, in a region as diverse as Latin America, and across several disciplines clearly do not make the organisation of the material an easy task. However, the structure proved to be a frustrating distraction at times from an otherwise excellent volume.

Overall, the end result is a thorough, detailed, balanced and nuanced account of the dynamic and often dramatic nature of gender relations over the recent past. Most importantly, these are located firmly in the historical experiences of the region over the same period, the effects of which provide the backdrop for change at multiple levels from the household and family to the community, the state and the international level. This book should prove to be an essential reader for students, lecturers and researchers working in the fields of Latin American studies, development studies, geography, sociology and politics.

*University of Portsmouth* ANN MATEAR

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Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. vii + 446, £60.00, £21.99 pb; $85.00, $27.99 pb.

Atul Kohli's book is a magnificent achievement. It should be read by all students of the development process. Kohli is interested in discovering why some states have been more successful than others in promoting industrialisation. He does not begin by presenting a developmental model which deductively demonstrates how a successful industrialisation process might occur. His approach is inductive, trying to gain an understanding through four case studies (Korea, Brazil, India and Nigeria) under what circumstances industrial development policies can be successful or are doomed to failure.

Kohli shows the importance of Japanese colonial influence on Korea from 1905 to 1945. He finds that '… the Japanese made extensive use of state power for their own economic development and then used the same state power to pry open and transform Korea in a relatively short period of time' (p. 27). He notes how the

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Japanese colonial power '… was decisive in altering both the nature of the Korean state and the relationship of this state to various social classes' (p. 31); how the Japanese centralised bureaucratic style of government was transferred to Korea; how they developed Korean human capital by a considerable expansion of education; how the Japanese invested heavily in infrastructure. Kohli's conclusion is that '… the highly cohesive and disciplining state that the Japanese helped to construct in colonial Korea turned out to be an efficacious economic actor. The state utilised its bureaucratic capacities to undertake numerous economic tasks: collecting more taxes, building infrastructure, and undertaking production directly. More important, this highly purposive state made increasing production one of its priorities and incorporated property-owning classes into production-oriented alliances' (p. 56).

The sprawling bureaucratic state was maintained by the pro-US political order in the post-World War II and post-Korean War years. Also, given the early colonial industrialisation experience, it was easier after the Korean war to rebuild a war-torn economy than to begin industrialisation from scratch.

Examining Korea's policies and achievements in the 1960s and 1970s, Kohli convincingly shows that during this period the country was firmly heading towards '… cohesive-capitalist development, mainly by re-creating an efficacious but brutal state that intervened extensively in the economy' (p. 84). And marshalling overwhelming evidence, he makes it clear that the claim of many prominent economists that South Korea's export success was a mainly market-driven phenomenon is false; he finds that the '… state intervened heavily to promote exports, using both market and non-market tools to achieve its goals' (p. 119).

Turning to Brazil, Kohli delves through the country's economic, social and political history to discover why the country's industrialisation has done so well, though it was often crisis-prone. He finds that a growth-oriented leadership in a narrow governing coalition facilitated industrialisation. However, it took a long time before the decentralised and fragmented Brazilian polity could coalesce into a centralised modern state. He convincingly shows that '… as economic development proceeded, class politics emerged, occasionally forcing leaders to adopt populist economic programs to hold together multi-class coalitions. These tendencies towards political fragmentation and multiclass politics, in turn, limited the capacity of the Brazilian state to mobilise domestic resources for economic development. This left Brazil repeatedly dependent on foreign actors and resources …' (p. 128).

Kohli stresses the importance of the governing revolution of Vargas in the 1930s and early 1940s, centralising political and economic power by co-opting many socio-economic groups and creating a partially successful modern bureaucracy. Kohli finds that although Brazil's political independence preceded that of the other countries considered by over a century, the delay in the creation of a modern state was in part due to the 'decentralised colonial political pattern which were further reinforced by the nature of the regionally concentrated economic development led by agro-exporters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century' (pp. 166–7).

In the post-World War II Brazilian governments, whether civilian or military, the author finds that the '… downward reach of the state was limited, fragmenting state power class politics and related legitimacy concerns were never too far from the surface and there remained a patrimonial underbelly that characterised both part of the central state and the politics of the vast, unincorporated agrarian periphery. The Brazilian state was thus part Korea, but also part India and Nigeria. The latter traits

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led Brazilian governments to abandon their growth commitment, occasionally to spend more than they could collect, to fail to mobilise various indigenous resources for development, and, relatedly to grant enormous concessions to foreigners to help to promote national development …' (p. 170).

Kohli is quite insightful in contrasting Korea's decoupling of technology from foreign capital, while Brazil's dependence on foreign capital was the Brazilian way. Thus '… Brazilian military rulers were part and parcel of a colonial mind-set that identified as much or more with their counterparts in Europe and the United States than with those they governed' (p. 199).

In his analysis of India, Kohli delves into the colonial administration of the British, which constructed basic infrastructure and organised an army and civil services, which ultimately provided the administrative backbone for independent India. But he also shows how alliances with local elites limited the state's downward reach. He points to the fact that Indian nationalists embraced the colonially constructed army, bureaucracy and judiciary, and even incorporated landowning classes. He also indicates that the direct role of the British in India's economy was modest, as compared to the Japanese in Korea. Only a small proportion of state expenditures went to infrastructure and education.

Kohli points to the fact that at independence India's leaders '… faced a cruel choice: advancing the state either as an effective agent of political order or as successful facilitator of economic development. They opted for the former, which would become a longer-term trend – prioritising political needs over economic ones …' (p. 261). Nehru's emphasis of heavy state-owned industries and the little that was spent on health and primary education underlined the superficial quality of India's socialism. India's socialist state '… sought more to tame than to encourage private development. State intervention had a decidedly regulatory cast' (p. 267).

With a massive amount of evidence, Kohli concludes that '… the Indian state often lacked the political capacity to translate its enormous economic ambitions into outcomes. Central to this incapacity is its fragmented authority, characterised by both intra-elite and elite-mass schisms and ruling coalitions that are generally multiclass' (p. 286). Comparing India to Brazil, he finds that the Brazilian state was much less nationalistic and mass-based, which allowed Brazilian leaders '… to focus more on industrialisation and to invite foreigners to lead the way, to cooperate closely with business groups and to repress labor' (p. 287).

When turning to the Nigerian experience, Kohli concludes that the British tried to run Nigeria on the cheap, and '… expended little energy to transform the rudimentary political economies they had colonised into a modern state. Instead, they ran the state as three to four separate regions … and utilised traditional chiefs as their agents' (p. 301). He finds that their minimal state was organised along laissez-faire lines '… responsible for little more than preserving law and order and for promoting infrastructure and commodity exports' (p. 301). Unlike India, the British in Nigeria did not train and establish an effective bureaucracy, and '… when leaders of sovereign Nigeria eventually sought to utilise the state to stimulate development, the state at their disposal was relatively ineffective' (p. 306). Unlike India, the anti-colonial movement of Nigeria was not unified, as it was mainly confined to the south, while the traditional elites of the north ruled in alliance with the British.

Not only did independent Nigeria inherit a weak bureaucracy, but the '… tendency of political leaders to emphasise personal power and relative gains for their own ethnic communities quickly seeped into the bureaucracy' (p. 335). Even when

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the military took over things did not improve because '… Unlike the military rulers that we encountered in the cases of South Korea and Brazil, Nigerian generals had a fairly limited conception of their role as political leaders: They had no independent development goals and fairly quickly came to mirror the broader political society around them, especially its personalism and communalism' (p. 345).

In the midst of Kohli's analysis of Nigeria he hits on what I consider to be one of the main points of his study. He observes that scholars of comparative development '… often do not assign significant weight to different starting points when assessing development performance across countries or regions. Instead, there is a tendency to treat all pre-industrial, low-income developing countries … as having been at a more or less similar starting point. The analytical puzzle for many thus looks to be why some regions have grown so much more rapidly than others. But such a perspective is a-historical and misleading … (as) … Nigeria at the end of … (World War II) … had little in common with Korea, save for their low-income status' (p. 300).

The last part of the book is full of valuable generalisations based on the four case studies. Let me just point to one of them. Kohli states that there are almost no significant examples in the developing world where industrialisation occurred without state intervention. The basic reason is that 'Private investors in late-late-developing countries need organised help, help that effective states are most able to provide to overcome such obstacles as capital scarcity, technological backwardness, rigidities in labor markets, and to confront the overwhelming power of foreign corporations …' (p. 377). And therefore '… The general claim that less state intervention is better for economic growth in developing countries is thus hard to sustain. Instead, a central proposition that fits the comparative evidence examined … is that state intervention is more or less successful … varies, not so much by quantity as by type and quality' (p. 377).

It is impossible in a relatively short review to convey the massive scholarship and the richness of the analytical vision of the development process that emerges from this volume.

*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* WERNER BAER

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Samuel L. Baily and Eduardo José Míguez, *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Books, 2003), pp. xxv + 293, £16.95, pb.

In the 1970s, any scholar embarking on the study of mass migration, and the formation of ethnic and national identities in modern Argentina, would have been confronted with the assertion by Gino Germani that here a melting pot *sui generis* had been produced, where immigrants had fused to become a new people, Argentines of European and Creole descent, but without the creation of hyphenated identities, typical for the North American variant of the paradigm.

Mark D. Szuchman, Samuel L. Baily and Fernando Devoto were the first to challenge the melting pot paradigm, demonstrating in a number of case studies from the late 1970s onwards, that European immigrants (and their descendants), continued specific ethnic identities, involving choice of marriage partners, language maintenance and associational ties, much longer than previously had been assumed.

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The new paradigm became known as cultural pluralism, or *pluralismo cultural*. After Argentina's return to democracy, and under the auspices of Fernando Devoto's directorship at the Centro de Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos (CEMLA), a veritable industry in immigration research on different ethnic groups in Argentina began to flourish, mainly by historians, but also by sociologists and anthropologists, with the results initially published as articles in CEMLA's journal *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, and later as monographs.

It is this main thread of *pluralismo cultural*, by now further reformed and refined after critical challenges from scholars, such as Hilda Sabato, which still lies also at the core of the present collection of essays. With the exception of Mark D. Szuchman, it brings together its main representatives, and in fact offers a number of expanded extracts from key-readings: Samuel Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, Cornell University Press 1999; Samuel Baily and Franco Ramella, *One Family, Two Worlds*, Rutgers University Press 1988; José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, University of California Press 1998. In terms of theoretical scope and orientation, Jeffrey Lesser's work on Jewish, Japanese and other immigrants to Brazil (Welcoming *the Undesirables*, California UP 1994; *Negotiating National Identity* Duke University Press, 1999), has provided a fresh complement to the more rigid understanding of ethnic identities among the *pluralismo cultural* scholars, because his analysis focuses on the national imaginary, the creation of 'race' and ethnic identities, as non-essentialised, constructed, in fact negotiated, identities; and the chapter in this volume is no exception to this.

Eduardo Míguez opens the collection, by introducing English-speaking readership to the key issues of the debate. Whilst many points Míguez raises are not new to specialists, they provide a useful summary to new students of the history of mass migration to Latin America (i.e. the prominence of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay as receiving countries; the relative advantage for immigrants from Italy, Spain and Portugal to adapt to Romance language and Catholic countries in contrast with North American destinations; and the importance of social networks and family ties in the migration process). Míguez' introduction is followed by a good number of case studies, not available hitherto in English, for example, on Danish immigration to Argentina (María Bjerg), Germans in Brazil (Giralda Seyfarth), the rôle of Italian women in the migration process (Carina L. Frid de Silberstein), and on immigration in Tandil, an agricultural centre in the province of Buenos Aires (Eduardo Míguez). Each of these chapters poses some interesting avenues for further research, for instance, regarding the function of secondary and small urban centres in the migration process (vs. the metropolis) (Míguez), and the integration and 'assimilation' of Danes and Germans as non-Latin, non-Catholic immigrants into the respective host societies (Bjerg, Seyfarth).

A fascinating comparative chapter, largely based on census material and statistics, compares the residence patterns and the integration of immigrants in the two River Plate capitals of Buenos Aires and Montevideo (Hernán Otero and Adela Pellegrino).

José Moya also heeded the call for comparison made in Samuel Baily's conclusion, when he addresses Spanish migration to Argentina and Cuba (which, as is often forgotten, was the second most important destination for Spaniards in modern times). Whilst the reviewer concurs overall with Baily's concluding remarks, especially in calling for more research on ethnic and racialised identities in the migration process, some categories employed, such as 'cultural persistence', still

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seem to be redolent of the early *pluralismo cultural* paradigm, in its rigid and essentialist understanding of identity.

So whilst the *pluralismo cultural* critique set out as a reaction against the sociological generalisations of the melting pot paradigm, what is now needed is a new and reformed focus on culture and identity. This would be best achieved in interdisciplinary projects, with anthropologists and cultural historians, and including methodologies of oral history (as some of the contributors to the volume already do), ethnographic research and participant observation (a good example of this is Katrin Ruggiero's *And Here the World Ends: The Life of an Argentine Village*, Stanford University Press, 1988), and paralleling work done in anthropology, such as that by Kristi Anne Stølen (*The Decency of Inequality: Gender, Power and Social Change on the Argentine Prairie*, Scandinavian University Press, 1996), Eduardo Archetti (*Masculinities: Football, Polo and the Tango in Argentina*, Berg, 1999), and Arnd Schneider (*Futures Lost: Nostalgia and Identity among Italian Immigrants in Buenos Aires*, Peter Lang, 2000).

The present collection with its vivid interspersion of chapters with extracts from life-histories represents a very first step into this new direction and will work well in the classroom, introducing students to case studies in the history of mass migration to Latin America.

*University of East London/University of Hamburg* ARND SCHNEIDER

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